School of Design and the Built Environment

Migrants' Engagement with Space: A Comparative Analysis of Forced Migrants in Kolkata and Perth

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of

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and

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Dedicated to Baba

and

to everyone who had to leave their home to settle elsewhere.

DECLARATION

I certify that

a. The work contained in the thesis is original and has been done by myself under the general supervision of my supervisors.
b. The work has not been submitted to any other Institute for any degree or diploma.
c. I have followed the guidelines provided by the Institute in writing the thesis.
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Anuradha Chakrabarti

Date: 25th May, 2022

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ABSTRACT

The era that we are presently live in has made migration an exclusive, discriminatory and selective process than ever before. This coupled with different externalities like war, trade-sanctions, underdeveloped and climate change, have forced more and more migrants out of their native places in search for new pastures. Within this background, this research critically examines how forced migrants re-imagine their lives in the destination, that is, how they engage with the politics of space to produce a conducive life in the new environment. It focuses, captures and presents the time from when the migrant out-migrate to moving into the destination and their efforts to integrate. The research draws its data from the migrants' past, and present lived experiences spanning the origin and new environment. Its aims to gather knowledge on similarities and dissimilarities in their attempt to integrate, referred to as engagement with space.

The research adopts an experimental comparative approach that compares the urban experience of forced migrants within a larger framework of politics of space in the two cities - Kolkata and Perth. The research expands upon existing literature to provide new methodological, analytical and empirical insights into the process of migrants' engagement with space. It adopts an etheno- phenomenology approach to collect data and puts the migrant, viewed both as a social and individual being, at the centre of its inquiry.

The research aims to answer two simple questions - first, what are the modes of migrants' engagement with space; second, if a shared framework of engagement, common to migrants situated in different contexts, can be developed. For the first objective, the research identifies three relational modes of engagement with space: spatial perception, experience, and spatial practices. By drawing on their findings, it next proposes a five-stage engagement with space framework- shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation. These five stages are explained using the social and individual space-time relation concept.The research outcomes shows, that the adopted research methodology clearly brings out the fact that, even though there are overarching similarities in how different migrants engage with contextually different spaces and that a common framework of engagement with space is possible, variegated types of engagement exist depending on migrants' circumstantial factors and individual will.

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Centre for Asylum Seekers, Refugees and Detainees XVIII

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees XVIII

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian development Bank
APAC	Asia Pacific Accreditation Cooperation
APDR	Association for Protection of Democratic Rights
AsETTS	The Association for Services to Torture and Trauma Survivors
CRPP	Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners
CPIM	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CARAD	Centre for Asylum Seekers, Refugees and Detainees
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HSP	Housing Settlement Policy
IHSS	Integrated Housing Settlement Scheme
IMF	International Monitory Fund
INR	Indian Rupee
KMC	Kolkata Municipal Corporation
KMDA	Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority
MP	Member of the Parliament
MASUM	Manabadhikar Suraksha Mancha
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
NSW	New South Wales
NGO	Non Government Organisation
PPSS	POSCO Pratirodh Sangam Samiti
PR	Permanent Resident
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TMC	All India Trinamool Congress
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
$	Dollar

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Prologue – the whole and the parts

Over the years, the phenomenon of migration has been scrutinised to determine its causes, perpetuation and outcomes, situating these in the origin–destination debate (Czaika & De Haas, 2014;Lucas, 1997;Greenwood & Hunt, 2003). An overarching shift of the discourse from labour migration to a more recent and mature perspective, based on desire and aspiration (Collins, 2017;2019) has opened migration research to diversity and inclusiveness. While research on the reasons to migrate continues even today (ibid), spatially connecting the origin, intervening spaces and destination and collectively viewing the impact of these elements through the prism of the migrants' perspective, is a rarely found (McHugh, 2010; Castle, 2010; Arango, 2018). Such a holistic approach to migration study provides a superior perspective to a piecemeal approach. Moreover, such an approach offers a more authentic view of the realities of an unfathomably complicated phenomenon—migration and its primary subject—the migrant (McHugh,2010). Given the non-linear, multi-layered complexity of the human being as a social, cultural, economic and political entity, the challenge remains to successfully reflect the phenomenon of human migration. This study takes up this challenge and presents an all-encompassing account of migrants' integration into their destination. In doing so, the research situates the migrant as a social and individual being, who is both affected by and affects society. Here, the migrant is viewed not only as an individual but a universe, constituting everything in and around it.

In 2019, according to a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) report, 79.5 million people were forcefully displaced as a result of persecution, conflict, violence, human rights violations or events seriously disturbing public order. Of these people, 26 million are refugees, 4.2 million are asylum seekers and 45.7 million are internally displaced people. Together they constitute the cohort of forced migrants seeking a new life in cities or countries different from those of their origin. Closer examination of the UNHCR data shows that these 79.5 million people moved to a different city or state within the same country or to a new country altogether. Along with these migrants, myriad experiences, knowledge, culture, customs and practices moved from one place to another, collectively changing the place of destination.

Based on this background, the present study seeks to address an overarching question: how can we capture the entire gamut of a complex phenomenon (McHuge,2000; Castle, 2010) such as migration? The difficulties in capturing such complexities in their entirety has led governments, policy makers and institutions to adopt measures to control and manage migration; however, these attempts have failed (Castle,2004). The resultant impacts on the

quality of life of hundreds and thousands of migrants have left them stranded as political subjects. The broader effect has also been felt by the native population of destination, whose quality of life has also been negatively affected by such tensions. Castle (2004) indicates that as a result, 'migration is often struck by the failure of states to effectively manage its effects on society'. One reason for this is a lack of foresight in policy development and faulty policies. Policy applications have also failed to gauge the diversity of human experience and its potential contribution to the economic, social and political spheres of life. By relegating migrants to pre-defined categories, migration governance has resulted in systematic apartheid towards migrants. Additionally, decades of research to understand the causes of migration by separating it from its backward and forward linkages have failed to produce effective policies (Castle, 2012). In response, a paradigm shift has occurred, with recent research focusing more on the process of migration and the subsequent integration. This study aims to contribute to the theorisation of migrant integration, but does not limit its enquiry to migrant practices in the destination alone. Instead, the study includes the lingering effects of the place of origin as well as the intervening spaces on the integration process.

This spatially holistic perspective is important because the inability of governments and institutions to work conjointly across borders, or even internally as a systemic whole, provides only a partial understanding of the phenomenon of migration. Governments and institutions work within limits of administrative boundaries to find solutions for a phenomenon that extends beyond borders and boundaries. This means that understanding the entire phenomenon solely from a governance, policy and infrastructure perspective is impossible. Therefore, this study broadens the scope by moving to a migrants' perspective of this phenomenon. The migrant here is viewed as the embodiment of the past, present and future, which forms the crux of the phenomenon. This study will explore migration from this perspective, analysing migrants' past and present lived experiences to understand their integration into the new environment.[1]

The integration process is referred to in this thesis as migrants' engagement with space.[2] The word 'space' has been used instead of 'destination' or 'new environment' because that would confine the imagination of the work to one space circumscribed by a boundary—a destination

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[1] The term 'destination' is referred to in this work as the 'new environment' to avoid confusion. The term 'new environment' is a suitable substitute because it is based on spatial meaning and not temporality (how the meaning of something to someone changes over time).

[2] Space in the context of this research is a complicated overlap and coming together of the physical, social, economic and cultural layers constituting the space in which individuals live, work and socialise. The process of how space comes into being is explained in detail in section 2.3 in chapter 2. It is argued space is a political subject. Individuals' engagement with space in the present research refers to how migrants conceive, perceive and practise in the political space. How migration, by virtue of moving from the origin to destination, produces a different conception, perception and practices in the migrant and by overlapping the present with the past how migrants try to integrate into the new environment is central to this work. For a detailed theoretical perspective on engagement with space please refer to section 2.4 in chapter 2.

city or a country. Instead, the purpose was to travel between the past and the present by connecting them spatially through migrants' accounts. The ontological lens adopted in this study is the migrant as a social and individual being, shaped by lived experiences. This perspective is influenced by the work of Stephen Castle (2010). Castle notes that:

A conceptual framework for migration studies should take social transformation as its central category, in order to facilitate understanding of the complexity, interconnectedness, variability, contexuality and multi-level mediations of migratory processes in the context of rapid global change. This would mean examining the links between social transformation and human mobility across a range of socio-spatial levels, while always seeking to understand how human agency can condition responses to structural factors.

Castle advances our understanding of the phenomenon of migration in two ways, namely, through the concept of structures and responding to changing structures through human agency. This study extends that understanding by adopting the analytical lens of structure–agency interaction from the migrants' perspective.

Structure (Giddens,1984) in the context of this study is everything societal that either hinders or advances migrants' integration into the new environment. The spectrum of structure ranges from representation of space (the material and functional arrangements of the destination) to the production of social, cultural, political and economic meanings that influence migrants' lives. It is influenced by an array of actors relevant to migrants lives. Structures are important because, from an ontological standpoint, migrants do not operate in a vacuum and their lives are constantly influenced by structures. How migrants perceive and conceive structure and how that affects their integration into the new environment is explored in this study.Here, human (migrant) agency can be viewed as a force that resists, complies or negotiates structures.

In a spatial phenomenon such as migration (King,2012), the interaction between structure and agency unfolds in space, which reinforces the argument of space as a political subject (Lefebvre, 2009; Soja, 1996; Elden, 2013; Dodd,2019). It also makes engagement with space a valid starting point to enquire into migrants' integration. This view considers the structure–agency interaction as a force that ruptures existing spatial order to produce new order.

Next, considering the present reality of migration and mobility being increasingly class-specific and selective (Bauman, 1998; Castles, 2010; Massey, 1999; Mabogunje, 1970; De Haas, 2010; Friedmann, 1995; Sassen, 2009; Roy, 2011), this study focuses solely on forced migrants. The study agrees that the complexity of forced migration is greater than in voluntary migration because of its extreme nature and its effect on migrants (Hugo & Bun, 1990). The

extreme and complicated nature of this type of migration and how it may differently affect different migrants is central to this work. As a result, this study focuses on two cities—Kolkata in India and Perth in Australia. The spectrum of forced migrants in this study has been fixed by remaining contextually true to these two settings and by basing the diversity of respondents on their historic migration trends and their relevance tot he present contexts. This approach adds diversity to the work, and more faithfully represents the cities' contextual realities.

In Kolkata, the focus is on internal migrants, moving under forced circumstances such as acute poverty, climate change and social factors. The study also considers migrants fleeing religious persecution, who illegally entered Kolkata by crossing the India–Bangladesh border.

In Perth, the forced migrants entered Australia on humanitarian grounds. They entered the country by boat or through UNHCR channels, escaping religious persecution, war and poverty. The thesis collectively refers to respondents from both cities as migrants, with occasional use of the terms humanitarian migrants, boat arrivals and internal migrants in specific cases.

In line with Deluze's conception of assemblage (cited in DeLanda,2006), the research aims to produce an all-encompassing overview of the phenomenon of migrants' engagement with space as a whole. This perspective is not that of a closed whole but an open whole, characterised by temporality and fluidity. The study analyses the separate parts of the phenomenon of migration and how these come together to constitute the whole. Therefore, the whole is a function of its parts, and is always transforming. The study aims to capture the transformation of the parts in making the whole.

In doing that, forced migrants' engagement with space is viewed through three interconnected layers: spatial conception, experience and spatial practice. Collectively, the layers bring together the material environment and the behavioural environment of the migrant's everyday life. This ranges from simple acts such as walking in the neighbourhood or talking to people, to complex events such as eviction or deportation. Finally, by noting that the process of engagement is temporal, the study proposes shrinking, expansion, contraction, cautious expansion and assimilation as major themes to produce a framework of engagement with space. Importantly, individual migrants' trajectory of engagement with space is shown to be determined by their will to engage.

1.2 Aim, research question and objectives

The aim of this study is to examine migrants' integration into their new environment, referred to as migrants' engagement with space. Through a comparative urban perspective, the study aims to produce a common, flexible and temporal framework of engagement that is true for different types of migrants (internal and transnational), situated in contextually different

spaces (Global North and Global South). The study seeks to establish whether some commonality exists in the way migrants in different contexts and circumstances engage with space over time.

Two research questions are evident:

1. How do migrants' engage with space? What are the modes and process of migrants' engagement with space and how does it changes over time?

This question emerges from a simple thought on how migrants build their lives in the new environment. By seeking to answer this question, the study demonstrates how the past is reflected in the present and how it influences the migrants' engagement. Additionally, the study explores how the destination itself affects their engagement. Here, engagement is seen as the coming together of the migrant's mind, body and perceptions, analysed through the lens of how these elements are affected by structure.

The objective that emerges from research question one is:

- To identify the modes of migrants' engagement with space and to understand how each mode of engagement changes over time?

2.How can a temporal, flexible and shared framework of engagement with spaces that is true to different contexts be developed?

This second question seeks to bring together the highly fragmented research on migration.

The objective that emerges from research question two is:

- To develop an overarching framework of migrants' engagement with space, applicable in different contexts and types of migration.

1.3 Relevance of the research

The diversities of cause, perpetuation and impact, rather than similarities, have traditionally been researched in migration, despite the phenomenon being all about 'real people moving in real space' (King, 2012) to improve their lives. Based on this overarching commonality that remains unchanged, this section presents some of the issues that have historically plagued migration research and how the present study tackles these, thereby demonstrating its relevance.

First, there has been a lack of attention to cause and consequence (Collinson, 2009) as a continuous, iterative process that does not seek definitive answers. This was steered by an initial trend of overemphasis on causes, perpetuation and their impact on origin and

destination separately (Czaika & De Haas, 2014; Kurekova, 2011; Castles, 2010;Lucas, 1997;Greenwood & Hunt, 2003). To tackle this, the present study uses the word ‘space’ and not ‘place’ or ‘city’ or origin or destination when referring to migrants’ engagement with such spaces. The word ‘space’ has a fluid, temporal meaning attached to it, which brings migrants’ past and present together by adding an abstract dimension to their engagement process.

Second, McHugh (2010) points to the ‘short shrift given to the “human” in human migration’. Tuan (1977) elaborates that in attempts to understand migration, research has continuously made abstractions from a rich pool of data supplied in the form of information by people inhabiting, working and administering in these spaces. However, researchers often forget that these data are nothing but a culmination of human experiences. Therefore, it becomes important to focus on the evolution of human experiences, a process that is generally obscured by the simplified approach of representation through the data. This study achieves this by capturing the temporal nature of migrants’ lived experience.

Third, a lack of engagement with social theories has distanced migration research from philosophical and methodological contributions (McHugh, 2010). McHugh adds that this was fueled by population geographers’ overemphasis on positivist approaches. Informed by empirical evidence, positivist theories have failed to accommodate the uncertainties of changing times (Kurekova, 2011). The present study tackles this deficit by drawing its theoretical underpinning from the works of eminent social scientists such as Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soja and Gilles Deleuze. Some of these significant works are unexplored or underutilised by migration researchers. Henri Lefebvre’s work, for example, has wide-scale application in urban studies, but not in migration research. The multi-disciplinary literature used for this study spans phenomenology, sociology, anthropology and urban studies to address this criticism of disciplinary biases in migration research.

Fourth, to accommodate changing realities, this study is based on time and space, layered with the temporal significance of political, social, cultural and economic factors manifestation as structures on migrants. The final findings are overarching and relevant to any time and space.

Fifth, migration theorisation shows a lack of cumulative approach in its development, fueled by disciplinary biases that maintained distinct objectives to understand the phenomenon (Arango, 2019). This has led to abundant empirical work that is ‘disconnected from theory or used to confirm rather than test, question or redefine theories’ (Kurekova, 2011). The present study is rooted in both theoretical and empirical work.

Sixth, to accommodate the rapidly changing ‘social dimension’ of the world we live in, Massey (1990, 2005) argues that migration theorisation has failed to account for these changes

and that there is a need to create a ‘new theory of migration’ to accommodate the complexities of this century.Both, Castle (2010) and Arango (2018) question this argument, and instead pushes for a common conceptual framework that could serve as the starting point for intellectual debates, formulation of hypotheses and research questions. In this research, the engagement with space framework is based on a experimental comparative urban study methodology that includes transnational and internal forced migrants. It aims to further methodological and empirical knowledge of the phenomenon. By being assimilative through comparison, this study advances the knowledge of similar works that aim to take up comparative studies based on different context. It further takes a holistic overview of migrants’ lives, encompassing three different modes in one study—spatial conception, structure of experience and spatial practices—for the first time. This can be seen as a starting point of formulating new research.

1.4 Contribution of the thesis

The present research makes a fresh attempt to identify overarching similarities in human migration by drawing from migrants’ lived experiences and how these impacts their integration into the new environment. The research paints an all-encompassing picture of migrants’ engagement by accounting for their past and present lived experiences. Based on a experimental comparative framework, and by drawing from migration, urban studies and social theories the research tries to also establish the inter-connections between these disciplines in viewing the migrant and understanding the phenomenon. Overall, the present research aims to advance the understanding of the phenomenon of migration from a holistic perspective by signifying the role of the migrant in it.

The contribution of the present research are the following.

Firstly, in trying to theorize the process of migrants’ integration into the new environment the research accounts for the diverse and variegated forms of urbanisation in the two selected cities (micro scale) and also between a developed and developing nation (macro scale). Layering that with the diversities of the migrant itself, the research shows how different migrants adopts different trajectories of integration and in doing that how their personal circumstances, biographies and purpose plays an important role. The conceptual framework of the research brings the migrant’s body, mind and actions together and shows how their inter-connections and inter-dependencies contributes to their overall process of integration.

Therefore, the multi-layered, complex conceptual framework of the research can be used as a starting point to formulate new research questions, objectives and approach.

Secondly, the use of the very different methodologies ethnography and phenomenology together within a comparative framework is the methodological contribution of the present research. Ethnography and phenomenology have mostly been used separately in migration research. This is because of the difficulties in collecting data, analysing and presenting the finding of a phenomenological research, while ethnography has been more commonly used to understand practice based research in migration. The ontological position of the research demanded phenomenology to be an integral part of its methodology. The application of the proposed methodology should not be confined only to migration studies but can also be used by spatial researchers in the field of geography, sociology and anthropology.

Thirdly, The outcomes of the research can be used in the following way by future researchers. The analytical themes of the research - spatial cognition, structure of experience and spatial practiced can be individually or collectively used. Each can be expanded to further produce individual comparative urban research topics. Collectively, they can be used to understand variegated forms of urbanisation and its future trajectories. The intricacies of the findings like 'need for space', 'spatial scaffolding', can be conceptual points of the inception of new research. Their use and application as concepts need not remain confined to migration research but may be extended to understand the human being in relation to social transformation. The common framework of engagement has much potential for future research. The framework can be used as a whole or in parts to enquire the detail of its cause, perpetuation and relevance of each stage in spatial development of the urban and rural areas. The framework can also serve as a starting point for new research like: how can we use the stages and map the city to understand the course of future development and where policy interventions are required.

Fourthly, Government institutions and policymakers can use the framework of migrants' engagement with space to improve existing migration and urban planning policies for more meaningful inclusion of the migrants. When empirically tested in different settings, the framework will help to frame customised policy plans by gauging the migrant's potential for integration into the urban system. The qualitative framework can also be used by quantitative researchers working on models of migrants' integration, perpetuation and potentials in the new environment. Not very efficient systems of gauging the efficacy of existing integration policies presently exists and therefore the proposed way forward can be an efficient way to address this issue.

Finally, academics and research play a significant role in shaping government and public consciousness about the world we live in. The constructed realities have compartmentalised our minds and turned us against each other making migration an exclusionary process which makes its integration difficult. In this research, an attempt has been made to show how lives in two diffident worlds can be brought together by simply understanding what we as humans

want and how to deal with exclusionary approaches so as to assert the social and spatial rights of migrants in the world we live in. The application of the theory of will in migration studies can be further explored from different perspectives by developing new cross-disciplinary research frameworks that are holistic and democratic in nature.

1.5 Scope and limitation

The present study provides an all-encompassing overview of migrants' integration into the new environment to capture the phenomenon of migration in its entirety. In doing so, this study seeks to remain true to the contextual realities of the two cities and selected 15 respondents from each city. Although the study tried to capture maximum diversity in selecting these 15 respondents, there is always the possibility of a gap of others who could have been included. For example, in the case of Kolkata, relatively newer squatters in the peripheral area were selected, but there are also new squatters in the heart of the city. The lives of these two different groups can differ significantly. In Perth, the lack of walk-in set-ups like the squatters of Kolkata,where can can directly walk in and initiate a discussion with its inhabitants, meant the study relied primarily on migrant institutions to recruit participants. Therefore, respondents were recruited from four countries of origin—Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. The research limits its scope to these four countries of origin because of the need to finish the research within a stipulated time frame, delay in getting ethical clearance added to the conundrum. Therefore, migrants who are clients (free service) to the migrant welfare institutions that have supported this research was prioritised. Other factors like availability of translator well versed with both the respondents' native language and English was also another factor limiting the selection of respondents to these four countries of origin.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The thesis chapters can be summarised as follows:

Chapter 2: This chapter presents a review of literature and is divided into four parts- Situating the present study within migration literature; Situating the present within urban studies; Space as a political subject: assimilating space and migrants; Engagement with space.

Chapter 3: This chapter describes the research methodology used in this study.

*Chapter 4: T*his chapter introduces the two cities by constructing a sensory perception through their historical narratives.By presenting the interaction between space and time in production of the social space, the cities, the chapter presents migration histories of the two cities and situates the migrants within that relation. It also presents the general contextual factors/ structures affecting migrants like informality in Kolkata, migration policy, settlement policies and a general negative public perception towards migrants in Perth.

Chapter 5: This chapter is based on an migrant's individual perspective of space–time relations situated within the larger context of social space–time relations. The chapter address the second objective of producing an overarching common framework of engagement. Sequentially, this chapter should have followed Chapters 6 and 7, upon which it is based. However, to make it easy for the reader to understand, it is presented first, in the present chapter.

Chapter 6: This chapter identifies and presents the three modes of migrants' engagement with space- spatial conception, the structure of experience and spatial practices. The chapter address the first objective of identifying the modes and process of migrants' engagement with space. It presents the interconnection between the three identified modes. The chapter uses a rational abstraction method to present empiric from the two cities. It is based on the space–time relation from the migrants' perspective.

Chapter7: This chapter is a continuation of Chapter 6, and presents the myriad trajectories of engagement with space. It underlines how the time–space relation is individualised by migrants' agency. The chapter goes on to show how will plays a role in determining agency, thereby demonstrating the role of will in individuals' time–space conception.

Chapter 11: This chapter presents the thesis conclusion.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This study is situated at the intersection of migration studies and urban studies. It is unclear how and why these two different streams of studies have developed around an intricately interwoven phenomenon such as migration. Migrants' engagement with space and the engagement framework that the present study presents is developed from a thorough reading of both migration and urban literature. The chapter examine the historical conceptualisation of two important constructs in this study—the migrant and space. It explains migrants' engagement with space from an interdisciplinary perspective.

2.1 Situating the research within migration studies

Scientific studies on migration are relatively recent, despite migration's long history of existence. This led us to ask, what motivated organisations and researchers to study migration?This question is key to understand the motive that drove migration studies. Urbanisation is one possible reason (Greenwood & Hunt, 2003), with the resultant issues of overpopulation in urban areas and de-population in rural areas during the late 19th and early 20th century in the United States and Western Europe. However, internal migration as a topic of research gained prominence only in the 1920s in the United States as the need arose for governing authorities to use legislation to control and improve the situation (Ibid). During the Great Depression in the 1930s, unemployment levels in urban areas were high and rural to urban migration swelled. This opened the gate for policy makers to intervene. Thus, 'in terms of internal migration, no period has seen a greater emphasis on a policy than the 1930s (Greenwood & Hunt, 2003). The Great Depression entailed mass movement from South to North America, while the rapid rural to urban migration resulted in a deluge of policy implementations since the 1930s. Subsequently, there have been numerous studies on the contribution of migration to population growth in cities (Lucas, 1997). Castles (2010) observes that '[p]olicy-driven research often provides simplistic, short-term remedies to complex, long-term social issues'.

The second reason being, the role of state sponsored migration research (Greenwood & Hunt, 2003) that fuel optimism around the phenomenon of migration to build cities (for internal migration) and nations (from immigration). Migration was thus related to and shown as a catalyst for development. This approach was adopted by many countries with USA leading the block to attract immigrant. This was also the phase during which cities were being constructed as centers of capital accumulation and nations were being build in which migration policies

paved the way for future migration trajectories. Collectively, the motives to research and study migration shows an underlying political that understood and presented the subject from a pre-defined perspective- pro-development. Both points shows that the foundation of migration research was political in nature.

Historically, migration theorisation can be divided into an optimistic and pessimistic approach when the discussion is extended to the development discourse (Portes, 2007; DeHass, 2010). However, as pointed out by DeHass (2010), if we follow Amartya Sen's (2001) concept of development as freedom, in which human development is central, migration theories have for too long neglected this perspective of development.

McHugh (2000) notes that the 'human in human migration' has been long neglected. In keeping with the social transformation of the rapidly changing world, we inhabit (Massey,2005), more and more migrants are illegally crossing international borders or are being internally displaced by abject poverty or radical climate change issues. This raises fundamental questions about human dignity, freedom and empowerment in human migration. This study focuses on migrants and their lived experience in space. The focus is on migration as part of the broader social phenomenon and 'lifeworlds', in which individual's 'ordinary ideas, beliefs, knowledge to understand the world' (Miller and Brewer, 2012) emerge and thrive.

To situate the present study within the existing body of migration literature and other relevant interdisciplinary literature, this section examines ***four primary tenets of migration literature***, ***analysing the position of the migrant and space within its discourse***. This reveals an emerging gap in the literature and situates the study within that gap. Because the present study focuses on the migrants' engagement with space, this section indicates how this came to be the central idea of the study.

The developmentalist approach dominated the first half of the 1960s. During this period, the main focus of neo-classical theorists was on rural – urban wage differentials. This later shifted to a rural – urban expected wage differential in the later part of the same decade (M. P. Todaro, 1969;J. R. H. and M. P. Todaro, 1970). Here, migration was viewed from a purely economic perspective, in which individuals migrated to maximise wages and profit. The theory was well suited to explain social transformations at the time. During the industrial development era, this referred to approaches such as location theory and resource optimisation, which were the meta-narrative of this period. The dominance of a positivist approach and market dynamics viewed the migrant purely as a source of labour, who followed capital (seat of wage) where and when it went. Space was viewed from a purely economic perspective, as a container of resources that allowed markets to function within it.

Classical theorists argued that migration of labour would let the remittance flow from developed to underdeveloped regions, resulting in diminished spatial inequalities. This argument was challenged by the second tenet in the literature, as espoused by historical structuralists. Structuralists believed migration further propagated inequality (Prebisch, 1950; Frank,1996; Wallerstein, 1989). They did not develop a migration theory as such, but considered migration an outgrowth of disruption and dislocation, factors that are intrinsic to capital accumulation (Massey, 2006)). Their work ascribed to the interrelationship between inter- and intra-regional scales. Their focus on overarching social relations between capital, labour and politics operating at different scales shifted attention from the micro and macroeconomic scale of classical theorists to an overarching social scale, where market dynamics was central. The structuralists reduced migrants to a product of social structures, bereft of any agency or power of their own. The viewpoint of classical theorists and structuralists reduced the scope of this central figure to either an economic or social being, moving from deprived spaces into cities, which were emerging spaces of capital accumulation (Massey, 2005).

Since the 1990s, putting such dichotomies behind, the third tenet, as espoused by the transnational theorists, viewed migrants as decision-making agents (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Stark & Taylor, 1989). The inter- and intra-regional scale of analysis maintained by the first two approaches was downsized to the household scale by the transnational theorists. Their theories were based on the development dynamics of the international flow of remittance and its impact on development. This came to be known as the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theory. The theory argues that by limiting the conception of space to a push-pull dichotomy, classical economist failed to explain migration beyond economic motives. Therefore, there is a need for its conceptual extension to a broader discourse on development (Skeldon, 2009; Zelinsky, 1971; Silvey & Lawson, 1999; Brown & Lawson, 1985; De Hass,2010). De Hass (2010) notes that:

It was here, for the first time the migrant's agency was considered important in any consideration for migration theory; return migrants were seen as important agents of change and innovation. It became known that migrants not only bring back capital, but also new ideas, knowledge and entrepreneurial attitudes.

DeHass (2010) conceptualised migration from a development perspective by situating it within a framework of social transformation based on the interaction between structures and agency. Discussing migration as an integral part of 'social transformation' opens its scope to critically view the migrant as a political, social and economic entity (Castel,2010). Embedded within social transformation, migration and migrants came to be viewed through a lens of

'development as freedom' by Amartya Sen (2001). Sen regarded development not from the state's perspective, but as understood by individuals and their way of life (DeHass, 2010). This approach signals a new perspective that upholds the agency, freedom and dignity of migrants in migration research. Research interest in development discourse drew attention to the migrant as an agent of change. The effects of economic development (flow of remittance) on space had dominated the understanding of space for too long. However, in the next tenet of literature, space was no longer seen as a mere container of resources that augmented or hampered migration; instead, it was understood from the rhythms of everyday way of life of migrants.

The body of literature on the fourth and final tenet emerged in the 1990s. It was aligned with the 'cultural turn' in the migration literature, which focused on the migrant simultaneously as a social, cultural, economic, political and spatial being. This line of thought viewed migration as ranging from a 'cultural event' to a 'spatial event', and included the role of migrants' experiences. According to Silvey & Lawson (1999), it was at this juncture that the image of space was re-construction as an epistemology. This, space became a lens through which to view migrants.

Significant works emerged from post-colonial and feminist literature, critiquing the in which space was viewed by classical-economists; that is, as homogenised landscapes, categorised into binaries of origin–destination and rural–urban (Silvey & Lawson,1999; Silvey, 2004; King, 2006). Silvey (1999; 2004) observes that these works served as a breakthrough from a dominant westernisation of migration theories that relegated migration to 'discursive forms of migrancy'.

Cultural diversities between the East and the West led to the inception of a different epistemology based more on culture and the role of consciousness and individual agency in human behaviour, including migration (King, 2011, Parnell and Oldfield, 2014). McHugh (2010) views migration as 'cultural events rich in meaning for individuals, families, social groups, communities and nations'. Moreover, migration is a cultural phenomenon because it is never for the present but always for a greater goal in the future (Collins, 2019). Appadurai (2004) notes that 'in culture, ideas of the future, as much as of those about the past, are embedded and nurtured'.

From an anthropological perspective, Appadurai's (2004) concept on the radical implication of culture on the future dimension of poverty and development merges the present 'cultural turn' tenet with the NELM. The migrant's role within the 'cultural turn' viewed migration as 'a statement of an individual's world-view and is, therefore, an extremely cultural event' (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993). Culture, from a developing perspective, drew attention to the

study of identity, place and space in migration literature (Anderson, 1993; Silvey, 1999). During the 1990s, a meta-factor influencing the role of space in migration literature was influenced by an emerging body of work on space and the English translation of interdisciplinary works by Lefebvre, Bourdieu, Deleuze and Baudrillard. These works established the centrality of space by looking at it as temporal and continuously being produced from the relationship between objects (Lefebvre,1991; Tiwari, 2010). Especially significant in this context is Lefebvre's work entitled *Production of Space* (1991). While Lefebvre's 'right to the city' has widely been used by migration researchers, the post-modernist complexity in understanding *Production of Space* has resulted in its limited application (Goonewardena et al., 2008) in mainstream migration research. Expanding on the 'cultural turn', this study uses Lefebvre's work to draw attention to the migrant as a producer of space. Here, the migrant is an economic, social, political and cultural being. This argument addresses a fundamental problem that has hindered the construction of migrants' identity in migration literature, whereby they were viewed as separate economic, social and cultural beings. This exposes a gap in comprehensively accounting for all constituent parts that affect migrants in their engagement with the new environment. The spaces they produce become a reflection and extension of their abilities and the constraints they experience.

Against this background, the present study is situated at the intersection of the third and the fourth tenet, at an overlap of the migrant as a decision-making agent and the 'cultural turn' in the migration literature. The aim is to extend the body of work by viewing the migrant as a being whose interest spans the sociocultural, economic and political space they inhabit. The study considers the migrant a constantly changing and evolving being whose engagement with space evolves with changes in their agency, purpose and circumstances.

2.2 Situating the research within urban studies

The previous section focused on the evolution of space and the migrant in migration literature over time. This section shows how urban studies advanced during the same period and its relevance to the present study.

With efficient models, logical explanation and evidence from the field, the theorisation of the urban from across the globe has captured each era's dominant practices, from industrialisation to colonisation and globalisation. Historically, two dominant but opposing perspectives of the urban were developed by the Chicago school and the Manchester school of thought (Robinson,2005). The former expanded the rift between the urban and the rural by focusing on their characteristic differences, while the latter was more assimilative and focused on drawing interconnections between them. However, common to both these schools of thought was work

on migration. Unlike the Manchester school, the Chicago school looked at the urban and the rural as relational in their influence. The two approaches also significantly influenced how migration theorisation was shaped by the urban phenomenon and conceived under the ideological banner of these two schools of thought—pessimistic and optimistic (DeHass, 2010). Thus, urban studies from the very beginning, had a significant impact on migration theorisation. According to classical theorists, migration could neutralise inherent differences between the urban and rural with the flow of remittance between them. In contrast, the pessimists anticipated the waning of the rural at the cost of the urban. Thus we see in early urban studies, the impact and manifestation of migration was a key topic of interest to urban researchers.

In the 1970s and 1980s, by rejecting the global dominance of urban theorisation from the north, an alternative radical urbanism or grass-root urbanism became popular (Miraftab.2009). The same trend continued in the 1990s, when the urban–rural dichotomy was replaced by a Global North and Global South discourse. During this time, urban studies, which had been criticised for being overly west- and north-centric, gave way to more plural, variegated and comparative forms of urbanisation. This trend continues today.

To situate this work within the extensive body of urban literature, this section first maps its general transition over time by specifically focusing on literature relevant to the present study. The empirically untenable and theoretically incoherent discourse has, over the years, dominated research on urban transition. Initially, demographic approaches were adopted to solve the urban conundrum by drawing urban boundaries and converting it into a numerical one. In the 1930s, a debate on urban population thresholds emerged, and is used even today (Schnore, 1964; Bloom et al.,2010; Montgomery, 2010 in Brenner & Schmid,2013). A major criticism of this definition's is its methodological challenge – as a 'problem of comparability' (Brenner & Schmid,2011; 2013;2015). Brenner and Schmid (2013) criticised the conceptualisation of the urban only as of the 'city', viewing urbanisation as 'variable and polymorphic', interconnected by networks of power, social relations and economies operating in spaces. They rejected the universality of the urban and connoted it as a historical process that was planetary. It was both 'concentrated' and an 'extension' and associated with 'increasing differences' in experiences.

Moving back in time, almost two decades before the dominance of the demographical approach in the 1950s, Writh (1969) criticised urbanism for its definition based only on demography as 'absolutely arbitrary' and deployed a social lens to analyse the urban condition.However, Writh does acknowledge the importance of demographic dimension but he did not consider any of that in his theory, he remains an important figure who identified differences, diversities and contextualised the urban process.

Similarly to Writh, Castell critiques urban demography in his 1977 book entitled *The Urban Question*. His work was critical of the Chicago school of thought based on the Darwinian principle, with which Writh agreed. Castell's work evolved from a Marxist understanding of cities in response to the deterministic school of thought. Castell and David Harvey (1973; 1989; 2003;2005;2013) revolutionised urban studies and the city (Friedmann, 1986).
Another theorist who needs to be mentioned here is Henri Lefebvre. Even though he wrote in the 1970s, Lefebvre's work only became popular in the English-speaking world when it was translated in 1991. Lefebvre's *Production of Space* and *Writings on the Cities* became the cornerstone of a holistic understanding of urban space and the grassroots struggle in its production. Collectively, these works had a significant influence on urban research in the latter part of the 20th century. During this time, space attained an epistemological position in urban studies and gave the scholarly discourse on the urban a new turn. It was through this 'spatial turn' (Roy,2014,2016;Hart,2016; McFarlane,2009) that the production, re-appropriation and manifestation of city space gained momentum. This provided an alternative perspective of the urban as a fluid and temporal concept produced by the experience of its inhabitants.
Subsequently, space, body, cognition and experiences became central to empirical work on the urban (Boyer, 1994; Donald,1999; Piles,1996). These works broke through the structuralist framework of structure and context, giving rise to a post-modernist perspective of objectivity that rejected the fixed system of beliefs by focusing on meanings without setting. This approach was more in the line with the gestalt than structural approaches (Barthes,1997 in Piles 1996).
Another reason behind the development of the 'spatial turn' was the emergence of post-colonial studies in the 1980s. These gained momentum through the work of writers such as Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak Chakraborty, Homi Bhaba, Partha Chatterjee. Post-colonial studies focuses on studying the cultural legacy of the colonialism and imperialism, core to which is the production of the social space in the colonised countries referred to as post-colonial urbanism. Additionally, John Friedman (1986;1996) in his work entitled *The World City Hypothesis* and Saskia Sassen (2005) in *Global Cities* justify the way in which labour and capital are spatially organised. This stance forms the cornerstone of the current urbanisation process in 'global cities'.
Simultaneously, the shrinking welfare state in the post-colonial aftermath and the liberalisation of economies led to radical planning development in the 1990s. This form of planning was people-centric (Miraftb, 2009). It was radical because it presented a counter-theorisation of the urban as a utopian space developed by planners, architects and policymakers, who have long dominated urban theories (made popular by urbanists like Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier). This top-down approach rejected the Global South's realities, where spatial appropriation by the grassroots was integral to its urbanisation. The significance of the

theories and praxis of the Global South was expanded with new research focusing on inclusion and participation to tackle growing spatial inequalities.

The post-colonial complications in urban space were further augmented by neo-liberalism in the 1990s. This was viewed as a continuation of colonialism; this much-nuanced approach was superficially inclusive, under the guise of complicated policy practices. Brown (2003) highlights the significance of neo-liberalism as a 'simple bunch of economic policies' for surplus extraction, connecting it to a 'network of policy ideologies, values and rationalities' in hegemonic power relations (Miraftab, 2009). Consequently, during the late 1990s, the theories and praxis emerging from the Global South augmented the relevance and need for a radical planning approach. Moreover, by this time, the failure of top-down approach (discussed as the first tenet of migration literature- developmental approach) shifted the scale of research from the global to the local. Thus, everyday life and everyday practices became the preferred scale of analysis and immediate interventions (Hall, 2015; De Certeau,1988; Ellegard & Svedin, 2012; Nasution,2015).

Another urban approach that became popular and was adopted by urban researchers to understand space was the insurgency perspective. This approach focused on local 'grassroots citizenship insurgency' (Miraftab, 2009). It considered the dynamics of how hegemonic power relations established by state forces were appropriated, bent and countered, to claim '[t]he right to the city' (Lefebvre,1995; Smith,1996). This approach centralised human agency within popular urban discourse in which the subalterns were governed and had their own 'politics of the governed' (Chatterjee, 2004). Thus, de Certaus's (1980) 'trick and tactics' of spatial appropriation adopted by people to improve the conditions of their everyday life became a popular theoretical underpinning in urban research (McFarlane,2011; Benjamin,2008; Roy,2011,2012; Hart,2006).

These developments revolutionised the conception of urban space in two ways, which evolved from the status of a mere object or a Euclidean space to a fluid, dynamic and temporal concept that was always under transformation. First, the interaction of the top-down and bottom-up approach began to dominate urban studies. Urbanism came to be viewed as 'grey space' (Yeftachel, 2009), 'occupancy urbanism' (Benjamin, 2008), 'fragmented urbanism' (McFarlane, 2011,2018) or 'splintering urbanism' (Graham and Marvin, 2001) in different contexts. Second, the acknowledgement of the urban as a diversity of experiences and as 'plural, diverse and complicated' resulted in burgeoning research at the local scale, focusing on inhabitants' everyday lives at the urban margin (Derickson, 2015; Roy, 2011; Bhan, 2019). Simultaneously, growing interest in human agency in urban research has changed how we looked at space as a container, shifting from 'a production of things in space to a production of space' (Lefebvre, 1991). That is, space is the product that is perpetually re-cast through engagement and interaction between human action and state forces. Thus, the structure–

agency engagement became a popular ontological lens among urban researchers to overcome the subject–object duality (Giddens, 1984; Evens,1999;Whittington,2015).

Since 2010, recent debates in urban studies have been going through a transformation, opening up to new methodological approaches. These discourage differentiation and focus instead on identifying interconnections. Borrowing from the work of Chakraborty (2000), Derickson theorises the urban as Urbanisation 1 and Urbanisation 2. Urbanisation 1 is in line with the planetary urbanisation thesis of Brenner and Schmid (2014) and Merrifield (2013). This urbanisation is observed more from a global scale and is based on Marxist views of capitalist development. Urbanisation 2 is more plural, diverse and complicated. Derickrson refers to it as urbanisation from below. Based on post-colonial theories, feminist theories and subaltern studies, it locates and identifies urbanisation through mundane everyday life. This approach was developed as a criticism of Eurocentric or 'provincialised' urban theories that have not evolved from the North American or European world (Derickson,2015).Ananya Roy's (2009; 2011; 2012) work has similar theoretical decentralised undertones. Through her work, she identifies the need for an epistemological and methodological intervention in urban studies. Roy's work takes up 'subaltern urbanism' and theorises the mega-city and subaltern spaces. Following Roy's work, urban spaces (slums and the squatters who inhabited them), which were previously described in dystopian terms, were now viewed as spaces of hope and interest by urban intelligentsia. As Roy (2011) contends, '[i]nformed by the urbanism of the global South, these categories [narratives] break with ontological and typological understanding of subaltern subjects and subaltern spaces'.

In a similar tone, Jennifer Robinson (2006), in her book *Ordinary Cities*, criticises the existing bifurcation in urban studies between the first and the third world. She draws from Leaf's(2007) to note that the first world is viewed as an idealised construct of global and world cities, while the third world is viewed through a development lens. This follows the colonial mindset of 'the rich world innovates and the poor world imitates'. In her work, Robinson promotes the concept of all cities as ordinary cities and recognises 'differences as diversity rather than hierarchical division'. She asserts the need to analyse changes across the city that engage actors, institutions and organisations, and how these operate through larger geographies. The sense of 'creative adaptation' proposed by Robinson is of special interest to this study. Her work shows how urban modernity is created, borrowed and replicated everywhere across space. Additionally, this work is based on a framework of conceptualising the city as a space of material and non-material interaction and expression resulting from 'creative adaptation', evolving through interconnectedness. Therefore, it becomes imperative for the present study to refer to Robinson's work, which explores new geographies of theorisation.

Additionally, Robinson (2016) advances the term 'comparative urbanism' to deconstruct existing comparative methods; to date, such methods had restricted the scope of comparison

between cities as 'incomprehensible'. In 'comparative urbanism', the urban is thought of as a 'diversity of experience' linked through its interconnectedness and dependencies. Inspired by Deleuze (1994), Robinson's (2016) work suggests that:

Urban comparison might be thought of as 'genetic,' tracing the interconnected genesis of repeated, related but distinctive, urban outcomes as the basis for comparison; or as 'generative,' where variation across shared features provides a basis for generating conceptual insights supported by the multiple, sometimes interconnected, theoretical conversations which enable global urban studies.

Robinson urges us to focus on 'urban experience', which brings us back to the gestalt approach popular in the 1990s,in which Piles(1996) notes, the city can be explored through the interconnectedness of the minds, bodies and materials.

Following Robinson's work, the present study is situated within a comparative urban methodology framework (its theoretical underpinnings are discussed further in the methodology section), where the 'urban experience' of migrants' in Kolkata and Perth is compared. This comparative methodological framework addresses differences at two levels. First, the framework considers the types of migrants in the study, with those in Kolkata being internal forced migrants and those in Perth being transnational forced migrants. Second, even though both Kolkata and Perth are post-colonial cities, their way of life situates them at two extreme ends of the development spectrum. Thus, the urban experience of the respondents in the two cities is different. By assimilating these two sets of differences together, the study explores the urban experience of being a forced migrant.

After discussing the historical evolution of migration and urban studies and situating the present study within a set of relevant developments from both streams, the next section unfolds the first point of the study, which is space. In doing so, it answers the following questions: Why is space defined as a political subject in this study? Why is a critical perspective of space an important starting point for this study?

2.3 Space as a political subject: Assimilating space, migrants

Space is open to politics making its production and re-production a political process (Dodd,2019). Historically, a reverberation of local and global events have attuned this status to space. At both scales, events like colonisation, industrialisation and neo-liberalisation were watershed moments of spatial restructuring. Intrinsic and key to these events, operating both as a cause and effect, was human migration.

The three events were moments of historic encounters which had a long-lasting effect on the imagination of space. The conception of space shifted from a Euclidean concrete imagination to a practised concept that agrees space is constantly being built and re-build by key historic moments (Lefebvre, 1991). These moments interrupted the established spatial order and opened space to something new. The opening of space to appropriation and re-appropriation makes space a political subject (Elder,2017; Lefebvre, 1991). Also, the three events have changed the perception and conception of space by man (used in a gender-neutral way). These constructed new institutions of co-operation (IMF, UNDP, EU, APAC, ADB etc), disrupted social harmony of co-existence among ethnic and religious groups, catalyzed purposive large-scale human migration and established dominance of capital over humanity. Their effects did not remain contained within constructed realities like national and international borders. It flowed and grasped other spaces by connecting and making them open to politics. That is making space a political subject.

It is the politics of space that makes its production and re-production process transitory rather than static, contingent rather than complete (Dodd,2019). The material arrangement of space and its functions are constantly open to change by local and global forces which act as structure (Giddens, 1984). Trade policies, migration policies, circulation of capital and labour are some of the structural constructs that open space to rupturing. Perhaps, what makes the process of transformation of space a political one are factors controlling and determining the nature of rupturing. One example of control from the migration literature is the use of technology and how it has changed the concept of time and distance in migration (Harvey,1989; Massey, 2005). For the rich, distance and time have both been squeezed (Massey, 2012) with more and more people flying from one country to another, or driving back home to a distant suburb miles away from their workplace. But for the working class, the value of physical distance has only marginally changed. In cities, the working class continues to conceptualize distance in terms of cost and time and therefore, there exists a tendency to settle close to their workplace (Graham and Marvin, 2001). This plays a decisive role in the spatial developments of spaces where spatial laws are flexible and spatial appropriation and informality is rampant for example in the Global South. Evidence of urban land appropriation by the urban poor or migrants coming to cities for informal work is commonplace in the cities of the Global South. The already appropriated space is appropriated further to accommodate newer migrants by adding a room above and renting it out (Bergen, 2012). The historic conversion of communal land to private properties valorized space which comes under the control of a handful (Harvey, 1973) who then determines its use based on the return of profits. Thus opening a long drawn tension based on race, ethnicity, culture and economic status that makes cities revanchists (Smith, 1996). Space as a political subject lies at the intersection of

different groups' interests in using it differently. Evidence on how development-induced displacements and gentrification projects have met with public objection, sometimes leading to violent protests are examples of lack of common interest in spatial use and its appropriation (Smith, 1996). The contradiction between 'use value' and 'exchange values' of space further reinforces the argument that space is a political subject (Harvey, 1973). Harvey in his book Social Justice and the City shows theorisation of the city's dialectics in delivering social justice to its populace irrespective of class. Lefebvre (1996) has suggested an urban revolution to upturn the economic, social and political system of the city by its inhabitants to claim their right to the city. Here, right is the ability to create a desired life and integral to it is the usage of space.

Therefore, for space to be politically important, it must rupture to reach the next point of recasting (Lefebvre,1991; Elder,2007, Dodd,2019). Historically these ruptures have occurred with industrialisation, colonisation, neo-liberalisation and common to them is an unprecedented migration of people from one place to another. By drawing on Foucault's work on Governmentality and Lefebvre's work on the production of social space as a starting point, this section uses historic events, like colonisation, industrialisation and neo-liberalisation, to unpacks a discourse on the relationship between migrant and the space as political subjects.

Colonisation, migration and politics of space

Colonisation had its roots in imperialism which was rooted in capitalism and structured around the migration of capital, people, ideas and experiences to establish a new spatial order. Colonisation changed the imagination of spatial scale of appropriation. Extraction with selfish means was the watermark of colonisation. The imperialists carried the seed of capitalism from their empire to the colonies. Even though environmental determinism has been used as a logical theory by many as a buttress for Imperialism, the contingencies of colonisation were 'class superiority and racial attitude' (Hudson, 1972). Other than extractive motives, the search for newer grounds (spaces) that could be used as dumping grounds for the excess working-class population of the empire led to the establishment of colonies (Hudson, 1972). Following industrialisation, the European cities soon became dens of disease, epidemic bursting with overpopulation and lacking essential infrastructure. Threatened by an internal emergency, that could emerge from growing unemployment and other social problems as side-effects of industrialisation, arrangements were made for massive immigration (colonisation) to avert a civil war. "The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists" (Lenin, 1916 in Hudson, 1972). Internal class politics among the colonizer led to a migration of its "labouring class" to investigate potential dumping ground for the most valuable Englishmen. The deep-rooted

social discrimination that underlined colonisation was carried to the colonies by the imperialists. Thus, with increasing trade relations even though the distance between spaces diminished, the social distance between men (used in a gender-neutral tone) expanded. Thus, entrenched with differences based on social discrimination spatial arrangement of function and material started to appear in the colonies. Dialectic spatial arrangement, therefore, became the hallmark of colonisation and industrialisation.

Historically, colonisation that began with an aptitude to established spatial occupancy and control over land, resource and labour was a watershed moment in the politics of space. The instinctive migratory nature of humans led by environmental changes, difficulty in adaptation, social conflicts, all falling under environmental determinism (King, 1994) as a key driving force of migratory movement in the pre-modern days was replaced by colonisation and it's entailing organized labour movement. Iosifides (2016) in his book writes about the key migratory movement in the pre-modern era. It includes the Aryan migration (2000-1700BC), colonisation of Greece by the Romans and Islamic expansion from 640 to 1250AD, Muslim invasion from Mogul in central Asia (1200-1700 AD) and the development of slave trade and Slavic migration from 600 to 900 AD.

Gradually, in approaching modern era (1942 onwards) a shift to global and regional labour markets was observed (Iosifides, 2016). The preconditions for such a shift was to ensure the spatial expansion, establishment and deepening of capitalistic relations between spaces, presently known as countries and regions. According to Castles and Millers (2003), these capitalistic relations were highly spatial, theirs aim was to endow prosperity to a low-productive regions by bringing in extracted resources and labour by force, from other prosperous regions. Natural resource endowed spaces were subjected to massive unlawful extraction and transportation to colonizing countries, where a steady stream of forced labour migrated to ensure production and dissemination of the finished product. Between 1600 and 1900, approximately 10.24 million slaves from Africa were transported to America (Lovejoy, 2000 in Iosifides,2016). Following the abolition of slavery, a sophisticated means of labour transport in the form of 'indenture labour' was adopted by almost forty countries, all major colonial powers (Potts, 1990).

To further reinforce its arguments on spatial order and establish space as a political subject, the section draws its theoretical underpinnings from Foucault's work on 'Governmentality' (1978,2011). Foucault argues how politics of space commenced with the elevation of the status of the urban as a coveted spatial category that has eventually entrenched the imagination of space as a political subject in the human mind through their everyday lived experiences.

Governmentality as a concept has been used to map temporality of the conception of territory in which environmental and spatial logics have causal effects (Legg,2018). According to Legg,

Foucault's work displays 'a a new level of spatial awareness of the imperial and the urban'. Foucault persistently focuses on the town, both as the cause and the effect of the inception of modern governmentality. During the eighteenth century, the concept of governmentality evolved from the 'art of disposition'. However, its roots are in the ancient world of the pastoral tradition in which individual subsistence was given prime importance than 'anonymous whole'. Extending this understanding to the present time, Foucault points to the growing significance of 'state reason' that was instrumental in augmenting the power of the sovereigns. 'State reasons' which ranged from population enumeration, census, to wielding violence on the people, were used as a pretext to protect the integrity of the state. A realisation about the spatial competition was at the core of 'state reason' that not only sorted to protect the State but also expanded its territory. Governmentality manifested as a post-imperial hierarchisation of small and bigger states that together contributed to a more coherent and balanced Europe. To maintain the micro spatial equilibrium that adds up to maintain the equilibrium of the entire Global North, police forces were put to use to inform the state not only about themselves but also about their rivals. Simultaneously, to facilitate a healthy and productive economy, society, and population 'Material network' through roads, rivers and canals were established that led to the creation of 'spaces of circulation'. To support these 'material networks' newer institutionalisation of regulations and controls were formed. Health was another important sector that not only required monitoring but also promotion. A new culture of health practices was set to motion with the development of a 'whole new politics of amenities'. All of these together contributed to a new approach to developing towns and cities that collectively contributed to the politics of new urban spaces. The dominance of places like markets, squares, chowks, and subsidies and health became the object of police action because of their significance and dominance in towns.

According to Foucault (1978), circulation and accumulation of capital led to the emergence of a distinctive security system. To explain these ' new cities of security' he says 'The aim was that of development, and the means of achieving this sketched out a radically new conception of space and time''. Dearth became an important security apparatus. Public health and order both were at stake because of the riots that entailed dearth. Security, in turn, grants freedom to pre-existing socio-spatial relations and subjects. This freedom precisely laid the foundation for liberalism much later. When seen in conjunction with Lenin's writing (mentioned above), these spaces gradually became dens of disease and scarcity which led to the bread and butter question for the empire, eventually leading to colonisation.

The same scarcity and dearth that gave way to colonisation and later industrialisation was the founding stone for liberalization, which later (in the 1990s) ushered in full force by the name of neo-liberalisation. Therefore, Foucault's zones of risk (rural) had already by the nineteen-century centred around the zones of security (urban). These were connected by the migration

of labour, goods, capital and information. Migration is a manifestation of this manufactured dearth that was managed and controlled by State reasons. The inception of an outsider and insider debate in-migration was established through state articulated governmentality apparatus. The apparatus of governmentality was used by the state as a reason to manages its populace and new migrants and established a spatial order rooted in contradictions like the idea of 'right to the city', in which the city itself was established as a cosmopolitan space based on migration. These points collectively added to the conception of space as a political subject and migration as an important determining factor and carrier of that politics from one space to another.

Industrialisation, migration and politics of space

The existing spatial order which was reeling under the rippling effect of colonisation was ruptured further by industrialisation. Industrialisation catalyzed a large scale international as well as internal migration (Iosifides,2016). There remains a deep connection between industrialisation and colonisation in making space a political subject.

The inception of space as a political subject during the industrialisation era is evident from some of the policies implemented during that time on property ownership, rights and to control fresh migrating population from rural to urban Europe. What was mentioned earlier as Foucault's 'State reason' to control its population was executed not very peaceful during the industrial revolution era. In Britain, internal migration, urbanisation and industrialisation were intertwined with the formations of 'enclosures' (Castle and Miller, 2003) and the 'poor law' in urban areas (Iosifides, 2016). Enclosures entailed fencing formal communal fields, established private property rights, overhauled communal rights on land and led to the consolidation of property in rural Britain (Iosifides, 2016). Capitalistic relations of production between the rural and the urban led to massive internal migration. Unable to exercise a seamless induction of the migrating labour into the industrialist system of production, the State implemented the 'poor law' and established the poor workhouse in England (Brundage, 2001). The law was implemented to discipline the wanderers and urban beggars and convert them into industrial labours. Thus, a spatial law in the form of 'enclosures' fueled large scale rural to urban migration, who were disciplined and forced to become industrial labours by the poor law. These workhouses were pro-capitalist spaces, forced labour houses that became spaces of rebellion due to their poor living and working conditions. New pastures where the exploding urban population of European cities could be transferred was the need of the Empire. The period of massive internal migration to cities in Europe coincides with the large-scale migration of Europeans to America, Australia, Brazil, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand (Iosifides, 2016). This large scale migratory movement led to subsequent "global socio-

economic and political developments" between competing countries. 'New world', 'nation building' were popular words corresponding to the spatial development of the industrial and post-industrial years.

Ventura (in Iosifides, 2016) notes, the lure of vast open spaces in North America was an important motive for this international mobility. Industrialisation in North America led to the demand for labour (Ventura, 2006). Migration discourse along with the socio-economic realities of massive human migration was a constitutive element of nation-building for countries like America and Australia.

Between 1921 and 1924 induction of the quota system imposed barriers to prospective migrants from the Anglo-Saxon world and mass migration to America ended with the economic crisis of 1929. Emerging economies like America that were already in a crisis which was fueled by mass migration, started imposing internal migration policies to control the situation. Greenwood and Hunt (2003) write, "with a need to employ legislative tools to curb and control the situation, the 1920s witness a deluge of policy." The great depression of 1930 further worsens the situation.

Post World War II the introduction of the Fordist model of mass production led to a labour shortage. Guestworkers were invited from former colonies to the former colonial countries. After the decline of the Fordist model in the 1970s organized migration was abandoned. However, a spatial organisation of formal foreign workers with that of colonial workers led to their organisation based on countries of origin, race, culture. A new ethnic minority began to mushroom challenging existing spatial order and changing them by introducing pockets of ethnically recognized spaces in the cities.

Thus, based on its capitalistic principles, both in tandem and as a manifestation of colonisation ushered industrialisation. Opening space to politics began as early as the 17th century, which also witnessed the problematisation of migration and mobility that had its inception in space (Iosifides, 2016). The formation of an international system of national state came through with the signing of the treaty of Westphalia (1648) to commemorate it. The treaty formalized boundaries and endangered free mobility across space. Growing sovereignty of the nation-state determined who was allowed and not allowed to enter and live within its boundary. Migration was thus institutionalised with the production of a formal political system- the nation-state. The nation-state is a spatial manifestation of a political concept and project.

Following this development, the inception of industrialisation marks a point of disruption in space, in which capital, labour (migrant) and technology were conditioned to engage with space differently than ever before. The industrial areas became centers of emerging markets drawing labour which not only worked but also permanently settled in and around these centres. That is "the production of the city as a space of accumulation was the end, the objective and meaning of industrial production" (Elden, 2007). In it, everyday life became the

subject of analysis in the spatial appropriation of the urban. The overcrowded industrial areas of 17 the 18th century Europe, the ghettoisation of city core lacking infrastructure and breeding grounds for epidemic were spaces from which the higher income group out-migrated to settle in the suburbs. Popularly known as the process of suburbanisation. The scale of urbanisation which was confined to industrial cores began to expand unimaginably due to suburbanisation. Elden (2013) notes, urbanisation is both an ideology and a rational engagement of the state in a particular location -the cities- by making the process that is urbanisation and the outcome, that is its spatial manifestations, open space to politics and makes it a political subject.

The principles of industrialisation not only changed people's way of life but also fashioned a new perspective of space and aesthetics in the west evident in city planning techniques of that time (Jacob, 2011). The use of grid patterns to plan cities and suburbs imitates the same principle followed by the Fordist model in the production of factory goods- similarity, repetition and mass production (Butler, 2005). Modernist planning techniques impacted people's behavioural life- both personal and social- by siphoning its spatial ideology into the construction of a behavioural environment that determined and controlled how people socialise (Butler,2005; Piles,1996). An important socio-spatial manifestation of industrialisation was a shift from the public sphere to the private sphere (Habermass, 2015; Nancy, 1990). This shift was eminent in movies, theaters, books and poems that made the man a 'city man'. Industrialisation ushered a new imagination of time and distance in people's minds. Division of labour, compartmentalisation of time, valorisation of space-time as money, valorisation of distance by developing industrial estates for housing its workers close to the workplace, collectively changed forever the conception of arrangement and function of space in man's (used in a gender-neutral tone) mind.

The industrialisation era that ushered in the Global South, following the industrialisation of the Global North was similar to it in characteristic. The way industrialisation has changed forever the definition of time and distance manifested spatially through the development of congested worker colonies close to factories with poor sanitation and hygiene. Urbanism surrounding these factories developed in the Global South cities. The Global North by then had slowly started to recover with gentrification projects. It began to transfer its ills to the cities of the Global South, its then colonies. Lack of proper by-laws to manage urban development led to massive haphazard development of most city core. Value of land rose, pushing a section out of it and making another section permanent renters who could not afford to have their land or house. The location optimisation models used during this era and those following it were based on capitalistic principles that treated space as a container of resources waiting to be exploited. The concept of time and space was revolutionalised by the industrialist. Time was equated to profit and its material manifestation were witnessed in space (Harvey, 1989). Time

and space were compressed to optimised profit and in doing that the society witnessed more pronounced economic class distinctions. Underlying these economic classes marginalisation based on race, caste and ethnicity were solidified.

Neo-liberalisation, migration and politics of space

In the 1980s and 1990s, the third major event that further ruptured the spatial order was neo-liberalisation. Its working principle was based on the 'Global Cities' principals in which cities are hierarchically arranged based on their contribution to the global economy (Friedman, 1986, Sassen,2005). In it, cities are competing with each other to break through their present rank and move up to the next level. A rise in private investment and shrinking public investment manifested in some cities outperforming others in attracting global capital. According to theorists like Friedman and Sassen, the underlying principles of neo-liberalisation furthers the Global North, West and South dichotomy, by outsourcing most of its undesirable or backhand function to the cities of the Global South. For example, information technology to India, manufacturing to Bangladesh and Vietnam. This relational dimension between cities has also changed the dynamics of the migration of human capital. It has created and reinforced prominent corridors of migration between cities and countries. Thus, between industrialisation, imperialism and neo-liberalisation we observed a change like the engagement of capital, labour and technology with space, however, each maintained the common extractive motives. What was proposed as the 'flattening of the world'(Friedman, 2005) is proving to be an increasingly wrong hypothesis. The neo-liberal era further compressed time and distance, but social and economic differences increased with growing wealth inequality making space more political and radical than ever before. Also, in present times migration is more class and cast specific than ever before (Bauman, 1998).

Thus, what were factories and working quarters followed by ghettoisation across the globe from America to India to Australia have given way to per-urbanisation or suburbanisation in the Global South and North contexts respectively. How capital diffusion occurred and the way corporate viewed cities have transformed them into shiny high-rises, containing lavish office spaces, malls and condominiums as the dominant arrangement of space (Smith,1996; Sassen,2005; Bose, 2005; Roy,2011; 2014). The valorisation of space, distance and time that began with industrialisation was further intensified by neo-liberalisation (Harvey, 1973). Foucault's 'scarcity of space' created from inside the space by using apparatus of governmentality entrenched division between spaces by making some more valuable than others. Alongside, social and cultural apartheid added to spatial segregation and therefore, politicisation.

Presently, every parcel of land in the city has a value assigned to it by locational factors and usage. An exchange value is artificially created by intervention like gentrification and brownfield development projects on lands with low exchange value but high use value like slums and squatters. The concept of use and exchange value was first introduced by Marx in Das Kapital and later contextualised by Harvey to explain development induced displacement in his book Social Justice and the City (1973). Here, these two concepts of value are used to further reinforce that space is open to politics. Value in use or 'use value' is the utility of some particular object in contrast to the value in exchange or 'exchange value' which is the degree to which other goods can be purchased in exchange for the object in hand. There exists a reciprocal relation between use and exchange value. The use-value of a piece of land on which a squatter stand is very high to its inhabitants because of its importance to them. However, the same piece of land has low use-value but high exchange value for real estate agents, state and neo-liberal capital looking for spaces to invest. Spatially, the overlap, interaction and out-powering of one value by the other decides the allocation of functions in space, making its use suitable for one group and not the others. In the present time, these two values are vital to the production of a new spatial arrangement that possess the potential to open space to ruptures.

From events to spatial practices: causes behind the production of new spaces?

The purpose of the above discussion was to show through three major events in human history- industrialisation, colonization and neo-liberalisation- that space is not a static subject. It is flowing, and through that, it is being constructed and re-constructed. The macro and micro effects of these key events siphon to make a significant impact on the everyday life of people inhabiting these spaces. The most significant was the gradual transition from public life to private life. Historically, the growing importance of an individual's interest in shaping his perception from an erstwhile notion of collective perception and belongingness has its roots in a citizen's "transformation from a public to a private man" (Habermass, 2015). According to Habermas's (2015) in his 'The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere', centuries back trade of luxury and surplus items led to the nationalisation of the town based economy that in turn developed into a conceptualisation of the nation. The purpose of the nation-state, however, was to reinforce the taxation system which was imposed to meet the increasing financial need for trade. Taxation was the first step towards the establishment of a privatised bourgeois realm. The individualisation of concerns and problems that taxation entailed changed the notion of a collective being and becoming. Hannah Arendt called this process the "Private sphere of society that has become publicly relevant." This change was witnessed spatially when the private individual extended his withdrawal from public life to the spaces he/she inhabited through design and articulation. His/her choices and priorities are reflected in the design of

their dwellings in which spacious vestibules and large dining halls replaced narrow entrances way and smaller drawing and living rooms. The withdrawal from public life and satisfied confinement to private life also meant a withdrawal from the issues, interests and concerns of the 'commons'.

Later in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century introduction of the Fordist model ushered in other ancillary changes like 'creative destruction, 'mass consumption' and production, introduced an ideological and structural change in ways unionisation, collaboration and collective interest were idealised as mainstays of the industrial era giving way to individualisation. In the late twentieth century advent of neo-liberalism reinforced and promoted the circulation of foreign capital with a focus on individual or corporate wealth creation. It further eroded the notion of a collective welfare state by widening the gap between the rich and the poor to an unfathomable extent. Economic inequalities have percolated and disseminated into political, social and cultural facets of their lives to reinforce identities primarily rooted in spatial boundaries, crafted to preserve the existence of hierarchy and hegemony (Urban poor', marginalized evictees, urban migrants, illegal immigrants etc). These Identities are instrumental in creating a marginalised collectively identity or distinguish them from the rest.

In the eighteenth century, Jurgen Habermas developed the concept of a 'public sphere' (Translated to English in the 1990s) in contrast to the 'private sphere'. He defined the 'public sphere' "....as a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space" that functionally was an area in social life where individuals gathered to discuss societal problems that influenced political action. The public realm, or sphere, originally was "coextensive with public authority", while "the private sphere comprised civil society in the narrower sense, that is to say, the realm of commodity exchange and of social labor". Despite establishing a clear structural and functional distinction between public and private spheres, Habermas's discusses the emergence of an 'authentic public sphere' to counter the private realm. This new public sphere spanned the public and the private realms, and "through the vehicle of public opinion it put the state in touch with the needs of society".

In the present, post-neoliberal or developmental era as a result of austerity politics the collective lived spaces have coalesced with 'physical' public spheres. The notion of collective interest or physical public sphere as explained by Habermass is reduced to the local marginalized, who according to Partha Chatterjee is the 'Political society'(2004). They through Alliance (partnership), across geographical scales, mobilise and create a range of "alternative geographical imaginations" that are redefining the production of new spaces of political engagement (McFarlen, 2004). These 'spaces of political engagement' are the modern day's 'public sphere' where, the 'political society' engage to exercise their rights and powers,

either directly(appropriating vote bank politics or informal negotiations) or indirectly(through alliances formed by civic organisations) to counter austerity politics.

This updated outlook on the public sphere, which is also central to the present research, answers two major theoretical criticism posed by Nancy (1990)in the seminal work 'After Habermass'. she first criticises Habermass for not having accounted for the historical rationality and inclusivity of the public sphere. Secondly, how he failed to take into account the alternate public sphere. The virtual and real spaces where the political society is engaging to counter the un-accommodative behaviour of current mainstream politics are the most fascinating spaces that should mould the future urban landscape. The 'political society' counters the hegemonic forces of socio-spatial production of urban resources through 'occupancy urbanism' which Benjamin (2008) describes as their collective right to spatial claims by appropriating their citizenship rights. Additionally, these are the alternative public sphere of modern days that are directing the cities narrative beyond mainstream politics of programmes and policies.

The re-construction of space has very high staked for all parties involved- the corporates, government agencies, citizens and especially the marginalized migrants in the cities. How each group is likely to be affected by the re-construction of space also determined the vigour with which they participate or reject the process of re-construction. A glaring example of this is the gentrification projects that have met with opposition from marginalized communities (Harvey, 1973; Smith, 1996; Anjaria,2011) across the globe. Presently, increasing right-wing politics across the globe has witnessed a significant shrinking of minority space raising human rights concerns. How the minority population is dealing with such a crisis to weave their lives will reverberate as cultural practice for generations to come (Appadurai,2004). These people are being systematically marginalized not only from the political space but also from the social and economic space that they have enjoyed for years.

To understand the social, political and economic stake of each group in the transformation process we need to look into how their spatial conception, perception and practice are changing. Transformation of space from absolute, relative to relational is being steered by human action and practices (Banejee-Guha, 2011, Lefebvre,1991). Such transformations are changing the historic engagement of people with these spaces. Increasing tension over the use of space by individuals or groups, and their resistance to corporate-backed by State, is likely to determine the future direction of spatial reconstruction.

According to Lefebvre (1991), to understand the process of production of space we need to map the historic politics of spatiality's responsible for the social production of space. Here, a simple narration of the politics or history of space was inadequate to understand its functions (Elden.2007). Lefebvre, combined idealism (Hegel) and materialism (Marx) to enquire how the "mind being(be) seen as a reaction to matter". He brought the mental (people) and the

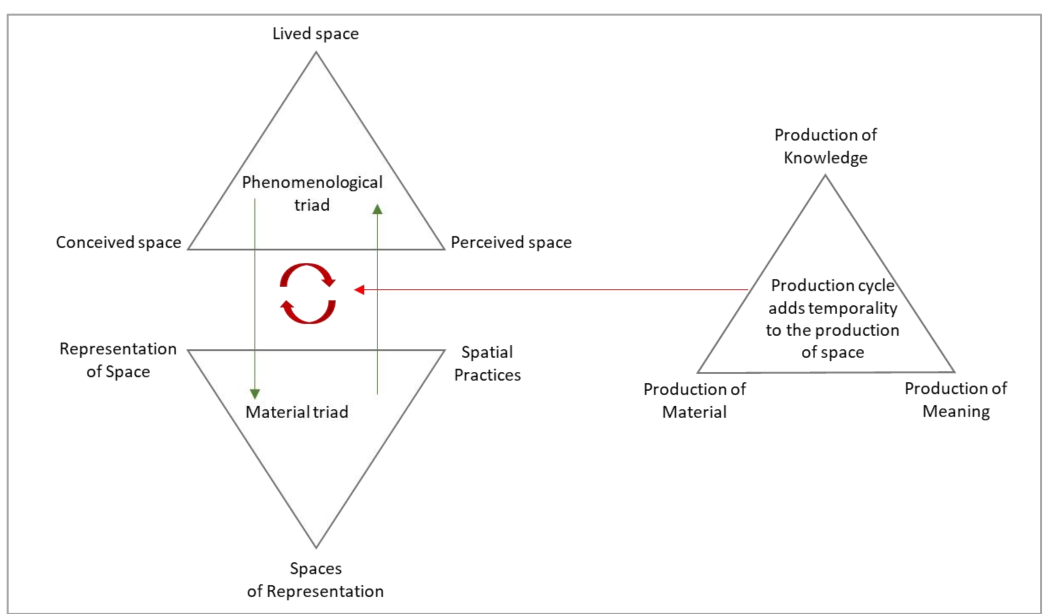
material (spatial order) together to look for historical spatial developments that highlight the role of structures on individuals' everyday life. Stuart Elden (2007) shows how everyday space and its location-social space- have been colonized by capital, which made it important to understand the production of social space in relation to the material space. Lefebvre (1991) shows how space is made political by an interaction of material, structure that is connected by its inhabitants' everyday spatial practices. He brings the material and the mental together to understand how spaces are constantly being produced, appropriated and reproduced. Therefore, it is the interaction between structure and agency (practices) that has the potential to disrupt existing spatial order and producing new ones (Giddens,1984). Lefebvre considered the dynamics of how hegemonic power relations established by state forces are appropriated and countered to claim 'The right to the city in his later work Writing on the cities.

This research draws heavily from Lefebvre's work and applies his theory on the Production of Space to capture the entire scope of the phenomenon of migration. Lefebvre applies a two-way analysis (two interacting triads) of the production of social space, one production of material space and the second, production of the experiential or phenomenological space (Goonewardena et.al., 2008; Lefebvre,1991; Tuan, 2014; Tiwari, 2010). The first triad consists of three components- 'representation of space', its material arranging and its physical location, 'spaces of representation' space as appropriated by its inhabitants to give new meanings and 'spatial practice' are network or trajectories connecting space that are of relevance to its inhabitants. The mutual interaction, compliance and contradiction between these three components give rise to the material, political and cultural space. Simultaneously, the 'phenomenological triad' encompasses- 'conceived space', the functional significance of space to individuals and groups, 'perceived space' is the embodied perception where the body and its senses are central and 'lived space' is the space shaped by the totality of all lived experience. Lefebvre's two triads are mutually inclusive and are narrating the production of the same space by using two different perspectives.

Lefebvre's production of space is temporal, it never ends and what might be thought of as an end is only another beginning (Schmid, in Goonewardena, 2008).), keeping it always open to change, always political. Space is continually being churned by 'production of knowledge', 'production of meaning' and 'material production', which are also the micro constructs of engagement. The interaction between space and time bring to light the historical context that shaped the present and also hints towards the future (Harvey, 1973). Here, 'production of knowledge is created by perception from space, which is bodily presence in space. Senses- visual, sound, taste and smell are then activated that transmits knowledge to the brain about objects. Translation of knowledge into meaning about what it might means to an individual lead to – 'production of meaning' and finally the relevance of meanings results in 'material production'. Material production is achieved by appropriating existing spatial norms to create

a new one. Material production is a manifestation of newer practices. These three together creates a culture of spatial practices, shaped by experiences of having lived through events and experiences in life. Lefebvre's Production of Space presents a methodological framework that can be used to advance the knowledge on how engagements with space can be researched by any discipline.

Figure 2.1 : Diagrammatic representation of Lefebvre's Production of Space



Source: Author

2.4 Engagement with space

The central theme of this study is engagement with space, with specific reference to migrants' engagement with space. The study draws on previous works on similar theme. This section delves further into the nuances of engagement from an individual perspective. It outlines previous inter-disciplinary works on how individuals inhabit, manoeuvre and socialise in space. By extending that understanding to migrants, the study explores how migrants engage with the present space (new environment) and how their past spatial knowledge and practices influence that engagement.

A review of the literature shows that space as a political subject has two sides to it: first, the material or the geographical. The historical arrangement of material and functions shaped by events that gave space its particular character. Second, the behavioural space, which is also the social space, is produced by human interaction and culture of the past and the present (Lefebvre,1991). Together these makes space a political subject. Piles (1996) notes that for

individuals, their geographical space is shaped by the ‘phenomenal environment’ whereas their mental space is shaped by the ‘behavioural environment’. According to Piles, the ‘phenomenal environment’ is the real or material world that is constantly being shaped by human action. Although ‘the phenomenal environment is an object of perception’ (Piles, 1996), what migrants choose to see is modified by their behavioural environment. The behavioural and phenomenal environment interface is laced by motives, preferences, modes of thinking and traditions drawn from migrants’ social and cultural context. Therefore, not only the present space, but also factors from the migrants’ past—such as motive to migrate, culture, traditions—influence their process of engagement.

In the 1980s, de Certeau touched upon engagement in his work, using the term ‘strategy and tactics’ to understand how people use their intelligence to tackle existing structures and engage with space. He writes about the interaction of strategy and tactics in producing urban experiences. Strategy is the city as planned by planners and architects producing imposed spatial forms and usage to space, which is also Piles’s (1996) phenomenal environment or the material space. This provides inhabitants with an immediate understanding of the city and its forms. Tactics, on the other hand, are alternative practices adopted by people in everyday life to overcome structural constraints in the build and form of the city. De Certeau viewed tactics as a manifestation of human agency in producing unimagined spaces, not thought of before.

In his book, *Social Justice and the City* (1973), David Harvey outlines the significance of personal dimensions in engagement. Harvey talks about engagement in a different language. He conjointly uses two imaginations—geographical and sociological—to outline individuals’ engagement with space. Geographical imagination enables individuals to understand the role of place and space in their own biographies. They use that knowledge to make decisions on transactions between individuals and organisations in spaces that differ from each other. Sociological imagination, on the other hand:

enable[s] its possessor to understand the larger historical scenes in terms of [their] meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals … The first fruit of this imagination … is the idea that the individual can understand his own experience and gauge his own fate only be locating himself within his period, that he can know his own chances in life only by becoming aware of those of all individuals in his circumstances … The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relation between the two in the society … Back of its use is always the urge to know the social and historical meaning of the individual in the society and in the period in which he has his quality and his being (Harvey, 1973).

Thus, Harvey adds personal dimensions, such as circumstances, biography, judgement, as important aspects of engagement. Harvey's two imaginations are interconnected; the sociological imagination is a diffused quality of geographical imagination. According to Harvey, this is how individuals experience, perceive and conceive the material environment reflected in their behavioural environment. Such diffusion establishes the connection between mental, material and social aspects of an individual's life.

This study reinforces its theoretical foundation of engagement by referring to Lefebvre (1991) work. In particular, the study extends the application of Lefebvre's two triads- material and phenomenological- on the social production of space to individuals' engagement with space. In Lefebvre's triad, the material is from an 'etic' or outsiders' perspective, whereas the phenomenological is from an 'emic' or insiders' perspective. The present study's approach is to focus on the emic perspective—the conceived, perceived and lived triad— and how it is infused by spatial meanings and knowledge from the material triad. It uses this understanding and projects it onto migrants to determine how their spatial conception, structure of experience and spatial practices are shaped.

Finally, Anthony Gidden, in his work entitled *Structuration Theory* (1984), also discusses engagement with space. However, he views engagement entirely from a practice perspective and through the structure–agency interaction. He argues that although human actions are a continuation of the past, in fresh actions, humans reproduce their existing structure (here, sociocultural aspects of the origin). They do this by partial modification to adapt to the present. Giddens proposes a practice theory to understand society and social change. He conceptualises structures not as a barrier to actions but as an essential dimension in its production and modification. Structuration, therefore, is the reproduction of new structures by actors through their activities. Critically, Gidden addresses the long-standing focus on structures over actors, as practised by classical theorists. Classical theorists created a subject–object duality which subordinated actors over structures. Giddens attempts to rectify it by focusing on human practices. However, his theory too is criticised for making little or no room from disembodied perceptions of the agent (McCall, 1992). This theoretical limitation is addressed in the present study by considering engagement from the phenomenological or embodied perspective of Lefebvre, Piles and Harvey.

Therefore, the present study situates engagement as the philosophy of using the migrant's mind and body to produce a conducive connection with the new environment. Such a connection is manifested through the migrant's thinking, experience and usage of space. The mind and body are not completely independent but work within a set of constraints and opportunities posed by structures. Engagement, therefore, consists of embodied– disembodied

perceptions and participation, material–virtual interactions and individual–collective consciousness and practices. These are produced by the migrants' presence in the new environment and their knowledge of the past. In the larger global context, engagement presents an 'analytical perspective … [to] bring subjectivity and the collective production of urban meaning to the fore in assessing wider urban change' (Robinson, 2016).

Figure 2.2: Diagrammatic representation of engagement with space

Theorist | Diagrammatic Representation | Perspective

Henri Lefebvre

Lived space
Phenomenological triad
Conceived space
Perceived space
Representation of Space
Spatial Practices
Material triad
Spaces of Representation
Production of Knowledge
Production cycle adds temporality to the production of space
Production of Material
Production of Meaning

Production of social space

Collective perspective

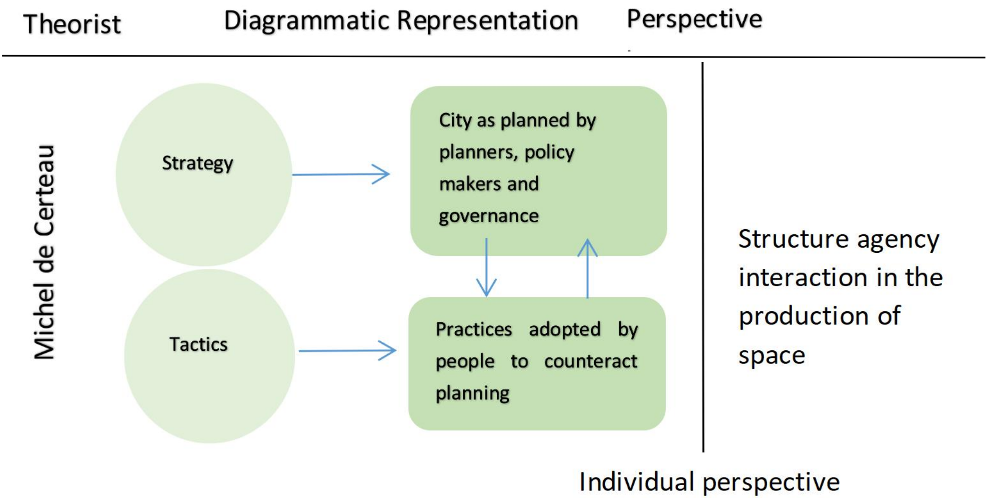
Steve Piles

Mental Space
Geographical Space
Behavioral Environment
Phenomenological Environment

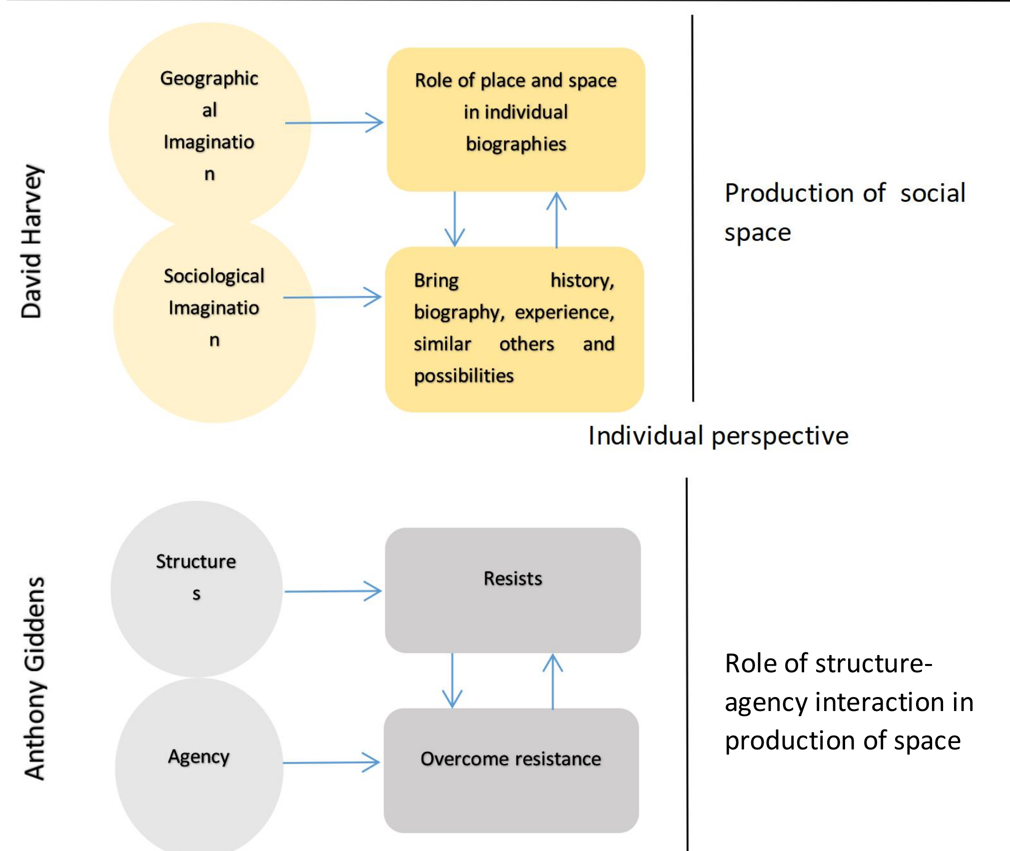
Production of individual space

Individual perspective

Cont…..

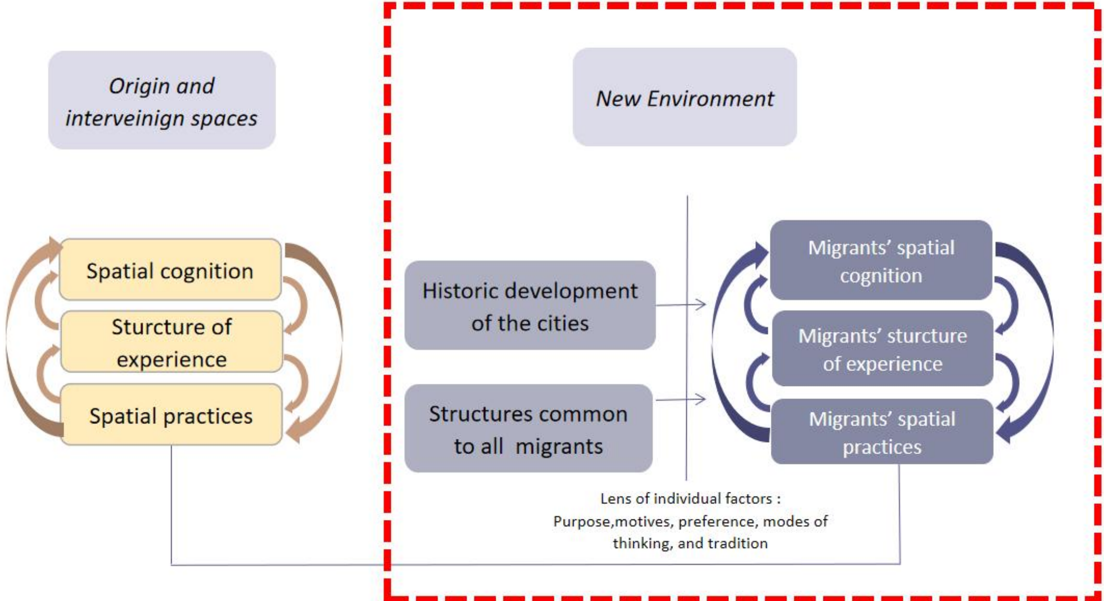


Theorist Diagrammatic Representation Perspective



Interactive perspective

Cont…….


Origin and interveinign spaces
New Environment
Spatial cognition
Sturcture of experience
Spatial practices
Historic development of the cities
Structures common to all migrants
Migrants' spatial cognition
Migrants' sturcture of experience
Migrants' spatial practices
Lens of individual factors :
Purpose,motives, preference, modes of thinking, and tradition
Structure-Agency interaction

2.5 Conclusion

The primary aim of this chapter was to situate this study in the literature on migration studies. It also indicated from where, in recent urban studies, this study takes its cue. Last, a historical review of the literature showed the role of migrants in the production of space. This forms the starting point of this study because it believes the present is a continuation of the past. Thus, the historic role of migrants and space in the discourse of politics of space sets the tone for this study.

The first section of the chapter reviewed the historical migration literature. Four primary tenets of migration literature were discussed and a gap in the literature was identified. The section spanned the developmentalist approach, historic structuralist approach, transnationalism and finally, the cultural approach. The position of the migrant and space were reviewed in each approach and the research situates itself at the intersection of the NELM an d cultural approach tenets.

The second section focused on the development of urban studies. It outlined the shift from a positivist to an interpretive approach, a top-down to bottom-up approach and a spatial turn since the 1990s, which has separated the Global North and South discourse. The section then discussed the more recent turn towards comparative urbanism post 2010 and situates the research within it.

The third section examined assimilating space, the migrant and the emergence of the politics of space, bringing together the discussion in the previous sections. Three world events—colonisation, industrialisation and neo-liberalisation–were examined to show how space and time is socially constructed and what has been the role of migration and migrant in it. By drawing from previous sections this section argues that space is a political subject and migrants and migrations have a significant role to play in it.

The concluding section of this chapter focused on theorising production of the political space, which is refereed to as engagement with space, from an existing body of inter-disciplinary literature. This section drew on an inter-disciplinarian theoretical work of Lefebvre, Piles, De Certeau, Harvey and Giddens to show that both individual and collective perspectives are important to understand engagement with space. It does that by introducing the concept of engagement. It outlined the behavioural and material dimensions to engagement and within it identifies how the role of individual, collective and an interactive approach between individual and collective plays a role in understanding engagement with space. This theoretical discussion reinforced the arguments made in the previous sections and presents a perspective of how migrants' engagement with space has been to be viewed in this research. It

echoes the need for an all-encompassing approach to understand migrants' engagement with space.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Philosophy

The previous chapter discusses the situation of the research within an existing body of migration and urban studies literature. It shows the research looks at migration as a cultural event and the migrant as a significant decision-making agent. Next, by critiquing the dominance of the Global North theories over the Global South, it highlights the need for different approaches that gives supremacy to none. Following which a rise of comparative research based on acknowledging contextual differences and their interconnections as outcomes of different 'urban experiences' in these two worlds was popularised. This the research argues is because space is universally a political subject shaped by past and present historic events. As the research proposes to understand the process of migrants' engagement with space it looks at engagement critically, in which the migrant uses his/her body, mind and actions to develop a relational engagement with the existing space and its structures in the new environment.

In doing that the methodology section presents the process undertaken to develop the research over time. It too, like the migrants' engagement with space was subjected to reflection and constant iteration, which finally gave the research the best possible perspective in unpacking the answers to the questions it puts forward. Out of the 'ways of seeing' (Berger, 2009) the world, the research views the reality and the world around it (Miller and Brewer, 2003) through invalidation of positivism over interpretivism. The present research focuses on data as an accumulation of human experience and emotions that have enabled us to re-imagine migration from a humanistic perspective (McHugh,2010; Tuan,2001; Castles,2010). By adopting a qualitative approach, central to the research is the human of human migration- the migrants and their lived experiences.

The Marxist perspective of an objective subject-object relationship became a point of contention in research in the 1960s, as it had little scope for human agency in construing the subject-object relationship (Massey,2005). This conundrum reflects in migration research, whose obsession with certain types of migration that are driven by market factors had little or no place to accommodate humanitarian factors like desire, ambition, circumstances and purpose (Taylor, 1990). Thus, a new paradigm of theories based on human agency, desire and will started to appear in social science research that drew the attention of migration researchers (Taylor, 1999). This body of literature was in line with the wider body of research attributed to 'Practice theory' from social scientists like Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Michel

Decerteau and others. Here, the relationship between subject and object is relational and reflexive (Giddens, 1984, De Cerrteau 1980) and thus, primacy is granted to none. In the same line, the thesis aims to explore the interaction between the migrants' agency and structures in producing the lived space as reflexive and relational by looking into both the practice and the phenomenological sides of migrants' engagement with space. It does so by enquiring about migrants lived experiences past, during and post-migration.

The research focuses on the deconstruction and reconstruction of spatial knowledge and meanings to migrants by virtue of migration and how that affects their engagement with space; how they produce their lived space in the city. To understand the phenomenon of migration through a lens of migrants' engagement with space, the research is based on two major assumptions. Firstly, it assumes migrant's lived experience, circumstances, and agency are key to their engagement with space (McHuge,2010; Harvey,2004; Collins,2011,2016; Mainwaring, 2016; Buhr,2007) and second, their lived experience, circumstances and agency are not solely their own making but are shaped by overarching structures like politics, governance,policies, culture and social factors that are constantly affecting their lives (Castle, 2010). The question the research aims to answer cannot be understood from one perspective but is construed through the interplay of the respondents' perspectives and the observations made during the course of the research.

The underlying hypothesis is- migrants' engagement with space is their own making but it does not operate in a void, but within an existing social structure-agency framework that affects their lives, choices and therefore their engagement with space. Here, engagement with space or production of their lived space (coming together of spatial cognition, experiences and spatial practices) is a manifestation of the migrant's limitation and possibilities in the new enthronement. Therefore, how the migrant is able to engage does not only speak about them but also the spaces they inhabit. Therefore, the research philosophy looks at engagement with space as an interaction between migrants' agency and structure interaction, operating within social systems and spatial contexts (Giddens,1984). The analysis is informed by the empirical domain, its temporal generative process, events, factors and how individual perception, conception and practice are temporal in nature (Lefebvre,1991; Piles,2013; DeCerteau,1988; Harvey, 1973). As the research argues about the relevance of contextual realities in drawing overarching similarities in the process of engagement the abstraction of empirics is limited to 'rational abstraction' (Sayer, 1992; Cox, 2013). The approach reduced the chances of limitless abstraction. The iterative process of abstraction has two characteristics. First, by showing the historic production of space in the two cities and second, through changing individual perception, conception and practices it shows the production of their lived space, that is everyday spaces of engagements.

The research philosophy, therefore, acknowledges engagement as an interaction between migrants agency as an outcome of their perception, conception and practices that are shaped by and shapes structural forces of the past and present. To understand it better the research next outlines its ontological and epistemological positions.

3.2 Ontology and Epistemological standpoint

Ontology in research is the answer to a simple question, what is reality, and how do we perceive reality? Alongside, epistemology deals with how to gather knowledge about reality? Together, they constitute the foundational approach to any research question and adheres to either a positivist approach that involves "counting and measuring" or an interpretive approach aimed to unpack the deeper meaning through reasoning and arguments.

The present research adopts 'social constructivism' and 'radical constructivism' as its ontological standpoints. Social constructivism focuses on reality as subjective and that, knowledge and reality are constructed through social interactions and associations. In the context of the present research, it represents the interaction between agency and structures. However, radical constructivism focuses on individual intelligence in knowledge construction. It considers understanding and acting as 'circular conjoined'. Adopting these two ontological standpoints also addressed the limitation of each individually. Social constructivism is criticised for ignoring the influence of sensory factors on behaviours and the decision-making process (Burkitt,2005). This drawback is taken care of by radical constructivism which accounts for individual intelligence, perception, experience as an outcome of an individual's sensory perceptions. Similarly, radical constructivism is criticised for ignoring social dynamics (Hardy, 1997), which the research takes care of by social constructivism.

The research is therefore situated at the intersection of Social and Radical Constructivism. Social and Radical Constructivism simultaneously takes care of the reality that actors' actions are not independent of structure and operates within a framework of structures, but the human agency has the power to counteract the impact of structures on their lives.

Epistemologically, the research takes an interpretive approach aimed to unpack the deeper meaning through reasoning and arguments. It explores its ontological stance by gathering qualitative data on lived experiences of its respondents and observation through an ethno-phenomenological methodology. The methodology focuses on the respondents, their settings and their lived experiences, present and past, to build a discourse on their inter-relationships.

3.3 Methodology

By drawing from its ontological and epistemological position the research follows an ethno-phenomenological design in approach, data collection methods and interpretation. Ethnography depends on the collective experience of a group of people sharing a common culture (Cresswell, 2013) and Phenomenology focuses more on the individual, or shared experiences to describe its underlying essence (Cressewll, 2013). Ethno-phenomenology combines these two approaches, which allows examining both, respondents' individual, shared and collective experiences and practices.

3.3.1 Ethno-phenomenology

The data collection process of ethno-phenomenology focus on interviews with individual respondents as part of understanding their experiences, life stories and observing them in their natural settings. Interviews, document analysis were also a part of the study. Ethnography has been criticised for its overemphasis on space and negligence of individual's life histories (Hart,2006). This drawback has been taken care of by Phenomenology that focuses on respondents experiences over time. A semi-structured questionnaire starting with "Could you please tell me your life story" has taken care of this criticism.

Additionally, ethnography is also criticised for its over-emphasis on location and space and little emphasis on time. Roy (2012), by following Appadurai's work(2004) has suggested 'ethnography of circulation' as a solution to tackle this issue. Ethnography of circulation rejects presupposed assumptions by defamiliarizing the familiar in ways things happen (Holston, 2008). Ethnography of circulation goes beyond locations and space to explore networks of circulation in constructing object-subject knowledge. The present research views the migrant as an embodiment of experience and knowledge gathered from multiple territories and spaces. Thus the subject, the migrant, even though is physically situated in the destination, determines their actions based on knowledge gathered from past and intervening spatial experiences. This makes 'ethnography of circulation' essential for mapping the interaction between structure and agent in different spatial contexts and across time.

The research has also extensively used the observation method, central to ethnography, to map practices. Additionally, other than practices the abstract dimension of engagement like consciousness, conception, embodied perception that propels practices, were accounted for by Phenomenology.

Phenomenology as an approach and methodology has evolved through its criticism. Phenomenology had its inception from the work of Edmund Husserl on 'pure consciousness'. In which Husserl argues human beings understand the world only through their experience as it is mediated through their senses and is interpreted by the mind as consciousness (Miller and Brewer,2003). Husserl was thus interested in understanding the nature of consciousness. His work was criticized for focussing too much on 'Pure consciousness' in which one leaves behind the practical world. By drawing from his work, Husserl's disciple Alfred Schitz produced a more nuanced 'practical consciousness'. Unlike Husserl's 'pure consciousness', 'practical consciousness' is rooted in the realities of the practical world within which one operates. Through 'practical consciousness' Schutz introduced a 'dual vision' by combining Husserl's phenomenology and Weber's sociology. It emphasises individual subjectivity to develop an objective social science (Miller and Brewer,2003). Schutz focuses on what was neglected by Husserl, an individual's common-sense knowledge. He notes, "Since this life world is shared…. we assume others share our understanding and social meanings as we develop evidences of them acting and believing in the way we expect". This according to Schutz is 'standardised sameness' and as per some ethno-methodologists it is people's sense of social structures. Therefore, from primarily focusing on the individual by Husserl, Schutz's shifted to focus more on general features rather than individuals. Following Schutz work, the present research collected data on the 'practical consciousness' of individuals by studying their lived experiences in multiple spaces over time. This makes Schutz's phenomenology an integral part of this research.

Engagement in the present research is situated at the intersection of the mental and the physical realm of the migrant. To explore the mental realm the research uses Phenomenology and for the physical realm (practices) Ethnography. Primary to ethnography is observation, which was extensively used to collect data. Additionally, to understand the respondents in their cultural setting Visual methods as videography and photography were also used. Primary to Phenomenology is unstructured interviews tapping respondents lived experiences and life histories which were adopted in designing the unstructured questionnaire for this research.

As an extension of the literature review already presented, this research views engagement with space critically. That is because the subjects, the forced subaltern migrants in Kolkata and refugees and asylum seekers in Perth, and the object engagement with space, are both political in nature. Hart (2006) notes, "Precisely what is so important about critical conceptions of spatiality is their insistent focus on relational understandings of the production of space and scale, and the inseparability of meaning and practice. In so doing, they provide a means for grappling with the divergent but increasingly interconnected trajectories of socio-spatial change that are actively constitutive of processes of 'globalisation'".

3.3.2 Experimental Comparative Methodology

The research draws on the concept of 'comparative urbanism' that aims to develop knowledge-based on generalisation at two levels- "what is true of all cities and what is true of one city at a given point in time (Nijman, 2007). The research question demands a comparative methodological framework to compare the production of the lived spaces by forced migrants in the two selected cities, Kolkata and Perth. It thus adopts the experimental comparative methodology used by Lancione and McFarlane (2016) that takes different instances from different contexts, analyse them and then generates interconnected trajectories to complete the comparison.

Jenifer Robinson's book Ordinary cities published in 2006 made comparative studies across disciplines popular. The use of comparative methods in knowledge building is common in migration studies. The journal of Comparative Migration Studies specifically focuses on interdisciplinary works based on comparative analysis on migrant integration, race and ethnicity. Otherwise, research within the realm of urban studies and migration have adopted comparative approaches by comparing cities such as Liverpool and Kuala Lumpur (Bunnell, 2007), or Kinshasa and Paris (MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga, 2000) or, Rome and Dakar (Sinatti, 2009).

Robinson (2011) notes these studies have made the city "become sites for exploring and comparing migrant experiences, the forging of local and national identities, the impact of migration on the built environment, the place of informality in economic circuits—and, in fact, the myriad connections that tie the histories and fortunes of different cities together." There is stress from researchers to focus on 'Urban experience' between cities as a common theme for comparative studies. Robinson notes (2016) "many different contexts and diverse urban experiences will be routinely considered crucial resources in the formulation of generalized statements and analytical conceptualisations of the contemporary urban experience." Assumptions on the 'Incommensurability' of cities situated in different spectrum of modernity and development is one fundamental reason impeding comparative studies (Robinson, 2010). Basing her argument to broaden the ambit of comparative research by countering assumptions about 'incommensurability of urban experiences' as 'fundamentally misguiding', Robinson shows that a number of prominent scholars support widening the ambit of urban theorisation through comparative studies (Davis, 2005; Roy, 2005; McFarlane, 2006; Nijman, 2007; Harris, 2008; Ward, 2008).

Following Pickvance (1986), she then presents four strategies for comparative studies. These are Individualisation, Universalisation, Encompassing and Variation-finding. In individualisation, the researcher aims to focus on one case study and expand that thesis to other cities. In universalisation almost, similar cities are selected and a universal theory is developed to explain them. Encompassing as conceptualised by Tilly (1984), is which different cities are assumed to be part of an overarching systemic process like capitalism or globalisation. Lastly, Variation-finding seeks universal laws that can be applied to any city and are primarily quantitative in nature.

Out of these four strategies, the research adopts the third strategy that is encompassing. Here, the two cases are a part of the intertwined structural systems of capitalism, globalisation and migration that have made space and the migrant both political subjects. Therefore, under this overarching structural system, the lived experience of forced migrants in Kolkata and Perth are compared to explore their manifestation on migrants' production of the lived space in the two cities. The encompassing method is useful for the research because firstly, the two cities represent different types of migration politics, in Kolkata it is more informal in nature without formal migration policies at place. Perth on the other hand has structured migration policies and spatial control. Secondly, the type of forced migrants selected for the research are contextually the most relevant representation of forced migrants in the two cities. Thirdly, encompassing allows the research to analyse these two cases together by accounting for their contextual differences and showing how despite these there exists overarching similarities in migrants' engagement with space in the two cities. Finally, the comparison is experimental in nature (Lancione and McFarlane,2016) because it compares different urban experiences generated from different contexts, it focuses on migrants embodied and disembodied perceptions of those experiences and finally, it looks for interconnections between the sets of differences.

3.3.3 Selection of Kolkata and Perth

The historical development of the two cities Kolkata and Perth have a common inception point that is colonisation. The development trajectory that followed was dominated by migration in both cities. Kolkata witnessed uncontrolled migration; In Perth, the process was controlled by implementing discriminatory policies that allowed only white immigrants. Waves of migrants during the British era and post that have come to Kolkata from its surrounding rural area and economically deprived states, alongside political reasons like the independence of India (1947) and independence of Bangladesh (1971) from erstwhile West Pakistan. Internal migrants from other states, and from rural areas, political refugees from Bangladesh coupled with the most

recent climate migrant have and are shaping the urban fabric of today's Kolkata. Similarly, post abolition of the discriminatory White Policy, Australia began to take Asian and Middle Eastern migrants, Federal settlement policies have directed them to the state of Western Australia of which Perth is the capital. The mining boom in and around Perth was significant for labour and capital migration. Recently (post-1990s), Perth has become an important centre for humanitarian migrants and boat arrivals seeking asylum from political persecution in their native countries. Thus, migration and its associated developments are an integral part of the development trajectory of the two cities. Additionally, forced migrants constitute an important cohort of migrants alongside voluntary migrants in both cities. Therefore, by using Tilly's theory on strategies of comparisons, the research situates both Kolkata and Perth in the 'Encompassing' category that focuses on comparing different cities considered to be part of an overarching systemic process like capitalism or globalisation. The research argues, both the post-colonial cities are heavily influenced by the politics of capitalism (in Kolkata post liberalisation in the 1990s), globalisation and a resultant politics of space that has developed and is presently shaping its future trajectory. The above-mentioned points argue the validity of selecting Perth and Kolkata for the study.

Additionally, the selection of Kolkata and Perth happened through the course of development of the present research over time. Initially, the study was based in Kolkata, but having obtained the Dual Doctorate Degree opportunity with Curtin University presented me with an opportunity to explore and extend the scope of the study to a Commonwealth nation like Australia, which has very structured policies for the inclusion of migrants. This expansion in scope gave the research the impetus to bring in a more meaningful comparative analysis in diverse contexts.

3.3.4 Situating the research in the field

Following the arguments for selecting the two cities, the present section outlined in detail the situation of the research in the field in Kolkata and Perth.

3.3.4.1 Kolkata

The literature review chapter has already argued that both, space and forced migration are viewed as political subjects in the present research. A further review of recent literature highlights the emphasis by researchers to focus on the urban peripheries of Indian cities (Roy, 2008; 2009; Graham and Marvin,2001; Benjamin,2008; Chakrabarti et.al, 2021). Following their cue in addition to a global rise in research concerning the peripheries of developing countries have motivated situating the present research at the urban periphery of Kolkata. The

location of migrants in the development trajectory of Kolkata shows a shift from the core to its periphery which has been explained in detail in chapter four.

At the initial stage of discussion with some members of the Mahanirman Kolkata Research Group, PhD researchers working in Kolkata affiliated to Calcutta University and the National University of Singapore, and academicians and activists in Kolkata were taken up. Their activists are from organisations like the Majdur Krinti Parishad, APDR and Nagarik Macha. Their meetings were regularly attended to critically understand the migrant issues in and around Kolkata. With their support, a cohort of migrants who came to Kolkata in the last twenty-five years were identified in four formats- living in squatters, rented shared accommodation, re-settlement colony and those owning their own house were identified to account for the diversity of engagements. Also, at this stage, the type of forced migrants relevant for Kolkata was identified through literature and discussion with the above-mentioned sources, and these are- inter-state migrants, rural to urban migrants and illegal Bangladeshi migrants seeking refuge.

Next, the task was to identify migrants in the field. For this, Ananya Roy's book City Requiem, Calcutta was taken as a key reference for this research as a starting point to locate them in the field. Roy situates her study in Jamunanagar, a peripheral location in the north-eastern part of Kolkata. Comparing Roy's picture of Jamunanagar and the present Jamunanagar informs us about the rapidity with which the periphery of Kolkata is changing and reinforce the argument of situating the research at the periphery of Kolkata. By assimilating all this information and further following the development trajectory of Kolkata, the research adopted the following points to situate the study in the field.

A) Following Partha Chatterjee's (2004) 'The Politics of the Governed' and its discussion on the subaltern migrants living on railway tracks and along canals, the research tried to trace back the migrants who settled in these squatters and were evicted in early 2000. Close to a decade later, some of them were resettled in the Nonadanga re-settlement colony but many others by that then had made provisions on their own by moving further south -east to the Sonarpur area. They continue to come to Kolkata for work by train from Sonarpur. They constitute the oldest cohort of the research. Their experience of migrating to Kolkata, living in the squatters, being evicted with a promise of re-settlement and finding their way in the city make them relevant to the research. I have interviewed two of them in Soanrpur. Their urban experience of eviction and re-settlement makes them valid respondents for my study.

B) Next, moving north from Sonarpur and along the south-north periphery of Kolkata, the next stop was Nonandanda. Presently, Nonadanga is close to Jamunanagar, where Roy's situated her study but, developed much later in time than Jamunanagar. Nonadanda is important for migrants and migration in Kolkata for two reasons. First, the Nonadanga re-settlement colony

was an important venture to re-settle evicted migrants from squatters of Kolkata and second, the China Mandir ground as an extension of the re-settlement colony became a hotbed for migrants from across Kolkata. Thus, in the latter part of 2000, a swarm of haphazardly arranged squatter emerged in the open ground. 2012 onwards climate change migrants added to the number of settlers in the ground, drawing political attention. In 2012 a massive eviction drive by KMC, hand in gloves with the State government, cleared the ground. After months of protests, the evictees were re-settled by KMC in make-shift units named Majdur Palli. They were provided occupancy rights in the city. A total of four respondents from Majdur Palli were identified and interviewed for the research. Historically, these respondents have lived in different parts of Kolkata before coming to Nonadanga. For settling in Nonadanga, they paid security money to the local political player to secure occupancy. Their interaction with state agencies, the general public, activists during the Nonadanga movement makes them relevant respondents for the research.

C) Alongside Majdur Palli exists Sabuj Palli in Nonadanga were evictees from squatters in SaltLake, a posh neighbourhood located further north of Nonadanga and in the north-eastern corner of Kolkata. A city beautification drive in around late 2000 rendered them homeless, following which they came to Nonadanga. They re-settled themself in Sabij Palli Nonadanga. Unlike the resettled evictees in Majdue Palli, there was only threats and no actual eviction in Sabuj Palli. However, the Sabuj Palli residents joined hands with others in the Nonadanga movement. They continue to live in the same way they did when they first came to Nonadanga. They have faced the wrath of neighbours who disapproved of their unsophisticated ways of living and from police who troubled them for their illegitimate appropriation of urban land. Their experience of participating in the Nonadanga movement added another layer to their urban experience in the city. However, these people continue to live under inhuman living conditions. Three residents of Sabuj Palli were interviews for this research.

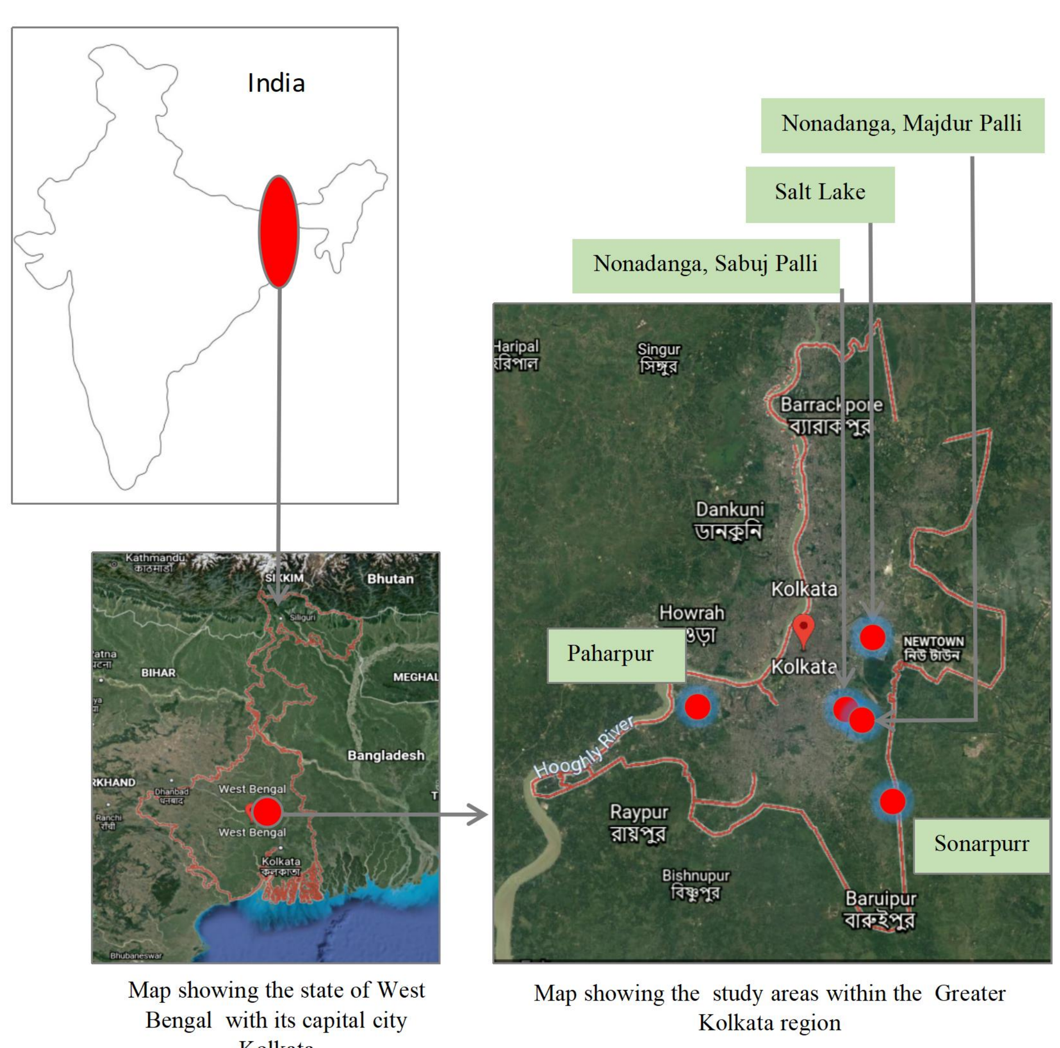
D) Following the cue of the inhabitants of Sabuj Palli, the next stop was Salt Lake, located in the northeastern corner of the city. Originally a planned city, Salt Lake was designed to house wealthy post-partition refugees from Bangladesh. Many Calcuttans from different parts of the city also brought house here. Presently, Salt Lake is a posh location to live. Within the planned city of Salt Lake are numerous pockets of land where illegal Bangladeshi migrants and migrants from the adjoining rural areas of the north live. One such Bangladeshi migrant cohort was identified. The help of a fellow researched working on a similar topic was taken for this purpose. These migrants are cramped in a small plot of land and live in the most inhabitable condition in the city. Two respondents were identified from Salt Lake for this research.

E) Other than living in the squatter format migrants living in their workplace, rented low-cost units or shared accommodation were also interviewed. These migrants are located at Garden

Reach in the south-western corner of the city. Two respondents, one living and working in an ironing shop and the other in a rented unit were interviewed.

Other than these fifteen in-depth interviews myriad other migrants in these settings were spoken to and observed to inform the data collection process. Their contribution to this research remains valuable.

Figure 3.1: Maps showing the spatial location of respondents in Kolkata

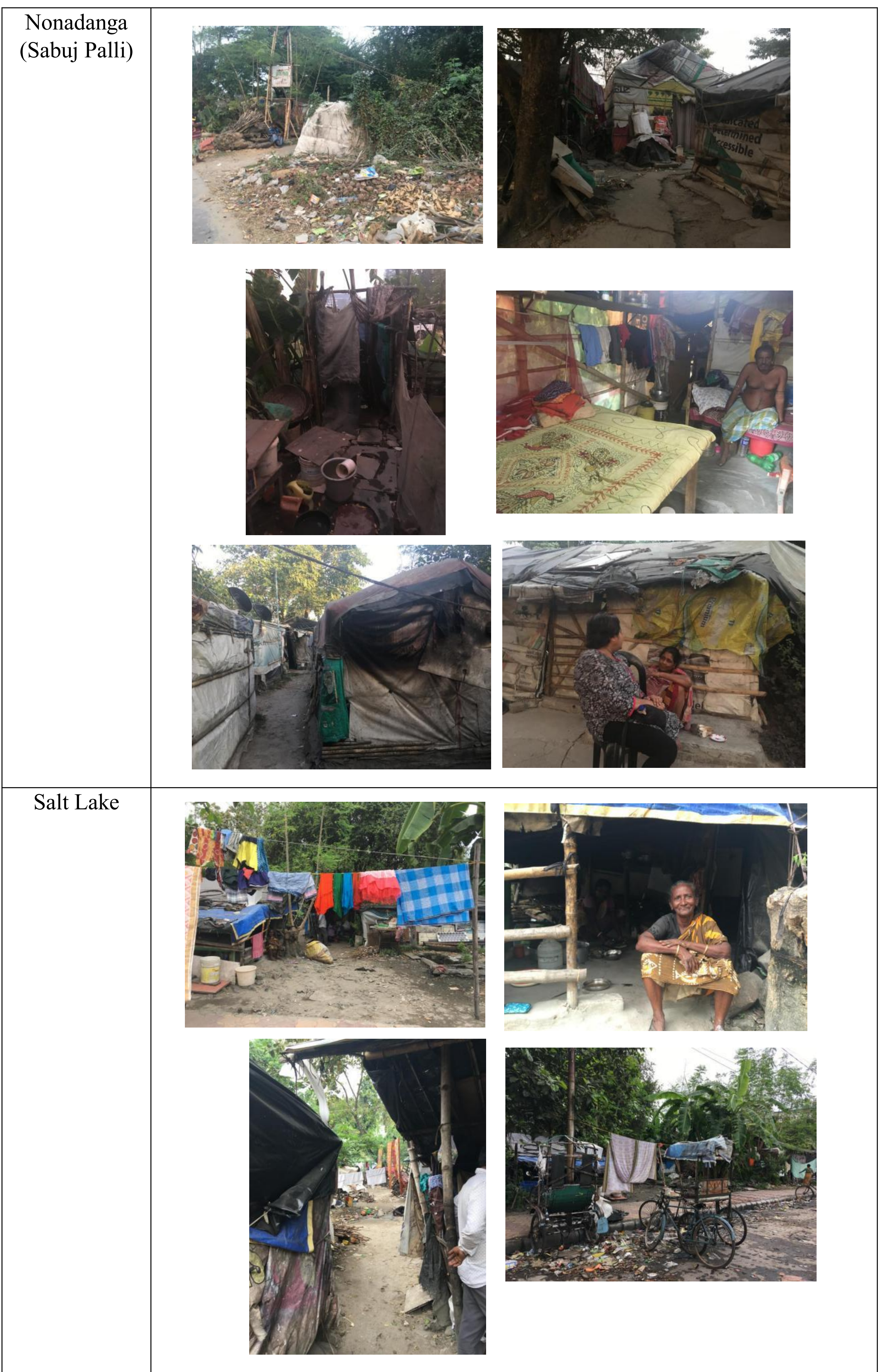


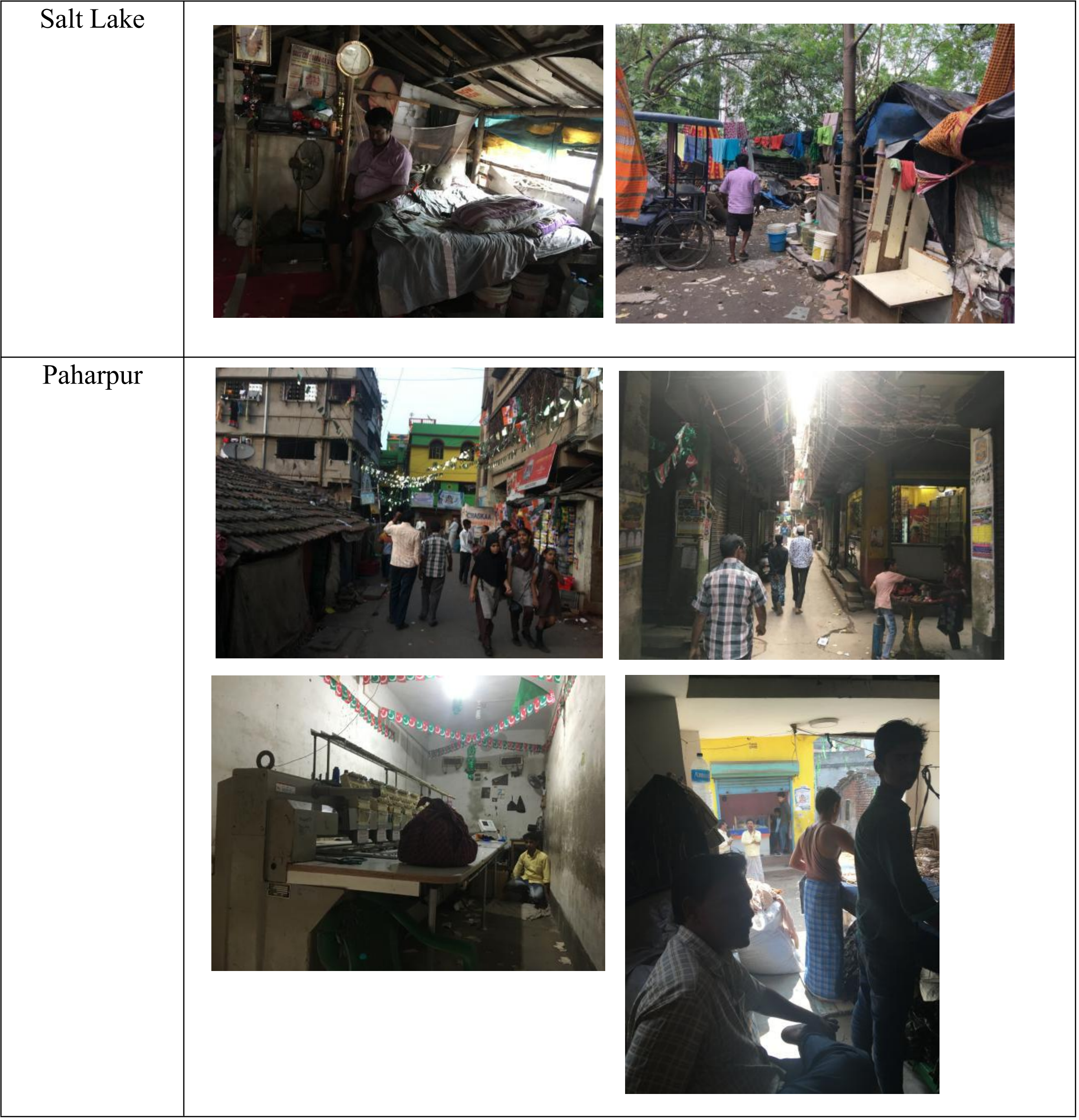
Map showing the state of West Bengal with its capital city Kolkata

Map showing the study areas within the Greater Kolkata region

Figure 3.2: Showing images from the identified clusters in Kolkata

Location	***Images***
Sonarpur	
Nonadanga (Majdur Palli)	

Nonadanga (Sabuj Palli)	
Salt Lake	

Salt Lake	
Paharpur	

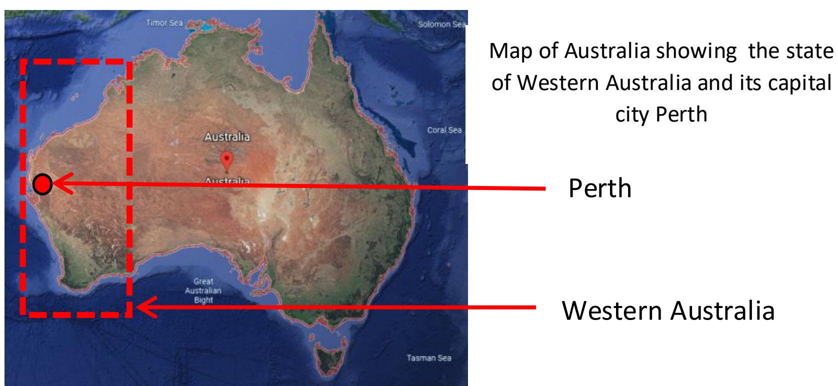
3.3.4.2 Perth

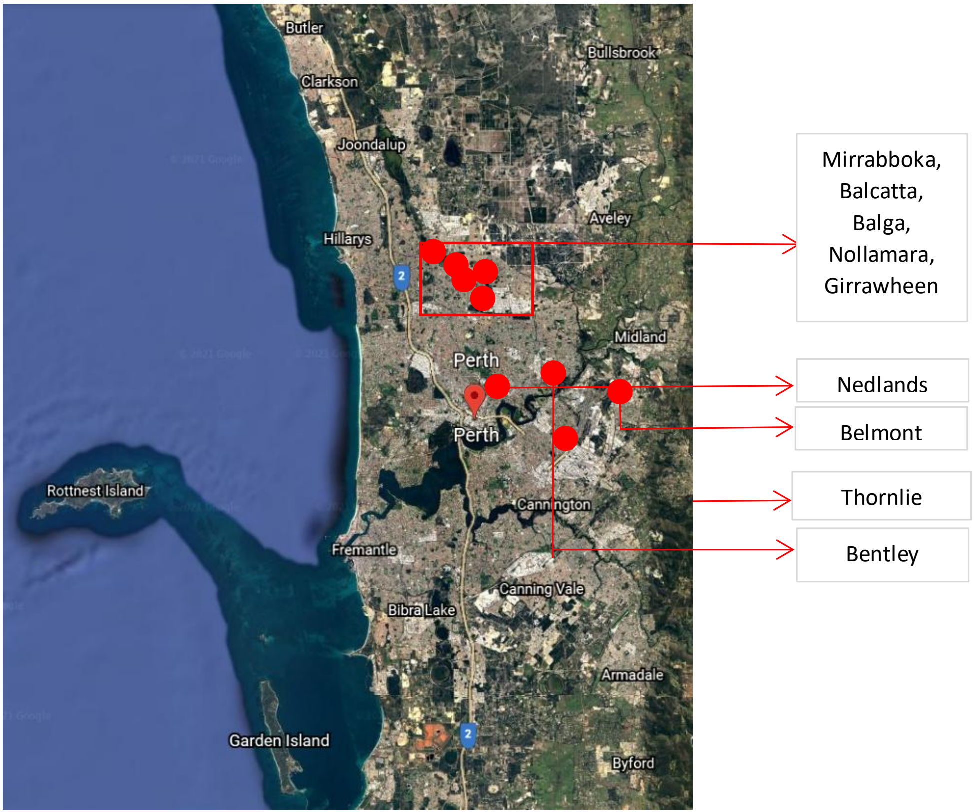
Compared to Kolkata, a different approach was adopted for the research in Perth. This is because of the following reasons. First, in Perth a lack of walk-in setups like squatters or slums, like Kolkata, in which one can directly walk in and start a conversation with the inhabitants is absent. Forced migrants in Perth are spread across suburbs. Some prominent migrant suburbs are the northern suburbs of Mirrabooka, Nollamara, Balga etc. Second, many migrants are comfortable speaking their native language and not English in Perth. Therefore, approaching them directly was difficult. Third, unlike the culture of Kolkata, in Perth, people liked to keep to themselves and does not entertain speaking to strangers. To tackle these issues in the field and identify respondents in Perth, the following approach was adopted.

Firstly, the Type of forced migrants in Perth was identified from documents and published reports. These are humanitarian refugees and asylum seekers coming through UNHCR channels, boat arrivals who were asylum seekers in Perth. The diversity of urban experience was impacted by first, on ways migrants enter Australia and second, on the diversity of their current status in Perth like Citizen, Permanent Resident constituting refugees and asylum seekers on temporary visas, their spatial spread in the suburbs, cultural backgrounds and living alone (have dependents back in the origin country) or with family in Perth.

Initially, talking to researchers in Curtin University who have been living and working in Perth throughout their lives helped. Additionally, information from some prominent reports on Refugees and asylum seekers in Western Australia were collected. From them, Mirrabooka located in the north of Perth city appeared as a dominant suburb housing migrant in Perth. Following which a visit to the Mirrabooka library and multi-cultural centre was conducted. A couple of meetings with Samira, who heads the multi-cultural centre, provided the necessary connection to present the research idea to organisations like CARAD, AsSETTS, working for the migrant welfare in Perth. After repeated meetings with members of these organisations and with their support a list of forced migrants who showed a willingness to participate was collated. Next, some of them who were still interested after listening to the research details were contacted and interviews were conducted. A snowball method was also used to recruit other respondents. Multiple social gatherings were attended, contacts were made and other respondents were recruited. Twice a week, every Tuesday and Friday, for a duration of three months the AssETTS men group and Ishar women group meetings were attended for participant observation, to observe the participants and other migrants in their natural settings. These group meetings constituted of Bar-B-Q, English classes and different other activity classes.

Figure 3.3 :Maps showing the spatial location of respondents in Perth





Map showing the greater Perth area and selected suburbs for the study

Source: Google Earth

Figure 3.4: Showing field work images from Perth

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Images from the men’s group outdoor and indoor activities</td></tr>
<tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr>
<tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Images from interview with respondents</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"> </td></tr>
</table>

3.4 Data collection techniques

3.4.1 Field visit details

Table 3.1: Showing field visit information

Stage	Objective	Activities
Kolkata		
Stage I	Pilot fieldwork	Site identification, identification of gatekeepers, Pilot fieldwork and formulation of research questions
Stage II	Fieldwork	Finalising Research questions, finalising sites. Conducting in-depth interviews, observation, photography and collection of secondary materials.
Stage III	Verification	Discussing findings with respondents, visiting sited and re-interviewing one from each site to check changes in their situation.
Perth		
Stage I	Pilot Fieldwork	Readjusting Research question to make the study comparative. Developing networks in the field. Conducting two interviews with respondents
Stage II	Fieldwork	Conducting in-depth interviews, observation, photography and collection of secondary materials.
Stage II	Verification	One re-interview to account for the impact of Covid-19 and any other changes in the field.

3.4.2 Participant observation and semi-structured interview

The key to ethno-phenomenology research is observation and in-depth interviews. Marshall and Rossman (1989) define observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study". The research focuses on all three- events, behaviours and artifacts. It also uses a method called 'written photography' that uses the five senses to record information(Kawulich, 2005). This was done after every meeting with respondents in both cities. Kawulich (2005) further notes Bernerd (1994) "defines participant observation as the process of establishing rapport within a community and learning to act in such a way as to blend into the community so that its members will act naturally, then removing oneself from the setting or community to immerse oneself in the data to understand what is going on and be able to write about it." While losing objectivity has been a major criticism of the observation method, Shah (2017) notes it can be overcome by maintaining a dialectical relation of attachment and dis-attachment by the researcher. Participant observation according to Stocking (1983, as cited in DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011) can be divided into three parts- participation, observation and interrogation. Interrogation here is key to maintain the objectivity of the position of the researcher. All three were followed in the case of Kolkata and Perth.

The research conducted participant observation in the following locations: at respondents private spaces in their homes, and social spaces. In Kolkata, respondents were observed in their huts and within the squatters, individually and with their families; in Perth, they were observed in their homes, in a social gathering, during women groups held every Friday in Mirrabooka and during men group conducted by AsSETTS every Tuesday. There were observed at work in Kolkata and during English learning classes, activity classes within and outside the comfort in their ethnic groups in Perth. Informal engagements like going out for lunch or having lunch with respondents at their home, casual meetings for coffee in Perth and surprise visits to respondents in Kolkata were also held. These interactions have helped me build the relationship and a trust-building exercise with the respondents. These interactions have provided the research with information beyond formal research engagements that have immensely helped in developing the research findings. Constant documentation of the field and everyday field notes were maintained to retains initial observations. Observations were cross-checked with responses and were checked with experts whenever required.

The questionnaire for the semi-structured interview was divided into three spatio-temporal themes: origin, in-transit and destination that was were further classified into the home, surrounding and the city. The questionnaire began with a general question- tell me your story- for all respondents in Kolkata and Perth. Even though the semi-structured interview had some

predetermined questions, it was conducted in a manner flexible enough to go with the subjectivity of opinion of the respondent. This flexibility in the interviews methods helped the researchers determine similar experiences of migrants either in similar or dissimilar situations in everyday life. An interview is a key to phenomenological study in which responses were structured into themes.

In Kolkata and Perth, a total of thirty in-depth interviews were conducted. Other than that, many others were casually interviewed to determine their suitability in the final in-depth interview. The interviews range in duration from the highest 5 five hours approximately with a short lunch break in Perth to one and half hours in Kolkata. In some cases, the interview was split over two to three days to suit the convenience of the respondents. For the personal safety of the interviewer, the interviews in Kolkata were conducted in a community space. In Perth, interviews were conducted in homes (especially with women respondents and with some male respondents), community spaces in Assets or Mirrabooka Multi-cultural centre. The research design that required multiple visits to respondents in both cities were conducted. The composition of respondents is given below for the two cities.

Table 3.2 : Semi-structured in-depth interview details in Kolkata[3]

Present Location and pseudonyms used in the research	***Years of migration***	***Relationship with source***	***Type of migrant***	***Spatial trajectory in Kolkata. Have previously lived in the city before moving to the present location***	***Composition***	***Present status***
Sonarpur; (2 respondents)	30 - 25 years	No contact with source	Rural-Urban economic migrants	Yes, evictees of canal and railway track side squatters. Received re-settlement units which they sold off to buy cheap land in Sonarpur.	Age- 55 and 63. Some of the oldest migrants in the cohort of respondents (lives in modest self-own house) (Works as domestic help, head mason at construction site)	Legal citizens of Kolkata
Nonadanga; (6 respondents)	15-10 years	Have intermittent contact with origin	Rural-Urban economic migrants	Yes, from different parts of Kolkata lived	Age- 26,33, 38.47,52, 62 (lives in the re-settlement	Made legal citizens, after Nonadanga Movement.

[3] A detail of each respondent is presented in the Annexation

			and climate change migrants	in rented units.Evicted because unable to pay rent; informal squatter settlers from other parts of Kolkata. They to were evicted. No, climate change migrant from South 24-PArgana district of West Bengal	colony, Majdur Palli and the squatter of Sabuj Palli) (works as domestic help, unemployed and wife works, as scavengers, security guard, construction worker)	Chances of being evicted and re-settled in the future exists
Salt Lake; (5 respondents)	15-8 years	Regular contact with origin. Provides for the family at the origin	Illegal Bangladeshi refugees	Yes, from Greater Kolkata region. Worked at other places in Kolkata. Previously, part of the floating population and then settled in Kolkata	Age-29, 33,37, 42,45 all lives in the squatter(Works in informal sector- rickshaw puller, shopkeeper, domestic help, mobile vegetable vendor)	Illegal Bangladeshi migrants
Paharpur; (2 respondents)	2-5 years	Returns to the origin when work dries up at the destination	Intra-state migrants	No, directly from other states to West Bengal	Age- 16 (works and live in the same shop); Age- 45 (Rented room in a shared house)	Legal citizens of other states

Table 3.4: Semi-Structured, in-depth interview details in Perth4

Name, age and suburb in Australia	*Country of origin*	*Type of migrant/ reason of migration*	*Spatial trajectory*	*Came with*	*Present status*	*Comment*
Bashir,38 years, male living in Thornlie	Iraq	Boat arrival	From Iraq to Iran to Malaysia to Indonesia to Australia	Family, mother, two brothers. Father was already in Perth	Permanent resident	Differently abled
Masum, 45 years, female living in Belmont	Iraq	Boat arrival	Iraq to Turkey to Indonesia to Australia by boat.	Family, husband and herself	Citizen	Muslim, but husbands family had communist links which got them killed during Saddam Hussein's reign.
Rehana, 50 years, female living Girrawheen	Iran	Humanitarian refugees	Iran to Turkey to Australia	Family, husband and two kids	Citizen	Bahá'í, a religious minority in Iran
Aleah, 52 years, female living in Beechboro	Iran	Humanitarian refugees	Iran to Turkey to Australia	Family, husband and mother-in-law	Citizen	Bahá'í, a religious minority in Iran
Rezza, 65 years male living in Gosnells	Afghanistan	Boat arrival	Afghanistan to Iran to Pakistan to Australia via Malaysia and Indonesia.	Alone	Protection visa	From Hazara community, a target of the Taliban
Saddam, , 72 years, male living in Belmont	Iraq	Boat arrival	Iraq to Greece (stayed there for close to three decades) moved back to Iraq and from there	Family, with wife	Citizen	Muslim from Iraq. His brothers were brutally killed by Saddam Hussain and he was send to Greece by

[4] A detail of each respondent is presented in the Annexation

			came to Australia			his family.
Janangir, 35 years, male living Nedlands	Afghanistan	Boat arrival	Afghanistan to Iran, worked there for some time. Returned to Afghanistan and from there migrated with family to Pakistan. Family stayed back in Pakistan he came to Australia via Malaysia and Indonesia.	Alone	Protection visa	Was inclined to Christianity and converted after coming to Perth
Sayeid, 53 years, male living in Bentley	Iran	Humanitarian refugees	Iran to Turkey to Australia	Family, elder son was already in Perth. He came with wife and other two kids.	Permanent Resident (PR)	Bahá'í, a religious minority in Iran
Jeh, 27 years, male living in East Victoria Park	Iran	Humanitarian refugees	Iran to Turkey to Australia	Came alone from Iran to Turkey to Australia. Family came later. Parents and two brothers	Spouse visa	Bahá'í, a religious minority in Iran
Pari, 24 years, female living in Nollamara	Afghanistan	Husbands came on work Visa	Afghanistan to Australia	Family, with husband	Permanent Resident (PR)	Husband was working with Red Cross in Australia.
Sania, 26 years, female living in Balga	Afghanistan	Husbands came on work Visa	Afghanistan to Australia	Family, with husband	Permanent Resident (PR)	Husband was working with Red Cross in Australia.
Sayna, 29 years, female living in	Afghanistan	Boat Arrival	Afghanistan to Pakistan to Malaysia to	Family, with husband	Protection Visa	From Hazara community, a target of

Balcatta			Australia			the Taliban
Meher, 22 years, female living in Mirrabooka	Afghanistan	Husbands came on work Visa	Afghanistan to Australia	Family, with husband	Spouse visa	Husband was working with Red Cross in Australia.
Zahid, 42 years, male living in Swanbourne	Pakistan	Boat arrival	Migrate from Afghanistan to Pakistan with family. Lived and worked there for some time. Came to Australia alone by boat. Family lives in Pakistan.	Alone	Permanent resident	From Hazara community, a target of the Taliban
Imran, 47 years, male living in Thornlie	Pakistan	Boat arrival	Pakistan to Malaysia to Indonesia to Australia	With Wife	Permanent Resident (PR)	Later got divorced in Australia. Presently lives alone.

3.4.3 Oral Histories

Oral history is an important component of this research. It helped build a sequential and temporal series of events that connected migrants' lives with the larger events in the city. More importantly, the method gave the respondents a voice to narrate events as he/she perceived it. Sandercock(2003) notes oral histories make hidden meanings legible and shows an 'inverted reality. The data collection process through interviews started with respondent narrating their life stories. During that some have focused on their countries of origin like Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq or Pakistan in case of migrants in Perth and Bangladesh or their native village in the case of migrants in Kolkata. Other than that, the research also focuses on the oral histories of experts working in Kolkata and Perth. In Kolkata, these experts constitute academicians, researchers and activists working for subaltern rights in the city. In Perth, the focus was on experts who have worked with the migrant population and rights over years. Focusing on oral history gave the research a clear understanding of the intricacies of migrants' experience within the social context of the city that was likely to be lost in formal interviews.

Oral history talks about one's life within the framework of general events and contrasting oral histories with semi-structured interviews helped validate the authenticity of the data.

During the course of data collection, I met Caroline Wood the co-founder and director of the Centre for Stories in Perth to understand how storytelling can be used as a tool in research. I have also attended storytelling meets organized at the Centre for Stories. Oral histories have been used extensively in the research to enhance the value of the finding in chapter five.

3.4.4 Content analysis of documents

Secondary data was collected through analysis of policy documents, newspaper reports, parliamentary reports. The research takes the content analysis of documents for two purposes first, to understands the politics of the city in which engagement unfolds. The events of the city and how that has historically affected migrants are an important part of this research. It helps develop a top-down approach to understand engagement. Second, it crosse checked claims made by the migrants and finally help the research develop themes that show the effect of the State on migration and migrants. These are apparatus of governmentality in this research. Below is a list of documents that were consulted and/or used for this purpose.

Table 3.5: Showing secondary data materials

Document type	Source	Reason for review
Newspaper reports (Australia and India)	Different media house online sources	To decipher popular narrative about migrants
Parliamentary documents (Australia)	Government of Australia	To decipher popular narrative about migrants and use them as reference to substantiate my points
Policy documents (Australia and India)	Migration polity documents, settlement policies (Australia), Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA)	To understand agency-structure interaction in the discourse of engagement

3.4.5 Visual methods

According to Gwan et al. (2017), “Visual methods enhance the richness of data by discovering additional layers of meaning, adding validity and depth, and creating knowledge. They add to traditional methods by capturing more detail and a different kind of data than verbal and written methods.” The research uses photography and videography as visual methods. Visual methods are criticised for their reductionist approach and for not capturing the true nature of everyday life (Markwell, 2000). To address this criticism of visual methods the research uses photographs to support its analysis and have not used photographs as a data source in analysis.

Permissions were taken to photograph the respondents and their settings. Not all respondents agreed to be photographed. Muslin woman migrants in Perth did not agree to be photographed. Some male migrants were also apprehensive about their pictures being used and did not give me permission for photography. In Kolkata as well all respondents did not agree to be photographed.

3.4.6 Sampling method and recruitment process

In continuation to section 3.4.4, on situating the research in the field, the gatekeepers and prospective cohort of migrants were identified in the field. In Kolkata, the gatekeepers were identified with support from grass-root organisations working in migrant squatter settlements. Some of these organisations are Majdoor Kranti Parishad, Association for Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR), Nagarik Manch and labour unions. With their support direct contact in the field was established and gatekeepers were identified in Kolkata. Thereafter a snowball sample method was used to identify respondents. Once contact was made with the migrants it was easy to establish a relationship with them by regularly visiting the squatter and becoming a face common to them. Consent of those willing to participate was taken. Thus, in this way, some direct recruitment were also made to avoid gatekeepers bias of snowball method.

In Perth, a cohort of migrants attends men and women groups in organisations like Assets, Ishar women’s group, Edmund Rice and Mercy care. Most of them are forced migrants coming to Perth from extreme backgrounds. These organisations take up migrant development and integration activities as part of their migrants' welfare schemes. Contacts were made with these organisations and their support was taken to identify prospective respondents. A presentation of the research was made with each organisation and meetings were held to find out how they could support the research. The concept of the research was presented to

prospective respondents and only those who are willing to participate was considered. The in-depth nature of their involvement required for the research was explained to them and consent was taken. Other than direct recruitment whenever a relevant snowball method was adopted. For example, in the case of an Iranian family, the head of the family was a respondent. However, during the interview his eldest son visited and got involved in the discussion. He presented a very different perspective compared to his father of young Iranian migrants in Perth. His interest to participate and tell his story made him a recruit. I also attended the men and women groups organised twice a week for over three months which helped me establish direct contacts with respondents and a larger population.

In both the cities, the research adopted snowball sampling methods. One important criticism of the snowball method is that it is a) finding respondents and limiting the validity of the sample (Van Meter, 1990; Kalpan et al., 1987) because elements are not drawn randomly. b) an issue of gatekeeper bias in selecting respondents (Groger et al., 1999). c)Controlling links and referral chains and d) respondent's bias. To avoid all these the research adopted a few strategies- The referral process was validated and finalized by cross-checking with the organisations and not just relying on gatekeepers. In the course of interviews, some respondent who was interviewed was considered invalid for the research and that data was removed from consideration. The number of respondents in each city was determined by the quality of data and was continues until an exhaustive representative data collection was completed. Finally, there were fifteen respondents in each city.

The collected data were analysed by using NVivo software which has been discussed in detail in the following section.

3.5 Analysis technique

The first part of data analysis constitutes an inscription of recorded interviews comparing them with field notes and content analysis. To code, the empirics from these three data sources NVivo software was used. By using a triangulation approach between the different methods the research tried to minimize abstraction by a specific method.

Analysis of data was carried out in three stages as shown in table 3.6 A) After the pilot survey, the first round of data analysis was completed. B) Pattern emerging from the empirics were identified and finally, C) A process of validation was carried out from the third field visit.

The first stage follows narrative analysis where the life stories of respondents were notes and underlying themes were identifies from their stories (Wiles et al., 2005). Individual migrants

perspective within a structure-agency interaction emerged as the main theme from this analysis. Then with the help of content analysis, this theme was put into perspective where how migrants' engagement with space is identified. This technique of narrative analysis was also followed in the second stage for all respondents. This has helped the researchers understand the modes and processes of migrant's engagement with space. A continuous iteration between the individual and the collective was maintained to avoid biases in analysis. Some of the migrants' life stories have also been used in the analysis section.

For the second stage of analysis, the research follows Attride-Sterling's (2001) Thematic network analysis and content analysis. From thematic network analysis, the research identifies emerging themes from interviews. In thematic network analysis Attride-Stirling has identified three themes- a) basic themes b) grouping basic themes to organizing themes and d) global theme that talks about the main narrative. The research follows the same method.

The second stage of data analysis was carried out in these three steps- creating basic, organising and global theme. Basic themes that emerge were myriad and divergent and was based on were how migrant's think of space and how that changes over time, their intra-community and inter-community interactions in space, diverse practices like resistance, compliance, navigation, informality and negotiations. Organising themes were developed from basic themes common to both Kolkata and Perth and were thus the modes of migrant's interaction with space. These are related to objective one- spatial conception, experience and practice (chapter 6). Simultaneously, the analysis on manifestations of modes of engagement was carried out and from that emerges five stages of migrants engagement with space which are- shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation, (chapter 5) which are also the global themes common to migrants in Kolkata and Perth and also applicable to any other context. Additionally, interconnected and variegated engagements with space common to migrants in Kolkata and Perth are also presented in the continuation to Chapter 5 (in chapter 7).

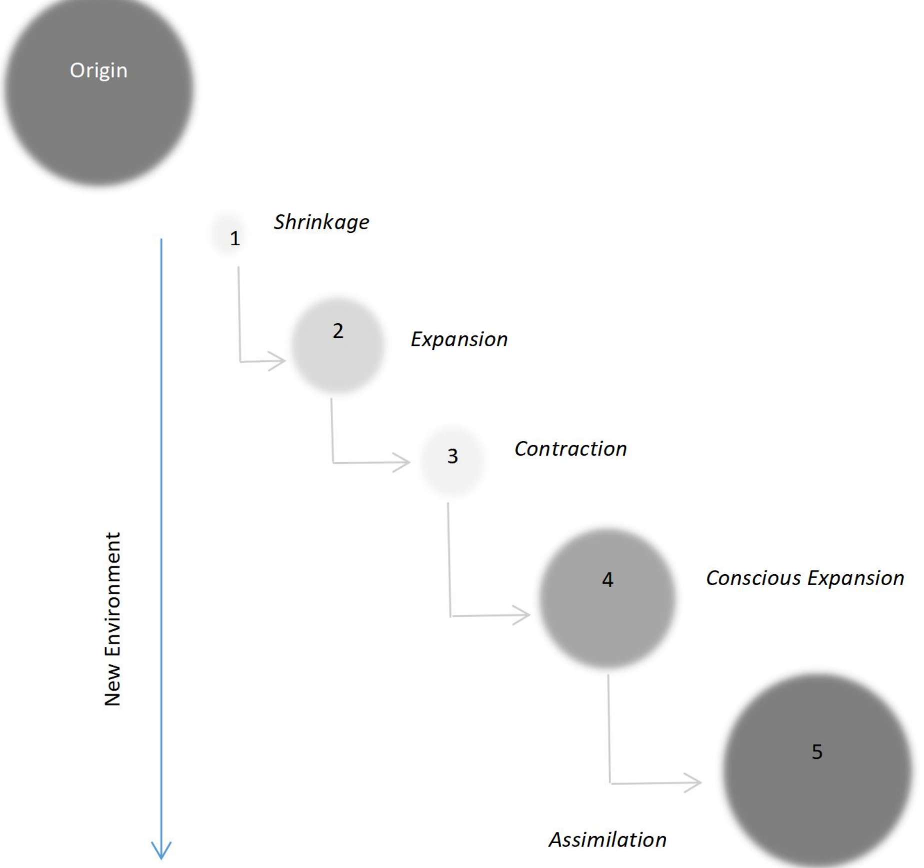
Table 3.6: Showing the analysis process and outcome

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Stage I: Basic themes were developed by comparing and contrasting all data collected from the field</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Mediated experience
Intra-migrant communities
State Institutions
Negotiating occupancy in the city
Neighbours
Unmediated experience
Resistance
Producing a mental image of space
Territories of engagement
Negotiating identities
Spatial Appropriation
Navigation
Material symbols of negotiation
Negotiation
General Public
Mere experience
A temporal overarching conception of space
Belonging, constant comparison and reflections
Entangled resistance
A collective perception of space
Members of political institutions
Transformative experience
Extraordinary experience
Negotiation
Producing material symbols of resistance
Inter-squatter- between dwellers
Integration and resistance
Compliance
Members of political institutions
Inter-squatter- between dwellers
Need for space and spatial scaffolding
Informality
General public
Silent practices and slow spatial expansion of resistance
Reflection
Inter migrant communities
Neighbours and local actors
Everyday negotiation: Leaks, internal negotiations and access to resources</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Stage II: Basic theses were grouped under three organising themes</td></tr>
<tr><td>1. Spatial Cognition</td><td>2. Experiences</td><td>3. Spatial Practices</td></tr>
<tr><td>A temporal overarching conception of space
Producing a mental image of space
Territories of engagement
Need for space and spatial scaffolding
A collective imagination of space
Belonging, constant comparison and reflections</td><td>Mere experience
Unmediated experience
Mediated experience
Transformative experience
Extraordinary experience</td><td>Resistance
Producing material symbols of resistance
Silent practices and slow spatial expansion of resistance
Entangled resistance
Exigency and auxiliary practices
Negotiation
Negotiating occupancy in the city
Everyday negotiation: Leaks, internal negotiations and access to resources
Negotiating identities
Material symbols of negotiation</td></tr>
</table>

		Compliance Navigation Negotiation Spatial Appropriation Informality Integration and resistance Reflection

Stage III: By drawing on the findings of the second stage, a fives stage framework of engagement with space was developed common to Kolkata and Perth

Part 1: Shrinkage, Expansion, Contraction, Conscious Expansion and Assimilation.



Part 2: Interconnected trajectories of migrants; engagement with space were identified

These are: Initial shrinkage, later shrinkage and shrinkage, shrinkage to conscious expansion, expansion to conscious expansion, contraction to conscious expansion

Part 3: Developing variegated engagements with space - Purposive, imitative, mutating, hinged, mutating, temporal, embedding and entrenched and dialectic.

3.6 Chapter conclusion

The research focuses on the deconstruction and reconstruction of spatial knowledge and meanings to migrants and how that affects their engagement with space; how they produce their lived space in the city. To understand the phenomenon of migration through a lens of migrants' engagement with space, the research is based on two major assumptions. Firstly, it assumes migrant's lived experience, circumstances, and agency are key to their engagement with space (McHuge, 2010; Harvey,2004; Collins,2011,2016; Mainwaring, 2016; Buhr,2007,) and second, their lived experience, circumstances and agency are not solely their own making but are shaped by overarching structures like politics, governance, policies, culture and social factors that are constantly affecting their lives (Castle, 2010).

The research uses social constructivism, radical constructivism as its ontological positions. Epistemologically, the research explores its ontological stance by gathering qualitative data on migrants' lived experiences in the origin, in transit and in the destination. It adopts an ethno-phenomenology approach that focuses on both the actors and their settings to build a discourse on their relationship.

The research also adopts an experimental comparative approach (Lancione and McFarlane, 2016). Out of the four strategies of comparison presented by Tilly (1984) to do comparative analysis the encompassing strategy fits this research best. In encompassing strategy, different spaces are assumed to be part of an overarching systemic process like capitalism or globalisation.

The next section explains the reasons behind selecting Kolkata and Perth. This is followed by a sub-section on situating the research in the field. This sub-section vividly explains how the research locates the migrants in the field and the logic behind their identification and selection. For Kolkata the field journey began with existing literature by digging and following works on historic to recent migration patterns of Kolkata. Based on this logic and different types of migrants the research is situated in the peripheral areas of Kolkata and selects migrants who have come into the city in the past twenty years. In Perth potential migrant suburbs were identified from the literature. Then with a little help from a migration support organisation, they were individually identified. How the diversity of migrants based on reasons for migration, origin/native counties, age and sex was maintained is also explained.

Next, the suitability of other methods used in the research like participant observation, oral history, content analysis of documents and visual methods are explained. Their individual drawbacks were identified and how it was tackled is mentioned. The snowball sampling method is then explained followed by analysis techniques. The research follows Attride-

Sterling's (2001) Thematic network analysis and content analysis method to produce basic, organizing and global themes for its analysis.

CHAPTER 4 THE CITIES

4.1 The cities from afar: A sensory perception

This section is based on a historic to present-day narrative of Kolkata and Perth, viewed through a lens of urban experience. It begins by discussing the physical layout of the two cities and the urban experiences they produce. The chapter represents how new migrants perceive the city in which they have arrived. This is followed by a discussion on the hermeneutics of that urban experience. It discusses the deeper social, political and economic reasons behind their existence from a historical perspective.

In Kolkata and Perth, the ‘code of space’—that is, the ‘representation of space’ or the arrangement of material in space—relays very different stories about the two cities. One belongs to the developed (Australian) category, while the other belongs to the underdeveloped or developing (Indian) category. Interestingly, even though visibly and aesthetically different from each other, the two cities have a common past. Both were colonies under the British Empire. Among other similarities, both cities have also been important centers for new migrants. Historically, Kolkata, capital of the state of West Bengal, has been the most attractive centre of Eastern India, while Perth, the capital of the state of Western Australia is the most important city in the western part of Australia. The physical distance between eastern and western Australia gives an edge to Perth by making it the only primate city of the West and saves it from competition with important cities in the east, such as Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. From an urban experience perspective, both Kolkata and Perth serve as important arrival destinations for migrants, who come to these cities to make a new life.

4.1.1 Kolkata: An informal city

Chaotic traffic and incessant honking that sounds like chants engulfs one’s experience of walking the streets of Kolkata, a city previously known as Kolkata. Order seems unfamiliar to the people of this city. One is likely to get lost without Google map’s assistance, but there are humble people willing to show you the way. A drone’s perspective gives a better picture of the city, which resembles a labyrinth—a labyrinth with a dense core and slightly sparse periphery extending from the right bank of the river Ganga to the wetlands in the east. Spreading out from the Ganga is a labyrinth of roads that follow no particular pattern, ending abruptly here and there. This chaotic arrangement of roads has given rise to a rich mix of densely packed functions and characters. Activities have seeped into every crevasse of this labyrinth wherever little space was available. This reflects the resilience of life and how it manages to find its

foothold in this tough city. The city fabric is rich, diverse, temporal and bustling with activity around the clock. Depending on the viewer's perception, the city is either chaotic or extremely organised. When viewed from a distance, chaos reigns in the city, but moving closer to the ground and becoming absorbed in the rhythm of city shows how organised its arrangement is. Everyone and everything works in a rhythm, maybe because the city is so diverse and so resilient.

Teeming with people, informality and activity, Kolkata is a classic example of a post-colonial city. The dialectics in its urban fabric permeate the lives of the people inhabiting it. The co-existence of formality–informality, working-class–babus (bourgeoisie), hope–despair means that life thrives wherever it finds space. This again has led to everything ***existing spatially, compactly*** with each other—people, activities, functions. ***Proximity*** is also the root cause of economic, social, cultural and political tension in Kolkata's urban life. The everyday overlapping and intersection of one's interests with others requires some sort of organisation, where rhythms of life can co-exist peacefully. However, these regular overlaps also produce a strong social culture where people depend on each other more than they depend on government institutions. A sense of community and care-giving strongly runs through the veins of the urban landscape of Kolkata, making it ***communal.***

The complexity of the urban life of Kolkata is held together by ***informal*** practices. The physical city is characterised by the co-existence of formality and informality. The remnants of British architecture are predominant in the city's core and its immediate surroundings. As one moves outwards, into the peri-urban areas, the narrow lanes of the core give way to a relatively organised landscape with wider roads and sparser crowds, reflecting a dramatic change in the rhythm of the city. Here, shiny office spaces, high-end condominiums and upmarket urban parks exist; however, they are not bereft of informal activities. The flow of neo-liberal capital goes hand in hand with informality. No matter how desperately neo-liberal projects try to iron the urban fabric of Kolkata, formality will always have to co-exist with informality. The shiny air-conditioned offices will always be surrounded by makeshift shacks where office workers will descend to have a cup of tea or a casual snack. The vacant spaces underneath newly constructed bridges will immediately be appropriated by the homeless, who, through some arrangement with the traffic police and local political leaders, will make it their permanent residence.

Compared with northern Kolkata, its southern counterpart is relatively new. The ecologically precarious wetlands of Kolkata to the east have somewhat arrested the city's rapid growth. However, illegal construction persists, disregarding environmental reasons. The south-eastern corner of the city has been the focus of neo-liberal capital and has attracted large-scale migrant

settlements to cater to the city's labour needs. However, informal organic growth has established a way of life that cannot be easily wiped out by neo-liberal developments. Slums, squatters and informal shops are ubiquitous. These characteristics shows that the use of urban space is ***flexible***, catalysed by appropriation by the disenfranchised. Moreover, ***urban entrepreneurship*** of the subaltern emerges from the city's need for them and their activities, both of which are post-colonial characteristics.

Compared with Australian cities, morphologically, Kolkata is a ***compact*** city with multiple important nodes. Its east and south-eastward expansion has introduced everyday travel to people's daily life, who would otherwise have preferred to live ***close to their place of work***. Private and cheap public transport competes for space in this compact city. Among recent developments, the eastern metropolitan bypass connecting the airport and passing through to the north-eastern corner of the city and to its extreme south, plays an important role in changing the dynamics of the eastern half of the city. From a bird's eye view, the bypass runs along the north-east towards the south-eastern corner of the city. Anything lying beyond the bypass and to its right is the fringe of Kolkata. Here exists a mix of high-end gated communities, mid-income housing, industrial estates and squatter camps. As one moves further eastward from the bypass, the landscape shows a slow transformation into the rural. These spaces are still in the making; dotted by manufacturing units and informality, they are very different from the older parts of the city. The co-existence of ***capital, labour, power and resistance*** dominates this upcoming part of the city, which witnessed most of its development over the last two decades. Unable to enter the existing migrant enclaves close to the city core, new migrants inhabit this space. Here, they live, work and dream of an urban future. The upcoming north-south overhead metro rail running parallel to the bypass corridor reflects the burgeoning growth in this region. The urban experience of Kolkata's core is slowly and persistently spreading towards the eastern and south-eastern corners where a complicate amalgamation of neo-liberal capital and its need for labour is producing newer urban experiences that were previously non-existent.

4.1.2 Perth: A sprawling city

Perth, when viewed from an aeroplane, appears as a homogenised space, characterised by repetition. A detailed view shows a sea of individual dwellings, neatly surrounded by gardens, set out equidistantly from each other. These abut secondary roads of equal width, dividing large chunks of land into 'plots' that manifests as obedient grids. Open areas are visible in every grid, and interspersing these are large sheds with huge parking areas, appearing to be shopping complexes situated at large distance from each other. Surprisingly there appear to be

no green patches of agricultural land around the city. Spatially, the city does not seem to be contained and has sprawled unrestrained to the north, east and south, making suburbanisation the dominant feature of the built environment. As the aeroplane descends and turns towards the airport, a cluster of upmarket high-rise buildings appears clustered in the otherwise low-lying landscape. This is the Perth city centre, relatively compact and situated to the north of the Swan River. The river divides the city into two parts. The northern part contains the old city centre in which historic suburbs such as Subiaco and North Perth are situated. The southern part contains a sea of urban sprawl, dominated by residential and commercial constructions. The degree of sparsity is such that one would hardly encounter another being walking on the road. Passing through the city centre and crossing a couple of adjoining suburbs, as one starts to move further north, there is little or no change in the landscape. But here, the density of the city diminishes, taking on a predominantly residential character. To walk and become absorbed in the rhythms of this city, the urban experience that predominates is ***alienation***, because of the wide-scale spatial spread of function and activity. However, the socially vibrant core differs, although its design, in terms of signage and associated formal characteristic, does not encourage much ***social interaction***. The signage helps tourists manoeuvre through the city without the need for any local or verbal assistance. The layout of the shops is designed to minimise social interaction, adhering to the primary purpose—service. The city and its suburbs have all followed an ***inorganic*** development process, unlike cities in Asian, Middle Eastern and European contexts. The core has some interesting open spaces with engaging sculptures and design, which form vibrant social pockets in the city. Events keeps these places packed with people throughout the year. Spatially, Perth's primary functions are clearly ***compartmentalised*** between residential, commercial and social, leaving little space for overlap or mixing, resulting in the ***inflexible***.

The inflexibility or strictness through which the city has developed materially is reflected in the everyday life of its inhabitants. A low population density, physical distance between dwelling units and reliance on private transport reduces the chance of social interaction in everyday life. Additionally, inhabitants' dependence on the government for everything creates a socially individualised society.

The dichotomy between the material characteristics of the core and the suburbs repeats itself in other suburbs. Suburbs can be characterised based on economic status, ethnicity and race, migrant and native population. Migrants in Perth are scattered in almost all suburbs and tend to live in rented units or owned houses; it is therefore difficult to identify them spatially.

4.2 A historic overview of migration and production of space in Kolkata and Perth

This section serves two purposes. First, it gives the reader an account of each city's development. Second, in line with the argument that space is a political subject, this section narrates a historic perspective of each city's development and the role of migrants in opening space to politics. Kolkata and Perth have a common colonial background, but development unfolded at different pace in the two cities, situating them at diametrically opposite ends in the urban discourse.

Kolkata is unplanned and mostly organic, whereas Perth is a planned city. Post-independence, Perth continues to exist as part of the Commonwealth, whereas Kolkata is part of the Republic India. These political decisions have shaped the urban experience of the two cities and the nature of its people's engagement with space. Perth is imbibed with a western way of life. It is only when one encounters migrants and the native Aboriginal population that one could imagine the city differently. At the other end of the spectrum, Kolkata evokes a montage of experiences, wherein colonial and post-colonial experiences are mixed to take on a hybrid spatial and experiential form. To produce these urban experiences, migration and migrants in both cities have played an important role.

4.2.1 Kolkata[5]

In the 1690s, the British first set foot in Calcutta with the aim on appropriating its natural resources and locational advantages by making it their administrative headquarters for Eastern India. This required setting up factories, a port, residential and recreational areas. It also required labour to construct these, to work in offices and to serve the British in domestic and other chores. In short, labour was required. To cater or this need, Calcutta witnessed a steady inflow of workers into the city since its inception.

The British colonised Perth much later, in the 1829, it flourished when British convicts started to arrive in batched since 1888. However, its attractiveness and growth, when compared with Kolkata, were much less because of its location on barren sandy soil. Yet, by the beginning of the 20th century, Perth began to emerge as an important city in Australia, while at the same time, Calcutta began its plunge towards decline. This was primarily because of its anti-British activities and the decline of its primary trade route, the Hugli River.

[5] On 1st January 2001 Calcutta was renamed as Kolkata. Hence, both these names have been used in accordance tot he period described int he section.

Over the years, Calcutta developed as a compact city, showing peri-urban characteristics in recent times. Its material arrangement of space is organic and haphazard. Present-day Kolkata arose from the amalgamation of three villages along the banks of the Hugli River—Kolikata, Gobindapur and Sutanuti. Like Perth, Calcutta was taken by the British after the decisive Battle of Plassey in 1757 (Chakravorty, 2000). As the city expanded around an 'empty core', parochially known as Maidan, its south and south-western corners developed as British enclaves.

Migration into the city can be divided into four waves. The first wave of migrants arrived to cater for the needs of the British residents in the city. These workers settled in slum-like settlements around the British enclaves. The practice of employing domestic staff such as helpers, drivers, cooks and gardeners is evident even in today's Kolkata. The literature shows the existence of a 'white town' and a 'black town' in Calcutta. However, Chattopadhyay (2000) argues that there was no clear delineation in terms of boundaries between these two dichotomous spaces. These blurred boundaries were a function of the changing usage of buildings, shifting from residential to non-residential purposes, and also a heterogeneous population that inhabited these buildings. This dichotomy points to the existence of spatial negotiation from an early time in the city. Such negotiation was observed in places where residential units also served commercial purposes. The presence of the 'white town' and 'black town' was reflected in 'confining elements like compound walls and railings that speak a calculated language of exclusion' (Chattopadhyay, 2000).

By the 18th century, the towering gates and arches that were commonly observed across Europe started to become visible in Calcutta, as a symbol of imperial power. Ownership of land was mixed between Europeans and natives. In the early years of its formation, Calcutta witnessed large-scale investment in bazaars, warehouses, residential buildings and shops. These were primarily to house or disseminating the goods arriving at Calcutta port. Such investments point to the city's emergence as an important trade centre. By the 1820s, land and property were a lucrative business, becoming popular among both the indigenous and foreign population. The ground floor of residential buildings was typically assigned for commercial because it would be uninhabitable as a result of damp. Unlike the blocks produced by stringent land use measurement adopted by the colonisers of Perth, spatial blocks in Calcutta were known as 'para' and were organic in nature. According to Chattopadhyay (2000), a para was approximately one acre by one-and-a-half miles. It was a space cognitively determined and easily covered by foot. Ribbon development along main arteries, dominated by narrow rectangular blocks, mixed used buildings and overall homogeneous haphazard development laid the morphology for 19th century Calcutta.

Chakravorty (2000) notes that by the end of the 19th century, jute mills started to appear along the Hugli River. This marked the beginning of a second wave of migrants arriving in Calcutta. These were primarily physical labourers who came to work in the mills, factories and the port. They also took on jobs that were rejected by the locals because of the physically demanding nature of the tasks. As a result of this influx, the then peri-urban areas of Calcutta witnessed the development of slums near the mills to cater for the workers. Similarly, the establishment of the Howrah railway station by the banks of the Hugli resulted in the proliferation of low-cost housing, warehouses and storage spaces.

The slums of Kolkata were segregated in terms of occupation and language (Bose,1968). Bose (1968) explains that the slums was spatially segregated based on the regional identity of migrants. The intra-state migrants first arrived during the British period, and continued their inward journey to Calcutta throughout the post-independence period and even today.

In the mid-1880s, rising anti-colonial activities and the India freedom movement turned Kolkata into a cauldron of unrest. At the same time, the silting up of the Hugli River led to a decline in trade in the port of Calcutta. This coincided with the overall decline of the city, culminating with the British shifting the national capital to Delhi in 1911. The independence of India in 1947 precipitated Calcutta's decline. Following independence, the jute plantations were moved to more fertile land in eastern Pakistan (present-day Bangladesh) and Calcutta and its surrounding area was left only with factories. This led to many migrants leaving the jute mills or taking up informal work in the city.

After independence (1947), Calcutta received its third wave of migrants in the form of Hindu refugees from the newly formed East Pakistan. In 1947 East and West Pakistan, a Muslim majority nation was carved out from the newly formed India, a Hindu majority nation. Chakravorty (2000) notes that in post-independence Calcutta:

The spatial divisions of the colonial city (demarcated by class and race barriers) were largely retained, with the native upper class (capital and landowners, political leaders and top government officials) now occup[ying] the privileged spaces once reserved for the colonisers.

Two categories of religious refugees arrived from East Pakistan (Spatially located next to Calcutta and today's Bangladesh). First, the affluent class, who had the financial resources to re-settle and second, poor refugees who came with little or no resources. The former found it relatively easy to settle, whereas the latter found it a struggle. After East Pakistan's independence from the West with the formation of Bangladesh in 1971, this stream of religious refugees intensified, arriving in large numbers that were beyond the West Bengal government's capacity to manage. In 1977 when the Left front government came to power the

stream of migration from Bangladesh intensified with more lower cast Hindu migrants coming to Kolkata. Unable to bear the burden and arrange for relocation the government changed its settlement policies and turned the migrants to most inhabitable lands like the Dandakaranya. Unable to live there these migrants soon marched towards Calcutta. Some settled in informal settlement in and around the city and other who could not be accommodated started protesting and camping at Marichjhapi, a protected place under Reserve Forest Act in Sundarban. The government consider this illegal and opened fired on the protesters. Incidents like this one blots the migration history of Calcutta.

Resettlement was voiced as a political right and the city witnessed a physical expansion with the low-income group settling furthest. While most from the first wave were resettled, the second wave led to large-scale appropriation and conversion of suburban marshland into habitable spaces. Limited availability of civic services and amenities made it difficult to provide post-independence refugees with land suitable for human habitation. This resulted in large-scale spatial appropriation to transform inhabitable peripheral land into habitable spaces. Without government assistance, plots were divided and converted into liveable land by the refugees themselves. It was only at a much later stage that infrastructure such as roads, sanitation and water was introduced by the government. The once peripheral marshland that was reclaimed and made habitable on the eastern side of the city became a popular refugee settlement. The city's limit extended further eastward where new suburbs started to appear housing political refugees. Today, these are middle to high-end neighbourhoods. To economically support these migrants, a massive informal sector emerged, catering for the needs of the middle- and low-income groups.

Post 1971 also witnessed a significant rise in squatters across Calcutta, especially along railway tracks, canal and high drains (Mitra, 2016; 2018). Unable to find suitable jobs in the formal sector, coupled with the dwindling prospect of employment in industry following independence, these migrants were forced to take up informal, low-paid work. As a result, a boom occurred in hawking and other informal jobs such as domestic helpers, drivers and the like during this period. This boom in the informal sector catalysed the arrival of newer rural interstate migrants. Historic Hindi movie like Paar shows the post-independence Calcutta.

Migrants played an important role in shaping the political trajectory of Calcutta. This trajectory had a significant influence on the city's spatial development. For example, despite repeated efforts by the government, informal activities have always returned to the streets, as have squatters and slums. It was impossible to totally eradicate these because of their sheer number and voting rights conferred on migrants by state governments.

The Indian economy opened itself to the world in the 1990s and since then, its cities have followed a different path to development. Calcutta, which had generally been accommodative

of its urban poor and made place for them in its economic and political life, began to eliminate 'commoners'. Thus, the city saw a proliferation of lavish shopping malls, urban parks and replicas of the Eiffel Tower and Big Ben to attract foreign capital investment. The border with Bangladesh is today physically wired to prevent new refugees from entering India illegally; however, they continue to do so illegally. The first city-scale brunt of this change was witnessed by Kolkata in 1996, when Operation Sunshine was unleashed as a city-wide hawker eviction program. As a result of the program, the police cleared all informal hawking structures overnight. The working-class people of Kolkata joined forces in mass protests. This was because the alternative option of hawking from mall-like structures was unsuccessful for their business and they returned to their original hawking spots.

Similarly, almost a decade later in 2005, a city-level Kolkata Environment Improvement Project was launched to make Kolkata slum-free. A condition of the Asian Development Bank (the funding agency that covered 69% of the project cost) was providing in situ resettlement or rehabilitation for squatters in cases where eviction was unavoidable (Chakrabarti, et.al; 2021). The quality of alternative housing provided to the evictees was uninhabitable and located even further on the outskirts of the city. These re-development sites attracted new squatters and slums in the surrounding areas, repeating the process that once occurred inside the city. Thus the problem was simply shifted to a peripheral location. Through the practice of 'dumping' its economically vulnerable population on the outskirts of the city, Kolkata has repeated the British era spatial segregation based on skin colour, but with a different purpose. One important part of the city, which has served both as a 'dumping ground' for the urban poor and has witnessed massive development and expansion, is its eastern and south-eastern corner. This is also the site where most new migrants have arrived over the last two decades from nearby rural districts.

Presently, migration to Kolkata is dominated by a stream of 'urban poor' or 'subaltern migrants', forced to inhabit the most precarious parcels of land located in the most uninhabitable pockets of the city. From 2010 onwards, climatic disaster migrants have made their way into the city. Their practices of everyday life defy the conceptualisation of Kolkata as a 'smart city'[6] or the next London, which is the present government's vision for the future of the city.

The historiography of Kolkata highlights the disenfranchised migrants' engagement with space and its significance in making today's Kolkata, both politically and spatially. Staying true to that history, the present study has chosen respondents who arrived in Kolkata under forced circumstances over the last 20 years. The study follows an 'ethnography of circulation' to situate the respondents in the field. In this respect, the peripheral areas of Kolkata are of

[6] Kolkata features as one of India's 'Smart Cities', an initiative launched by the government in 2018.

special interest to this study. The eastern, south-eastern, northern and western outskirts of the city are areas where most of the subaltern migrants are found; therefore, they constitute a part of this study.

4.2.2 Perth

Similarly to Kolkata, in Perth too, most new migrants settle in the suburban areas. However, the spatial development of Perth has historically been more controlled, measured and developed with a long-term vision to attain a specific lifestyle for its people. In another similarity with the migration history of Kolkata, the development of Perth as an important centre in Western Australia is deeply associated with migration. Compared with Kolkata, the migration data and narratives of Perth are scarce.

Boorloo was the original name of the land where present-day Perth stands. Boorloo belonged to the Aboriginal Noongar and Whadjug tribes, known for their spiritual connection with land and nature. In 1829, by quashing Aboriginal resistance, the first European settlers established their first colony under Lieutenant-Governor James Stirling. Although this year is considered the formal inception of urban and regional planning in Western Australia, Berry (in Hedgcock, & Yiftachel, 1992) notes that 'the regulations that were basis for sub-division of the new town sites were provided to Lieutenant-Governor James Stirling before he left England'. Three potential town sites, each functionally different from the other, were selected—Perth, Freemantle and Guildford. Fremantle was the port town and gateway to Western Australia. Perth, defined by the Swan River to the south, Mount Eliza to the west and swampy lands and lakes to the north, was the seat of administration. Further north, Guildford was the loading point for agricultural products to be shipped down the Swan River.

From 1850 to the 1860s, Perth was known as a penal colony, where British convicts arrived to spend their convicted years. The convicts were used as a source of labour to build much of the infrastructure required by the city. However, the village-like physical appearance of Perth, with scattered houses and gardens inhabited by a very low population, continued to define the city. In 1980s and 90s, the discovery of gold changed the face of the city (Hedgcock & Hibbs, in Hedgcock & Yiftachel, 1992). Perth saw a huge population influx that came to benefit from the discovery. A significant part of this population came from eastern Australia, more than doubling the total population of Perth, which rose from 49,782 in 1891 to 100,515 in 1895 (Biermann, Olaru, Paul; 2016). A need for housing and other social infrastructure led to a transformation of this orderly place. With capital flowing into the region, the population boom that appeared transitory became sedentary, causing a high demand for urban development (Hedgcock and Hibbs, in Hedgcock & Yiftachel, 1992). At this time, weak local governance

caused uncontrolled densification and expansion of Perth and its suburbs. Webb notes that in 1901, hastily built ‘tent towns’ accounted for 37% of the Perth’s dwellings, whereas the lack of basic services caused outbreaks of bubonic plaque in Perth. Economically, local manufacturing grew from small businesses to large-scale operations in the construction, agriculture and mining sectors (Biermann, Olaru, Paul; 2016). Migrants were brought in strategically to address the dwindling labour supply in the city. Initially, the emphasis was to bring in only British migrants but gradually, this changed because of acute shortage of labour and migrants from other European countries and Asia made their way into Perth.
In the initial years of its establishment, Perth’s city plan was set out with mathematical precision, in stark contrast to the development of Kolkata. Berry (in Hedgcock, & Yiftachel, 1992) cites ‘[c]ondition four of the regulation, [which] required all houses to be built on the middle line of each lot and the front of the house was to be thirty feet from the street boundary of each lot’. This style replicated the cottages found in rural England, and is known as ‘cottage orné’. Berry further notes that ‘this style accounts for the open rustic appearance of Perth that persists for some years and its popular appeal remains to this day’. Thus, the colonial government was able to maintain ‘order and uniformity’ in the execution of these plans, reflecting its strict control of land, its usage and associated functions. In the latter part of the 19th century, significant changes occurred in the physical landscape of the city thanks to the prosperity that followed in with goldrush immigration.

With the discovery of gold at Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie in the late 19th century, Western Australia experienced a mining boom and Perth’s population grew from approximately 8,500 in 1881 to 61,000 in 1901 (Berry in Hedgcock, & Yiftachel, 1992). Spatial development of Perth to house newly arriving immigrants was managed by implementing strict by-laws from the very beginning. The spatial controls were such that in 1927, indigenous people were prohibited from entering large areas of Perth under penalty of imprisonment, a ban that lasted until 1954. Thus, from its very inception Perth’s spatial development was politically charged, making it a contested space. As Perth’s population began to grow, the extensive use of motor vehicle transport resulted in suburban sprawl. The Hepburn Report (Stephenson and Hepburn, 1957) notes that Perth’s suburban development was more in line with the American experience than with the British experience.

In the 1920s, the spaciousness of the quarter-acre block could easily overcome the issue of separation of ground water extraction and sewage disposal that had plagued residents’ health for some time. However, the same quarter-acre formula also led to massive suburbanisation. During World War I, planning was halted for some time until it returned in the 1950s, when a focus on suburban development (Berry in Hedgcock, & Yiftachel, 1992).

At the end of World War II, the resultant 'housing crisis' in the city that subsequently led to the one acre land development policy. This spatial planning strategy resulted in a transformation of community life and social relations in particular in and around the city. Butler (2019) notes that sociologically, this strategy was an important 'discursive casualty' of the shift from inhabitant to habitat in the idea of residence. He defines 'inhabitance' as meaningful engagement with community life, flowing from the right to use urban space. This is an active concept compared with 'habitat', which is a passive concept. Within a habitat, inhabitants are rendered powerless by the 'functional isolation of housing', separating them from other complexities of the city as a whole.

This new conceptualisation replaced the notion of housing as a part of class struggle and demand for a right to the city. New towns started to emerge to cater for the bare minimum needs of its inhabitants and was socially considered the 'lowest possible threshold of sociability'. In Australia, the 'plot', which is analogically similar to the 'quarter-acre block', gained prominence as an 'influential ideology' (Butler, 2019). In the 1950s, this 'influential ideology' was reflected through the private ownership of homes, leading to the creation of a spatial expanse that maximised private space and minimised public space (Berry in Hedgcock, & Yiftachel, 1992). The state used planning to popularise zoning as a modern archetypal means of controlling land use. Zoning has been criticised as a hallmark of state power in producing 'abstract spaces' which according to Lefebvre (1991) are spaces of capital accumulation. Abstract spaces are created by the 'imperative of capital and [the] state's involvement in the management and dominance of space' (Butler, 2019). According to Butler, the state nurtured capitalist social relations, giving priority to the nuclear family. Therefore, the state's domination of space lies at the intersection of rise of the nuclear family as a private consumption unit and the expansion of private space at the expense of public space. Butler (2019) notes that 'dividing space into zones, imposing a certain homogeneity within them and hierarchically arranging these fragments of space [reflects] a classic hallmark of state power engage[d] in the production of abstract space'.

Present-day Perth is a mix of owned and rental housing, ubiquitously dotting every suburb. The lack of agricultural activities around the city made it possible for such large-scale spread. Through the activation of spaces that would otherwise have remained unproductive, suburbanisation in Perth enhances its status as a desirable city, while at the same time making it possible to collect a large amount of taxes. These vary from taxes levied on car ownership to property taxes. A greater number of dwellings also boosts the service sector, most of which comprises migrant labour. Although environmentally highly unsustainable, these factors together make the suburbanisation project a success.

As a manufacture-driven economy, Perth witnessed its second boom of migrants with the lifting of the iron ore embargo and the discovery of natural resources across the state (In the 1970s and onwards). These developments led to a persistent inflow of migrants. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2001):

After 1971, net overseas migration and natural increase (births minus deaths) continued to be the two main contributors to population growth ... The largest net gains from overseas migration were in the 1980s, peaking at 24,200 people in 1989.

A perennial flow of migrants from different countries was reflected in the geo-spatial segregation and hybridisation of culture. This development affected the spatial development of Perth. Its manifestations are described by Martinus (2014), who uses an index of spatial inequality to document the growing spatial inequalities across 40 statistical local areas (SLA) in Perth and Peel[7] based on income inequality. The results show that in 2005, the concentration of wealth was in and around the urban core and western suburbs of Perth. Approximately 65% of the residents were below the mean Perth/Peel income level. However, by 2012 this difference seemed to be closing with new development and economic opportunities coming up. The data point to the fact that although there had been a marginal decline in income inequality between 2011 and 2012, the figures of 2012 continued to remain higher than those of 2005. These statistics suggest that spatial inequality can be associated with the migration trend of the city.

Spatially, migrants are found across the city of Perth; however, refugees and asylum seekers are primarily concentrated in particular suburbs. This is because of the government settlement policy, which houses newly arrived refugees in particular suburbs. Little large-scale circulation occurs among this population group after they become familiar with their first suburb, and these new arrivals tend to remain within a span of couple of nearby suburbs. Government settlement policies direct migrants to specific suburb to control cultural segregation of Perth like Sydney. As they arrive regularly to the shore of Australia they are directed to specific suburbs as their first home in Australia. Presently, as part of their global refugee crisis Australia is expected under the UNHCRC protocol to accept asylum seekers annually.

Australia became a signatory of the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention and signed the 1967 Protocol in 1973. This extended the geographical scope of refugee protection beyond Europe (Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2017). Since the World War II, Australia accepted refugees from more than 40 countries. Presently,

[7] Peel region is one of the nine regions of Western Australia. It is located on the west coast of Western Australia, about 75 km (47 mi) south of the state capital, Perth. It consists of the City of Mandurah, and the Shires of Boddington, Murray, Serpentine-Jarrahdale and Waroo

Australia has a stringent migration policy that is based on economic imperatives. Settlement policies continue to shape Perth spatially and the stress is on suburban development, as evidenced by the location of multicultural centres and migration resource centres in these areas. The culturally diverse migrant communities, comprising people of different colour, race and culture, make Perth's spatial development open to politics. How an general anti-refugee perception across Australia catalyses these politics of space will be discussed int he following section.

Thus, like the disenfranchised migrants of Kolkata, refugees, asylum seekers and boat arrivals are the cohort of interest in this study. While Australia is under an obligation to receive and treat these people equally to its own citizens, the growing discrimination against them means this population group is somewhat akin to the migrants of Kolkata.

4.3 General contextual factors affecting migrants

As a city receives different types of migrants—some voluntary and some involuntary—through their way of life, they become a part of the city and add to its urban experience. The historic production of space in every city has developed certain structural aspects that influence its migrant population. These structures can vary from general negative perceptions of migrants as 'job snatchers' and intruders, to a bottom-up approach adopted by the migrants themselves to reinforce their agency in the new environment. Based on this context, this section outlines historic structural factors influencing the cohort of respondents in the two cities.

The present section draws its theoretical underpinnings from 'governmentality' (Foucault,1978). According to Foucault, an integral part of 'governmentality' is the wide range of 'control techniques' used by the state to control its populace. This study uses this concept and extends its theoretical understanding to explore the role of the state and the techniques it uses to maintain order and control. Interview data and a review of secondary materials are used to support the discussion.

4.3.1 Kolkata

4.3.1.1 Informality

The respondents from Kolkata embody the very essence of informality by living their lives without government support and residing in squatter camps. The city of Kolkata, through its

historic development, has carved out two worlds for its inhabitants—the formal and the informal. The migrant population in this study belongs to the second category.

Upon entering the city migrants are consumed by its way of life. Historical evidence shows a constant effort by the state government and the Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC) to convert informality into formality. This was done by removing street vendors from the roads of Kolkata (Operation Sunshine, 1996), resettling squatters from inside the city to its outskirts (2010 onwards) and repeatedly removing squatters from different corners of the city on the pretext of Kolkata's Smart City status. However, none of these efforts have been completely successful because of a deep-seated connection between formality and informality in the city (Chakrabarti et.al,2021). Given the lack of proper land use records, the designated use of such pieces of land has been determined through informal practices (Roy, 2012; Al Sayyad, 2004).

In 1996, Operation Sunshine was launched to clear the sidewalks of Kolkata of street hawkers, in a shocking overnight drive. The operation was executed across Kolkata at four major hawking points (Chakrabarti,2013). Hawking in Kolkata is a common economic activity among migrants. The post-independence migrants from the 1940s to the 1970s added to the pool of hawkers in the city. KMC's plan was to relocate them into a formal municipal market situated at a distance from the eviction site. However, this initiative failed to attract sufficient footfall in the new locations and the hawkers soon returned to their original spots. Similar cases of eviction, resistance and negotiation exist across the landscape of Kolkata.

In Kolkata, formality and informality co-exists under the partial gaze of government and the politics adopted by the people at the grass-root. At a time when the role of urban governance has shifted from that of facilitator to beneficiary (Cruz,2019; Harvey 1989), the subalterns of Kolkata are counteracting this by playing an equally important role in shaping urban governance practices through their informal ways of interacting, resisting and complying with the governance system (Chakrabarti et.al, 2021). The closure of factories and turning that land into high-rise residential condominiums (Nagarik Mancha, 2005), the eviction of squatters to make way for city beautification projects, the conversion of agricultural land into New Town Rajarhat by forced land acquisition (Dey, Samaddar, Sen, 2013) are example where such resistance practices were observed. Most of these spatial conflicts are presently located at the urban margins of Kolkata (Roy, 2009;2013). Kolkata's urban margins, where most of the newly arriving poor migrants live, have been rapidly transforming which brings these to the center of this urban politics discourse (Bose, 1964).

The subalterns at the migrants of Kolkata enjoy only 'partial rights' (Chakrabarti et.al, 2021), which represents inclusion under the guise of exclusion. Their rights are partial because the dialectic stance of governing agencies maintains the status quo in urban migrants' overall

quality of life. Partial rights emerge from existing exclusionary practices stemming from the interaction between partial state intervention and subaltern agency. Thus, the state both allows and denies migrants the right to a dignified life. The migrants' ability to negotiate with the state is crucial in determining the nature of partial rights.

4.3.1.2. Migration Policy in India

Integrated migration policy for internal migration in India is absent (Srivastava, 2020). Given the high relocation coast, the above reason has been deemed responsible for restricted internal migration in the country (Kone et. al. 2017). The recent Working Group (WG) on Migration report (MHUPA 2017) is probably the most comprehensive policy treatment of the issue of internal migration in India by an official committee. The report has build a comprehensive profile of migration, located the migrant in the labour market structure and identified issues of housing. The lack of proper enumeration, maintaining a migrant data bank, proving them social security and housing are significant factors determining the social production of space in Indian cities.

4.3.2 Perth

In the case of Perth, three factors affect humanitarian migrants and boat arrivals ubiquitously. First, there is Australia's historical immigration policy, which sheds light on the government's attitude towards migrants and their needs. Second, there is Perth's settlement policy, which has created an anti-migrant feeling among the public. Third, there is the role of migrant support organisations.

4.3.2.1 Historical account of immigration policies in Australia

The section presents a historical account of the government's attitude towards refugees and asylum seekers in Australia.

In the 1800s, migration began to Australia when the first batch of British convicts was sent to the penal colony (Koleth, 2010). From that time until the 1850s, migration was dominated by the British and the Irish. In 1951, gold was discovered, bringing a second wave of migrants from the United Kingdom, other parts of Europe and China. During this period, racial discrimination was witnessed against the Chinese migrants. In 1901, the six colonies were united to become the nation of Australia. The new country's parliament declared it a 'white man's nation' and introduced the White Australia Policy, which effectively banned Asian migrants from entering the country. The Commonwealth now controlled and oversaw migrant recruitment procedures. The 1920s continued to witness assisted migration from Britain and

small numbers of Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, immigration declined. After the end of World War II, the Australian government took an approach of 'populate or perish', which brought in new migrants. A plan was drawn to reach annual population growth of 2%, half from natural births and rest from immigration. In this too, Australia continued to attract white migrants through passage schemes such as the 'Ten Pound Poms' (Jupp, 2004). Koleth (2010) indicates that in the 1940s and 1950s, a policy was adopted to ensure that migrants would be indistinguishable from those who were born in Australia. This was introduced to reduce resistance by migrants who were facing a cultural identity crisis in Australia (Koleth, 2010).

The Migration National Heritage census shows that in 1961, 8% of the population was non-British, comprising Italians, Germans, Greek and Poles. The main reason for migration to Australia had been to address the labour shortage in the country. From the 1950s, there were some relaxation to the White Australian Policy as a result of persistent labour shortages. The 'Bring Out a Briton' campaign encouraged Australians to sponsor British migrants (Richards, 2008 in Pullen ,2014).A massive surge in migration saw migrants arrived without nominations from Australia and ended up living in migrant hostels before they were taken to rural areas for work (Jupp,2004).

According to The Evolution of Australia's Multicultural Policy', Fact Sheet no. 6 (Koleth, 2010) in the early 1970s, Australia's humanitarian intake witnessed a rise of Lebanese, Indochinese, Vietnamese and Cambodian arrivals. In 1972, the first Labor government came to power. In 1973, the minister of immigration radically changed official policies from 'structural selection' to 'homogeneity' and declared for the 'White Australian Policy- 'Give me a shovel and I'll bury it'. In the 1970s, the White Australia Policy was abolished and in 1975, racial discrimination was officially declared unlawful. For the first time, Australia was declared a 'multicultural' society.

According to Koleth (2010), from the 1980s onwards, immigration policies saw a shift towards skilled and business category migration, moving away from the previously emphasised 'family reunion'. This shift in focus was designed to attract migrants who fitted the 'much-needed skill criteria'. From the late 1980s, Australia saw a surge of people arriving by boat. In 1992, the government introduced mandatory detention for all those arriving in the country by boat. In 2001, boat arrivals were either returned, processed on Christmas Island or sent to new processing centres at Manus Island in Papua New Guinea or the Pacific island of Nauru. Known as the 'Pacific Solution', this program was highly criticised for its human rights violations. The number of asylum seekers has increased since the 1990s to the present

day. As recently as in 2018, the Multicultural Bill was passed in parliament to promote sociocultural and political assimilation and harmony between diverse communities.

The Australian government's attitude towards 'boat people' has come under fire, both from international organisations and the general public in Australia. The government uses the term 'processing' to detain boat arrivals. It is not clear on what basis some are detained longer than others, while others are forced to return to their country of origin without proper risk assessment of their return. In 2018, the *Guardian* reported that the United Nations condemned Australia's indefinite incarceration of refugees and asylum seekers. At the same time, mass protests were held in five major cities—Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra and Perth. These were prompted by the public outrage associated with such inhuman detention.[8] In 2019, similar protests followed across other cities in Australia, with #sixyearstoolong raising awareness of common health and safety issues faced by people held in detention camps. Most of these were linked to the deterioration of physical and mental health, sexual abuse and escalating cases of being turned back without proper risk assessment of the asylum seekers.

The UNHCR Global Trends in Forced Displacement report (2018) indicates that the world refugee population stood at 25.9 million, while asylum seekers were at 3.5 million. From the same source, the five countries hosting the largest number of refugees as at 31 December 2018 were Turkey (3.68 million), Pakistan (1.40 million), Uganda (1.17 million), Sudan (1.08 million) and Germany (1.07 million). The Refugee Council of Australia (2019) emphasises that '[b]y comparison, Australia's official refugee population was 56,933 – 45th overall, 50th per-capita and 88th relative to national Gross Domestic Product'. It should be noted that while other countries exclude the number of resettled refugees, Australia's number includes those given permanent protection onshore over the past 10 years and refugees on temporary protection visas, inflating the numbers and making an unbiased comparison problematic. While Australia claims to extensively focus on resettlement, which worldwide constituted only 0.4% (92,424) of the total refugee population in 2018, of this population, Australia only resettled only 12,706 (Refugee Council of Australia,2019). Generally, a 10-year period is considered a correct measure for comparing these data because yearly data vary considerably. Between 2009 and of 2019, of the 20.3 million refugees recognised globally, Australia resettled 180,790, translating to an average of 18,079 annually. These statistics place Australia overall 25th, 29th per capita and 54th relative to national GDP among nations (idbi.), indicating despite having resources to support the growing asylum seeking population worldwide, Australia ranks significantly behind in embracing refuges and asylum seekers.

4.3.2.2 Managing Perth's refugee settlement policy

Since the 1990s, refugees arriving in Perth from common source countries, such as Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, tended to cluster in certain suburbs (Peisker,2009). A critical starting point for the present study was to find out how and where to locate migrants in Perth. Documents show Mirrabooka, Balga, Nollamara (Flatau, et.al, 2014) to be dominant migrant suburbs. Additionally, Mirrabooka is a regional hub where several migration resource centres are located.

The rigidity of policies and their manifestation through pre-determined spatial patterns in Perth is evident. Because Australia is primarily a migrant country, it has been the responsibility of the state and federal authorities to draft policies to ensure ethnic integration and lessen ethnic clustering. Such policies identify the first steps towards integration by choosing the suburbs in which migrants are to be located upon their arrival in Australia. This has happened in and around Perth through the following two steps. First, at a national scale, State-specific Migration Schemes were implemented to alter the direction of internal and international migration flow. Second, since 2005, Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Services were established to assist and direct settlement choices at a local scale. This service was re-launched as the Humanitarian Settlement Service in 2011 and continues to remain an important onshore settlement service for refugees. The private rental market also played a determining role in favouring some suburbs over others for newly arrived migrants (Flatau, et.al.,2014). This was driven by state-sponsored gentrification projects to revive certain downtown suburbs. The gentrification process led to a rise in rental property value, which forced some to move out, while retaining those who were able to pay the higher rent (Miller and Brewer, 2012).

Hugo (2004) notes that at the national scale, '[t]here has also been a substantial increase in governmental efforts to influence where new immigrants settle in Australia'. He further indicates that '[t]here has been a raft of State-specific and Regional Migration Schemes introduced in an attempt to reduce the proportion of immigrants being attracted to Sydney and, to a lesser extent, some other major urban centres'. Western Australia appear on the list of places where the migrant population is expected to be diverted. A major drive to manage interstate population distribution was launched by introducing regional settlement schemes. In May 1996, a working party on regional migration was established involving commonwealth, state and territory ministers for immigration and multicultural affairs to start a new pattern of migrant settlement. They set up a State-specific Migration Mechanism to augment controlled migration and promote settlement to specific regions. Hugo(2004) indicates that between 1996 and 2001, the percentage of overseas migrants arriving in Western Australia was 44.8% and net interstate migration was 7.6%. Similar statistics were reported for Queensland, with 60.8%

and −21.7% and New South Wales (NSW), with 24.2% and 34.8%. During this period, Queensland and Perth witnessed the largest jump in net interstate migration, while NSW showed a steady decline in attracting migrants. In terms of absolute numbers, Western Australia was the fourth highest in terms of total population growth, which includes a natural increase, net overseas migration and net interstate migration. Three states followed Western Australia, namely, NSW, Queensland and Victoria. The gradual rise in the number of new arrivals to Western Australia operated alongside ground level management who directed new migrants to specific locations.

Spatial control aggressively began in 2005 with the implementation of the Integrated Human Settlement Strategy (HSP) funded by the Commonwealth Government (Flatau, et.al.,2014). In 2011, in its place the Humanitarian Settlement Program was introduced as a comprehensive program to assist new arrivals with housing and additional support. The program assists migrants in the first six to twelve months by 'provid[ing] refugees with basic skills to understand and negotiate the key systems, institutions and social practices of Australia' (ibid). Migrants entering Australia are given the option of making their own housing arrangements or depending on the HSP for initial arrangements. Most sponsored migrants choose the first option because they already have family members living in Perth.

From the study respondents in Perth, two families belonged to the first category because they had family members living in Perth. The remaining respondents settled with the aid of HSP.

4.3.2.2 Anti-migrant public perceptions

The terrorist attack of 9/11 sent shock waves through the world, bringing countries together to jointly condemn terrorism. Islamic terrorist organisations were declared an 'omnipresent evil' and a common enemy of humanity (Elden,2007). Elden further argues that a vested motive of this new development actually allowed the United States to legitimise 'any punitive action it might take anywhere and anytime'. Thereafter, 9/11 has played an important role in shaping public perceptions towards migrants in general, and Muslims specifically.

Brexit was another event that sent shock waves around the world based on anti-migration sentiments. The event was pitched as a politically sensitive issue, based on the belief that Britain had benefited little from its inclusion in the European Union (EU) and was instead weighed down by the burden of an increasing immigrant influx from other EU member nations. Brexit criminalised migration and took the anti-migrant perception to new heights. The Netflix documentary, *The Great Hack*, exposed the politically motivated anti-migrant perceptions by interviewing members of the public to understand their reasons for their pro-exit vote. The documentary showed how people from regions with lowest in-migration had

been brainwashed to believe that their jobs were being taken by migrants, which led them to vote for Brexit.

In the Australian context, Castles (2004) writes about the tabloid press, which mixed sensationalist journalism with right wing politics. He states that the media wove a narrative about 'rocketing crime rates, fundamentalist terrorism, collapsing welfare systems and mass unemployment' as part of an outrage against refugees and asylum seekers. In 2019, polls conducted by the YouGov Cambridge Globalism Survey show that 46% of Australian respondents thought that immigration should be reduced, while only 23% felt it should be increased. The annual Lowy poll conducted in 2018 showed that 'more than 50% of Australians preferred a lower annual immigration intake'. This result was attributed to a 14-point rise from the 2017 poll, at 40% quoted the Guardian (2019). Alex Oliver, the director of research at the Lowy Institute, told the Guardian that a sharp rise in immigration-related debates and rhetoric was actually shaping public opinion. Further, Betts (2001) notes that surveys conducted to gauge public support for the Federal government's policy towards border protection and mandatory detention won majority public support. It was, in fact, public support in favour of the draconian policies towards boat arrivals that won the Howard government a third term in November 2001 (idbi).

To explain the reason why Australians hold negative attitude towards asylum seekers, Haslam and Hollan (2012) argue that such beliefs are influenced by people's personal financial hardship, perceived threats to security, inaccurate beliefs and myths, subtle racism and national superiority. Other studies show that the 3% of Australians with negative attitude towards asylum seekers believe that 83% of Australians feel similarly (Pedersen, Griffiths, & Watt, 2008). Research by Louis et al. (2007) highlights that public perceptions of asylum seekers receiving more benefits and better treatment than they deserve lead to negative attitudes towards them. The authors also reveal that perceptions that asylum seekers are a social and economic threat to the country exacerbate negative attitudes.

Thus, a montage of global and local factors has produced a general apartheid towards migrants, refugees and boat arrivals in Australia. All respondents, in one way or another, have experienced such negative perceptions, which has influenced their engagement with their new environment.

4.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter introduced the reader to a sensory perception of the two cities, Kolkata and Perth. It them narrated their historic development and the role of migration and migrants in its spatial transformation. This was a continuation and exemplification of the literature review in Chapter

2, which presented space as a political subject, open to rupture and transformation. The chapter then established the relevance of the cohort of migrants chosen for the study, situating them spatially in these two cities. This was done by demonstrating the historical role of political refugees and disenfranchised migrants in Kolkata's production of space and how even today this population remains significant politically. The chapter also highlighted the spatial shift in migrants' location from the core to the periphery of the city. In Perth, it was shown how migration and British imperialism together contributed to the city's production of space. Asylum seekers and boat arrivals were identified as political subjects in this landscape. Finally, the section informed the reader of the contextual realities of Perth and Kolkata and simultaneously established how the selection of migrants in both cases reflected their contextual realities.

The last section highlighted the factors that affect migrants in the two cities. In Kolkata, an informal way of life defines their lives. In contrast, in Perth historical immigration policy, controlled settlement policies and negative public perceptions towards migrants combine to form a politically motivated apartheid towards them.

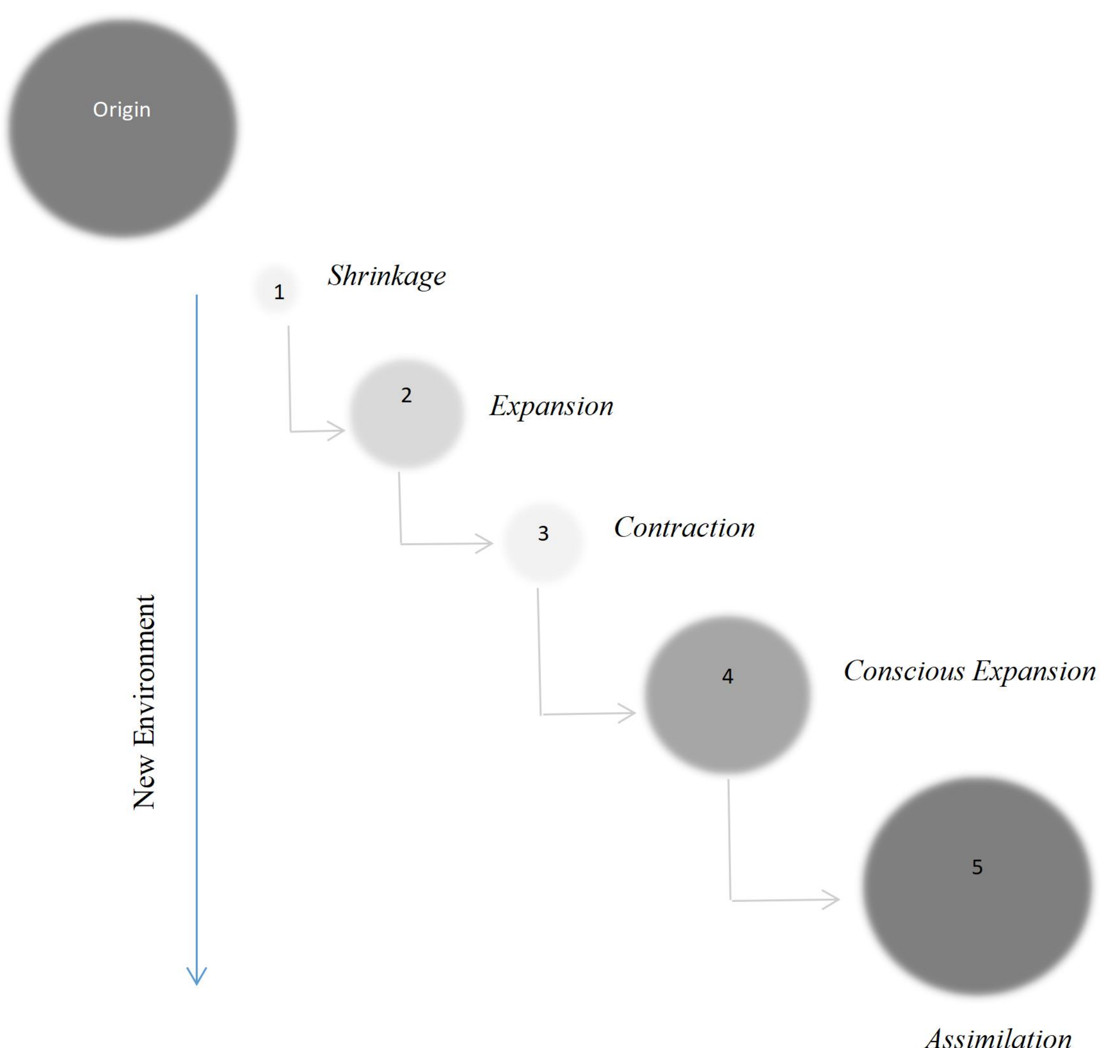
CHAPTER 5 A COMMON FRAMEWORK OF MIGRANTS' ENGAGEMENT WITH SPACE

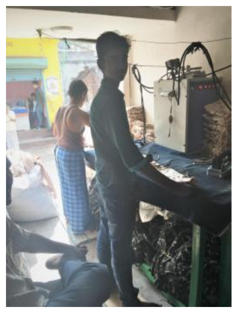
The second objective of this study is to produce a shared framework of migrants' engagement with space, between contexts and type of migrations and which is both temporal and overarching in nature. To address this aim, the chapter presents individual and social space-time relations at different stages of integration—***shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation***. These stages are informed by the first objective, and are presented in Chapter 6.

According to David Harvey (1989) space and time are socially constructed. This has been explained in Chapter 2 which shows how world events, like colonisation, industrialisation and neo-liberalisation, have produced new space-time relation by rupturing the old ones. But within it individuals produce their own space-time meanings. The interaction between the two results in and can be read through the structure-agency interaction. The manifestation of individual space-time meanings against the one socially constructed shows how migrants perceive structure-agency interaction in the new environment. The empirical details of such interactions are presented in Chapter 6, whereas this chapter presents its manifestations. The interaction between the social and individual space-time relation results in production of new meanings, knowledge, perception and practices that have potential to rupture existing order of space (Massey,2005). The challenge of migration is the migrant virtually living in different space-time relations simultaneously while actually (in practice) living in one. Thus, how the socially constructed concept of space and time is perceived and lived by individual migrants constitutes the core concept of this chapter. The overlap of social time (the social, political and economic way of life at the new environment) and individual time (how individuals perceive social time by engaging with it in their everyday life) is understood from the migrants' experience, spatial conception and spatial practice. The present chapter explores this relation to produce a common framework of engagement with space.

Migrants' life stories from Kolkata and Perth are used alternately to explain the space–time concept of shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation.

Figure 5.1: Showing the common framework of migrants' engagement with space





5.1 Narrative 1 – Shrinkage

In the south-western corner of Kolkata, beyond the boundaries of city proper, lies an expanse of dusty roads, trucks loaded with goods, small roadside eateries and scattered makeshift squatters lining both sides of the road. The roads, trucks and swirls of dust give way to a compact, organic, haphazard built form—Paharpur. This peripherally located area is neither completely within Kolkata nor completely outside its zone of influence.

Here, I met 16-year-old Mustafa working in an ironing shop. Mustafa works for 12 hours a day, and sometime even more, when demand is high. He presses clothes along with a co-worker, who appears slightly older than him. Mustafa sleeps and eats in the shop. The shop is little more than 1.8 meters by 2.1 meters. It contains a large table for ironing that occupies most of the space. Long wires of the irons lie entangled and occupy most of the floor. There is not enough space to stretch and sleep comfortably. To bathe, he uses the community tap located outside the shop.

The shop is an extension of Razak Ali Mulla's house, who is Mustafa's employer. The shop previously functioned as a tea shop, owned and run by Razak's father. Razak knew Mustafa's brother from Akra Fatak, which is a hub for migrant workers coming from neighbouring states and districts to south-western Kolkata. Mustafa's brother works and lives in a factory in Akra Fatak. The living and working conditions are worse in the factory than in the shop where Mustafa works. The supply of labour to factories from Akra Fatak is not based on trust. Identity documents are checked and verified and sometimes confiscated by employers in exchange for employment. At times, when the demand for labour dries up, both Mustafa and his brothers return to their home in Bihar, a neighbouring underdeveloped state.

Mustafa hails from Muzafarpur village in Bihar, one of the most backward states in India. Because of its close proximity to West Bengal, a significant number of migrants in Kolkata are from Bihar. Mustafa's family are subsistence farmers and do not make enough to make ends meet. Mustafa mentions that there is no opportunity for employment in Bihar and, other than agriculture, there is no other work. Thus, he was forced to come to Kolkata to provide for his family. On some Wednesdays, he goes to meet his brother at Akra Fatak. However, apart from that, he has not been to any other place in Kolkata. In Kolkata, the central axis of his spatial engagement is the shop with very limited and irregular extension to nearby places that he sometimes visits. Mustafa is caught in a life between Kolkata and his village and the boundaries of his spatial imagination are continuously shifting.

For Mustafa, the vast expanse of his village where he grew up, knowing every nook and cranny of that space, dominated his knowledge of space. This was suddenly challenged by

migration, when his spatial engagement became confined to a 1.8 meters by 2.1 meters shop, and beyond it, a compact cluster of houses, shops and complicated networks of relationships and politics of which he has little knowledge. Thus, migration resulted in a shrinkage of the migrant's knowledge of space. Therefore their engagement with space in the new environment when compared with the origin.

-----Shrinkage-----

If the process of migration is a portal to changing lives, then shrinkage is the immediate outcome of entering it. Shrinkage is a crisis in the migrant's experience immediately post migration, in the new environment. This crisis emerges when migrants try to situate themselves within a different space–time relation (the new environment) (Harvey, 1989), of which they have little or no knowledge, compared with their past. Different space–time relations are understood by spatial connotations such as village, city, mega-city, Global South, Global North, West and East, where different historical development trajectories and social transformations has produced different ways of life. Therefore, space–time relations are scalar and exist as different spatial knowledge, meanings and practices. Thus, multiple space–time relations co-exist in this world. These relations are challenged and altered by the spatial and behavioural practices of the inhabitants from time to time. Migration is one such phenomenon that holds potential to challenge these relations. Therefore, if space and time are socially constructed (Harvey,1973), migration exposes migrants to new space and time (in the new environment). To the migrant, the cyclical and repetitive (time) motions of past everyday life (space) provide a sense of security that they do not immediately perceive in their new environment. A lack of spatial knowledge, spatial meanings, together contribute to shrinkage. Therefore, shrinkage is the gap in the space–time knowledge of the migrant, caused by migration.

When any one mode of the migrants' engagement with space (spatial conception, experience and spatial practices) shrinks, this results in a shrinkage of their overall engagement with space. In shrinkage, the migrant, like a newborn, is world-less in the new environment. They have sensations like the newborn, but these are not localised in space (Tuan, 2014). But unlike the newborn, the migrant has knowledge and experiences from the past. In the present, they experience a sudden shrinkage, where their past knowledge of space and time is challenged by the new environment. Like the child attached to its cot, newer things draw their attention but, they are continuously drawn back to the pivot of their territory—the cot or the new home.

The migrant's corporeal unfamiliarity with the new environment results in a confinement of activities to a territory of immediate necessity, which in most cases, is work and home. Sometimes, shrinkage is also caused by fear of the unknown in the psyche of the migrant. A

lack of knowledge of space and time entails a feeling of difference in them. This feeling of difference, in many cases, is the cause of shrinkage. While shrinkage is a natural phenomenon observed in migrants post migration, in some cases, it lingers because of their inability to grasp the new space–time meanings, even after some time in the new environment. That is, they are unable to grasp the sociocultural practices of the new environment. Thus, shrinkage can be self-imposed, socially constructed or both. There are various versions of shrinkage in terms of extent and depth, which decides the nature of migrants' future engagement with space. These are further discussed in Chapter 7, migrants' interconnected trajectories of engagement.

5.2 Narrative 2 – Expansion

Jahangir Ali arrived in Australia from Pakistan on a boat. Originally from Afghanistan, he had migrated to Pakistan for work. Upon his arrival in Australian waters, he was detained at the Christmas Island detention centre outside the borders of Australia. Jan was lucky to be released within three months of his arrival at the centre. Jan became friends with a fellow detainee, also from Afghanistan, whom he followed after his release to find a place to live in Perth. His friend had contacts in Perth and with his help, Jan was able to find accommodation for free. Jahangir officially converted to Christianity and immediately started building his network through regular visits to the church. The church group provided him with free shelter and food and also helped him to connect with new people who could provide work. However, converting to Christianity cut him off from the local Afghan community, which considered his conversion blasphemous. To strengthen his relationship with the church, Jahangir started to bring new Afghani migrants to join the church. After having lived in Perth for more than 5 years, Jahangir now has a social network that constantly supplies him with work. Every month, he sends money to his family back in Pakistan. He has a wife and two children in Pakistan who are completely dependent on him.

Jahangir lives in the Perth suburb of Nedland, which lies adjacent to Perth city centre. With the magnificent King's Park in between the two, Nedland has a lively city vibe. We entered the upper storey of the two-storey house via the staircase at the back not to disturb the people living on the ground floor. Sitting on the sofa, Jahangir started the conversation. 'My sister and brother died in Afghanistan from a bomb blast. It is not safe there, you see.' He had moved to Iran from Afghanistan at the age of 12, with the help of people smugglers. He lived and worked in a stone factory in Iran for 7 years and then returned to Afghanistan, only to return to Iran for 2 years. After his return to Afghanistan, he stated working in his father's shop. However, life in Afghanistan was getting more dangerous by the day: 'Afghanistan is not safe, it is a horrible country', he says. Jahangir had to leave Afghanistan. He gave two

reasons for this. First, the Hazaras were a constant target of the Taliban and were killed on sight by Taliban. Second, he stopped practicing Islam, which was not accepted by the conservative Muslim society. The people around the village who knew him started to discuss about him and his way of life and this forced him to leave for Pakistan. The first reason also forced him to move his entire family—wife, children, parents and brother—to Pakistan. Jahangir sold fruit on the streets of Quetta in Pakistan, a city close to the border with Afghanistan. Quetta was also a regular target for the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, a Sunni supremacist and jihadist militant outfit based in Afghanistan, to kill the Hazara. Jahangir adds, 'They stopped the bus and searched it for Hazara people and killed them. That time mom said, "You go. Go to any country, go to Europe or anywhere else. It is not safe here". At that time, I was thinking of going to Australia, a lot of people were coming here.' Jahangir was trafficked by people smugglers to Indonesia, and onwards to Australia. He paid the smugglers a lump sum for their services.

Jahangir 's main purpose of coming to Australia was to save money, send it back home and slowly find out ways of bringing his entire family to Australia: ' I came here so that I could bring them.' Thus, Jahangir adopted proactive measures to engage with the space surrounding him. This resulted in an expansion in his engagement with space. Other than his work and church circle, Jahangir stays home most of the time. Occasionally, he visits nearby beaches and says: 'I don't travel much far away. I want to save money for my family.' The traumas of the past keep on haunting him. The entire Afghani community knows he has converted to Christianity, which is not acceptable by them. Jahangir mentions that for this reason they have even cheated him of money.

----- Expansion-----

As a continuation of shrinkage, the extent and depth of the shrunken territory slowly starts to expand with the migrant getting to know the new environment and their purpose of migration gives them the will to engage with the new environment. In Jahangir's case it was his family back home, his personal struggles and loss and a will to live and improve his conditions. At this stage, the migrants 'want to know where they are, what the world around them is like and how to get around the world' (Piles, 2013). An understanding of the present space and time and being able to situate oneself within it is the primary tenet of expansion. At this stage, the migrant understands and explores the possibilities of the new environment. Here, the purpose of migration triumphs individual insecurities and fear of the new environment.Theoretically this is explained by Massey (2005)who argues that historically the overemphasis of structural factors like market forces in Marxist philosophy in determining the space–time relation has completely ignored the rigour of human agency. Thus, compared with shrinkage, expansion is

attuned to migrants' will to know and overcome existing space–time structures. Here, the individual starts to gather embodied knowledge of the context and situate themselves within it. Contrary to shrinkage, expansion is driven by the migrants' will to produce effective knowledge, meanings and practices to realise their purpose of migration. At an individual level, it is the first step to start engaging in spatial practices, which in the long run, may effect changes in the new environment. Thus, expansion is the migrant looking for spaces of representation in the new environment. These can either be similar to those in the migrant's country of origin or completely new and relevant to the context of the new environment.

Here, Tuan's (2010) newborn's sphere of interest expands beyond all pressing concerns, and different things start to interest the individual (Tuan, 2010). Thus, the migrant slowly tries to come out of the shrunken territory of immediate necessities to gather knowledge and expand their spatial footprint in the city. This includes meeting new people, making new connections, networks, knowing and understanding the city's way of life. It includes a shift in mundane practices, such as finding the cheapest halal butcher, which is a progression from the initial search for any halal butcher in Perth. Nevertheless, the engagement is still limited because of insufficient in-depth knowledge of space, which only comes from prolonged engagement with the new environment.

The purpose, aspiration and desire behind migration propels migrants to expand their engagement with the new environment. Expansion is also temporal; that is, from the beginning of expansion to when it flows and merges with the next contraction. Expansion occurs in different forms, level of intensity and extent. Mapping gives the direction and nature of the migrant's future engagement. Here, the objective behind migration determines the nature and rate of expansion. Expansion occurs through observation and interaction, embodying perceptions of everyday life, such as meeting new people, socialising, working, creating networks, gathering knowledge, using one's intelligence and agency and through perceptions of new experiences. Expansion also lies at the intersection of the geographical and the mental realms as the starting point of a critical perspective about the new environment. Expansion produce a socio-political awareness in the migrant through a feeling of 'being different' or 'otherness'. The migrant extends these meanings from local experiences to understand the larger space–time context of the new environment.

The process of expansion is not always foolproof and there exists leaks in it. In Kolkata, these leaks are in the form of practices like occupancy of urban land that follows a conflict with local institutions who try to evict the informal occupants. If evicted, a shift from expansion to contraction is likely to happen. Or, in the case of of the above mentioned respondent, Jahangir it was his formal conversion to Christanity from Islam. While the conversion helped him

foster social relation with the church group it cut him off from his native Afgan community, who view the act as blasphemous. It led to social alienation and impacted him by getting less work. Since Jahangir had to depend on the local Afgans for work his actions led to contraction to shrinkage. Thus, depending on their circumstances individuals approach the expansion stage differently and these approaches are not always foolproof, there exists leaks in expansion. Leaks expands and results in contraction when individuals are not able to accurately imagine the consequences of their expansion practices. Thus leaks have the potential to expand and counter expansion, by developing contraction.

5.3 Narrative 3 – Contraction

Rahaman in his sixties was living in a squatter in Salt Lake, located at the north-eastern periphery of Kolkata. He was working as a labourer in a state-owned factory, while his wife worked as a domestic helper at a nearby house. The couple had been living in Salt Lake for the last 10 years. In 2000, a government-driven squatter clearing drive razed their squatter and rendered them homeless. Rahaman tried to re-settle in another squatter in the same locality, but failed. Consequently, he re-located to Nonadanga in the south-eastern corner of the city. Nonadanga is located at a considerable distance from Salt Lake. Rahaman was informed about Nonadanga by an organisation working for subalterns' right.

From Nonadanga, Rahaman had to cycle two-and-a-half hours one way every day to reach his workplace in Salt Lake. Initially, everything in and around Nonadanga was very new to him, including his fellow inhabitants. Starting life afresh posed numerous challenges, such as finding access to basic necessities such as electricity and potable water. The new squatters also received threats from neighbours and the police, who were unhappy about the proliferation of squatters in their neighbourhood.

Rahaman's engagement with space had once again shrunk with his relocation to Nonadanga. Leaving behind all his social networks, spatial knowledge and practices, he now had to start everything afresh. First, he had to secure his occupancy in Nonadanga. To achieve this, he followed the suggestion of the Jhurpi Ucched Protirodh Committee (aniti sqautter eviction committee) and tried to increase the numbers of squatters by attracting new squatters to their squatter. Meanwhile, the squatters started to look for work in nearby spaces. Women mostly found work as domestic helpers, while men set up small vending booths to sell vegetables or they worked as construction labourers at nearby worksites. In and around Nonadanga, there was massive construction and development work underway. A few couple of blocks away, a cluster of multi-specialty hospitals was being built. An Medium and Small scale Enterprise estate was also being developed. Informal stalls mushroomed along the main roads, most of

which were owned by migrants residing in Nonadanga. Thus, an ecosystem of squatters, workers and makeshift stalls began to appear around Nonadanga.

As Rahaman began to gradually settle in his new environment, a large-scale eviction drive threatened to render him homeless once again. In 2011, the increasing number of squatters in Nonadanga drew the government's attention. Rahaman and his fellow residents were served eviction notices. A massive protest was launched by 400 to 450 squatters from Nonadanga. Raahman was a leading figure in that movement. Along with the help of civil society organisations, the protest continued for months. A community kitchen was established to feed the protesters while they lived in the open air for months. Help in the form of support, food and cash poured in from every part of Kolkata. A 12-day hunger strike, followed by negotiation with the state government, ended the Nonadanga movement. Written permission from the government allowed Rahman and his fellow squatters to continue living at Nonadanga. The residents were also promised alternative arrangements in case of any further evictions. Rahaman continued to live on the same plot of land he had occupied almost a decade ago. Sadly, Rahaman passed away as a result of lung disease in 2021. His wife continues to live in Nonadanga.

----- Contraction-----

The leaks of the expansion stage slowly began to enlarge, eventually collapsing upon the individuals living in that produced space. Crevasses are existing structural forces that are fundamental in politics of space. However, contraction can also occur because of a sudden personal transformative experience. An example includes squatter clearance by authorities, cutting off informal workers from their livelihoods, visa cancellation or deportation notices to asylum seekers. A transformative experience can be a personal loss of someone close or an accident that is powerful enough to develop a contraction. When migrants grasp the space–time relation of the new environment and understand its possibilities, another contraction poses serious questions about their being in the city. The severity of the leak determines the degree of contraction and it depends on the migrant's ability to either rebound or not from such experiences. Contraction pushes the migrant into a territory of immediate necessity but with an immense feeling of loss. However, this differs from shrinkage because after having spent some time in the new environment, the migrant has already developed a deep engagement with it.

In the narrated case, shocks in the form of eviction and self-induced relocation to another area of the city led to contraction of the migrants' mental and spatial engagement. Cutting migrants off from their previous setting and transporting them to a new space requires them to completely rebuild their lives and re-establish all social connections. Given that their everyday

life is confined to in and around their place of habitation, the migrants have little or no detailed spatial knowledge of other places in the city. Their inability to afford private resources and a completer dependence on public resources (example water) further enhances their vulnerability in these new space. These issues, coupled with harassment from neighbours and the police, results in contraction. Contraction can also occur from an unexpected transformative experience (e.g. an extreme experience with racism or any kind of personal experience) that manifests itself as a complete withdrawal from any kind of engagement. Contraction impacts the way migrants think about themselves and their relevance in the society. It reduces their idea of the self and its being. For example, a racial experience, a visa cancellation, immediate deportation/relocation from one city to another in the new environment. Contraction is a tipping point where individuals begin to re-imagine space by further refining their possibilities within it. It reinforces the critical outlook produced in the previous stage. Contraction requires migrants to redesign their spatial practices, gather new spatial knowledge and adopt strategies to counteract the primary reason for contraction. Contraction is likely to change the migrants' spatial imagination and the way they imagine and engage with spaces.

5.4 Narrative 4 – Conscious Expansion

Masum migrated to Perth from Iraq with her husband, Saddi. Because of her liberal upbringing, she considers herself different from other Iraqis and being married to a liberal man made all the difference. Following migration to Perth, the couple's initial struggle was to find suitable accommodation and familiarise themselves with the Australian way of life. Because they had no dependents back home in Iraq, in Perth they only had to take care of themselves. Therefore, their financial burden was relatively light. Masum appreciated the way the Australian government financially supported refugee families. She exclaimed: 'I get paid by the government for taking care of my husband as a career. Don't you think that is amazing... Here, they respect individuals.' However, she also explains how the government is overtly racial. 'I supposed it (Australia) to be very big racist, clearly it is racist but not that clearly (not overtly but covertly)' she notes. 'It's hard to explain (how they are racist) because they don't show it clearly', she adds. In the couple's life in Perth, the main issues have been cultural and social. For Saddi, who is in his sixties, learning English is a difficult task. This resulted in him being in the house all the time, insecure and totally dependent on Masum. Because Masum can speak English better, she is responsible for communicating with everyone and doing all the outside chores. Masum mentions how this cultural shock has deprived Saddi of a healthy social life: 'We have everything else; we just need a healthy social life. We don't have a very close network of friends in Perth.' From her experience with Saddi in Greece,where he had

migrated from Iraq at an early age and lived for more than forty years, she comments: ‘Saddi was a different man there (in Greece). He was open to talk to people. He socialised and was so confident. When he came back to Australia, he shrank.’ She adds that Saddi is sceptical about trusting anyone in Australia, he takes his time to know and trust people and has only a couple of good friends.

Masum too has experienced similar issues, but in her case, conscious expansion happened after much retrospection and introspection, based on her interaction with people in Perth. These experiences were transformative in shifting her territorial imagination of Perth. Masum observes: ‘They say “Hi” in a very nice way but they don’t communicate. They have a cup of coffee and go. But I felt they do it with everybody, it is how their life is.’ These shallow encounters and lack of deeper communication and relations with people left Mayson with anxiety and depression. ‘In the beginning, one day I was disappointed, the other day I was shocked, another day, I felt hate. What’s going on? What’s happening to me? Let’s change, let’s be happy! Then I realised it’s their life, they keep their distance, not me. I was trying to fit into their picture but realised how they were.’ This transformative experience through self-reflection empowered Masum to take a more cautious approach in creating social networks. One significant change was that she devoted more time to her herself. She joined a gym, began swimming and was studying to be a professional Arabic interpreter. She says: ‘In our culture, we depend on people, but here, for everything you can directly contact the government. So, people don’t need each other like we do in our culture.’

----- Conscious Expansion-----

Experience of shock and shrinkage is followed by conscious expansion. Theoretically, conscious expansion entails a multitude of good and bad experiences from the prior three stages—shrinkage, expansion and contraction. These stages make one aware of the present space and time into which one has migrated. By being able to understand that, migrants are able to situate themselves within it. Such understanding is tactically used by migrants to adopt a conscious approach to engage with space and produce spaces of representation. At this stage, the migrants are conscious beings, and by adopting ‘tricks and tactics’, they counter structural forces. The ability to understand how the space serves their purpose brings the migrants in harmony with their environment. By using their marginalised identity, they become conscious political beings.

In Masum’s narrative, a cultural shock led to conscious expansion. In contrast, for subaltern migrants in Kolkata, conscious expansion generally follows a transformative experience such as eviction, anti-government protests for rights and political participation. Being aware of the politics of space and using that understanding to improve their lives makes migrants a

significant part of the politics of space. Migrants' subaltern politics have the potential to produce widescale repercussion and alter space–time dynamics. Conscious expansion could be a transformative moment for a city, where migrants protest on the streets to exercise their rights or adopt 'under the table' practices to counter the system.

In Nonadanga, the resettlement colony, standing close to the squatter where Rahaman lives, that were handed over to canal side and railway track squatter evictees were not only inadequate for a family of more than two but were also only delivered after five years of eviction. By then, many of the evictees, like in the next narrative (Pushpoo) had already made alternative arrangements, but all chose to take possession of their unit and then either rent it or sell it. These practices constitute a part of conscious expansion, resulting from the total failure of the resettlement scheme. From the very beginning, the points of contention between the government and the evictees had been around the location of the resettlement project, the quality of the units and the time required to deliver them, all of which were unfavourable for the evictees. Under such circumstances, by renting out or selling the units, the evictees did what best served their interests. Similarly, the Nonadanga squatter eviction protests, of which Rahaman was a participant, progressed from a local movement to a city-wide subaltern movement by galvanising supporters from all walks of life. What began as a desperate attempt to re-settle gradually evolved into a tactical subaltern movement, making a permanent dent in the city's politics. The conscious efforts adopted in this case were to grow the number of shacks in the smaller squatters by attracting new settlers to them. This produced more voices of resistance.

5.5 Narrative 5 – Assimilation

The front portion of the moderate one-storey house has been converted into a shop, the rooms, toilet and kitchen have been built but need finishing. The house stands in the middle of an agricultural lowland, which is subject to flooding during the monsoon season. There are one or two houses nearby. The terrace gives a view of the entire landscape. At a distance of about 20 minutes by autorickshaw, one reaches the Sonarpur train station. After some 45 minutes of waiting and travelling time, one arrives at Jadavpur station (a place centrally located in south Kolkata). Every day, thousands of women, working mostly as domestic helpers in and around Jadavpur, run towards the station to catch the train to Sonarpur station where they live and travel to work in Kolkata. They constitute the floating population that comes to the city to work and does not live in it. Among them is Pushpo, the owner of the house described above. But Pushpo was a migrant living in a squatter in the heart of Kolkata for a very long time. Her circumstances had pushed her to the city's outskirt making her a part of the floating population.

Pushpo, now 60 years old, migrated to Kolkata at a very young age. She lived with her husband in the squatter along the railway lines and along the high drains. She started working as a domestic helper, which she continues to do till today. Protests by the squatters did not stop the bulldozers razing the squatter to rubble. Following many other while they were still living along the railway lines, Pushpo managed to buy a small plot of land in Sonarpur, paying by installments. Pushpo explains that everyone was buying land in Sonarpur and she followed suit. The uncertainty and daily threats of eviction forced her to take a similar decision.

Since she was evicted, Pushpo along with her family, has been living on the plot she bought. They did not have a proper house and were living under tarpaulin sheets. Slowly she started building the house. Meanwhile, five years after eviction, all evictees were given a resettlement unit. The one-roomed unit was too small for Pushpo, who had a son, daughter-in-law and grandson living with her. She sold it off and paid a part of the land instalment with that money. With the assistance of the family for whom she worked, Pushpo was able to build her one-storey modest house.

Every day, Pushpo takes the train to Jadavpur in Kolkata where she continues to work as a domestic helper. She also works as a janitor in an office. After more than two dacades of struggle, resistance, eviction, homelessness and resettlement, Pushpo feels she belongs in Kolkata. Kolkata, she says, is an emotion to her and not just a city. It is through time, experiences and knowledge that she has developed her relationship with the city.

----- Assimilation-----

Assimilation, in the space–time context, is reaching a state of harmony with the contextual realities of the destination over time. At this stage, individual time merges with social time. A constant struggle to change oneself gives way to a relatively harmonious relation with space. A change in practices, experience and spatial conception together results in assimilation. Assimilation is not only about accepting the contextual realities of the inhabited space, but accepting one's own limitations and possibilities within it. As a continuation of expansion and conscious expansion, in assimilation, the migrant can continue to be critical of the way of life in the destination, but they have reached a state of harmony with it. This occurs partly when one has internalised a way of life by having lived in a space for a long time and partly from the desire and will to assimilate. Assimilation is also not only about legal land occupancy rights in the case of Kolkata, and citizenship for Australian refugees, but it is also a state of mind when even one is living in a squatter camp harmoniously and feels a part of a city. Over time, a deluge of diverse experiences and memories turns space into an emotion. A deep emotional attachment with the present space is assimilation. While some migrants assimilate in the present by holding on to the past, others are able to do so only by un-belonging to the past.

This varies from individual to individual, based on their experiences in the origin and new environment.

5.6 Chapter conclusion

This chapter addressed the second objective—to produce a framework of migrants' engagement with space that is both temporal and overarching in nature and true to different contexts. It did so by presenting five stages—shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation. The chapter drew upon evidence presented in Chapter 6, but to make the narrative easier for the reader, the results of this chapter were presented first. The chapter presents the manifestations of the structure-agency interaction in shaping migrants' engagement with space.

The chapter described how shrinkage occurs intermediately post migration because of insufficient knowledge of the new environment. Expansion follows, in which the migrant seeks to understand the new environment to start rebuilding their life. In doing so, a sudden unforeseen event or experience can result in a sudden contraction, following which, the migrant follows a conscious expansion to engage. The final category is assimilation when the migrant becomes one with the space. These categories are universally applicable and captures the overarching spatio-temporal nature of migrants' engagement with space.

CHAPTER 6 MODES AND PROCESS OF ENGAGEMENT WITH SPACE

The first objective of the study was to identify and exemplify the modes of engagement with space. By staying true to the epistemological position of the research, the three modes of engagement with space were identifies under the structure-agency interaction framework. Migrants embodied and disembodies engagement with space were considered for this purpose. By drawing from the literature review in Chapter 2 and using empirical evidence from the field, the chapter describes threes modes of migrants' engagement with space: spatial conception, structure of experience and spatial practices. Each mode consists of a myriad fractals that exemplify the process of engagement. These presents evidences of different types of structure-agency interactions as perceived by the migrants in their everyday life. This chapter should be read as a continuation of section 2.4 of Chapter 2 that outlines the theoretical underpinning of migrants' engagement with space.

6.1 Mode of engagement: Spatial conception

A city is an assemblage of materials and functions connected to each other in space (Lefebvre, 1991). It has been collectively brought into existence by past and present events (Harvey, 1972). How we individually think about space is how we see and internalise the interconnection between its material and functional arrangement and translate that knowledge to produce social meanings relevant to our lives (Lefebvre,1991;Soja,1996,2000; Harvey,1973,1989,2001). This understanding is the crux of the migrants' spatial conception.

Both material and behavioural past experiences in space affect the production of our social life (Lefebvre, 1991). This is the inception point from where and how we start to think of space. Post migration, the migrant sees the new environment through the lens of their existing way of thinking about space. With time, such comparisons slowly change, with a clearer and closer understanding of the new environment. Thus, the spatial conception mode is temporal, and key to it is the production of spatial knowledge and meanings relevant to migrants.

Another aspect of this mode is it functions through embodied or disembodied perceptions in space. In the present time, space is compressed and virtually brought closer by technology (Harvey, 1996). Thus, knowledge of one space flows to distant space. The spatial conception mode can be treated as a conduit for the other two modes and can be better understood when read against them.

The section focuses on the mental dimension of engagement- conception mode- which is integrally connected to migrants spatial practice mode. The section informs the reader about the thinking that goes into the production of migrants spatial practices and how newer experiences changes their approach to engage with space.

6.1.1 Kolkata

The way respondents in Kolkata cognitively engage with space shows it is primarily governed by their insecurities of living informally in the city. Their 'markers of space' are confined to their everyday struggles. How they think of space echoes how they live their lives in the city. It encompasses their security, insecurities and possibilities. The spatial conception mode is a reflection of their experiences and practice in space.

6.1.1.1 A temporal overarching conception of space

Migrants produce an image of Kolkata (Lynch, 1979) even before migration. People thronging the roads, wide roads filled with luxury cars, broad sidewalks lined with high-end shops and restaurants, glittering billboards advertising latest fashions and an urban vibe. This they do by using the information available to them. How far this image matched the reality can hardly be vetted or matters at this stage of migration. The reality however starts to unfold after reaching the new environment.Within this background, this sections talks about an overarching conception of space with which migrants migrate, to how that changes over time with experiences in the new environment.

Respondents were asked what they thought about Kolkata before migrating there. Their answers can be broadly classified into four categories: conducive, liveable, opportune and politically pro-poor. Respondents' initial spatial imagination (Harvey, 1972) of Kolkata shows the reason for out-migration (the origin as less conducive) and in-migration (Kolkata as conducive). Such overarching spatial conceptions are an important point of inception of migrants' mental engagement with Kolkata.

Post migration, the migrants' spatial conception of the space expands from new spatial experiences in the city, which they contrast with their past spatial knowledge from their origin. Such spatial comparisons deconstruct the overarching conception into smaller parts relevant to their lives in the city.

Subhas, Salt Lake: When you walk from the main road and turn right, you enter our village. The dusty road gives way to green foliage interspersed with small huts. Walking ahead and after crossing a few huts, on the right-hand side is our house. When we first settled there as

refugees from Bangladesh, we had a mud and straw hut. We were literally hiding because of our illegal refugee status. Back then, there were fewer houses than there are today. The entire neighbourhood has changed in the past 20 years and I have seen it changing with my own eyes. I knew each hut, their layout, their gardens and every detail. Back then we heard a lot about Kolkata, but I had never been there. Kolkata was like a dream. For years, I have tried to make a living in my village in Duttapukur, I did all odd jobs, but there were not many options. I knew that I would be able to develop some skills in Kolkata that would help me to earn my bread and butter in life. There are many more options in Kolkata. I came to Kolkata with my neighbour. He got me a job in a machine repairing shop. Being from a village, I was scared of the city and I also did not have anyone in Kolkata, so I travelled back daily after work. It was only after two to three years that I started to live in Kolkata.……Even today, despite the problem we face living in such uninhabitable conditions, I will say that Kolkata has something for everyone. People are able to make a living and live here. We don't have that opportunity in the village.

Vidhu, Nondanga: Oh my god, I cannot explain in words what I thought of Kolkata (before migration)! It was a huge thing for us. We had heard about the temples, the roads, the cars. I was very excited to come to Kolkata…..after reaching Kolkata I always kept on thinking about my village. Everything was different here, even the taste of the water. It took a long time for that feeling to fade.

From these accounts, it can be observed that the spatial details of the origin continue to linger as an emotional part of the migrant's spatial . As they move to the *conducive, liveable, opportunity-laden and vibrant* Kolkata, their origin becomes an expanse of memories with details of lived experiences retained as part of their spatial memory: 'the pond we went to for fishing', 'the road where I learned to cycle', 'my house and neighbour', 'festivals' or 'nothing in Kolkata resembles my village' and 'I think, I miss the pond the most'.

The overarching conception of the origin against the destination is compared by migrants when deciding to migrate. The conception of the village as a space that is not conducive for growth and advancement elevates the position of the city as a conducive space to live and work. Cognitively, the urban becomes an ensemble of myriad functions—a conducive space, providing choices in every sphere of life that the rural cannot. It is perhaps inherent in the nature of human beings to think of space through overarching conceptions. This overarching conception in the later stages of integration drives the purpose and direction of migrants' engagement with space.

It was observed that the adverse experiences of the respondents in the city often made them rethink their initial overarching conception of Kolkata. Some respondents maintained their

initial conception while others showed a dialectic conception of Kolkata as conducive but 'I don't like the environment I am living in' and 'This is not my place. I only live and work here. My place is in my village. No one can throw me out from there'.

Kolkata and living in a squatter settlement in Salt Lake- Ram: I have worked and lived in various places in Kolkata ... When I first came to Salt Lake, I was hopeful. People here are ready to spend money... I can have a future here. Everything else is fine, but the environment I live in is uninhabitable. I have to call it a place to live. I can't even call it a home.

The simplicity of the initial overarching conception is deconstructed and reconstructed by a prolonged association with the city. The overarching conception that dominates the migrants' spatial conception post migration is a purpose: to find work, a place to live, similar people. As they begin to live in the city and gather information about it, they are able to identify pockets that suit them. At this stage, their primary purpose directs their spatial conception, which has zoomed in from a city scale to a neighbourhood scale. Even though the events in the city continue to affect the migrants, they are now more concerned with the neighbourhood in which they live and work. Other parts of the city matter only if they are relevant to the primary purpose. Thus, post migration and at a later stage, migrants' spatial conception is aligned with their primary purpose in the city.

Lived experience forms a mental image of the city. This consists of intricate spatial details of the neighbourhood the migrants inhabit, blurring out any details of rest of the city. These are the two layers of the mental image, ranging from a general conception of the city to a *map of specificity* (the everyday spatial scale of migrants' engagement). The map of specificity is a customised, zoomed-in version of the general map in which spatial information is sieved and only those details relevant to individual are retained. One lives, works and socialises on an daily basis in the map of specificity. It is the migrant's map of everyday engagement with space. The map of specificity is not fixed in time and space and changes with the changing primary purpose in the city. Below is an excerpt from the same respondent, showing how the overarching conception of space changes with time in the same individual. The opportunities the city provides are used and projected to create a more conducive future.At this stage the initial purpose with which they came to Kolkata- getting a job, learning a new skill which, to provide for their families back home- has been achieved and they now focus on getting permanent occupancy rights in the city.

In the hope of a new overarching conception of space , occupancy rights- Subhas: Anyone would love to permanently live and work in Kolkata. Obviously, I will too... but we can be evicted at any time because the land on which we are squatting does not belong to us... we don't have any official documents to prove our legitimacy... Even though they are aware of us

living in such conditions, local politicians do not support us in any way and they wish to evict us... There was a case near Ultadanga where the government evicted the squatters but gave them a permanent place to stay. We are waiting for something similar to happen to us. If they can even give us a very small room, that is fine.

Migrants have shown how their purpose in the city changes over time. In the above case, a quest for occupancy dominates the migrants' present engagement with space. As the respondent's first objective of coming to the city—a steady flow of income—has been achieved, he now dreams of becoming a permanent resident in the city. Keeping his workspace steady, the migrant then seeks to legalise his occupancy in the city. Depending on circumstances and experiences, the migrants' conception of space changes and at a specific point in time, it is tied to their specific purpose. This purpose entails the cognitive map of specificity which too, changes with time.

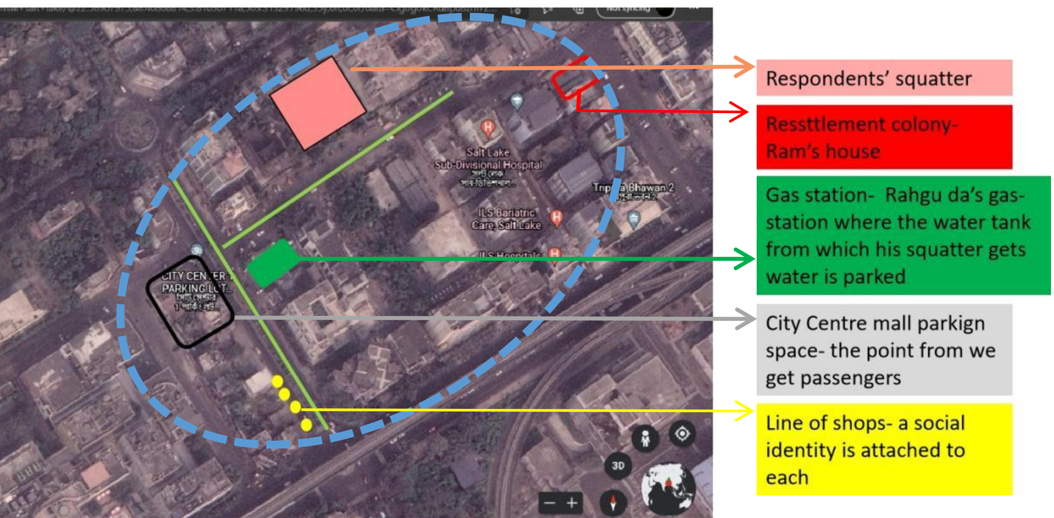
The three excerpts—an overarching conception of the distant Kolkata (before migration), living in the city (immediately post migration) and towards a new overarching conception of permanency (being a migrant in the city for some time)—shows how spatial conception develops over time. Collectively, the process explains the cognitive *expansion* of migrants' engagement with space.

6.1.1.2 Producing a mental image of space

The cycle of production of knowledge, meaning and material (Lefebvre, 1991) is at the core of *expansion* of migrants' engagement with space. Using Lefebvre's work and overlapping it with Lynch's (1960) *Image of the City*, this section demonstrates how the migrants read space and retain that information in a way that is useful to them.

Two types of *images of space* were developed by the respondents, which they used to connect with the new environment. First, the respondents mentally humanise the functional space by translating its material meaning into social meaning relevant to them in their everyday life. For example,opposite to the Salt Lake squatter where respondents live the material arrangement in space visually appears as the following- on one side of the squatter is a stretch of road with a mall at the end, a gas-station is located at its opposite side of the mall. Close to the mall and along the main road is a line of shops. At one end of the mall also exists a rickshaw stand. The other end of the said squatter exists is a resettlement colony.

Figure 6.1: Respondents markers of space, humanizes the functional space in Kolkata



Source: Google Earth

As shown in figure 6.1, the fucntional meaning of the material arrangement in space is translated into the following social meaning by the squatter respondents- on one side of the squatter is a stretch of road with a node where the squatter dwellers, who are rickshaw pullers, gets passengers regularly (the mall), Raghu da's gas station, where the water tank from which the squatter gets water is parked opposite to the mall. Close to the mall is Poltu's shop where respondents drink tea on their break from work, followed by a fellow squatter dwellers pan shop(line of shops lining the main road). One side of the mall is the place where the respondents wait for passengers (rickshaw stand). The other end of the said squatter exists is ram's house(in the resettlement colony).

Such examples continue to the point beyond which social relations blur and material structures once again dominate as markers of space. This is because the mall, the petrol pump or the resettlement colony's actual functions are not relevant to the respondents. They therefore produces their own meanings and connections reflecting their engagement with space. Outside the boundary of their everyday d space, references are sporadic, such as "We get water from block C-5" (which is located a couple of blocks away from the respondent's squatter camp), without much connection with what lies in between. Under the water tank (structure) is a leakage from where they get potable water. References such as on the other side of the road (structure), at the municipal office were also commonly used by respondents as markers of space. The respondent in this way translates the information of the material space into people, social connections, structures as markers of space.

Figure 6.2: Respondents marker of space, material structures in Kolkata

Source: Google Map

The second images of space developed by the respondents showed little connection with the behavioural environment. These respondents were either located away from the city with little or no activities around them to connect with or they had not lived long enough in the same place to develop deep social connections. In both cases, their mental image of space consisted of dots, lines and boundaries as markers of space. Spatially it was observed among the respondents of Nonadanga, because of its location away from the main arterial road and little or no functions around the squatters.

The dot is an abstract point, which materially represents the respondent's home or the squatter camp. An aerial view represents their home and the squatter camp as a dot. This is also how migrants mentally interpret the social and material value of their private space: 'a small dot in the city'. The material existence of the squatter is represented cognitively as a dot because it represents the characteristic of a dot as both an end and a starting point. It is an end to a long, drawn-out struggle for spatial representation that finally ends with the production of a squatter settlement. However, at the same time, it is the starting point of long, drawn-out politics of space, a struggle for permanent occupancy in the city. Beyond the private space, dots constitutes other spaces where respondents represents themselves—the workplace, for example, factories, rickshaw stands, community taps, local shops or informal social places of gathering at the corner of the road. Dots are spaces of their everyday representation and cognitive anchors of their image of space.

Second, lines are respondents everyday paths of commuting. Lines emerge from dots and have the potential to produce new dots; that is, spatial representation. The cognitive lines materially resemble streets, roads or the shortest route. Newer lines, which have the potential to develop as new spaces of engagement, extend beyond points of everyday engagement. Some respondents operate within a network of fixed lines, especially those who have sedentary work,

while for mobile workers such as rickshaw drivers, vegetable vendors, daily wage workers, construction workers, lines are not sedentary and are rooted in different spatialities from time to time.

Boundaries consist of spaces manoeuvred daily. The area circumscribed by boundaries differs from respondent to respondent and depends on their social activities. Their everyday life has produced these territories within, in which they feel relatively secure. The boundaries are therefore markers of the known and relatively unknown, secure and relatively insecure. They reflect what is of immediate interest to the respondent. The respondents used boundaries as spatial markers, for example, 'within Salt Lake', 'in this neighbourhood', 'till the main road' or 'between these two squatter camps'. Collectively, dots, lines and boundaries are a mental reflection of the material space in which one lives, works and socialises. Such cognitive images of space are fluid, temporal and constantly changing in form and scale (expanding and contracting based on changes of spatial knowledge and meaning). The cognitive image of space materially overlaps with practised spaces and is shaped by everyday experiences.

6.1.1.3 Territories of engagement

Based on their significance and time spent by respondents in place, they mentally compartmentalise spaces into primary, secondary and tertiary territories of engagement. These mental territories are a reflection of their actual spatial practices of living, working and socialising in space. Newer experiences make the migrant consciously change the location and extend these territories. Respondents image of space (presented in the above section) is integrally connected to the their territories of engagement.

Primary territories are where the respondent spends most of their time. It consists of the home, workplace and everyday social spaces, which are pivotal to their existence in the city. While some of the respondents have fixed workspaces where they work as a domestic helper, office worker, shopkeeper, others are mobile workers, such as rickshaw drivers, informal labourers, mobile vegetable vendors. Thus, for these respondents, the scale of the primary territory is much wider compared with the other respondents' territory. In some cases, when individuals from the same household have different primary spaces, exchange of information results in shifting territories. For example, the husband and wife may work in different places, which exposes them to different kinds of information about those places. Such exchanges, in turn, influence and expand the migrants' individual spaces of engagement.

Vimal,Salt Lake: My wife works as a domestic helper for a family living close by. Their house is located at a little distance away from here. She leaves in the morning and comes back only at night. She stays there the entire time. There she meets and talks with other domestic

workers. We get a lot of information from them. For example, administrative information or basic things, like from where to get good drinking water (their squatter camp has no drinking water), if there are any work opportunities ... Many people come to my shop, we talk and get a lot of information as well. It helps me to know what is happening in other places. If that information is important to me, I use it.

Everyday social spaces are confined within the squatter settlement or immediately outside it. In some cases, a corner of the squatter camp has been converted into a place for a game of cards or immediately outside the camp, there is an informal tea shop that constitutes a regular meeting and socialising space.

It was also observed that female respondents looked for permanency in their primary territory whereas males tended to diversify their engagements and were more mobile. Thus, the extent of the primary territory was much smaller for females than males. This was because women looked for work near their house to reduce travel time and to have more time for household chores and children. The primary territory of non-working female respondents was confined to the shack or squatter settlement.

Interview data show that at the initial stage immediately after coming to the city, the primary, secondary and tertiary spaces of engagement constantly shift. This is because at this stage, the migrant is still exploring the opportunities in the city and is in a mode of *expansion*. It also comes from a sense of insecurity of living and working informally. Gradually with time, as the migrants settle, which in most cases come with permanent occupancy, the respondents attempt to stabilise their primary territory. They do this through legal occupancy status and a steady flow of income. Such permanency brings about a sense of security and belonging, and is fundamental to their engagement with space.

Secondary territories consist of less frequently visited places. These are important but not a part of respondents' everyday life. Such spaces include the zoo, the museum, temples, the local councillor's office, the local member of parliament's office, the KMC and ad hoc sites such as protests and demonstration sites. The choice of places mentioned by respondents is also a reflection of their economic status (zoo, museum, temples). In some cases, it was found that they occasionally visited their native space, which falls within the ambit of their secondary territory.

Tertiary territories are spaces that respondents' visit only once or twice, because of work or some other reason. These spaces become a part of their spatial knowledge in the city. These are also spaces that are likely to have some future significance in their life, but are presently tertiary because of absence of any embodied knowledge. They also have the potential to become their future spaces of representation. Therefore, these spaces are politically charged

and represent the site to which future inter- or intra-city migration (disposition) is likely to occur.

Ram, Salt Lake: There is talk of the authorities resettling us at Dhapa... No, I have not been there, but we have heard a lot of people have been moved and given a house there. But you see, we will not find any work there. It is very far away from Salt Lake.

Dhapa, located in the extreme eastern corner of Kolkata, was previously a rubbish dump that was recently converted into a resettlement space for squatters from across Kolkata. Dhapa is a part of the respondent's tertiary territory. Even though the respondent had not visited Dhapa, the information about its prospective importance has reached him. Therefore, when asked about Dhapa, a complete shift in territories of engagement was observed in his responses. It shows how the mind adjusts to changes in the material and behavioural environment in search of a new purpose.

Anil, Salt Lake: If the (government) forces us to go to Dhapa, we will. We have to find new work there because it will be impossible for us to travel to Salt Lake every day for work.

Thus, if and when the migrant is moved to Dhapa, their mental image of engagement with space will change and re-adjust according to the circumstances. Their fulcrum of existence in Kolkata will then shift to Dhapa (which becomes the new primary territory). With changing knowledge of space, newer meanings and material production, the migrants' cognitive territorialisation of space shifts by expanding and/or contracting.

6.1.1.4 Need for space ,spatial scaffolding and counteracting spaces

This section explain how migrants are conditioned to think of space. It emerges from their lived experiences, which shape their spatial practices to produce a spatial scaffolding. Why and how they resist, appropriate and negotiate to produce that spatial scaffolding forms the crux of this section.

In cities, '[t]he aim was that of development and the means of achieving this sketched out a radically new conception of space and time' (Foucault, 1978). Thus, dearth became an important security apparatus, as explained with the concept of 'Governmentality' (refere to literature review section) and from it emerged the *need for space*. The city functions in a way that produces a constant need for space for its subaltern inhabitants. This is a political and social condition produced from within the capitalist space. It is a manifestation of the politics of space. It also both causes migration and dominates migrants' conception of space in Kolkata. The purpose behind migration, ambition in the city and quest for a better life produces the constant need for space in the migrant.

Respondents showed evidence of constantly trying to expand their spatial representation to sustain and reinforce their subaltern lives in the city. Chatterjee (2004) calls this the 'politics of the governed'. The insecurities of informally living and occupying city spaces invites constant threats of eviction and loss of livelihood, which subalterns resist by adopting counteracting practices. This produces a spatial scaffolding around their informal lives.

Evidence from the respondents shows the need for space is an everyday way of thinking about space etched in their minds. This extends from their private space to the public space, and manifests itself both at a micro and macro level through appropriation tactics. Here, the term 'need for space' is both metaphorically and actually used. In time, the need for space transcends to need for greater spatial representation.

At a micro scale, the need for space manifests itself through small-scale expansion, upgrading and improvements of the respondents' private space (the shack). Such improvements happen incrementally, unveiling power politics at two levels: among squatters and between the squatters and the government.

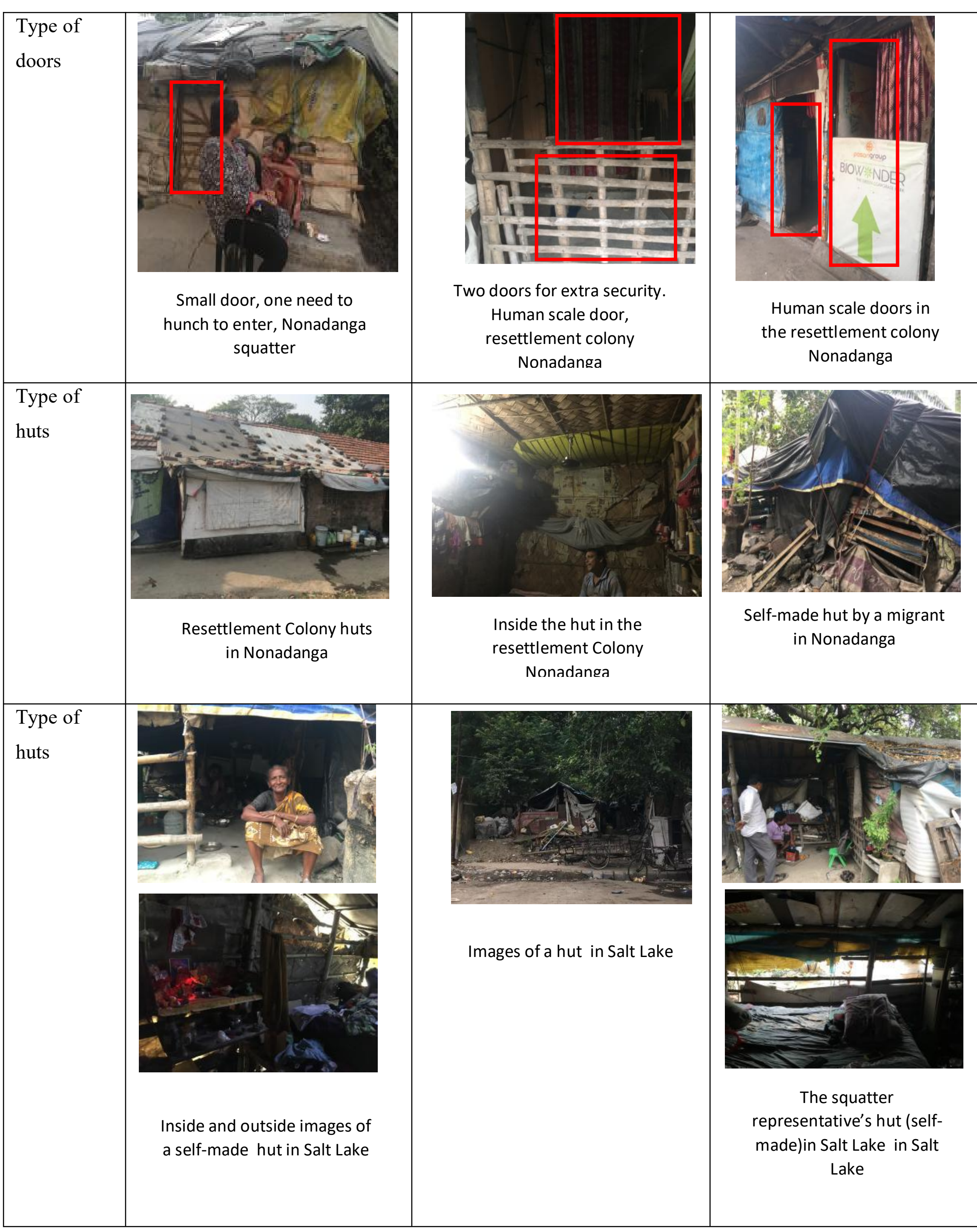
At the intra-squatter scale, all huts are not of the same size or structure. Some are smaller than others, characterised by a small door (As shown in figure 6.3) so that one needs to hunch over to enter the dwelling. It metaphorically represents the squatter's status within the settlement. Some huts are more open, without proper compartmentalisation of space. The materials used to build these shacks also differs. Some respondents converted a part of their private space into a shop or extended it to attach a makeshift toilet. The biggest, sturdiest and relatively modern huts always belonged to the squatter representatives (as shown in the figure 6.3).

Respondents increases the number of shacks in the colony by allowing in new settlers. They do this to increase the voice of resistance against future evictions. Such strategies are related to their need for space. Additionally, micro spatial appropriation to offset the lack of space within squatter settlement results in the extension of respondents' activities beyond the boundaries of the settlement. This often resulted in clashes with the general public and governance institutions.

Figure: showing different types of squatter and a need for space

At a macro scale, respondents showed a need for space, metaphorically. This was reflected as consciousness to produce socially conducive practices to balance the insecurity of informal activities, such as squatting on public land,

Figure 6.3: showing typology of squatters in Kolkata



Type of doors	Small door, one need to hunch to enter, Nonadanga squatter	Two doors for extra security. Human scale door, resettlement colony Nonadanga	Human scale doors in the resettlement colony Nonadanga
Type of huts	Resettlement Colony huts in Nonadanga	Inside the hut in the resettlement Colony Nonadanga	Self-made hut by a migrant in Nonadanga
Type of huts	Inside and outside images of a self-made hut in Salt Lake	Images of a hut in Salt Lake	The squatter representative's hut (self-made)in Salt Lake in Salt Lake

informal livelihoods and using resources extra-legally. This, in turn, improved their social standing, not just as takers but also as givers to society. Such scaffolding practices unfold to produce spaces of subtle representation, namely, *counteracting spaces*. Such spaces are strategic passive 'public spheres' (Habermas,2015) where migrants

(as 'commons') subtly come together to represent themselves through their social endeavours. By doing so, they strategically make their voices heard and make themselves positively visible. Theoretically, 'counteracting spaces' are public sphere of everyday life by the urban commons- the subaltern migrants- produced through their intelligence and actions. Evidence of such practices can be seen in small-scale spatial appropriation using objects. This involves participation in social and care-giving activities in the neighbourhood (festivals, blood donations) or working with existing care-giving networks or NGOs. Collectively, need for space and spatial scaffolding are *expansion* and *conscious expansion* ways of expanding respondents engagement with space.

Subhas, Salt Lake: We have formed a union of informal workers in our area... We do a lot of social work like arranging blood donation drives, organising social gatherings and celebrating festivals. Through this, we make new contacts and people come to know that we are trying to do good for society. The blood bank will help us get blood if we ever need it. This is required because we don't receive any medical support from the government... we get all formal permission required to conduct these drives. The councillor knows us so we directly go to him for permission.

These practices improve respondents' visibility in the public eye, deepen their social networks and establish their social relevance within their territories of engagement. Collectively these acts as a spatial scaffolding to the migrants engagement with space. They also produce positive public sentiments that shield them from shocks, such as like eviction and displacement in the future. It helps them connect to different people in the governance structure who would otherwise be inaccessible. Through these activities, migrants also diversify the source of their everyday resources, such as employment, water, electricity. Such diversification is part of their scaffolding strategy to mitigate the insecurities of informally living and working in the city.

Thus, these practices produce a spatial scaffolding to their overall informal lives in the city. Some respondents mentioned a plan to return to his village and work there if he was to be forcefully evicted by the government. The scale of spatial scaffolding in terms of diversification of options, therefore, extends from the migrants' immediate surroundings in the city to native spaces. The need to always have an alternative plan is a part of their conception and improves their resilience in the city. However, to execute scaffolding practices requires in-depth knowledge of the inhabited space to be able to identify possibilities, show foresight and a willingness to engage. Thus, spatial scaffolding practices produce *counteracting spaces*, which are also subtle in the public sphere, counteracting the insecurities of informal living and working in the city.

6.1.1.5 A collective approach to spatial imagination

The micro spatialities of respondents' spatial conceptions were key to understanding their participation in the city's politics of space. A continuous production of knowledge and meaning from micro and macro spatial conceptions of space intersected and overlapped to produce a blurred dialectic spatial conception in the respondents. Such a dialectic conception became clear from an enquiry into their everyday spaces. Spaces that interest them are those in which they find people in a similar situation to them. They learn from each other and this allows them to conjure up a collective imagination about rights, needs and strategies to counter structural marginalisation. This section shows how such collective imaginations are produced and the reasons behind them.

The private space of the squatter is compartmentalised. The division between the living room and the kitchen or a prayer room was clearly visible in some shacks. The spatial limitation of the private space was cleverly appropriated through the arrangement of objects in a manner to create extra space. Such arrangement included elevating the bed to create additional storage space, shelving, overhead storage spaces and other such features. In some household, the kitchen had been converted into a small additional room. In one particular case, the small space outside the hut had been converted into a shop for repairing bicycles. The lines between private and public space are blurred and appear as a continuous transition between conception and usage of such spaces. Symbolically, the door of the hut remains open to allow uninterrupted transition, thereby blurring the outside–inside boundaries. The close proximity of the huts and the shared amenities in the camp are outlined by roads. This creates an environment where private space overlaps with common space. Thus, the usage of common toilets, bathrooms, wells and taps produces a collective imagination about space in the respondents. This imagination reverberates in their everyday spaces of engagement beyond the squatter camp.

Within the overlapping realms of the private and public, migrants conceive space as collective. This is because they consider their individual existence within informal setting as insignificant.

Shyamal, Nonadanga: Who am I? does anyone know me?

Or,

Rahman, Nonadanga: If we all go there (KMC office to protest) together then only will they listen to us. Otherwise individually we are voiceless.

Such conceptions emerge from their experience in the city, underscoring the significance of the collective over the individual in matters of space and rights. The negotiating power of the

collective over the individual drives and shapes a collective conception of space. Such conceptions are also a part of their political consciousness, viewing individuals as insignificant and powerless in the bigger political-scape of the city. Such thoughts shape migrants' practices in the behavioural and material space. The communal conception of space manifest itself as a collection of huts, tightly packed on urban land appropriated by tactics. Alternatively, the space inhabited by the commune or the communal space indicates that respondents conceive power in the collective. Being a part of the collective is a tactic that they adopt to survive the politics of space.

6.1.2. Perth

The respondents in Perth had emigrated from countries such as Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Their spatial knowledge and conceptions were far removed from the monotonous repetition of the grid pattern that strictly defined the development of the city. Migrants' lives in these two contrasting landscapes—that is, their place of origin and their new environment—and their associated spatial norms evoked spatial comparisons. Such comparisons found reflection in their engagement with space in Perth.

The explanation of what the following categories stand for are similar to the ones vividly explained for Kolkata. To avoid repetition, these have not been stressed on in the following section.

6.1.2.1 A temporal overarching conception of space

The meaning of the overarching conception of space used for Perth is similar to that of Kolkata. In Perth, the interviews revealed how the respondents conceived Perth before migration—secure, safe, rich, opportune, easy, flexible, different. Historically, generations of migrants have arrived in Australia from Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Their stories of success and a secure life have reached back to their origin. This information catalysed the process of migration to Australia, with the country being perceived as a conducive and sustainable space. Thus, spatial conceptions are produced from within spaces but these flow with people and time from one space to another. These general spatial conceptions are important factors determining out-migration. These overarching conceptions of space motivated them to migrate. However, after migration their spatial conceptions were shaped by their social engagement and spatial practices in Perth.

Post migration, the respondents' conception of space changed. The repetitive grid-form pattern of Perth (AS shown in figure 6.4) evoked a sense of isolation in the respondents. The low population density maintained empty suburban roads (As shown in figure 6.5), which was

further accentuated by the use of cars. The economic policy of the government ensures financial autonomy. Therefore, there is little or no need to depend on others. A landscape animated by migrants from different backgrounds creates a sense of mistrust and insecurity. The ideology underlying the material space permeates migrants' conception and instills a sense of individualisation. Within this overarching sense of individualisation, the migrants' purpose of migration and the way they are able to think of their past and present produce nuanced ways of understanding space.

Figure 6.4: Showing the dominant grid-pattern form in suburbs of Perth

Source: Google Earth

Figure 6.5: Showing street level images from Perth

Image 1: Mirrabboka; Image 1: East Victoria Park; Image 3: Girraween; Image4: Balcutta

Respondents' reason for migration and objectives following migration also played an important role in shaping their spatial conception in the city.

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: I have a good salary, my family and husband are very well, but I was not secure there (in Iraq). I was attacked and there was no guarantee that I would not be attacked again in the future. Whenever I managed to save some money, I was attacked and my money was taken from me. My husband couldn't go out at night to buy bread because he had to cross a very bad place, so we decided not to have bread that night. We reached a point where I had money but could not buy bread... We are very peaceful people just seeking security (in Australia). Security in terms of general life and me feeling secure as a woman.

Or,

Rezza, 65 years old Afghan male migrant: I was attacked by the Taliban. My father was killed and I had to run away leaving my family. I did odd jobs for years. There was no telephone during that time and I was not in contact with my family … After working in countries illegally,

I heard about Australia. They said it was a good country … I put all my money to migrate to Australia and reached the shore by boat … We were detained and sent to a detention centre.

Some who migrated from war-torn countries such as Afghanistan or Pakistan were primarily looking for security as well as the better economic prospects in Australia. Most men who came to Perth left their families back in Afghanistan or Pakistan, and continued to provide for them from Perth. Their primary purpose was to stay secure, work, save and transfer money back home. They also looked for ways to bring their families out to Australia.

Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: I don't go for tours. I am saving all the money. My main aim is to bring my family to Australia……..It is much better here, my country is horrible.

Driven by security and economic and personal motives, these respondents thought of Perth as a conducive space, where their quality of life was better than in their country of origin. For female respondents, coming to Perth from countries such as Iraq or Iran, security and safety issues were key. They conceived their origins as unconducive gendered spaces. Evidence shows that both males and females had been physically attacked, tortured and threatened with death. For some, like the persecuted Bahá'í, the reasons for migration were multifaceted. As a Bahá'í in Iran, their economic life was sabotaged and religious and institutional freedom was subverted. Such persecution was witnessed across three generations, and as the situation worsened, most were left with no other option but to migrate. The insecurities of everyday life produced a sense of peril and anxiety in them. Therefore, to protect the next generation from such experiences and to give them a secure life, respondents migrated. Upon arrival, their primary concern was to find security at the destination.

Rehana, 55year old Iraninan female migrant: A lot of people waited while their parents were still alive. They did not want to leave their parents and migrate, but once they were gone, for the sake of the next generation, they migrated.

Sayeid, 58 years old Iranian male migrant: We did not want to come to Australia... before us, my eldest son migrated to Perth. There were some issues with him in Perth and we heard about it from friends. That is when the whole family decided to migrate.

Jeh,27 years old Iranian male migrant: I had to migrate, there was no future for me in Iran. I have a very busy schedule here. I work and I study and I live separately from my parents, but I come home to have dinner with my family every day.

What respondents searched for in Perth gradually changed with their experiences as they came to understand what the space could and could not give them. The diversity of their experiences fractures the overarching conception of space into fractals of conception, which are more

diverse, nuanced and complex. However, the comparison between the present and the past continued to validate their spatial conceptions post migration.

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: I expected Perth to be more western, but people here are conservative … I was expecting more pubs, dance clubs, lights and noise, but it is nothing like that.

Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: Nothing here is like my country … the colour of the leaves is also different.

These excerpts shows how nuanced spatial conception can develop over time. Post migration, respondents' past spatial knowledge acts as a reference point to understand the present. Nothing is like their past and anything that is similar becomes a common reference point, dominating their thinking about space.

In another example, after migration, women from conservative Muslim countries who had lived a life devoid of freedom and with little or no sense of agency, came to experience a different life in Perth. Their new life created a sense of agency in them, they were able to enjoy freedom of choice and take part in activities such as driving a car or dressing according to their own choice. Therefore, whatever they did in Perth was guided by a spatial conception of freedom and agency.

Sania, 26 years old Afgan female migrant: When I came here one year I only stayed home…….Then I scared and I say no I will not go out……..After one year I slowly started going out. Then I understand they are no one to tell you why you coming out, what you wearing , what you doing? After that I understand its my life anything I want to do I can. No one to tell me. So after that I understand and then I start to come out.

However, others who had come with hope and admiration for Perth were disappointed by its cultural experience, which was so different from their country of origin. This difference struck them hard and made them think of Perth as a culturally different space in which they could never totally assimilate.

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: They don't have any culture. I come from a country with rich culture.

Because of a feeling of individuation, even personal experience between migrants guided respondents' conception of Perth or Australia. Personal experiences were amplified and projected as influences of the dominant western culture in Perth. One example of this was observed in the gender-diverse spatial conception among male and female respondents. Most men were of the opinion that women came to Australia and forgot their roots. They changed their appearance and way of life. The men blamed this on the Australian culture and what they perceived as its excessive freedoms. Divorce was common in migrant communities. However,

the actual reason for adopting liberal practices among women was the sheer lack of freedom while growing up in the country of origin. Once in Australia, they saw a different life that liberated them from the shackles of narrow domestic walls. Here, freedom and agency becomes the driving force of their engagement with space. Therefore, not just individual circumstances but how one conceived resistance in specific circumstances shaped their spatial conception in the new environment.

Therefore, under an overarching conception of individuation, migrants produced diverse minor conceptions of space. Their past experiences and differences between the past and the present informed the way they conceive space.

6.1.2.2 Producing a mental image of space

Informed by experiences and activities in the behavioural or social space, migrants produce an image of space (Lynch, 1960) based on their everyday life. The first factor that influenced this image was the immediate visual and perceptual connections the respondent felt with the physical environment. The second factor was government settlement policies, which determined the suburb in which they settled, who they would have as neighbours and what the social composition of their neighbourhood would be. It was observed in the long run that most respondents continued to stay in their first neighbourhood or they moved to an adjacent one. No massive shift from one part of the city to another was observed. The third factor was the way respondents were conditioned to think of space from past spatial experiences and knowledge of their country of origin.

Social relations, connections and functions in space dominated how respondents thought and remembered space from the past. Based on this past spatial experience in the origin they internalise a humanising approach (as explained in the case of Kolkata) as a marker of space. The respondents found this difficult to use in the context of Perth which led to feeling of social alienation and insecurity. With its dominant individualisation culture of spatial development Perth did not allow the humanisation approach to solely exist. In Perth, the material of the physical environment dominated as respondents' a marker of space (e.g. lakes, roads, suburbs, parks, bridges). These were interspersed with mentions of social markers such as social gathering spaces, markets or migrant resource centres (As shown in figure 6.5 image 2). Respondents also used cultural markers by overlapping social and cultural markers such as a Bahá'í house (where the occupants are Bahá'í), the Afghani shop or the shop owner who is Afghani or the Lebanese woman who sells jewellery from home. The difference in the physical and social character of the origin and destination was the reason behind such shifts.

Figure 6.5: Showing the social markers of space in Perth.

Top left and right: The TAFE center organising a women group. Bottom left and right: The Sunday market in the parking space of Belmont Plaza

Next, the section explains the production of the image of space. By bringing together answers to questions linked to migrants' everyday lives and the association with place and space, the section shows respondents' image of space consists of dots, lines, loops, an unconfined and encapsulated conception of space.

Sayeid, 58 years old Iranian male migrant: (Living in Perth for almost five years) I either sit here or there (pointing to the other end of the sofa). This is my day in a nutshell.

Pari, 24 years old Afghan female migrant: (Living in Perth for two years). When I came here, in the first year I only stayed home … I was scared. If I saw people, they were talking, if I went out, I could not understand their culture. If I looked at them again and again, they would get angry and would ask, why are you looking at me? Then I was scared and I said, no, I will not go out (spatial knowledge). But after one year, I slowly started going out. Then I understood

there was no one asking you, why are you going out, what are you wearing, what are you doing? After that, I understood it was my life, I can do anything I want to do (production of meaning). There was no one to tell me what to do. So, after that I understood and I started to go out (manifests into production of map of engagement).

These two excerpts show two extreme cases of migrants' conception of space, manifested by a cycle of production of knowledge and meaning. The production of a mental image of space can range from providing the bare necessities and starting a new life to being able to break cultural boundaries and personal insecurities to come out of a constrained space, the home.

In the case of the Afghan female respondents, the image of space was confined to the four walls of her house for the first year. Many other female respondents reported a similar conception of space during their initial years in Perth. Their mental image of space was dominated by a *dot* representing the home, which was the beginning and the end. The other excerpt from the Iranian male respondent also shows the home and the sofa as a metaphor of an image of space as a dot. Even after living in Perth for more than three years, his spatial conception of Perth is dominated by a dot.

Without the need to go out to work, coupled with the fear of cultural differences, makes the home the primary space. Government support for newly arrived migrants keeps many of them at home initially. Most females also have their husbands working and therefore do not need to immediately engage in work. Most respondents, irrespective of their gender, mentioned home as the most important place in Perth. For some female respondents, women's social groups constituted an important part of their spatial image of Perth. These groups provided support to migrant women by helping them to understand their environment, teaching them skills, providing employment and introducing them to new social networks. Social spaces such as community meeting spaces, friends' houses and libraries and parks also constitute a significant part of migrants' social life. In many cases, the private space converts into a social space where regular community gatherings took place. Especially in the case of the Bahá'í, their monthly feast took place every month in one members' house where all Bahá'í from the suburb were invited to attend. Thus, in such cases we observe a complete transformation of the private space into a community gathering space.

Second, *lines* are paths joining two or more points of points. As described above, points primarily consist of home, work and social spaces, arranged according to importance by individual migrants. It was observed in most case this line is simply travelled with little or no engagement with anything lying along its path. A primary reason for this is reliance on motor transport to go from one point to another. Migrants themselves narrated the disconnection they

felt while travelling by car. Lines emanated from dots and also converged with them. Thus, the dots appeared both as points of convergence and divergence.

Third, migrants' express their image of space was that of a *loop*. A loop is the cognitive manifestation of a routinised everyday life of moving back and forth between places (home–work–home). The loop mirrors how everyday routine is viewed from a spatial perspective by migrants. A loop is the mapping of the migrant's everyday travel; it consists of things that attract their attention and their bodily engagement. For many older migrants who are not engaged in economic activities and depend on government aid, the loop consists of home and selected social spaces (friend's house, coffee shop, a walk along the river). For others like the working cohort, it consists of the workplace, home and selected social places. How the overall Australian way of life demands discipline with regard to time and space is the root cause of such routinised behaviour that working migrants follows.

Fourth, even though migrants have a specific map of engagement, from their spatial practices, which governs their everyday life in Perth, their conception of space is *unconfined*. The freedom associated with rights to certain aspects of their lives produces a sense of agency in them. This dominates their spatial conception after having lived a confined, *encapsulated* and forced life in their country of origin. Migrants from Afghanistan mentioned how they could hear explosions close to their home and how unsafe it was for women to go out. Others mentioned the threat of being a Bahá'í in Iran and how they lost their jobs, admission to school or were forced to read Islamic prayers. Respondents also mentioned incidents of physical and mental harassment. In comparison, the freedom to move without constraints constitutes a significant faculty of their spatial conception in Perth. Additionally, the right to access spaces irrespective of their gender, race or colour produce a sense of freedom and agency in them. It was observed that especially for men and women who could not communicate in English, their spatial image of Perth was an *encapsulated* one. Their sense of freedom was cut off by a language barrier, which put them in an insecure position, thereby confining their spatial practices.

Thus, dots, lines, loops, an encapsulated and un-confinements produced various combinations of conception of space. Like in Kolkata, in Perth too, the respondents categorise space into primary, secondary and tertiary territories. For most migrants who were working and were likely to be on temporary visas, their primary territory consisted of the dots represented by the home and the workplace, connected together as a loop. For older men who were unable to work (because of language issues) and who had either come to Perth with their families or alone, their primary territory tended to be smaller. Their everyday life was confined to the home and its immediate surroundings. However, for young women who came with their

husbands and who were not employed, their primary territory extended beyond the home—primarily to institutional spaces providing support to women (women's groups). These were not just social spaces, but spaces that give their life a meaning and purpose. Many women who joined these groups eventually ended up doing paid work by supporting other migrant women. Thus, for many individuals, these spaces transformed from social spaces to workspaces.

Secondary territories extended beyond the everyday spaces of home and work to include social spaces. These secondary spaces provided cultural representation, where migrants could feel close to their roots. These social spaces ranged from private spaces, such as friends' houses or relatives' houses, to public spaces such as parks, shopping malls, Sunday markets, cafés or restaurants. For some, they also consisted of migrant support groups. The primary characteristic that drives migrants' secondary territory is cultural dissemination and assimilation. Many migrants went on holiday to nearby tourist sites. Through this kind of travel, they disseminated cultural diversity and practices to other parts of Western Australia. Their diverse physical appearance, ethnic clothes, different language and practices were part of producing cultural identities in other parts of Australia.

Similarly to Kolkata, tertiary territories were cities that the migrants had been to or where they may relocate in future. Many migrants reported moving to Sydney for a brief stint but eventually returning to Perth. They moved with the expectation of finding better opportunities and to improve their standard of life. Such decisions were made on the basis of information and the spatial perception it created about far-off places. Tertiary territories fall within the ambit of prospective places to migrate to within Australia or other countries such as New Zealand. Migrants have friends and families living in these cities or countries, and they receive information and encouragement from those people to out-migrate. Such disembodied knowledge about other cities extends their spatial imagination to these spaces and makes them a part of their tertiary territory. A common conception among migrants in Perth was that Sydney or Melbourne was a better place to live. They believed that there were more economic opportunities there and that the ethnic clusters in Sydney would keep them close to their roots. Therefore, as shown in the examples above, dots, lines and loops and unconfined and encapsulated conceptions constitute migrants' image of space.

6.1.2.3 Spatial scaffolding

It was observed that the respondents suffered from a lack of deep social connections and cultural insecurity in Perth. While the former was mostly inter-community, the latter was intra-community. The predominantly western culture of Perth prompted the migrants to reproduce their sociocultural networks and spaces resembling the ones in their country of

origin. These spaces countered western culture and social values as well as familiarising the next generation with their native culture. Such social networks and spaces become the only way for migrants to remain connected to their roots. The production of such space was not simply to practice their own culture but also to counter the surrounding western culture and practices. These are strategic practices serving as a scaffolding to keep oneself rooted to the country of origin in the new environment. Visually, it appears like a network of social relations branching out from respondents' private space and acting as a scaffold upholding their existence (in Perth). Spatial scaffolding is therefore a cognitive approach of how migrants think and engage in producing their social space.

Respondent, 27 years, Iranian, male : Once people migrate, they don't care much … They are always more sceptical about people because of the bad things that happened to them in Iran … I think most relations here are fake. They come, eat, talk and go. It is nothing like what we had in Iran.

Despite the lack of depth, the need for social relations and social space are highlighted by the respondent in the above excerpt. He further notes how post migration, everything changes but people still try to reproduce cultural connections as a scaffold for their present lives.

Additionally, the material environment of Perth, coupled with government support in assisting people's everyday life, promotes a sense of individualisation. To counteract this feeling, migrants use the scaffolding approach to produce counteracting spaces, like places of worship dedicated to a particular ethnicity, Sunday markets selling ethnic products, social and religious gatherings at home or arranging social activities to educate the next generation about their native culture.

Rehana, 55year old Iraninan female migrant: We had a feast, like praying, talking every week, and last night it was in my home. We prayed, had cultural discussions. Then I prepared refreshments, people ate and then left. We all know each other in each suburb. All the Bahá'í people mostly know each other. Like the Muslim people, when they go to the mosque, they know each other like we know each other. My kids were present for the function and they prayed with us. I am very happy they did so.

*Aleah, 52 years old Iranian female migrant: My husband told my kids not to speak English at home because your mom can't understand and I can't understand any English. Just speak in Farsi just say Baba and mama. *She mocks* most Iranian here say 'give it to daddy'. Why? This child is growing up in Australia and will of course know English. Farsi is our language. I speak Farsi and Turki and a little English as well. Why should I try to change? I have seen people of my age—they forget their language. How can you forget your language? I see them standing there and talking, and they forgot the Persian word. I told myself, really? The clothes they wear I think. Where do you come from? Doesn't seem like you come from Iran.*

Saddam, 72 years old Iraqi male: We both love to go to the Sunday market. It is place where we find many people from Middle Eastern countries. The stuff they sell is also so Middle Eastern. Moreover, there are opportunities to make friends.

Aleah, 52 years old Iranian female migrant: We organise camps for kids. They are all Bahá'í kids. We plan different activities, teaching … and everyone has a good time.

While such spaces, social relations and activities act as spatial scaffolding, this scaffolding emerges from a need by migrants to represent themselves in the cultural map of Australia. It also reflects the need to project themselves as a particular community that is doing well for itself and for society in general in Australia. Therefore, the spatial scaffolding approach is both an individual and a community approach; it cognitively guides migrants' engagement with spaces in Perth and *expands* their engagement with space.

6.1.2.4 Belonging, constant comparison and reflections

An integral aspect driving respondents' cognitive engagement with space is a sense of belonging. For migrants, a sense of belonging is relational between the past and the present. It becomes evident in the engagement process when the two are constantly compared. Given that belonging is temporal, it is memory that plays a role in 'belonging from afar' rather than 'belonging in the now' (May,2016). Memory is activated through small triggers in everyday life, reflected in migrants as sense of belonging from afar.

To understand sense of belonging, this section draws on the work of Aucoin (2017) and May (2016), extending that understanding to its relationship with spatial conception. The discourse is situated within origin and its impact on engagement with the destination. This is where a complicated overlap of culture, memory, everyday life and sense of belonging plays out. Here, origin is not viewed as a word denoting out-migration, but as a union of name, character, function and memory that triggers one's association with it. It shows that while looking at the present from the standpoint of the past, enquiry about space becomes a dialectic tracking between the past and the present (Aucoin, 2017). To the respondent, the origin is a culturally meaningful site, significant because of its lived experiences in which actors, through their self-understanding, have created a 'structure of feelings'. The general tendency is to reproduce similar structures in the destination. This makes production of space in the destination an extension of sentiments of attachments and dis-attachments from the origin. The section explores 'belonging from afar' and 'belonging in the now' as a material and phenomenological juxtaposition in the migrants' lives. This juxtaposition triggers constant comparison and reflection between the present and the past. It also plays a significant role in shaping their engagement with the new environment.

Rehana, 55year old Iranian female migrant: I feel I was born here (Perth). My entire family is here. When I think of my memories of Iran, I only remember the traumas and hardship we went through. When I close my eyes, I feel like I was born in Australia.

The above respondent shows a clear sense of belonging in Perth. She compares this with her traumatic past in Iran. She has settled in her secure life Australia and mentions that she has nothing more to wish for. Her sense of belonging is reflected in her activities and approach to others. As a caregiver, she is able to support other migrant women. She shows a mature ability to accept the cultural differences and stay content with the present. Her limited belonging from afar has pushed her to belong more in the present.

In contrast, the same respondent's husband thinks differently. He would like to go back to Iran if the government changes. He does not like living in Perth. This indicates that the sense of belonging varies from individual to individual, and even among individuals in the same household.

The conception of space is caught between an effort to reproduce the structure of feeling of the origin at the new environment. When migrants are unable to do this, they reject the new environment. They also live with the understanding of how different the destination is from the origin and that they will need to accept the changes. These two overlapping and contradictory feelings expose a mix of acceptance, rejection, adjustment and negotiation in producing spatial conception. The next example shows how a respondent, who voiced a strong sense of belonging in Australia, at the same time continues to show dialectical opinions about her sense of belonging in certain situations.

Masum, 45 years old Iraqi female migrant: Australia is very good. My life here is very good and I have nothing to complain about... They are covertly racist but no one openly treats you badly.

However, on one occasion, I had been out with the same respondent and an incident occurred in a restaurant. The respondent was infuriated because she felt she was being harassed by the shopkeeper because she looked different to the average Australian (brown skin, wearing a headscarf). She mentioned that this has happened to her before. This incident points to a habit of constant comparison of variables such as experiences, conception and practices between the origin and the destination. While she is happy about her life in Australia, at the same time, she experiences a contradictory feeling of cultural discrimination. When asked why she thought she was being harassed, the respondent answered: 'Because they are jealous of me and my culture. I come from a country (Iraq) with a rich culture and heritage. Here, they don't have that and that is why they harass me.'

Such comparisons are difficult to verify because of their subjective nature; they could be a figment of the respondent's imagination or a part of their everyday life. Incidents such as these, and their meanings, influence individuals' activities in space. The respondents' spatial trajectory in the city is determined by the production of meaning from pleasant or unpleasant experiences. The respondents' spatial conception also continuously changes, depending on circumstances at the origin. This has a direct relation to the way they see their life in Perth. When asked whether the respondent missed Iraq and felt like going back, the respondent answered as follows:

Masum, 45 years old Iraqi female migrant: Nothing is as it is since I left. They sold a part of the house and have rented out the other half. I will not be able to relate to anything in my neighbourhood. It has been almost ten years since I left Iraq. My brother recently visited Iraq, he is now living in the USA and he fell sick. The change traumatised him and he could not take it. It is better for me to not see that change.

Constant comparison is not only confined to the origin and destination; respondents also constantly compare cites in Australia. The flow of information through social networks informs respondents that Sydney may be culturally and economically more suitable than Perth. A number of interviewed migrants had migrated to Sydney from Perth. Although they later returned, their experience in Sydney became part of their spatial knowledge, against which they further compared their lives in Perth and other cities in Australia.

Aleah, 52 years old Iranian female migrant: His friend told him, 'Why go to Perth? There is nothing in Perth, come to Sydney'. My husband went to Sydney and told me, 'You will not believe it, you feel like you are living in Tehran'.

After living in Sydney from one-and-a-half years, the entire family moved back to Perth.

Aleah, 52 years old Iranian female migrant: It is busy in Sydney, I cannot buy a house, it is expensive in Sydney. Look at the people, there a lot of people taking drugs. The kids will not grow up properly. A lot of Iranian people after years 10, they leave their studies and become painters for the cash. We were staying in an Iranian suburb—Liverpool. My parents were in Paramatta, Paramatta is busy, it's all Iranian. Liverpool is also Iranian but Paramatta is predominantly Iranian. When they say Paramatta, it means an Iranian area. Coburn means it's a Turkish area. Fairfield is an Arabic area. It's not like that here. Here, there is only little bit of a mix. Mirabooka is multicultural, Sundanese and all.

Some respondents had lived most of their life not in their country of origin but in an 'intervening space'(to which they migrated like from Iraq to Greece, from Afghanistan to Pakistan) and some others while in transit to Australia, they had lived in other countries (Like

Iran to Turkey, Turkey to Malaysia and Indonesia). Most of the Bahá'ís coming to Australia from Iran had to live in Turkey to initiate their visa process. The memories of such intervening spaces continue to remain a part of their spatial conception. They also compare their life in Perth with these spaces.

Jeh,27 years old Iranian male migrant: Turkey was a better country for him (about his father, Sayeid) because it was closer to Iran. He just felt like he was welcome there because of the language and all.

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: He (about her husband Saddam) lived in Greece for almost 20 years... His behaviour was very different in Greece... In Australia he closes himself up.

Thus, a complex overlap of knowledge of space, some from having lived in it and some from information by family and friends who continue to live in the origin or intervening space post migration, influences migrants' spatial conceptions.

Migrants' sense of belonging to their past finds reflection in their present in multiple ways. Reflection exists as migrants' own ways of preserving their identity as migrants. While on the outside most respondents show a constant effort to merge with the Australian culture, on the inside, there is a constant conflict to preserve the past (spatial scaffolding). The manifestation of this becomes visible in their private space, the home, and in their practices.

6.2. Mode of engagement: Structure of experiences

Experiences are embodied and disembodied perceptions of the migrant in the new environment. Some of these are by virtue of their being, for example, a Muslim woman or one's physical appearance, whereas others are produced from everyday social interaction, thereby producing the behavioural environment. This experience mode is connected to the previous, cognitive mode of engagement. The stimulus from encounters leads to conception. How individuals gather spatial information and perceptions from social encounters in the behavioural environment manifested as spatial conception. The experience of viewing, smelling, talking and interacting, layered with the migrants' social and racial identities, collectively results in conception. In the context of engagement with space, conception is actually a manifestation of embodied experience. The depth and multi-dimensionality of the cognitive layer is determined by the diversity of experience. Further, the spatial conception and experience layer is reflected in human action; that is, making people do things in a certain way. Repeated actions become spatial practices, which is the focus of the following chapter.

Ireland (2004) links the notion of experience to incongruence (Marotta, 2020). This study extends that understanding to view experience as the incongruence between the ideal and the real. Experience has the power of 'self-transformation' because one starts to see the world with a different eye (Ireland, 2004). Marotta (2020) notes that this 'perspective is politicized because it fosters a more critical view of society's existing social, cultural, political and economic arrangements.' Thus, when the respondents in Kolkata experience the 'unexpected', such as a sudden eviction, they are forced to produce counteracting practices to reverse powerful and dominant top-down narratives. Similarly, for migrants in Perth, the dominant cultural and social disruption stemming from migration pushes them to adopt contrasting practices. In both cases, incongruence in experience transforms migrants' perspective, shapes spatial conceptions and produces spatial practices.

Drawing on the work Victor Turner, Marotta (2020) notes it is possible to produce a normative hierarchical account of experience from categories such as 'mere experience' and 'transformative experience'. This section presents categories of migrants' experiences. Turner's mere experience emerges from 'passive endurance and acceptance of events', while transformative experience is a 'liminal or in-between phase' where one becomes critical of society. For example, mere experience is the experience of being a Muslim woman in an Arabic country. And, transformative experience is being subjected to systematic racial and ethnic abuse and how that affect individuals by making them critical of the society. Transformative experience is a two-way process where hegemonic power relations materialise and permeate an individual's consciousness as experiences. In other words, it is where social, economic and political structures affect individuals by producing experience. The individual's journey from mere to transformative experience is a critical one.

Marotta (2020) points to a third type of experience, identified by Pickering as 'extraordinary experience'. This gives an entirely new meaning to anything that the individual has experienced or will experience in a more 'habitual manner'. This kind of experience can also be described as sudden, ad hoc and life-changing. According to Marotta (2020) 'extraordinary experiences may open one up to the world but can just as easily become the impetus to withdraw from it'. Therefore, once it is witnessed, experience has the power to determine one's course of life. By extending this argument and its categories to migrants' engagement with space, this section affirms that experience plays a significant role in determining the extent and nature of engagement. Migrants' experience is an interplay of all three categories of experience from time to time that collectively determines their trajectories of engagement.

This section uses the identified categories of mere experience, transformative experience and extraordinary experience by keeping their structural meaning the same but redesigning their internal construals. This allows them to better answer the overarching questions of this study.

6.2.1 Mere experience

It was observed in both Kolkata and Perth that passive endurance and acceptance of events related to being a migrant governed the respondents' everyday experience in the cities. Thus, mere experience was further classified into unmediated and mediated experience.

6.2.1.1 Unmediated experience

The initial experience of respondents after coming to Perth was described in one word—'different'. Every respondent used this adjective to explain their first experience of Perth. Within an overarching experience of this term, there are varying perspective of 'different', based on degree and intensity. These are shaped by different experiences. To some, the material arrangement of space in terms of houses and their layout, and roads arranged in a sparse landscape evoked a different experience. One respondent mentioned that the colour of the leaves was different: 'It's not the same green as in my country, it has a slight white tint.' Another said that people look different: 'I was so scared to see so many black people. In my country I have not seen any black people.' One respondent commented on human behaviour: 'People just smile and go, they don't really care... they are superficially polite.' These minute details of how the migrants experience their new environment make each respondent's experience in Perth different from their experience in their country of origin. They individually and collective constitute 'different' as an common experience.

The idea of being different is always attached to something which is difficult to comprehend in words—different from something (Lyotards, 2007). That something could be past experience or the past way of life or simply the feeling of those being absent in the present. When contextualised, as in the case of migration, 'different' becomes an unmediated experience. Unmediated experiences occur when the experience is not mediated by any individuals; that is it is direct. Here, the new environment in its totality evokes the feeling of being different in the migrant. Difference is an experience evoked by virtue of being a migrant and living away from one's roots.

Contextualising 'different' means to contextualise migrants' present experience in Perth with their past, in which they have grown and that which makes it absolutely impossible for them to not feel different. Here, the embodied perception of respondents in Perth, which is completely different from their origins, is identified as unmediated experience. It is unmediated because it

is felt by respondents without any interpersonal incident or mediation through encounter with other humans. In the new environment, the respondents' body and its senses are primary in producing an experience which is different. Different is an unmediated experience of the body in a new environment. Different as an experience is also temporal. It was observed that in the respondents, the experience of different gradually transforms from the new environment being different to a feeling of they themselves as different in the new environment. While all respondents showed initial signs of *shrinkage*, manifested in the feeling of difference, in some, the feeling lingered, resulting in *prolonged shrinkage*.

Thus, the complicated journey of being to becoming begins with migrants either accepting this feeling or countering it, by making an effort to understand the new environment and everything constituting it. Gradually, they began to develop their own ways of coping with the new environment. Thus, the migrants become accustomed from the outside while a feeling of different, sometime evoked by memories, persists from the inside.

Migrants also try to shed this feeling of difference by adopting common practices in the new environment. This is sometimes met with disapproval by families and communities. Practices were observed according to which women were barred from dressing in a western way, colouring their hair, adopting an accent, going out in public without their hijab or maintaining gender roles in the household. In such cases, an unmediated experience of difference is amplified with mediated (interpersonal) interventions by families and communities, which hold individuals by their own free will.

In Kolkata, it was observed that a perception of different dominated the mere experience of migrants' in the city. A change in natural environment, lifestyle, practices and hailing from a rural background contributed to an overall urban experience which evoked that feeling in them. Representation of space also plays a role in the unmediated experience of migrants in Kolkata. The transmission of meaning from representation of space to corporal perception produces an immediate sense of difference. Therefore, in Kolkata, the migrants' experience of different was infused by experiences from both material and non-material perceptions of Kolkata. Material refers to the layout of the clustered houses, high-rise buildings and glittering shops along the roadside and cars on the roads. Non-material refers to the fast rhythm of life in a bustling city. While respondents found the urban experience to be different, they also considered themselves different. Even after having lived in the city for some time, they continued to feel different.

In Kolkata, respondents migrated within the same culture and most of them spoke the same language post migration. Whereas in Perth the case was not the same. All respondents were from different cultural background and their native language is not English. Also, in Perth, the

government provides initial financial support to the migrants as well as assisting them to find a house and settle. A case worker is assigned to each family to assist them in the first month. For rural migrants coming to Kolkata, the experience is not the same. Despite cultural similarities and the advantage of speaking the same language, their disadvantage in terms of no security or government assistance in finding a job and a place to stay puts them on a par with migrants in Perth. However, in both cases, difference is a manifestation of an unmediated experience of the body with all its senses in the new environment. It is evoked by a perception of the self against everything living and non-living around it.

As the migrants start to live in Perth or Kolkata, they begin to understand the subtle politics of the space and ways by which it renders one powerless, empowered or partially empowered. It involves creating a network for work or social life, interpersonal interaction and production of knowledge about possibilities in the city. This constitutes mere experience, which is distinctive than unmediated experience. It emerges from interpersonal experience or circumstances shaping migrants' knowledge of space. Unlike unmediated experience, mediated experience is broader and accounts for changing experiences and their meanings over time. This stage of experience can be associated with engagement, resulting in *expansion, contraction* and *conscious expansion*. It is mediated experience that determines migrants' practices in space.

6.2.1.2 Mediated experience

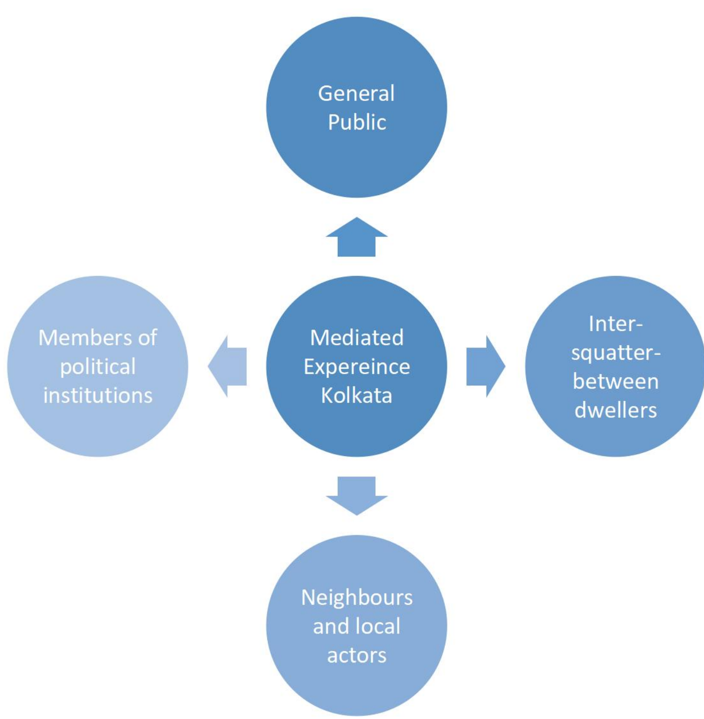
Mediated experience is a type of mere experience that contributes to the migrants' feeling of difference. Unlike unmediated experience, mediated experience stems not merely from the body's presence in the material environment, but mediates through interpersonal interaction between people. The shift from unmediated to mediated experience passes from the material to the behavioural environment. Unmediated experience occurs between individuals or groups. Mediated experience is an integral part of the migrants' experiential cycle and adds to the feeling of difference. These interpersonal experiences materialise through passive endurance and acceptance of events in Perth and Kolkata. To better explain the idea of mediated experience, this section presents examples from the migrants' narratives.

Kolkata

In Kolkata, evidence of mediated experience is more varied compared with Perth. Here, it is important to consider the evidence with reference to the migrants' individual context and compare it only when de-contextualised; otherwise, this is likely to present a skewed picture. Unmediated experience has been segregated spatially into the following categories: from the

private space of the home to public spaces and as shown in Figure 6.7 has been shown through interaction between respondent sand the following actors.

Figure 6.7: Showing migrants interaction with other actors in Kolkata: mediated experience



A)Migrants' experience of inter-squatter friction

Rahaman, 62 years old male migrant: This is where we live.

In the squatter settlement, space is 'squeezed' to accommodate a large number of people with a short supply of basic amenities such as toilets, water and electricity. On average, one toilet is used by 30 people. Moreover, cramped huts and permeable walls made frequent interaction inevitable between squatters. Long queues at water taps, toilets and the well for collecting water, washing clothes and utensils made access to such resources a competition among the squatters. Such interaction, which is propelled by the shared space with overlapping uses, is revealed as a source of friction between squatters. This type of inter-squatter friction is common across all squatter camps. Unlike the old slums of Kolkata, the ones identified in this study are relatively new and more diverse in composition, religion and origin. This diversity is another reason for everyday contention between squatters. Moreover, the material conditions of the camps add to the negative experience of living there. Piles of garbage, blocked drains, a lack of privacy overlap into private and common space, adding to the everyday experience mediated by the living environment and incessant corporeal interaction between inhabitants.

Sometimes, frictions become evident when squatters seek to improve or extend their huts. Hut expansion has been a common cause of contention between squatters. With no formal rules in place to guide *expansion*, squatters take liberties by encroaching on common land. These practices of *expansion* in the micro space of the squatter camp are common. They are repeated in larger spaces as spatial appropriation.

Incidents of mistrust, malpractice and harassment are common among the inhabitants. Incidents of borrowing money and later denying it are exacerbated by taking sides, finally resulted in a division in one of the Nonadanga squatter camps. Incidents of one household becoming more powerful than another also created rifts between the squatters. These incidents individually and collectively from within the squatter settlement produce mediated experience in the migrants.It results in a *contraction or conscious expansion* in their engagement with space.

B) Migrants' experience with neighbours

Neelima, 52 years old female migrant: The behaviour of people on this side (south Kolkata) is relatively bad. Everyone is greedy and cares only for themselves... When we first came and squatted this land, the inhabitants from the other side of the road came and threatened us to leave. They went and complained to the police.

The respondent describes the harrowing experiences with locals when they first squatted in Nonadanga. Acting on complaints by local residents, the police visited the squatter camp. The respondent notes: 'The men used to hide in the bushes behind and whenever they asked the women about the men, they would say, they have gone out for work.' The neighbouring residents were concerned that the squatters would openly defecate and make the place uninhabitable. Squatters camping close to private homes were considered undesirable. The actions of the neighbours suggest that having a slum next to their private property would diminish the aesthetics of the neighbourhood and lower the value of their property. Subsequently, the squatters constructed a makeshift toilet on the opposite side, by the bank of the canal (As shown in figure 6.6) . Despite several promises by political parties, they have not yet received a proper toilet.

Figure 6.6: Showing open spaces of defecation and a makeshift toilet inside the squatter in Nonadanga

The image on the left shows the canal side that migrants use a a toilet. Image on the right showing a make-shift bathing space inside the Nonadanga squatter.

The lack of visual aesthetics coupled with stigma attached to squatters can devalue a neighbourhood. This is why most squatters were tucked away in one corner or squeezed in on uninhabitable land, away from the public gaze. A constant encounter with neighbours and their behaviour towards migrants shaped their experience in space. Here, squatting is seen as a practice that expands migrants' engagement with space. Such encounters with neighbours and the involvement of state institutions such as the police are part of the migrants' representation struggle. In some cases, the neighbours even threatened the squatters directly. These negative experiences made migrants aware of their vulnerability and forced to creatively counteract such forces. They understood the value of collective resistance over individual resistance. These experiences also enforced the need for spatial scaffolding (explained in the conception mode) in migrants. Thus, they adopted a *cautious expansion* approach in their engagement with space. Such experience also results in a *contraction.*

C) Migrants' experience with political institutions

Rita, 33 years old female migrant: Government bulldozers came and razed the entire squatter settlement.

Ram, 45 years old male migrant: They threatened to evict us and build a park.

During their stay in Kolkata, migrants had multiple encounters with various actors from the political system. Their introduction with such encounters began with squatting on public land. In the case of Nonadanga, squatting was managed by local political leaders, grassroots

political cadres and the local police. In exchange for a sum of protection money, land was allotted to migrants from different parts of Kolkata. The arrival of more and more migrants and significant expansion of the squatter settlement drew the attention of KMC. After repeated threats of eviction, parts of the squatter camp at Nonadanga were razed in 2010. Although such experiences of eviction were not the first time for many squatters, the fact that they were all evicted—even after paying protection money—instilled a feeling of being cheated. A massive anti-eviction movement demanding resettlement was launched by the evictees, which dragged on for months. Many returned to their villages while some decided to stay on and fight for what they considered their 'last chance' in the city. The migrants adopted a number of practices of resistance. They were ultimately resettled on a nearby piece of land in Nonadanga itself. In the Nonadanga movement, squatters from different parts of Kolkata participated in conjunction with grassroot support groups. This created a sense of collective loss and resistance in migrants. Such experiences also evoked a sense of agency in the migrants.

Subhas, 42 years old male migrant, mentioned how common it was for them to be threatened by local councillors. While this rightly reflects a lack of acceptability, its interpretation by the respondent was much deeper and critical. When asked why he thought the councillor wanted to evict them and create a park, he replied:

It will be pretty. We stay like this in plastic huts in a slum so it is better to evict us. This place will be clean. A garden will be made. So, that the person who owns it will make profit and the one who gives the land will also earn some profit. We cannot give them any profit by staying here. We are only staying here for our livelihood. We are using this space as a place to stay. I am consciously using the term 'a place to stay'. I can't even refer to it as a home.

The respondent has reduced his entire existence in the city to a mere profit-making and the inability to do so means he will be evicted. He also mentions that the local councillor informed them about Salt Lake becoming a Smart City and that they would no longer be allowed to continue living in the same manner. The material nature of the respondent's existence was of major concern to politicians because of how this negatively affected the image of their governance. The squatter camp was likely to reduce the value of the entire neighbourhood and the city as well. These concerns of the councillor instilled insecurity in the respondent, who viewed himself as an insignificant and undesirable entity in the city. He corroborated that by saying: 'I am a powerless entity, who am I in this city?' This experience is not unique to this respondent nor is it confined to the squatters at Salt Lake. Throughout the fieldwork for this study, similar instances of psychological marginalisation were evident, with a reduction of the self in the squatters from Kolkata. In a similar vein, another respondent stated: 'No one in my

family other than my kids and father knows I live here like this', and 'I tried to open a cycle repair shop at the corner of the squatter camp, but the CPIM [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] goons came and broke it.' The first respondent added: 'We live here as long as they allow us to live here.' The reference to 'they' means not only the other actors but also an abstract manifestation of an urban consciousness created within him about himself, his existence and position in the city. It is abstract because it exists in his cognition and makes him think about himself as an illegitimate inhabitant of the space. This is manifested as contraction. As a result of this consciousness, many migrants have left the city and returned to their native villages, rejecting their trajectory of production of space in the city. Such experience results in a *contraction* of the migrants' experience with space.

Vimal, 33 years old male migrant- If I go alone no one will listen to me, if I go in a group they are bound to listen.

In a meaningful way to counteract *contraction*, migrants take to counteracting practices for *conscious expansion*. The experience of being voiceless and powerless individually transcends into 'being heard' and significant when collective. Migrants, through their experiences, have learned the power of collective voices. Grassroots organisations have a major role to pay in creating a collective consciousness with squatters. Migrants narrated their experiences with such organisations in educating and galvanising them to voice their needs and rights. This is a part of *conscious expansion* practised by migrants.

Ram, 45 years old male migrant- We have to go even if we don't want to (to political rallies and meetings). No babus[9] *will go, only hawkers, rickshawala*[10]*, jhupri-wala [squatters] will be going.*

And,

Pushpo, 55 years old feamle migrant- During my stay in the rail squatter, I have attended innumerable political rallies. We had to go to all of them. It was mandatory for us.

As a punishment for any household failing to attend political rallies and meetings, they would be prevented from working for the next few days. Thus, such political representation become unavoidable given the squatters' financial insecurity as daily wage earners. Ram,who presently lives in the Salt Lake squatter, clearly distinguish himself from the babus, the fact that babus will never join political rallies evolved from everyday experiences of perception of power, class hegemony and a consciousness attributed to both, their material insignificance in the city and from the stigma attached to their occupation. Most of the informal workers belong

[9] Bubu is a colloquial term used for bourgeois in Bengali language. They are the 'civil society' of Chatterjee (2004)
[10] Rickshawala is the person riding the rickshaw, a vehicle used for carrying passengers in India.

to unions, headed by the political party in power. Such unions play a significant role in their production of workspace. Because of their association with political parties, workers are obliged to adhere to their rules and regulations, such as attending party meeting and joining rallies. On the one hand, the union regulations help them voice their concerns, but on the other, they lay down rules that restrict their activities.

D) Migrants' experience with the general public

Vimal, 33 years old male migrant- People have money in Salt Lake and they are ready to spend... It is easier to earn money in the city; in the village, it requires a lot of hard work.

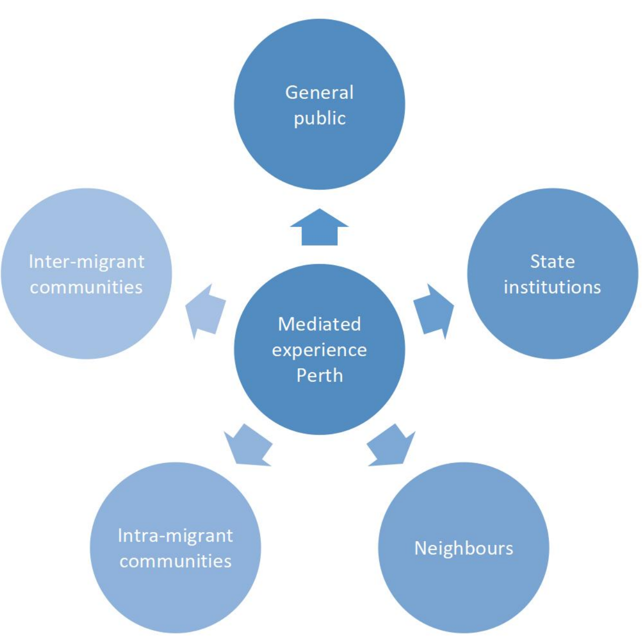
Vimal, a rickshaw pullers working and living in the identified squatter in Salt Lake notes, from his everyday experience in Salt Lake that it is a conducive space for him to work because the people there are ready to spend money. He operates his rickshaw every day and talks to innumerable passengers working and living in Salt Lake. This has shaped his understanding about his possibilities in Salt Lake and has encouraged him to continue living in the difficult conditions in Salt Lake. Similarly, migrants are driven by one primary objective of occupying a space and producing their own ecosystem within it. Even though they consider themselves 'secondary citizens' or 'people like us', multifaceted experiences conjure up an overarching contradictory experience of opportunity, belonging and marginalisation. This forces them to act in certain way in certain situations, sometimes with aggression—resistance—and sometimes by retreating—compliance. Together, this produces their space. As stated by one respondent, '[w]e have to work and live with people [citizens, politicians] even if we don't want to'.

The above sections collectively showed how mere experiences shape a consciousness around 'different'. Such experiences resulted from the uninhabitable conditions in which they live, the vulnerability of the informal work they do and the internal insecurities and frictions with different sets of actors in the city. Together, these mediated experiences produce knowledge to guide migrants' practices in producing their space by e*xpansion, contraction and conscious expansion.*

Perth

In the case of Perth, as shown in figure 6.7, evidence of mediated experience was captured between migrants and members of state institutions, especially, the immigration department, migration and settlement centres, neighbours, inter-migrant and intra-migrant communities and the general public. The evidence of individual experiences is shared among the respondents.

Figure 6.7: Showing migrants interaction with other actors in Perth: mediated experience



A) Migrants' experience with state institutions

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: It was during my citizenship interview that for the first time I felt like I was an outsider. I have never felt this before to such an extent during my entire stay in Australia... The kind of questions I was asked despite them knowing the political situation of Iraq was very sad to me. I felt belittled.

Repeated interactions with state institutions remind the respondents of their migrant status. In the above case, the respondent mentions her citizenship interview, which made her feel like an outsider for the first time in Australia. Other respondents mentioned that the case workers or local migrant resource centre were not very helpful or empathetic towards them. Many also mentioned that the state covertly monitors them all the time: 'You see, they always have an eye on you', said one respondent. The respondents also mentioned the lack of empathy expressed by state officials. The initial dependence on state institutions such as the Migration Resource Centre, Centrelink and settlement officials was more frequent for migrants who did not have family in Perth. Their complete dependence on state institutions and officials exposed them to the institutional system, which made them more critical of it. Sometimes, the mediated experience of such exposure, although negative, made the respondents more resilient to the Australian way of life. They were able to adapt to individuation and take a *cautious expansion* approach. Respondents who had family members already living in Perth were supported by them in every way and were therefore protected from such experiences. However, cushioned

by family members, respondents were found to be more vulnerable and rejecting of the Australian culture.

B) Migrants' experience with the general public

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: I think they are racist, clearly it is racist, but they don't show that openly. Experience? It's hard to tell because they don't show it clearly... In the beginning, one day I was disappointed, the other day I was shocked, on another day, I felt hatred. What's going on? What's happening to me? Let's change, let's be happy. Then I realised it's their life, they keep their distance, not me.

Through everyday interactions such as meeting someone in the road, exchanging pleasantries, everyday life in a neighbourhood, coming across a neighbour, respondents measured their overall experience in Perth. Such everyday mediated experiences shaped their consciousness about themselves and led them to question their migrant identity as someone 'different' in the city. In the above excerpt, what began as a quest to know more about Australian culture and people in the interview turned out to be the respondent's narration of a phase of questioning herself and her behavioural traits, which she saw as unfit for Australian society. Such phases are integral to one's engagement with space because it not only determines what individuals think about themselves in the new environment, but also how they wish to change or accept those perceptions. Accordingly, their spatial practices and future conception of space are determined. This particular example shows the respondent's quest to expand her space. Interpersonal experiences were a hindrance and manifested as a contraction of space. Such experience led her to question herself, which is also fundamental in the migrant's journey from being to becoming. It also reveals how they engage with the space. Individualisation in Australian culture was a cultural shock to migrants. Slowly, as they began to understand and absorb the experience of these new interpersonal interactions, they began to question their identity. Such an identity crisis is common among respondents, who have tried to understand their new environment and their existence in it. Such experiences result in shrinkage, expansion, contraction and conscious expansion among migrants.

Respondent mentioned after a point in time, it becomes habitual to witness minor racial incidents. They mention of experienced out on the road, yelling racist abuse because of their physical appearance or skin colour or a misbehaviour in public. Learning from such incidents, the respondents changed their spatial practices by moving in groups, especially women, and avoiding places where such incidents previously occurred.

Jeh,27 years old Iranian male migrant: A woman fell down on the road and no one came to help her.

With his entire family sitting around him, the respondent narrated how he watched an old woman tripping and falling on the road and how none of the passers-by come to her aid. He quickly added: ‘This does not happen in my country.’ His father, also a respondent, added: ‘People here are cold-blooded.’ When the respondent shared his experience with other family members, they feared something similar would happen to them as well. In this way, they internalised the experience and personalised it, to the extent it affected their spatial practice. They also add their own similar experiences through which they acquired the behavioural traits of Australians in general. Such experiences resulted in conscious expansion or shrinkage.

D) Migrants’ experience with neighbours

Meher, 22 years old Afghan female migrant- My neighbour lived alone and the kids never came to visit her. It was only us visiting her sometimes... The house caught fire and she died. No one came to the funeral. Only my husband a couple of people.’

From the above experience, the respondent says she concluded three things: people are on their own in Australia, she would raise her children with her own cultural values and that she needed to study, be self-sufficient and not depend on others. It showed how mere experiences, when repeated over time, become transformative experiences. The respondent above mentions she was completely rejected by her neighbour. However, she continued to engage with the neighbour over trivial matters, which ultimately changed her perspective of the respondent and her family. The respondents mentioned moving house because of their neighbours. While some had very good experiences with their neighbours, others experienced the individualised Australian lifestyle from their neighbours. The transformation of the concept of neighbourhood and neighbours from that which respondents witnessed in their native countries was the first step towards a new spatial conception in Perth.

Zahir, 42 years old Pakistani male migrant- There was already a significant presence of migrants in our neighbourhood. It was mixed, not from one particular country. The Australian neighbours sold their houses and moved out. Other than my personal experience, I have also heard many of my friends encountering similar experiences.

This incident was witnessed in a suburban neighbourhood where a migrant presence was rapidly increasing. However, this was not one of the suburbs identified by government to settle new arrivals through their settlement policies. Spatially, similar experiences were reported by respondents, some of which were not first-hand experience but those of friends or acquaintances. The general public at times had subtle ways of expressing their apartheid toward migrants. Apart from these cases of racist abuse, squeaking was commonly experienced by respondents.

Saddam, 72 years old Iraqi male: My neighbours are good. They respect us and we respect them. They don't mix a lot, they maintain their distance, but they are cordial. They even took care of Mary (the hen) when we were away. When they were away, we kept an eye on their house and they brought us gifts. Sometimes I go and give them Mary's eggs.

In this example, the respondents mentioned their positive experience with their neighbours. Such experiences make them feel secure and included. They also noted that it was difficult to find good neighbours. People mostly did not know who lived next door to them. These experiences also come as a cultural shock to migrants from Middle Eastern countries where part of their private life extended to the space outside their home.

Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: The degree to which the government supports people in everything makes people less dependent on each other.

The respondent's critical analysis emerged from all her mere experience of being 'different' and through interpersonal experiences of everyday life. This excerpt falls in between a mere and a transformative experience. It is clearly not a mere experience because it is critical of the social, political and economic values of Australian society. Many respondents had not yet reached the stage of experience where they could comprehend the entire picture of society in a critical manner.

B) Migrants' experience in inter-migrant communities

Sayeid, 58 years old Iranian male migrant: People change when they come to Perth.

Rezza, 65 years old Afghan male migrant: In our culture, we don't divorce, but when they come here, they divorce a lot.

A sense of belonging in the present comes from a shared sense of cultural practices and values of the past in the new environment. This exists among all migrant communities generally, but is observed more strongly as a cultural bond among migrants from the same country. If some individuals change according to the culture of the new environment, this does not go down well with others from the same community. In a way, migrants feel a sense of power in retaining the same practices and cultural values of the past in the present. Some see change as a threat to their cultural identity and a betrayal of their own culture and people. In this context, the excerpt above is a common remark made by respondents about other migrants from same ethnic and religious background as theirs. Alternatively, the remark also reveals respondents' views on engagement with the new environment.

Gender issues in this context were commonly observed among respondents. Male respondents complained about how female respondents came to Australia and changed their physical

appearance, such as their hair colour, make-up and clothing. They easily gave up their own cultural practices to assimilate with the western culture. Such judgements and rejection commonly result in intra-migrant gender tensions. However, some female respondents also shared similar views about their fellow female migrants.

Change is not readily accepted because the person who is not changing is placed in a position of loss of power against the one who is changing. It also means that the one who is changing can no longer be controlled by the one who is not changing. Such tensions are common in immediate and extended migrant families in Perth. A sense of not being able to control their children, wife or relatives manifest itself as hatred of Australian culture.

For some respondents, this change had nothing to do with Australia or the Australian culture, but the experiences throughout their lives in their country of origin, and then on their way to Australia. They simply carried the bitterness and rejection with them to Australia. Many families from Iran have spent a year or two waiting in refugee camps in Turkey to come to Australia. Their experience in the camps had been horrific, breaking them both mentally and physically. This bitterness stays with them and emerges at any instance of change.

Further, migrants carry with them the existing structural social hierarchies from their origin to their destination. Such hierarchies manifest themselves when they merge with local groups in the new environment. For example, whenever a migrant meets a new migrant from the same place of origin, they share information about their city, neighbourhood, past profession and other such social information. This information is used to situate the informer within social hierarchies existing in the origin. 'I am different, not like the other migrant women from Iraq. I am educated and born and brought up in Baghdad. I was a professor in Baghdad', says a Masum a 45 years old Iraqi female migrant.

All these experiences collectively influence respondents' engagement with the new environment. Unable to accept and control change produces a sense of insecurity and results in either *shrinkage* or *conscious expansion*. With such rejection, migrants are only able to partially engage with the new environment.

Jeh,27 years old Iranian male migrant: I was cheated by this Iranian family. They are also Bahá'í. We Bahá'ís do not do this... I took them to court—not to get back my money but to teach them a lesson.

Incidents of cheating and malpractice were reported by the respondents. The respondent in the above excerpt was cheated by a fellow Bahá'í, which he considers a sin in the Bahá'í religion. Therefore, he was supported by people in his community to lodge a case against the perpetrator. The respondent believed this incident resulted from a loss of values and

mentioned it had nothing to do with Australia or the Australian culture. He added that such incidents would not have happened in Iran, but since people had lost their cultural roots, they began taking to malpractice.

Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: These people (the church community) treat me well, while my own Afghani people are always talking behind my back and have cheated me of some money for a job I did.

This excerpt is another example of how change is not accepted by local migrant communities. In some aspects of life, especially religious and cultural practices, migrants were seen to cling to the past. However open or unorthodox they become after migrating to Australia, in some aspects of life they are unable to accept change. In the above case, the respondent, who was originally a Muslim migrant, converted to Christianity once in Perth. This change was not well accepted by his local Afghani community. Because of the Australian cultural mandate that requires everyone to be accepting of others, the Afghanis do not directly express their disapproval to such changes but covertly shun people. The respondent indicated that post conversion, he had received support from the church, which helped him to find a place to stay and food to eat. But when it came to working in the construction industry where Afghanis dominate, he faced much resistance. He had been cheated of $7,000 by an Afghani contractor. Although he reported the incident to the union, the informal nature of the work coupled with complications in his visa status discouraged him from filing a legal case. Similar instances of apartheid were observed within the Afghani community against the same respondent. In the men's group of which he was a member, there was a significant number of Afghani migrants who showed strong resistance to him, terming him 'he … who cannot be trusted'.

The respondent adjusted his experience of *shrinkage* with his ethnic community by forging newer connections with the church group. Mediated experience from such incidents makes the migrant cautious about the choice of engagement and pushes them to adopt a *conscious expansion* approach in their engagement with the new environment. Such experiences also evoke a feeling of helplessness: 'There is nothing that can be done about it.' This makes them think of diversifying their engagements in Perth.

C) Migrants' experience with intra-migrant communities

Rehana, 55year old Iranian female migrant: We Bahá'ís don't come like them, illegal in boats, we come to Australia through proper channels. The people coming by boat are the ones creating trouble. You will not hear a single Bahá'í who has come by boat. Those who come by boat and are say they are Bahá'ís are lying.

The perception among some migrants about other migrants reflects the way they perceive and engage with each other. The above excerpt shows a distinction between migrants who have come by boat and those who have come through UNHCR channels. As part of a general negative perception towards boat arrivals, the respondent, who is herself a migrant, holds similar perceptions about boat arrivals. Thus, there are social hierarchies of acceptability, discrimination and historic perception of communities based on migrants' country of origin, religion, language (which is more regional than country-specific) and mode of entry into Australia. For example, the historical conflict between Iraq and Iran is perpetuated among migrants in Perth, while the deteriorating political relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan are also replicated among migrant communities. Sometimes, language is a spatial identifier, and based on language, migrants associate or distant themselves. 'We Iranians don't speak Arabic, we speak Persian. Those speaking Arabic are Iraqis', informed an Iranian respondent. In social spaces like the ASseTTS male group, respondents and other migrants bonded based on language. Even in such institutions meant for migrant assimilation, origin and language based politics exist. Sometimes, even after migrating, the political affairs of the migrants' native country continue to drive their engagements in the new environment. These experiences stay with them and are an integral part of their spatial conception and spatial memory. By making the respondent more cautious, such experiences shift their spatial trajectory to either *contraction* or *conscious expansion*.

Pari, 24 years old Afghan feamle migrant: If I hire you, no customers will come to my shop.

This respondent narrates her experience of looking for work in a shop where she was turned away by the shopkeeper for wearing a hijab. Similar racial instances were experienced by most respondents. Such experiences stay with them and are an integral part of their spatial cognition and spatial memory. Such mediated experience contracts their production of space. By making the respondent more *cautious*, such experiences shift their spatial trajectory to either *contraction* or *conscious expansion*.

The above section discusses mere and mediated experience, culminating in transformative changes. As previously mentioned, the feeling of 'different' slowly transcends into being different. The above excerpts reflect the social and cultural changes that are slowly occurring in migrant communities. A cumulative manifestation of mediated experiences over time transforms migrants' outlook. This has a significant role to play in one's engagement with space. Mere experiences change practices and manifest as a need to *expand, contract* and *consciously expand.*

6.2.2 Transformative experiences

Transformative experiences are critical in changing one's outlook towards society and have the potential to shift individuals' trajectory of engagement (shrinkage, expansion, contraction and conscious expansion) in the context of migration. Such experiences develop a critical outlook in individuals, who are able to identify possibilities in society and the larger political landscape. The nature of these experience is more structural and socially constructed than the interpersonal mere experiences explained previously. Analysis of data shows that cumulatively, transformative experiences manifest as a feeling of *othernes*s in migrants. Here, otherness explains the totality of experiences that transform then and make them critical of society one's own possibilities within it. Theoretically, otherness is the sociological imagination (Harvey, 1972) of individuals, where they understand their future possibilities by reflecting on their past and present experiences.

Otherness has a twofold process of development, where everyone who is other is categorically the same in the eye of the observer, but within that category of other there exist many other others. Alternatively, a migrant's experience with the native/local population, which sees them as outsiders, and also how they are seen from within their own community, produces transformative experiences. That is a twofold process of being the other to everyone outside; that is, non-migrant and to everyone inside the same category (intra-migrant community). This collectively produces transformative experience**.**

In migrants' engagement with space, sociological imagination cause a shift in respondents' trajectory from *shrinkage* to *expansion*, *expansion* to *contraction* or *contraction* to *conscious expansion*. This section provides evidence of how the development of the sociological imagination of otherness has a transformative effects on migrants' engagement with space.

Transformative experience can be highly individual in nature, depending on personal factors such as attitude, values, cultural background and individual circumstances (i.e. living alone, with family, visa status, dependents). Many experiences can collectively lead to a transformative experience; however, for some migrants one particular experience itself can be a transformative experience.

Kolkata

In keeping with the overarching definition of transformative experience, in Kolkata, either eviction and its consequences or incidents associated with loss of livelihood were observed as transformative experiences among respondents. In such cases, transformative experiences change the trajectory of the respondents' engagement with space by pushing them into *shrinkage* or *contraction*. Adverse transformative experience, such as the death of parents in

the village, resulted in the return of the migrant to the native village. In such cases, the migrant discontinues any further engagement with Kolkata by returning to the village. Above are two extreme examples of transformative experience—one where the nature of engagement changes and the other where engagement is discontinued. In between, two other types exist—one where transformative experience pushes the migrant to develop 'politics of the governed' or the other, with return migration from the village after a significant period of time. Thus, what produces a transformative experience and its effects varies depending on the individual.

The section below classifies transformative experiences into two types based on the source. The first is a culmination of mediated experience resulting in transformative experience. The second is the role of specific events in the production of transformative experience. Both produce a critical outlook in the migrant.

A) Culmination of mediated experience resulting in a transformative experience

Pushpo, 55 years old feamle migrant- People like us.

Protima, 37 years old female migrant: Who am I? No one knows me. I am an insignificant entity in the city.

Transformative experience is produced from a myriad cumulative mere experience of living an everyday marginalised life in which voices are suppressed. The magnitude of this is significant enough to evoke a critical socio-political consciousness in the respondent. Respondents commonly recognised themselves as 'people like us' or 'Who am I?' These expressions emanate from a deep-seated feeling of otherness. The 'people like us' and 'Who am I?' experiences are socially constructed and perceived by migrants through embodied perceptions in everyday encounters. An analysis of the data shows it as a manifestation of a loss of dignity of life, experienced through a cycle of settlement, eviction, resettlement and everyday negotiations with power, even when they are able to get things done their way (As shown in figure 6.8. Sati (female) was a vocal and prominent face in the Nonadanga movement, yet after the successful movement, she committed suicide. People who knew her recall her views on the Nonadanga movement as 'the battlefield of life; resistance is the only way to live'. It is well known among the squatters of Kolkata that marginalised urban migrants are used as political pawns. Vidhu a resident of the Majdur Colony in Nonadanga stated: 'We have to go to every political meeting; otherwise, negative consequences will follow.' Another respondent, Vimal, an inhabitant of the identified Salt Lake sqautter noted: 'Throughout my life in Kolkata, I have attended numerous political meetings and movements. We were asked to go by local party workers. The information reached us from the top through these political networks.' He added: 'Only people like us go.' It is mandatory for every household to have at least one representative present at political rallies. This is an unnegotiable political practice existing in

the squatter camps and slums of Kolkata. Ignoring the squatters' personal political rights to choose which party they wish to represent, they are mandated to attend meetings and rallies by the party in power. Similar experiences occur when garbage collection from the Salt Lake squatter settlement was stopped by authorities after an altercation with its squatters. This resulted in the squatter camp overflowing with garbage.

Figure 6.8: Showing images of living condition in Salt Lake squatter

Showing conditions inside the sqautter (above) and outside the sqautter (below)

Informal living and working in Kolkata requires everyday negotiation with various actors. Anil , who is a rickshaw puller in Salt Lake said: 'Our lives demand us to co-operate and work with everyone around us.' Such a conception of everyday life give rise to endless encounters and experiences, which in many cases, result in a loss of dignity and self-respect in the respondents. The amount of cooperation and compliance required to work and live diminishes the image of the self. The migrants become politically conscious of their being and role in the

city. By developing their own language of politics, the respondents are then able to negotiate with the system.

B) Specific events producing transformative experience by evoking critical thoughts and changing the spatial locus of engagement

Pushpo, 55 years old feamle migrant; Vidhu, 47 years old male migrant: We were evicted.

The experience of squatter demolition and eviction has been transformative for most respondents. They have always lived with the insecurity of being evicted. Here, this everyday feeling of insecurity is a mere experience of being a squatter in Kolkata. However, being actually evicted transforms that insecurity from a possibility to a reality and is therefore a transformative experience. Demolition of squatter settlement and eviction results not only in loss of shelter but also jeopardises migrants' livelihoods, which in most cases, are situated close to the squatters. For example, after demolition of the Dhakuriya railway squatter camp,of which Pushpoo was a victim, she moved to Sonarpur, situated in the extreme southern suburbs of Kolkata, around 11 kilometres by road, that took one hour of travel each way. Post eviction, she continued to work in Dhakuriya, which required her to travel for one-and-a-half hours one way each day. Not only that, the loss of social networks, coupled with the security one feels from living in one's space for a long time, added to her plight. She mentioned that her fellow evictees had also settled on the outskirts of the city where land was cheap or moved to another squatter.

Similarly, Rahaman who previously lived in Salt Lake in the north-west of Kolkata, moved to Nonadanga in the south after his settlement in Salt Lake was cleared by the municipality. He was working in a parastatal factory in Salt Lake and post eviction, he had to cycle one-and-a-half hours one way every day from Nonadanga to Salt Lake.

Similarly to the above two examples, it was observed that most resettlement process—both government-driven and self-driven—were observed to take place on the outskirts of the city. On average, respondents had to travel one-and-a-half to two hours every day one way to reach their place of work. Most worked as informal workers in factories, vegetable vendors, rickshaw drivers or domestic helpers, and despite eviction, they wanted to retain their workspace and social connections. Many found work in the new location.

An increase in travel time to work reduces other activities such as socialising or carrying out domestic chores. Eviction caused a total disruption in the respondents' everyday life, followed by most female evictees finding work in the resettled parts of the city. This meant the inception of a totally new production of space for them. Consequently, they re-produced their networks and activities in the resettled areas. Their trajectory was a *shrinkage* (from when

they were evicted). This was followed by *expansion* (in the resettlement place). The transition was slow and could takes years of *cautious expansion*.

Shyamal, 38 years old male migrant: 'We had to protest against the government's atrocity of evicting us.

Many respondents decided to engage in protest movements despite adversities like loss of livelihood during the entire duration of the movement, chance of imprisonment or insecurities related to possible negative outcomes from the movement. However, the experience of launching a movement against government forces and fighting for their rights in the city was a transformative experience. Beyond transforming their engagement with space, the process of organised resistance against eviction was self-transformative and imparted a critical perceptive in respondents. It was self-transformative because through their experience of resisting, the migrants developed a critical perspective about their existence in the city and their ability to resist. A consciousness about their collective agency changed their perspective of the environment. Such changes also had a direct impact on how respondents started to critically view their engagements and strategise them from *conscious expansion* to possibilities of *assimilation*.

In the case of the Nonadanga anti-eviction movement, migrants struggled for a month by living in an open air under the scorching summer sun. Some went on a hunger strike until their demands were accepted by the KMC. Such experiences changed their imagination about their possibilities as subalterns in a capitalist city by imparting a sense of agency in their everyday life. When respondents talked about the movement, they talked with a sense of pride and emotion. These experiences were life-changing, reinforcing their political significance in the city. With support pouring in from grassroots organisation, academia, civil society groups and the media, some individuals became faces of the protest. The Nonadanga movement gave them recognition, resettlement, a slew of new connections in every sphere of democratic life in Kolkata. Additionally, the effects of one successful resistance movement reverberated across the city by influencing the entire socio-political narrative as a whole. After the Nonadanga movement, Kolkata did not witness any further large-scale eviction. The geographical imagination—reclaimed through resistance—demonstrates how a resistance movement occurring in one part of the city can affect the subaltern population living in similar conditions elsewhere. This was a historic moment for Kolkata. Individually, the sociological imagination of the migrants was infused with new possibilities post resettlement and a sense of agency was entrenched permanently in this imagination.

Rita, 33 years old female migrant: Post movement, the government was forced to resettle us.

Another transformative experience was the experience of being resettled, which ensured respondents' occupancy of urban land. The occupancy right is a legal right, granting them permanency in the city. This had a significant effect on the way the migrants viewed their possibilities in the city and their trajectory in space. A legitimate sense of belonging gave them the authority to contest their subaltern identity: 'If they come to evict us again, we will all protest.' The cumulative experience of being evicted in the past and then resettled brought the migrants close to the governance structure by producing significant knowledge about the structure, its functions and methods. They learned to negotiate, push their agendas and improve the chances of their demands being met. The administrative knowledge and connections they made through this process was later used by them in different ways to reinforce their expansion of space: 'I am getting legal help from some people I came to know during the Nonadanga movement' and 'During the movement we came to know each other and he has helped me in different ways since then.'

Thus, these experiences are transformative because they induce a sense of agency in the migrants. The occupancy rights produced as an outcome of the movement made the migrants legal citizens of Kolkata. They also obtained voting rights. These new social connections gave them greater possibility of engagement; collectively, this changed their conception of space from a semi-permanent one to a secure, permanent one—from expansion and conscious expansion to assimilation.

Subhas, 42 years old male migrant: I started a business in partnership with a co-worker, he was a migrant too. I was weak in accounts, he cheated me, took all my money and left. I had to start from scratch. That year, 2000, was very bad. My home in the village burned down. My mother was injured, we were going through a lot.

Interpersonal experiences between migrants, squatters or migrant communities are also transformative in nature. These exists alongside collective transformative experiences like eviction, resistance and resettlement. Incidents of cheating, loss or accidents also account for transformative experience.

Internal frictions in squatter camps, cheating and forgery were found in many cases. While there was evidence of a caring infrastructure within migrant communities, there were also cases of mistrust and wrongdoing. The respondent of the above excerpt put his entire life savings into a small business that he started in partnership with his co-worker. The co-worker was also a migrant, who cheated the respondent and escaped with all the money. This experience of being cheated remained with the respondent. Throughout the interview, he brought it up in different ways. He mentioned: 'That experience remains with me. It has taught

me a lot in life.' He added that he learned that no one can be trusted and that he had to do something on his own to survive in the city.

Similar cases in other squatter camps were also found: 'I gave INR5,000 to my neighbour. I knew him for a long time. But later, he refused to admit that he borrowed that money from me. He cheated me. I never got back that money.' This experience later transcended into the following belief: 'These people are very selfish. They only care about themselves and are never satisfied with what they have.' This experience forced him to withdraw from internal matters related to the squatter camp. This was a clear case of conscious expansion and contraction.

Perth

Given the nature of everyday life in Perth, coupled with government support for migrants, it was difficult to ascertain any particular experience as radical or transformative. Unlike in Kolkata, respondents in Perth had not gone through transformative experiences such as eviction, resettlement or resistance movements. For them, transformative experience were a culmination of everyday mere experience. Given that these respondents were forced migrants who had been refugees at one point, they already had a critical perspective towards society. Based on this background, this section delves into the details of transformative experience in Perth and discusses it in the light of producing a feeling of 'otherness'.

The decision to migrate to Australia leaving their countries of origin was an important decision and living that reality every day in Perth was a transformative experience for the respondents. It was an overarching transformation experience for all respondents. Within that cohort, many resonated with the experience of otherness—either with up-rootedness or with an unfamiliar Australian culture. Once in Australia, they developed new social networks and life around immediate family and work. Their initial life in Perth when compared with their native place, its cultural and social connections, was replaced by more formal needs based social networks in Perth. On many occasions, young adults moved out of their homes to make their own independent life. Jeh,27 years old Iranian male migrant commented: 'My life is very different from my parents' life and it is difficult to match' or 'I work at night and sleep in the day. My routine does not match theirs.' He also compares their life in Iran with life in Perth: 'We used to have get-togethers in our house every weekend. Now, after moving to Perth, my family does not feel the need for it. It is through their experience that they have understood who is close and who is not. Now they think those social gatherings are a waste of time.' Here, the experience of the respondent is transformative, not just the move from one country to another, but the entire gamut of change that he and his family experienced with the same people in a different setting and circumstance (setting: Perth, circumstance: as migrants). Such

experiences have made them critical of the society. For many, their personal networks, social life, work life, possibilities and spaces shrank and it appears they are unlikely to change. Sayeid, 58 years old Iranian male migrant says: 'I could have worked in Iran, but that is not possible here as I don't speak English.' But, for many like the previous young Iranian respondent, Perth is a place of opportunity, where they can expand their engagement. This would not have been possible in Iran. Thus, contrasting living environment between the origin and destination emerge as transformative experiences for respondents in Perth.

Similarly, among Muslim women migrants from conservative countries such as Afghanistan, Iran or Iraq, Perth's cultural environment provided a refreshing transformative experience. For them to be able to travel around freely, work, study, drive and dress as they wished was an everyday transformative experience which make them critical of their life they lived in their origins. Respondents narrated how living in Perth changed them and their lives and now how they struggle upon their visits to their native country on holidays.

Sayna, 29 years old Afghan female migrant- My family members say I have changed, but I don't know, I don't feel anything. I have learned a lot of new things in Perth, which I could not have learned in Afghanistan and I am very happy with my life here.

Some women coming from relatively less conservative Muslim families have occasionally stopped wearing the hijab or have started attending outdoor activities such as gyms and public swimming pools. All of their experiences in Perth have been transformative in nature. These produce a critical outlook in them about gender issues. In some respondents, the experience has been so radical that they question the orthodox rules imposed on them by their culture and religion and are willing to remove the hijab and go out in the public. They encourage other Muslim women to come and join them in activities, support each other to work and drive and live a life that is very different from their past. They become critical of their past life. After an initial *shrinkage* caused by a complete change in environment, their engagement with space deepens and *expands*. Indeed, many female respondents related more to Perth than their country of origin. In such cases, they moved from *shrinkage* to *expansion* and towards *assimilation*.

Similarly, older male respondents were more critical of their lives in Perth. Unlike the women (both young and old), migration significantly *shrank* their social, economic and political space when compared with their country of origin. This can be primarily attributed to their lack of knowledge of English and rejection of the Australian culture. Such rejection ranges from simple things such as how people dress to how individualistic people are. The respondents' inability to learn the language translated into everyday experiences of socio-spatial *limitation*.

This was amplified with time and manifested as a critical view of western culture. Thus, they think the Australian culture is ‘not flexible enough to accommodate them’.

Some respondents disagreed with this critical approach, saying ‘[i]t was their choice to come to Australia. No one forced them. They should be able to adapt’, and ‘[t]hey are too egoistic to understand that what they are getting here is much bigger than their struggles in Iran. Instead, they are only interested in other people’s business’. Thus, some appreciate their lives in Perth, while others do not. Such conflicts were observed in migrant families, between generations, age groups and genders. In terms of age, the data show that migrants of working age were more adaptative than older age groups. Their need to adapt drives their will to adapt, which is not the same case with migrants in a relatively older age group. Thus, one group’s *expansion* became another group’s *shrinkage*. This is true in case of male-female migrants and across generations. The reasons for such *reciprocal engagement* emerge more from the ego than from being practical and realistic about their circumstances. Despite these differences in opinion and adaptation, migrants shared an overall view of the individualisation in the Australian culture, which produced an overarching critical outlook in them.

A) Individualisation and development of a critical outlook

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: What is wrong with me? I need to change. Let’s do this, let’s do that?... It is only later that I understood [Australians] are like this and there is nothing wrong with me.

It is difficult to identify the boundary between mere experience and transformative experience because an accumulation of mere experience becomes a transformative experience with a trigger. The trigger may not have the potential to be transformative in nature but the deluge of mere experience that has accumulated over time makes that trigger strong enough for a transformative realisation. In the above case, a respondent had been struggling for years to belong. She stated: ‘They come home, have a cup of tea and leave.’ This is how everyone is in Perth, yet all along she had been thinking something was wrong with her conduct. This constant questioning of oneself manifests as contraction of one’s space. This occurs after a critical tipping point develops into acceptance or absolute rejection of the question, ‘Why is this happening?’ Acceptance will give way to expansion, while rejection follows conscious expansion, as in the case of the above respondent: ‘I am more careful now (*conscious expansion*). I know what to expect and what not to.’

B)The journey

Zahir, 42 years old Pakistani male migrant: I would say coming to Australia by boat.

The experience of coming to Australia by boat was a harrowing ordeal for the respondent, compromising their human rights and dignity of life. For boat arrivals it was a transformative experience.

The respondent's experience of the travel can be divided into three phases: before departure by boat, on the way and detention camps. The first phase while in transit from one country to the other (Pakistan-Malaysia-Indonesia) required the respondent to stay in cramped rooms in disguise, while passports and other travel documents were forged and supplied by the agent. The respondent waited in fear of being caught, detained or incarcerated, along with the fear of death. In the second phase, while on the boat, they came close to death. They are not briefed about the danger of the journey they are about to take by the human traffickers and most narrated their near death ordeal with horror. On reaching the Australian coast, they was incarcerated and sent to an detention camps. The experience of reaching Australia by boat stays with the respondents and pushes them every day to life by thinking of what could have gone wrong in the process.

Rezza, 65 years old Afghan male migrant: I am still living. I remind myself of this every day. There must be some reason why I am living ... maybe one day I will be reunited with my family.

The above respondent fled his home after a Taliban attack came to Australia by boat. He was able to virtually reunite with his family after 20 years. He mentions the boat journey and its importance in his life: 'I would never have known had I not taken the journey'. Migrants put all their money and resources into coming to Australia. This journey stays with them long after they have settled. Those who did not reach the coast and lost their lives at sea serve as a reminder to the respondents.

Zahir, 42 years old Pakistani male migrant: I lost my brother-in-law in the sea. He did not make it to the Australian coast.

C)Compared with the past, everyday life in Perth sows the seeds of a transformative experience

Sayeid, 58 years old Iranian male migrant: You see, I sit here or there (pointing to the other end of the sofa); this is my entire day in a nutshell.

This respondent is a 58-year-old male Iranian migrant. He explains his spatial experience in Perth by comparing it with his past: 'In Iran, it was very different. We had problems but also had a lot of people and options.' He used the metaphor of a sofa to explain his shrunken spatial engagements in Perth. In this, and similar cases, the transformative experience spans the home territory and extends to Perth. In such cases, a continuity of experience brought

about by complex experiences of the past and the present sets the background for transformative experience. This was the case primarily for migrants who did not wish to come to Australia but had to because of family pressures. In Perth, they were given financial support by the government but the quest for a life similar to that in their country of origin was not realised. Thus, the transformative experience, which had begun in the country of origin, was further aggravated by feelings of exclusion and differences in the destination, Perth.

D)Meeting people from multicultural backgrounds, criticism of gender issues in their own culture

Sania, 26 years old Afghan female migrant: I am very happy here. I have no complaints

The respondent's statement resonates with many migrant women's feeling in Perth, irrespective of age. They mention that their conservative Muslim culture has not been very open for women and has provided limited opportunities for them. Obtaining an education was difficult and so they tended to stay at home. In contrast, their lives in Perth provided a new perspective on life. As mothers, they planned to raise their children with all that they themselves missed out on when growing up. Government support allowing them to learn English for free made them confident about their life in Australia. A group of young Afghan respondents started working at a women's center where they joined as volunteers two years ago. Some of them were able to send the extra income back home to support their parents. Enabled by their experiences in Perth, a complete change in perspective towards life has made them more critical of their possibilities and of women like them. One of them expressed her wishes to establish a school for women in Afghanistan to bring about change. She acknowledges that none of this would have been possible in Afghanistan.

Thus, in the above and similar cases, a transformative experience changed the migrants' perspective and engagement with space. Moreover, they also endeavoured to bring such change into the lives of other women in their native country. Such transformative experiences and their manifestations extend beyond borders to show how production of space can be a *flowing, diverse* and *flexible* concept.

E)Critical about oneself and extension of care as a transformative experience

Rehana, 55year old Iranian female migrant: I sat beside this black guy and I was so scared of him.

The respondent stated: 'In my country (northern part of Iran) I have never seen a black guy.' When the English teacher asked the respondent to sit beside a coloured man, she says she was petrified. But gradually, the respondent started to acknowledge the other's presence. Later, the two became good friends. The respondent considered this experience as a transformative

experience in her life. As a Bahá'í in Iran, throughout most of her life, she was herself subjected to extreme discriminated by the majority of the population and that experience of discrimination converted into empathy for others in Perth. However, this particular experience of discriminating against someone based on the colour of their skin made her question her judgement critically. Such experiences are transformative not only for people of colour but also for the local Aboriginal population: 'I always talk to them when I meet them on the road. I give them advice and try to help them', stated the respondent.

The above sub-sections show how transformative experiences are shaping a consciousness about 'otherness' in Perth and Kolkata. Such experiences are tied to migrants' past and present experiences, their interaction with the governance system, other migrants from the same and other communities and with the local population. It shows how transformative experiences have the potential to change migrants' trajectory in space. When viewed cumulatively and interspersed with mere experience, transformative experiences are an important determinant of migrants' engagement with space.

6.2.3 Extraordinary experience

For respondents, both in Kolkata and Perth the spread of COVID-19 was an extraordinary experience. In the case of Kolkata, it was the sheer havoc that the virus unleashed. Shutting off employment opportunities, the government imposed a lockdown and an alternative norm of being at home. Respondents were afraid of getting infected because of a lack of medical support and treatment. Some contemplated return to their native villages. The spread of the virus brought a uncalculated and unfathomable risk upon the lives of the migrants in Kolkata. While writing this section, I tried to call Rahaman, one of my respondents but was unable to reach him, which was very worrying. Upon contacting members of the organisation that helped me in my fieldwork, I was informed that he had passed away. Rahaman had a long-term lung condition and had finally succumbed to death. It is not clearly known if he does from COVID-19 or not. His elderly wife who worked as a domestic helper in two houses is now living alone in their Nonadanga hut. Losing her job because of the pandemic, she had to rely on her neighbours and grassroots organisations to survive. This is the impact of an extraordinary experience. The long-term effects of the pandemic are myriad and long-lasting. Loss of livelihood, life, savings as well as small and a massive waves of return migration were observed in every Indian city.

In Perth, the respondents were hit hard when the government announced the closure of Australian borders. Now, they are no longer able to visit their home country anytime soon to see their families. It remains uncertain for how long Australia will keep its border shut. This

was a significant aspect of their engagement with space. However, the spread of the virus replaced the virtual border with a real one and the border restrictions continue, even after a year of the pandemic.

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: The borders closed during COVID and I felt a hollowness.

While she never returned to her country in the past 10 years, the assurance that she could do so whenever required was changed by border restrictions. She said all her family and possessions were all in Iraq. She never took them with her to Perth because she wanted to forget the past and start life afresh. This worked well while the border was open. A complete sense of loss, anxiety and apprehension about the future now guides her and other respondents engagement with space. The abstract border is now a real one and it is a choice to either return to the past or remain in the present. Such uncertainty always exists in engagement with space, thereby making engagement fluid, temporal and subjective.

6.3 Mode of engagement: Spatial practices

The theoretical underpinnings of the practice layer lie in Bourdieu's practice theory (2008 edt). The theory highlights the need to focus on embodied practices by rejecting grand, socio-historical perspectives such as Marxism or subjective phenomenological perspectives as primary reasons behind human action (Bourdieu, 1977,2008). Instead, Bourdieu shifts the focus to an interplay of will and social structures to understand practices. His work examines everyday life, considering how things are understood and done on the ground through a lens of structure–agency interaction. He explains his position in practice theory through the concept of 'habitus'. This refers to durable dispositions, to a sense of one's place in the social world. It embodies our understanding of the logic of society and the place we have in it. In broader terms, it refers to social structures that operate on the person as well as a system of models of perception and appreciation resulting from our learning and acting in the world (Schatzki, 2012). Habitus captures the permanent internalisation of the social order in the human body (Bourdieu,2008). However, this embodied perception of practice theory is criticised for being overly embodied, neglecting the disembodied conception of the human being (McCall, 1992). This study addresses this criticism by exploring the conception and experience modes, which are an overlap of embodied and disembodied perceptions. The practice layer in the context of this study and migration involves the body, its movements and its intelligence in producing new practices to suit the new environment.

Three types of practice were identified from the ethnographic data collection in Kolkata: resistance, negotiation and compliance. In Perth, there were six practices: navigation,

negotiation, spatial appropriation, informality, past practices and cultural practices. This section explores each practice by interconnecting them and establishing their relationship with engagement with space. These practices entail migrants' ways of operating to engage with space.

6.3.1 Kolkata

6.3.1.1 Resistance

The Kolkata subalterns' way of life makes resistance a mandatory tool to ensure their voices heard. Spatially locating resistance practices spans the private and public realms in migrants' lives. This section discusses how resistance emerges, proliferates and exists as an undying force.

A) Producing material symbols of resistance

In the heart of Salt Lake lies a tiny makeshift shack, constructed of bamboos gathered from the roadside and boards had once advertised a nearby high-rise property.

This hut is a material symbol of resistance (As shown in figure 6.9, image 1), as are the adjoining 30 huts around it. These shelters were built by a group of migrants who could not afford to live in rented houses. The well inside this squatter settlement (as shown in figure 6.9, image 2) was dug by the squatters because there was no access to water in and around the camp. Multiple requests for a water connection to the squatter camp went unheard by civic authorities. For potable water, the squatters have an 'arrangement' with the water truck driver, that goes from house to house to supply paid drinking water, to divert the remaining water to the squatter camp after scheduled distribution. Such arrangements are part of resistance practices. All squatters are migrants and work in the informal sector. When one of them tried to open a small shop in the front part of the squatter settlement, it was demolished by local political parties. He then strategically converted a part of his hut into a shop to repair rickshaws and motors , which too is a material symbol of resistance (as shown in figure 6.9, image 3). With customers walking in anytime, the presence of the shop invaded the privacy of the squatter and of the owner; however, hiding the shop away from the public eye and transforming a part of the private space into a shop was a smart move. This tiny one 2 metre by 2 metre shop is a material symbol of resistance too. So is the makeshift toilet and bathing space for women situated within the settlement (as shown in figure 6.9, image 4). These were all constructed by the squatters as symbols of resistance against the system that does not allow them access to basic quality of life. The squatters live in darkness after nightfall, despite the

camp being located in an expensive neighbourhood in the city. Through their daily activities, the squatters practice resistance in everyday life. Living in this settlement is a symbol of resistance, as are all the materials and practices produced by its squatters within and beyond the boundaries of the camp. Therefore, '[f]rom the filth and dirt of the cities of the present, emerges a shriek of revolt' (Parag, 2012).

Figure 6.9: Showing material symbols of resistance by migrants in Salt Lake squatter

Image 1 showing the squatter settlement

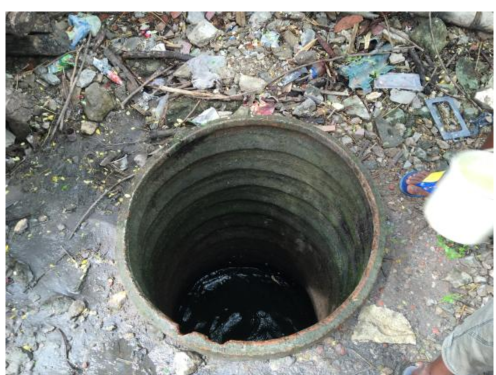


Image 2 showing the well constructed by the squatters

Image 3 showing the shop adjoining the hut

Image 4 showing the make-shift toilet and open bathing area inside the settlement

In Kolkata, similar practices of resisting by producing material symbols are common. These silently echo the ethos of the governance system to accommodate informality. But what make them practices of resistance is a constant thread of demolition and eradication by governance institutions.

Such practices of resistance can be read and interpreted through an assortment of material objects, connected by meanings, which, when seen together or in relation to each other, produce a language of resistance. This is *resistance through symbolism in everyday life*. Some practices around these objects are glaring and difficult to ignore, like the squatter camp itself, which otherwise exists quietly and simply as something inevitable in Kolkatans' everyday life. What may appear as ordinary practices, when observed with a critical eye, are a manifestation of resistance. The material produced by such practices weaves a spatial narrative by giving it a particular character. Here, objects, bodies, their movements in a subaltern modus vivendi are instrumental to resisting. Objects and bodies occupy space, while the way of life produces a sphere with invisible boundaries, through which silent resistance and silent encroachments take place (as shown in the following section).

The relevance of this type of resistance in migrants' engagement with space is that resistance begins from one point (like the hut in the squatter settlement in the above case) and then slowly flows into other areas of lives (the well, toilets). Thus, resistance in space *expands*, just like engagement. The ability to produce material symbols of resistance is a source of migrants' agency in the city. Their identity as squatters and informal workers is appropriated by them to produce a unique position to negotiate and live in the city.

B) Everyday repetitive practices and slow spatial expansion of resistance

Practices of resistance are constantly mutating and expanding spatially. While resistance can be understood from significant events occurring in space and time, it is also observed in repetitive everyday practices, spreading from the core of its inception to engulf everything around it. Objects construct a language of resistance (as shown in the previous section) by producing specific meaning that flows into other spaces. One object creates the need to produce another, and together they manifest as a series of symbols to produce a spatial language of resistance. This perception of resistance was observed in the field by connecting one thing to another in meaning and function in the migrants' lives. Here, an assortment of ordinary objects from everyday life, like migrants' bodies, their movements and activities, collectively occupy space and mature over time and knowledge of space to produce a language of everyday resistance.

An account of how the squatter settlement and everything inside it are a material symbol of resistance has already been presented in the previous section. This section outlines the process of spatial expansion of resistance from one hut to the production of an entire squatter settlement to production of collective institutional resistance movements. It outlined the forces that organise resistance and finally shows how migrants' a sphere of influence results in slow spatial expansion of resistance.

In continuation to the example in the previous section, in the heart of Salt Lake, 31 households have come together to produce a small squatter camp on the street, abutting the City Centre Mall, one of the finest in Kolkata. The settlement is in stark contrast to its immediate and extended surroundings. It came into being when seven or eight households were asked to vacate land on which they have squatted for more than two years, to construct the mall. The squatters moved because they had little choice or power to resist or negotiate. However, they worked as paid labourers on the construction site. This strategy developed goodwill with the developer, who later asked the evictees to move to an adjacent land, where the squatter settlement now stands. This land was being used informally by the developers to house the mall construction workers, who left after the mall was completed. Because there is a lack of land records, to this day, no one knows who the land rightfully belongs to.

Subhas, 42 years old male migrant: The Ambuja officers (mall construction company) and officers from the local police station came and asked us to move because they wanted to make parking for the mall... The labourers who were constructing the mall were staying in this place (where the squatter camp stands). When construction was over, the authorities dismantled their house and we came in and rebuilt our houses.

When asked whether the authorities gave them permission to live on the land or whether they decided for themselves, the respondent replied:

Subhas, 42 years old male migrant: They informed us and we also realised... We did not have any organisation back then and neither were there so many people ... When we shifted from that side to this side there were 18 to 19 huts; now there are 30 to 31 huts. These people (who came in and squatted the land) are not outsiders, but they are people who went back (to their villages) and then understood that they needed to return to Kolkata to work. They therefore had to return to work at Salt Lake... Most people here don't know whose land this is (on which the squatter settlement stands). Therefore, this land which we are squatting on might belong to someone of maybe it is a wasteland. Since the Ambuja people used this land to house their labourers, we came and settled here. We only followed their cue.

Since its establishment in 2010, the squatter settlement has faced many challenges. Without any government support, the squatters made makeshift arrangements for water, toilets, sewage lines and garbage disposal. It also witnessed political wrath, where political party workers came and asked for alms and favours. As the squatter settlement began to grow, it attracted more and more migrants—not only to it, but also to other vacant land around it. Adjacent to the squatter camp there are other smaller settlements (as shown in figure 6.10). One of these is even a temporary government resettlement program. The collective voices of all the squatters produce a frontier of resistance to threats of eviction and ill-treatment. Resistance needs to be organised and for that, it needs to be collectivised. Thus, by slowly increasing the number of households, the squatters brought themselves to a number of voices that will not go unheard by authorities. As the respondent mentions, at the beginning, they were not organised. This implies that they were evicted because of their inability to organise resistance. Thus, by being involved in the mall construction, the migrants created goodwill with the construction company, which later informed them about the land where they could settle. These are sometimes disguised and sometimes silent practices of resistance.

Figure 6.10: Showing spatial spread of resistance in Salt Lake

Newer and relatively smaller squatter settlement developing close to existing squatter

Gradually, as symbols of emplacement, the squatters dug a well, which too, met with resistance and was demolished multiple times by political party cadres. The squatters reclaimed the well at least twice. As the number of huts increased, one well was not enough and they had to dig another one. Drains were dug and a toilet was made, more huts were constructed. Collectively, in the practice of resistance, the settlement is a material symbol of resistance that the squatters have built to resist their systematic exclusion from basic resources

and rights. The constant threat of eviction looms over them. Therefore, along with other nearby squatter camps, they have created the Basti Bachao Committee (Save the Squatters Committee). An institution resisting eviction by congregating different sqautters is another practice of spatial spread of resistance.

Rahaman, 62 years old male migrant Everywhere you go there are neighbourhood clubs and political parties. Now that the songothon (committee) has been created, whenever we go with the songothon, the authorities have to listen. Me or my neighbour going alone won't help, they won't even listen to us.

Vidhu, 47 years old male migrant: They [grassroots organisations] came when our jhupris [huts] were torn down. They came without anyone calling them. They asked us about it and asked us to stay with them. They said they would not allow our jhupris to be taken down. They saved us. When the government destroyed our jhupris, they rebuilt them... The organisation helped us create an andolan (resistance movement) and because of that, the government assured us of resettlement.

Through their everyday struggles and resistance, migrants become a part of a larger resistance movement in Kolkata, organised by grassroots organisations fighting for democratic rights in Kolkata. These organisations play an important role in organising lone voices of resistance in the city. In the case of above squatter settlement, these organisations played an important role in educating the squatters about the political system, they organised their voices and supported them. The squatters' impetus to congregate is reinforced by such organisations. Such practices of identifying, educating, organising and resisting under the mentorship of grassroot organisations make migrants a part of spatially larger resistant movements in Kolkata and in India. This is how resistance spatially spread slowing.

Next, this section provides examples of how spatial expansion and resistance take place beyond the immediate boundary of the squatter settlement, through the production of everyday objects and activities, to collectively produce a sphere of resistance. This is achieved through spatial appropriation by using objects and the migrant's body and its movement in space.

A lack of space within the squatter settlement causes squatters to expand to the street adjacent to it. Leaving half of the street for commuters, they appropriate the other half with objects such as rickshaws, vans, space used to carry out repairs (As shown in figure 6.11 image 1, 2 and 3). This becomes an extension of the squatter settlement. However, the settlement, from a visual, olfactory and acoustic perception, is likely to draw the attention of any commuters. This aura extends and engulfs the commuters' half of the street as well. As a result, there are

very few commuters on this street (As shown in figure 6.11 image 4 and image 5). Most people avoid it and take a relatively longer route. The squatters, through their own consciousness, have created a curtain-like wall using clothes to shield themselves from the eyes of passers-by (As shown in figure 6.11 image 6).

Protima, 37 years old female migrant: Not many people take this street. Mostly, the other squatters and we use it.

The everyday practices of the squatters create a sphere of influence. Such acts of spatial appropriation are silent practices and slow expansion of resistance by squatters. Although such expansion is not always done consciously, the squatters are nonetheless aware of its benefits and drawbacks. Such silent practices emerge from the everyday way of doing things and are not sudden or ad hoc resistance practices in response to specific events. In other squatter settlements in Kolkata, similar practices of expansion of resistance can be observed. Thus, a temple, shops, gatherings and other everyday activities are conducted in the streets adjacent to the camps. For example, the act of tearing down a temple during eviction may have serious political ramifications. The social gatherings around the temple during festivals enhance the visual impression of the squatter settlement in the public eye. The settlement became visible as a socially inclusive space.

Next to the squatter camp, on the sidewalk, there is a rickshaw stand where most squatters park their rickshaws. This is because the government erected e-rickshaw charging stands at the crossroad (As shown in Figure 6.12 image1 and 2). This provided an opportunity for the rickshaw drivers to encroach onto adjacent land and convert it into a rickshaw stand. The respondents mention that they have been asking the transport department for a permanent stand for years now, with no success. A tent-like structure was erected to house a guard to keep an eye on the rickshaws (As shown in Figure 6.12 image 3). The rickshaw drivers association also put up a hand-written board to symbolise their claim to the piece of land (As shown in Figure 6.12, image 4). Thus, the rickshaws, tent and board constitute objects of silent spatial appropriation and resistance. The presence of a guard, the rickshaw drivers and their constant bodily movement jointly reinforce the significance of bodies and their movement in spatial appropriation. In informal settings such as in Kolkata, bodies and their movement plays a significant role in spatial appropriation. Their everyday presence in a place is reinforced by the placement of objects as steps in spatial appropriation. Such acts establish the usage of space for a particular informal purpose, and at the same time, resist alternative usage. Additionally, the informal nature of their existence echoes the need for space and the production of spaces of representation by subalterns.

Ram, 45 years old male migrant: There is no allocated space to park rickshaws. Where you are currently sitting is a plot. When the owner of the plot comes, he will remove us from here. If we jam the footpath, the public will have a problem. Also, we don't have licenses. We have heard that they will give us licenses. But how many? And on what basis? We don't know. We had old licenses but they have now expired.

Thus, when considering all of the above mentioned points together, a spatial narrative of resistance emerges, with one thing leading to another. They are all connected in space and purpose and manifest over time. The narrative flows from the squatters and objects in the squatter camp to the street adjacent to it, where objects, bodies and their movement play an important role in spatial appropriation and resistance. From these activities, it eventually flows to adjoining spaces such as the sidewalk and the vacant land where the rickshaw stand is now located. Here too objects, bodies and their movements assign usage to space. Collectively, they produce a sphere of resistance and spatial appropriation that represents migrants' subaltern identity.

Figure 6.11: Showing spatial expansion of resistance close to the squatter using object, migrants' bodies and their movement, in Salt Lake

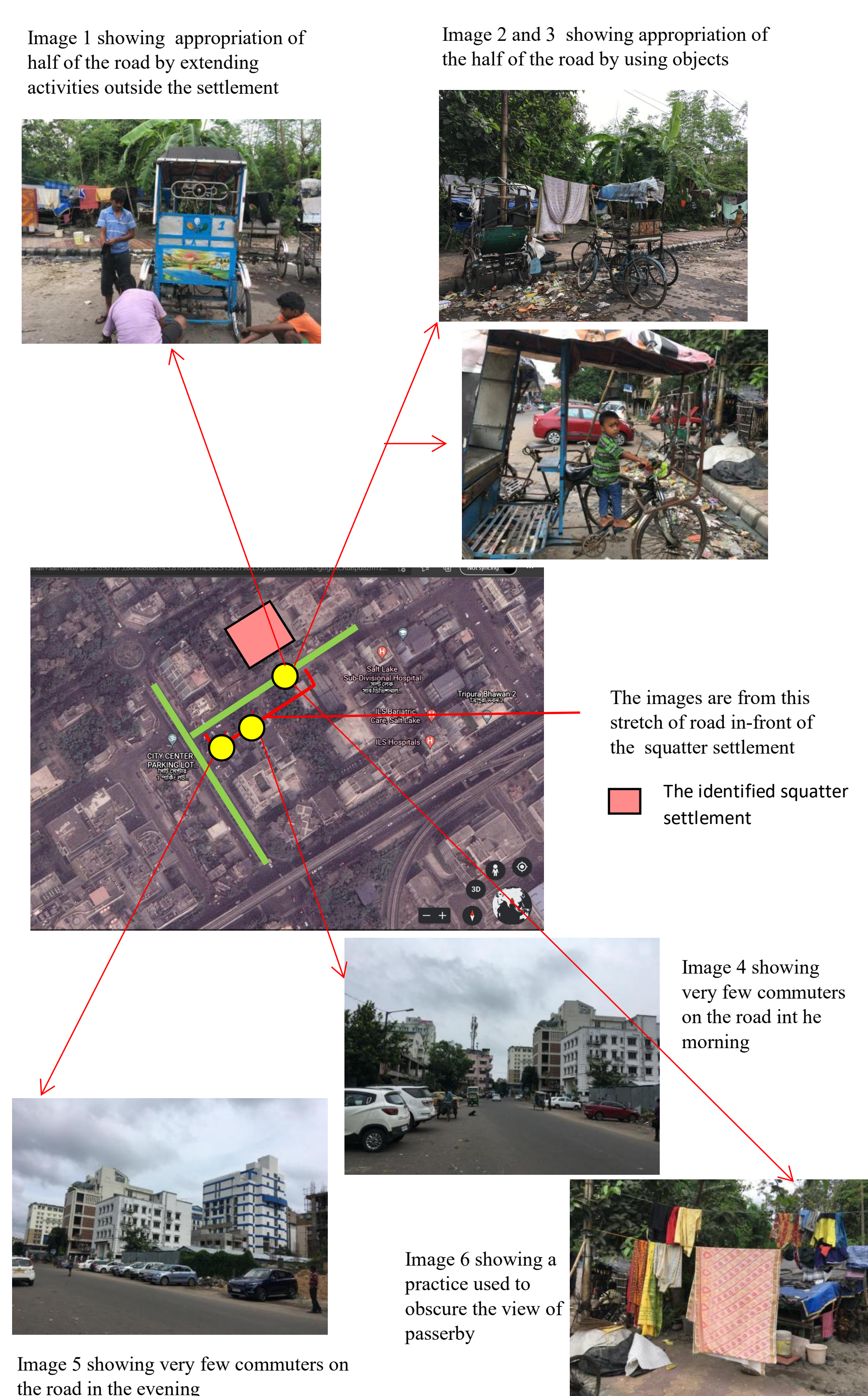


Image 1 showing appropriation of half of the road by extending activities outside the settlement

Image 2 and 3 showing appropriation of the half of the road by using objects

The images are from this stretch of road in-front of the squatter settlement

The identified squatter settlement

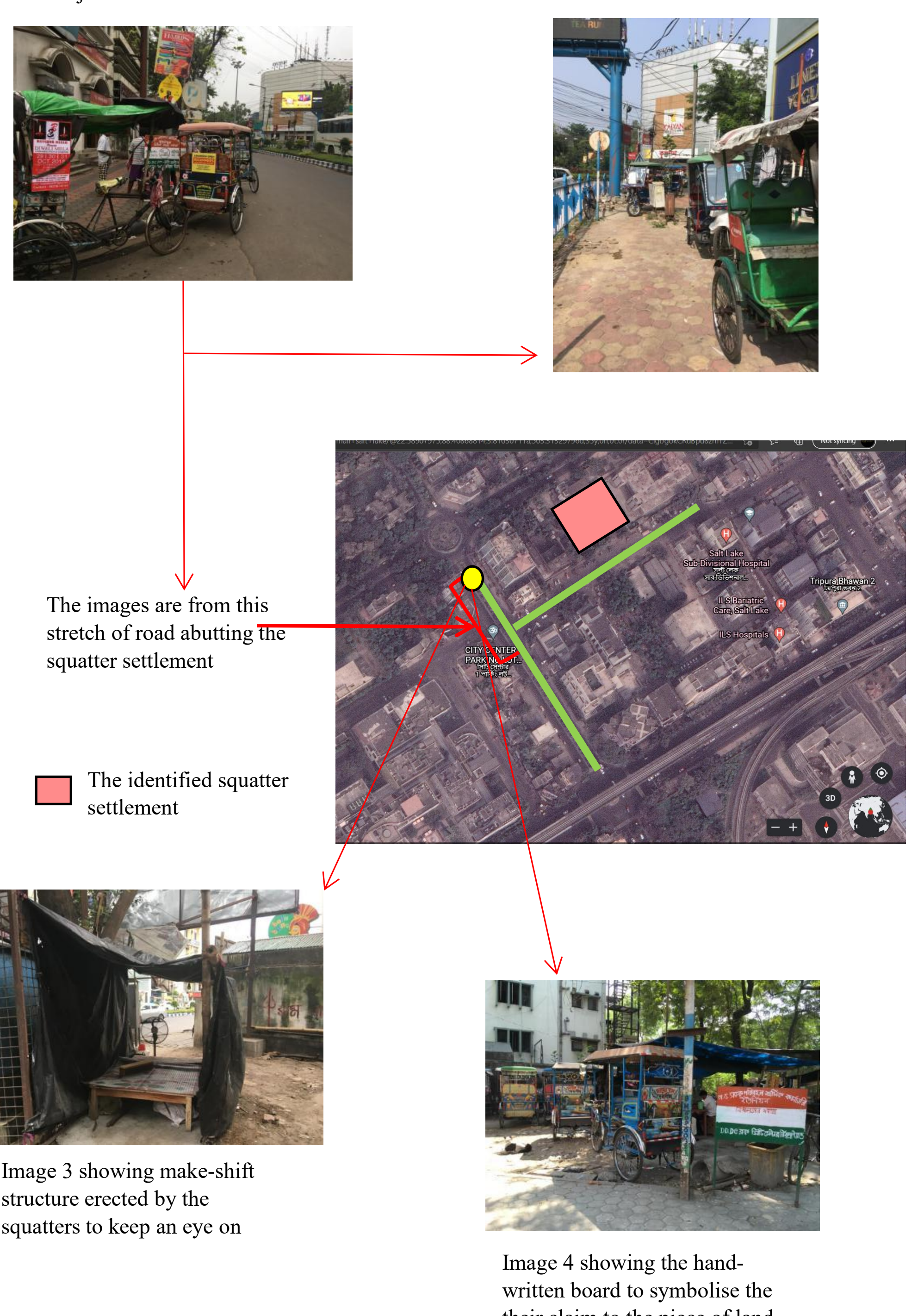
Image 4 showing very few commuters on the road int he morning

Image 6 showing a practice used to obscure the view of passerby

Image 5 showing very few commuters on the road in the evening

Figure 6.12: Showing spatial expansion of resistance in contiguity to the squatter by using object, migrants' bodies and their movement, Salt Lake

Image 1 and 2 showing appropriation of the road abutting the squatter settlement by using objects like rickshaw



C) Entangled resistance

The ethnographic fieldwork in Kolkata shows that some practices of resistance function close to the source of emergence, like a squatter settlement or an encroachment onto a main road, while others occurs far away from the source, like picketing government officials, blocking arterial roads to resist eviction at a distance place. In Kolkata, some practices are traditional, such as sitting in protest, walking and protesting (*pothojatra*), picketing (*gherao*) or road blocking. Others are instantaneous and circumstantial. Some are isolated cases of resistance confined to a specific place, while others are more collective or entangled in nature. Entangled resistance brings individuals from various walks of life together to collectively resist for a cause not directly concerning them. Their participation in the resistance movement amplifies the resisting voices by supporting their cause. There are others who, although not directly affected by a particular incident,but are living in similar circumstances come together to collectively resist. A recent example of this was the Black Lives Matter movement, which spread far beyond its point of inception—Minneapolis in the United States—to engulf other cities and countries in its tide. Thus, resistance connects spaces, people, causes and networks. Similarly, during the Nonadanga movement, the evicted migrants were supported by grassroots organisations, academia, renowned scientists, activists, civil society groups as well as fellow migrants and/or squatters from other parts of Kolkata.

Entangled resistance deepens the resistance movement and gives it a collective conscience. It also produces an entangled network of new connections for the migrants from every sphere of life. Such connections deepen their engagement practices, even after the movement ends. Such movements produce kinship and support networks; they are part of the migrants' care infrastructure, which become an integral part of their lives in Kolkata. Through entangled resistance, exchange of knowledge, production of newer meanings and by seeing their own lives in the light of such meanings, the migrants obtain a deeper understanding of the politics of space in Kolkata. Entangled resistance is a part of migrants political activism and results in expansion of their engagement with space.

D) Exigency and auxiliary practices

Exigency practices are urgent practices of resistance emerging from sudden events. Sit-in protests, protest marches, picketing, blocking throughfares, hunger strikes or marching to government offices are practices adopted to counter emergency situations such as eviction. Most of these practices are also traditional practices of resistance and are instrumental in organised resistance.

Auxiliary practices add momentum to resistance movements by putting pressure on political institutions. These include media interviews, pamphlets, open letters, statements, civil society support, editorials and social media platforms. To put these practices into context, the Nonadanga movement is used as an example. The movement galvanised exigency and auxiliary practices of resistance. The following incident exemplifies these kinds of practices.

On 30 March 2012, a large-scale eviction drive razed hundreds of huts in the squatter camp of Nonadanga. A massive protest was launched by the squatters (As shown in figure 6.13). Joining the protest were grassroots organisations such as Majdur Kranti Parishad, the Coordination of Democratic Rights Organisation and the Association for the Protection of Democratic Rights. At the same time, the *Ucched Protirodh* (anti-eviction) Committee of Nonadanga was formed by evictees. In the initial stage from 1 to 4 March peaceful protest marches were conducted. Manabadhikar Suraksha Mancha (MASUM) letter on the Nonadanga movement describes the events as follows:

On 4 April 2012, the police came down heavily upon the protesters, Kolkata Police along with a gang of ruffians (supposedly the ruling party cadres who were without police uniforms) viciously lathi-charged the dispossessed slum-squatters while they organised a protest march, demanding for resettlement. A huge police force attacked the protesters and started beating everyone ruthlessly, including women and infants, without any warning. All the belongings, i.e. clothes, stoves, utensils, terpoline, bamboos, transistors, wristwatches, voter ID cards, ration cards etc. were looted and taken by the KMDA men with the help of police. No seizure list was prepared.

On 8 April, a day-long sit-in demonstration was held at Ruby traffic junction. This was the closest and busiest junction, and a strategic place to demonstrate to attract civil and media attention. A solidarity statement from the POSCO Pratirodh Sangam Samiti (PPSS) and concerned individuals reported:
This demonstration was broken up by Kolkata Police despite having acquired prior permission, and 69 activists of the Ucched Protirodh Committee of Nonadanga, including women and children, were arrested.

The Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) shows, among those arrested were well-known activists, doctors, teachers and prominent civilians such as Debolina Chakrabarti, Debjani Ghosh, Abhignan Sarkar, Professor Partha Sarathi Roy, Dr Siddhartha Gupta, Babun Chattopadhyay and Shamik Chakraborti (CRPP) Statement demanding the release of social activist and leader Debolina Chakrabarti).

Protests continued and so did the demand to release those arrested. In retaliation, 10 members of the *Ucched Protirodh* Committee went on a 12-day hunger strike to protest.

A backlash was also launched through media interviews and continuous coverage of the Nonadanga movement. Police brutality, coupled with mishandling of the event, finally forced the government to negotiate with the *Ucched Protirodh* Committee and resettlement housing was provided to some evictees. Vidhu (Narrative 4) and forty other household were the beneficiary of this re-settlement programme. They name the re-settlement colony Majdur Clony (Labour colony)(as shown in figure 6.15).

Vidhu, 47 years old male migrant: People from all over Kolkata were helping us. Some came with sacks of rice or potatoes and some came to give us money. Food for all was being cooked in a common open kitchen while we were sitting under the scorching sun and protesting.

Purnima, 26 year old female migrant: Irrespective of male, female, children everyone participated in the Nonadanga movement.

Figure 6.13: Showing images of Nonadanga Movement protest sites

Source: All images from Sanhati

Figure 6.14: Showing images of Nonadanga eviction site- China Mandir ground

Source: cpiml.org and kractivist.org

Figure 6.15: Showing the re-settlement colony in Nonadanga- Majdur Palli

Image 1 showing the re-settlement colony on the left

Image 2 showing inside the re-settlement colony

Image 3 showing quality of the huts in the re-settlement colony

Image 4 showing quality of the huts from the inside in the re-settlement colony

The Nonadanga protesters also used objects, such as hand-written placards asking civil society to come and stand beside the evictees (as shown in figure 6.13). The protesters used their networks to gather other squatters living in similar situations elsewhere to join their movement. The Nonadanga protest goes down as a historic resistance movement in Kolkata. The month-long protest forced governance institutions to provide makeshift settlement to the evictees, close to the eviction ground. Since then, Kolkata has not witnessed any squatter evictions on a similar scale. Thus, practices of resistance in this sub-section have been marked spatially and symbolically with the help of examples.

6.3.1.2 Negotiation

Negotiation as a practice was observed to be pervasive in Kolkata. This is because in a space where resistance meets power, the aim is to negotiate. To be able to negotiate emerges from a position of power. Negotiation practices are an alternative way for subalterns to engage with the political system and the politics of space (Chatterjee,2004; Roy,2003, Benjamin, 2008). In migrants' engagement with space, negotiation is omnipresent. Negotiations take place at multiple level and with multiple individuals and groups at the same time. Depending on the

case, negotiation can be a simple everyday practice or a radical critical practice. This section presents evidence of different types of negotiation by respondents in Kolkata.

In the book, *The Politics of the Governed* (2004), Partha Chatterjee highlights how subalterns negotiated their subaltern identity to reclaim spaces in Kolkata. His evidence spans land occupancy using 'trick and tactics'[11] to improve their living conditions. The section shows how negotiation takes place across power structures and also between people of the same strata. In the context of engagement with space, the purpose is always to be able to negotiate, making negotiation an important practice in migrants' engagement with space.

A) Negotiating occupancy in the city

The tightly woven urban fabric of Kolkata does not allow anyone to penetrate and make it their home easily. However, leaks and perforations exist to allow entry by negotiating. The respondents indicated that they negotiated their way to find a place to live in Kolkata. Even after securing a space in the city, they negotiated to continue living on that land. The actors and institutions with whom the respondents negotiate were found to be existing squatters, neighbours, police, political gatekeepers working at the local level and a cohort of political leaders at ward level such as councillors, Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) or officers from various government departments. Negotiating occupancy rights is not a once-off engagement; it exists in different forms over the lifetime of the migrant in the city, changing in nature, intensity or subject over which the negotiation takes place.

The more established squatter camps in the city do not allow newcomers to enter easily compared with the newer ones on the periphery. It is easier for those without strong social networks to negotiate their way into these newer camps. This was a common practice, which allowed the peripheral squatter camps to grow in size. Many respondents coming with little economic resources to the city initially lived in low-rent accommodation; however, in most cases, once their financial resources ran out, they were forced to move to nearby squatter settlement. Some respondents were also found to initially depend on the relatives for food and lodging, but soon moved out because of family issues or the inability to pay the token money for these services. Some respondents commuted daily, living on the periphery and working in the city. Mistrust and fear of the city lead to such travel patterns. The daily commute cost them money, time and energy, and impeded their ability to establish networks, which would have been possible had they lived in the city.

[11] A term originally used by Michel De Certeau in *The Practices of Everyday Life*, 1974.

Subhas, 42 years old male migrant: Initially, I did not live here. I used to return home after every day's work. I carried my tiffin and had a monthly train pass. It was costly but I had no other choice.

This commuting population gradually expand their social networks in the city and negotiated their way into it by living either in their workplace, such as a shop or factory, or in some newly found acquaintance's house. Having worked for a few years, they would use their networks to negotiate occupancy opportunities in the city. The excerpts below show the different practices of negotiating occupancy in Kolkata:

Category I- From floating population to squatting urban land; Subhas, 42 years old male migrant : After working for four or five years like this, when I moved to Salt Lake for work, I told the shop owner where I was working so he would allow me to stay in the shop. He agreed and my co-worker and I started sleeping in the shop... After I got married, things changed and we lived with one my wife's *guru dada* (godfather)... By then, I knew Salt Lake pretty well. I had also made some contacts. We then moved to build our hut on an empty plot. Eight to nine house were there with us... One day, we were asked to vacate the land for the city centre mall construction.

Category II- Negotiating occupancy immediately post migration; Rahaman, 62 years old male migrant: There is one person from my *desh* (A rural parochial term equivalent to 'motherland') who lived in Garia (a location in south of Kolkata, a hub and important entry point for migrants from the adjoining district into Kolkata). He asked me to come with him there. He said they had built houses and were staying there. These houses were on illegally occupied land. He said I could build a house there and stay and he would give me a job as a mason. There were more houses there and then there were the Adivasis (tribals) living there. We stayed in the circus maidan (a place famous for its use for circus), there is a huge open area and we stayed there.

Category III- from rented occupancy to negotiating their way into squatters,Rahaman, 62 years old male migrant: So many people had come to me and said they couldn't pay the rent and wanted to move to our squatter camp … Initially, we accommodated most of them, but since the Nonadanga movement, the number of households has been capped by the government. If we allow new people in, the government will evict us.

And,

Ram, 45 years old male migrant: I had friends in Kolkata. I came here with their help. They are my friends from Joynagar (rural area). They work here. I first came to Salt Lake and rented a house for two months. I had no work then, so I could not pay the rent. I had a friend who lived in jhupri (colloquial term for huts in a squatter settlement) at Nagerthek in Salt Lake. I went and told them that I have come to Kolkata to earn a living. I don't have money to pay the house rent. They asked me to come and make a jhupri and stay with them. There was no problem. They even collected money for me.

Category IV- from care giver to occupying urban land, Vidhu, 47 years old male migrant: I was then staying in Jadavpur with my relatives. I worked as a rickshaw driver to make a living. We found out that land was being given out cheaply in Nonadanga. I put all my savings into it and bought the land. The deal was done by local political cadres and police was also present... but as the number of households started to increase, they served us an eviction notice. That was when we started the Nonadanga movement.

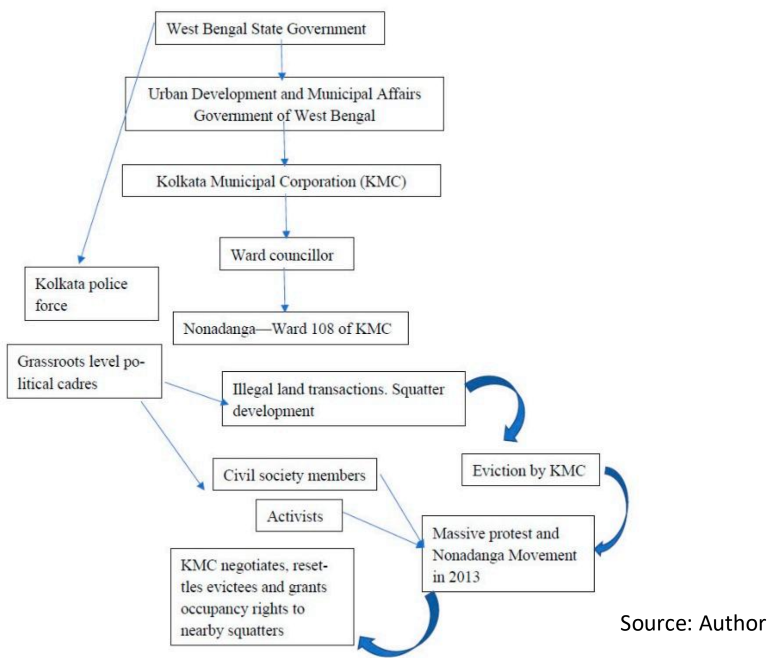
Unlike the above cases where negotiation and cooperation went hand in hand to ensure smooth occupancy, it was also observed that squatters like the one in Nonadanga (Category III, first case), encountered difficulties. Nonadanga, which was once a migrant hub, had been closed off to new migrants. The existing squatters had initially accepted newcomers, but since the Nonadanga movement no new migrants were welcome. However, nearby squatter camps falling outside the ambit of the Nonadanga movement still took in migrants.

It was also observed that in many cases, organisations working for human rights issues negotiated on behalf of migrants with neighbours and local police. The excerpt below is evidence of one such negotiation:

Shyamal, 38 years old male migrant: People who lived here used to ask us where we came from. Why are you sitting here? You can't build shacks here. We used to hide throughout the day and come out in the night. Yes, they are from the other side, from the VIP side. Back then, no one used to stay on this side. After that, I think they complained to the local police, who came asking about us. They told us we could not stay here... We went and told the dada (the grassroots organisation representative) that living here is becoming difficult and that we are being harassed. The dada assured us they would come. They gathered around 50 people, students, doctors and others. Mostly females and some males. Then, they all went to the police station. One woman, who was very daring, asked the officer: 'Is that land yours or is it your father's? Do you have the documents for that land? Is there an order? If yes, then show me the order.' The police officer said nothing. After that, they stopped bothering us.

Negotiation with political figures was also frequently mentioned by respondents. Such negotiations ranged from informal deals about squatting on public land to typical post-occupancy negotiations with people at different levels of the political system. To explain such negotiations, the example of Nonadanga is discussed in greater detail. Nonadanga is one of the selected sites for this study. It is a classic example of how negotiation–resistance–negotiation occurs cyclically in urban land occupancy. Here, migrants' negotiation with the local governance structure referred to a multitude of actors at different levels of the KMC. These were the mayor, the ward councillors and grassroots politicians involved in urban governance. Figure 6.16 depicts this role of different actors in the urban governance structure and the unfolding of events in Nonadanga.

Figure 6.16: Mapping the role of various actors of the urban governance structure in the transformation of Nonadanga.



Source: Author

The political grassroots networks played a significant role in a land transaction in Nonadanga. Assisted by grassroots political workers, poor migrants were able to buy land in the China Mandir area of Nonadanga. Land in India is a state subject and comes under the preview of the state government and not central government. This makes it possible for state governments, urban governance authorities and the police—working in conjunction with local grassroots party workers—to manage land allocation and land use. The local political cadres—under police supervision and with 'protection money' (ranging between INR5,000 and INR10,000—provided occupancy rights to migrants. This attracted the large-scale migration of poor

migrants from different parts of the city to Nonadanga, which was soon transformed into a makeshift squatter settlement. In 2009, the numbers were further increased with climate change victims pouring into the city and settling in Nonadanga following the super-cyclone, Aila. The respondents corroborated the involvement of state police and local political parties in the land negotiations. Ananya Roy's book on Kolkata (2013) reveals how land on the periphery of the city is kept out of records to facilitate illegal transactions under urban governance vigilance. These transactions, under the partial gaze of the state, are a neo-liberal manifestation of the government's covert interaction with its marginalised populace. More and more informal squatters settled in and around China Mandir, making Nonadanga a space for the marginalised. Meanwhile, adjoining land around Nonadanga was being rapidly developed, which had a ripple effect on land prices and demand in Nonadanga. The increasing number of squatters in Nonadanga became a threat to real estate development in and around Nonadanga. In early 2013, ignoring any form of resistance, the KMC served eviction notices on the squatters. In April of the same year, a massive eviction drive by the KMC razed a significant number of squatter camps, rendering hundreds homeless

The victims immediately launched a massive protest movement that went on for months. During this, they met with the mayor of the city, demonstrated in front of various local government offices and spoke with councillors and members of the legislative assembly to put their case forward. Additionally, grassroots organisations joined the movement to support the evictees, helping them to become organised and negotiate.

The second round of negotiations with authorities took place when pressure on governance institutions started increasing. The movement garnered support from all walks of life and forced the authorities to negotiate with the evictees. Here, the bargaining power of each side determined the nature of the outcome. The evictees were able to negotiate resettlement for 72 houses. They state that whenever there is any trouble, they now go directly to the mayor. Thus, this example of Nonadanga highlights occupancy rights negotiation with different actors in urban life.

Negotiation can also follow traditional practices, as has been in place for years between the political system and migrants. In some cases, the migrants submitted their identity documents to local political cadres in lieu of occupying urban land. Although informal and illegal in nature, such negotiations are prevalent in Kolkata. While some documents were taken on the pretext of issuing new ones, others were taken through negotiation.

In the politics of space where every inch of urban land is valorised (Harvey,1978), political informality reigns. Informality or informal arrangements in Kolkata have always occurred,

with quasi-government support. Negotiation is also an informal practice that exist across the power structures of society because of the very informal way of life in Kolkata. Negotiation practices of land occupancy are directly linked to the production of agency in migrants. This agency pushes migrants to engage with space. Thus, the entire process of engagement with space—shrinkage, expansion, contraction and conscious expansion—is omnipresent in occupancy rights negotiation.

B) Everyday negotiation: Leaks, internal negotiations and access to resources

This section discusses the banal, mundane and repetitive events of everyday life, showing how migrants negotiate access to resources such as space, water, electricity and information. These negotiations are much more commonplace and constant in their lives. Here, negotiation is both a need and a strategy to maintain and expand the ambit of their engagement with the city and to make themselves resilient against inherent shortfalls and adversities of the informal life they live. Resistance and negotiation are related and one entails the other. Resistance can result in negotiation and vice versa. However, both are symbols of migrants' agency in the context of their engagement with space.

Occupancy of urban land comes with the dweller's entanglement in urban land politics in Kolkata. Such politics are not only confined to land occupancy rights but span everyday aspects of city life. A need to collectivise and organise emerges from marginalisation. To make their voices heard, migrants unionise themselves, which further leads to their entanglement with local and regional politics. The rickshaw drivers' union, the *jhupri bachao* committee and welfare committees are diverse institutions that negotiate with popular politics. The excerpt below shows how the need to organise emerges from everyday threats to squatters and how they are able to negotiate.

Protima, 37 years old female migrant: I don't like to stay in this environment. We can't do anything on our own to improve this environment because there is party and politics, there are ward councillors. If we want to make improvements to our plastic shacks, we are unable to do this because they won't let us. They ask for money. Last time, they told us that we cannot stay like this in plastic shacks because Salt Lake is a Smart City... Therefore, we have to move to tin shacks. They said that the wards would build them and we would need to pay them for this work. When they told us this, we opposed this and said we won't give money but we will ourselves make it as per your directions. They did not agree to this and it did not happen. Since then, the municipality does not come to collect our garbage and we are living like this.

In the above case, even though the living conditions of the squatters did not improve, they also did not have to pay money to the local councillor. The respondent in the above case went one step further by going to the local member of parliament to inform him about the demands of the local councillor. Similar negotiation with people in higher positions, when local negotiation does not work, is a part of resistance and negotiation practised by migrants. With the politician's assurance, they were given some alternative places to live where they could permanently move to. However, these places were located on the outskirts of the city. The migrants rejected the proposition and re-negotiated for an alternative arrangement within Salt Lake. They are now waiting for positive results.

Negotiation practices are not always successful and have 'leaks' in them. This is because of internal politics within negotiators or a lack of complete knowledge of the issue over which the negotiation is taking place. This was observed during the Nonadanga movement. The subsequent negotiations between the KMC and the evicted migrants resulted in the KMC providing 72 houses for the evictees on a nearby plot.

Neelima, 52 years old female migrant: If we were had negotiated for more houses, they would have given them to us, but we did not negotiate further. So, some people did not get anything and they continue to illegally live on the same land.

In the first case when the negotiation did not go well and the squatters went to the local member of parliament, this irked the councillor and as a result, garbage collection from the squatter camp was stopped. In the second case, internal politics within the squatter camp led them to bargain for 72 resettlement units; however, this was insufficient and some we left homeless.

Another type of negotiation is internal negotiation between squatters. In Salt Lake, there was a water shortage and drinking water was supplied door-to-door by private service providers. While most residents availed themselves of this service, the poor were left out because of their inability to pay. Therefore, to gain access to privatised basic commodities such as water, they negotiated by tapping their social capital.

Protima, 37 years old female migrant: My husband's friend drive the water truck. The truck is under the responsibility of the bhabani babu (the owner) of the gas-station. This truck belongs to Bidhannagar Sanskriti Sadan. The cost and profits of the water supplied by the truck are maintained by him and he is answerable to the committee. The person who drives the truck is our friend. We don't buy water, you can call this a donation. After suppling water to all households that are paying for this water, the leftovers are supplied to us. We cannot drink the

well water. We don't have any other taps nearby. Sometimes, we collect water in utensils from leakage points and use it. The truck water is not always available. Sometimes, the security guard will climb up the truck to check if there is water. Then it is not possible for the driver to bring back water.

Actors like *bhabani babu*, the water truck driver and the squatters are parties involved in such informal arrangements to ensure water supply to the squatter camp. The squatters know *bhabani babu*, while the truck driver is a fellow squatter. In the above case, they have all come together to negotiate and create a channel for the marginalised to access basic resources. Such channels of negotiation are a result of empathy, care infrastructure, transaction practices and grassroot strategies to counter formal systems. Similarly, because of their illegal status, squatters have no access to electricity. Thus, they must tap it from other connections. Some inhabitants also negotiated with local political leaders and paid a hefty amount to establish an electricity connection.

Shyamal, 38 years old male migrant: They did not agree at first. We have been requesting the electricity connection for so long. At last we paid INR100,000 to get that connection.

Internally, migrants also act as money lender in their networks. To avoid paying hefty interest rates, migrants borrow from each other and return in cash or kind. Inside the squatter camp, practices of negotiation were observed. Collecting money to help each other when in need, paying for medical treatment or organising festivals was conducted through negotiation.

The migrants also used their subaltern identity to negotiate in everyday life. When two of the rickshaws were confiscated by Salt Lake police for illegal parking, everyone from the rickshaw union went to the local councillor for help. Immediately, the rickshaws were released. Every day, negotiation produces a space for migrants to exercise their agency. From negotiating the fare of a rickshaw trip, to their salaries, to asking for sick leave, to water or electricity supply or garbage collection, negotiation is omnipresent in migrants' lives.

C) Negotiating identities

As a common negotiation practice, migrants negotiate their identities as the subaltern, hardworking, poor, trustworthy, empathetic, helpful and potential voters to gain access to resources and rights. During an interview, a simple discussion about privacy within a squatter settlement extended into first, how space and practices shape multiple identities of migrants and second, how these identities are negotiated. The section on negotiation painted a picture of how identities are produced from everyday life of marginalisation, destitution, extraction and

suppression. The simple rural spatial imagination with which migrants enter Kolkata is rapidly changed by the complexities of urban life.

Mir, 45 years old male migrant: I knew that Kolkata was a place where you could make a living. I came not to stay and eat comfortably but to earn money. I have to earn money. The place to stay comfortably is my native home.

This is an example of how migrants determine their identities based on their purpose in Kolkata. Their everyday practices of living, working and socialising depends on this purpose. Returning to the discussion on privacy, the same respondent explained how different urban practices are from rural practices:

Rahaman, 62 years old male migrant: This does not happen in rural areas. People will call each other from outside and then come in after getting permission or they will ask the person they want to meet to come out. [In Kolkata] there is no space for all this. Bhodroloks (colloquial term for Bourgeois) have different habits. We are nichulok (when translated in English it means lesser human)so there is nothing like that and we all live together. Visitors can come and enter directly. They don't care about what I am doing or my right to privacy and all that.

The first except shows the purpose of coming to the city with a rural identity and gradually how that identity is changed by the urban way of life. This is shown in the in the second excerpt in which the respondents identifies himself as a 'nichulok'. Another common identity reference among respondents was 'people like us'. *Nichulok,* when translated into English, literally means *nichu* (lesser) and *lok* (human). It is synonymous with the proletariat or subaltern although it has an undignified nuance to it. It is also opposite to the *bhodrolok* or civil society identity. In his book entitled *On Civil and Political Society in Post Colonial*, Partha Chatterjee (2001) talks about the middle class or *bhodrolok* of Kolkata which constitutes his 'civil society', while alongside there are the subalterns or the 'political society. He explains these identities in the light of post-colonial perspective that has historically resulted in their production.

In another instance, as I entered one of the squatter camps, I saw children lying on the ground and playing in a puddle of muddy water. Their father was embarrassed at seeing me, and when I commented that the children were getting dirty, he retorted in a somber tone: 'What do you expect? Kids of people like us will be like this'. 'People like us' is synonymous with *nichulok* and is an identity manifested through practices such as squatting urban land on, the perceptions of life in the squatter settlements and sociological imagination of a squatter camp

as a lesser urban space. All respondents categorially mentioned their life in rural areas. The mutual respect, collective lived practices and extension of help and support are principles practised in rural areas. In contrast, the migrant identified the urban as an 'individualised' society where people are 'selfish' and 'self-centred'.

Subhas, 42 years old male migrant: Outsiders don't even donate or contribute anything (to improve the living conditions in the squatter camp). By outsiders, I mean the netas (leaders), mantris (ministers) and councillors. They, in fact, want to evict us. So many times they have called and told us we will evict you and make a park here. [When asked why, he said] It will be pretty. We stay like this in plastic shacks in a basti (squatter camp), so it is better to evict us. The place will become clean. A park will be made. So, the person who will own it will make a profit and the one who will give the land will also earn some profit. We cannot give them that by staying here. We are not doing business here. We are using this space as a place to stay. We have to use the term 'a place to stay', we can't refer to it as a home.

Therefore, the *nichulok* identity is not only a manifestation of migrants' own conscience but is also socially constructed. It was constantly instilled into the migrants' consciousness as a subset of migration and 'people like us'. More evidence of constructing a *nichulok* identity emerged from the migrants' comparison of their present with their past. Respondents nostalgically recalled their arrival from a very respectful, educated rural family to the squatter settlements of Kolkata. They mentioned the property owned by the family, who were cheated and how that brought them to the city. Others mentioned living two parallel lives—one in the native space and the other in the city. To protect their identity, some even concealed information about their urban status from extended family members.

Protima, 37 years old female migrant: No one in my family or neighbourhood knows I stay in this kind of an environment. My sister and my brother-in-law do not know where I stay. I did not tell them.

These are everyday practices that shape migrants' identity in Kolkata. Once they come to terms with their urban identity, they are able to utilise it to negotiate better. Like the constant need to negotiate for basic services, they experience a constant need to negotiate identities, emerging from marginalisation practices of the urban life. Thus, the way their everyday life unfolded in terms of borrowing resources, living at the mercy of political parties, eviction threats and inhumane treatment by civil society was reflected in a *nichulok* identity in the migrants.

Negotiation works within a framework of power dynamics, which when successful, produce a sense of agency in the actor. Thus, negotiation practices not only make things possible in the present, but also pave the way for future negotiation. Once heard, the subaltern migrants realised their significance in the political landscape of Kolkata, which determined the nature of their future engagement with space.

Ram, 45 years old male migrant: Political parties will come and go. They are here for only five years, but we are here to stay.

Such realisations come from a sense of agency instilled by the power to resist and negotiate. Therefore, production of temporal identities and their influence on migrants' engagement with space are a two-way process. Negotiation advances the migrants' engagement with space from *expansion* to *assimilation* by countering inherent forces of discrimination existing with Kolkata.

D) Material symbols of negotiation

Negotiation practices also have material manifestations. One example is the Nonadanga resettlement colony established by the KMC post eviction. While the resettlement colony is a very blatant example, in and around squatter settlements, there are many scattered material symbols of negotiation. When not analysed from a critical perspective, they appear as extended structures associated with the squatters. These symbols stand silently as evidence of negotiation practices between migrants and the political system. The reason behind their construction and use has two different meanings.

On my last visit to Sabuj Colony, a squatter camp of 48 households in Nonadanga, I found a makeshift building erected at the entrance of the camp. The building was of better quality than any of the other houses and was covered in political party flags. It immediately raised the question of what it was and why it was there. Upon enquiry, the squatters informed me that the building was used by children of all nearby squatter camps for tuition after school hours. While this was the pretext for its construction, it also had an alternative use. The space was used to hold small political gatherings by the party in power. It was part of a broader effort to keep all nearby squatters informed about party decisions and ensure their support. Thus, the small building outside the squatter camp became a symbol of negotiation adjacent to the symbol of resistance, the squatter camp. It reflected a silent negotiation between the squatters and the political party to support each other. However, one may also argue that an individual cannot squat on urban land without negotiation between the occupants and civic authorities. Political powers play a significant role by choosing whom to support. The timeline of

development of Sabuj Colony, established in 2010, prior to Nonadanga movement, and the building (constructed in 2019) points to an interesting fact. Negotiations continue to happen over time and can be read from similar symbolic additions in space. This takes time, and within this time gap of 9 years, there have been instances of threats, eviction, resistance movements, sit-in protests, marches, countless visits to the police station and knocking on the doors of political leaders. When seen through a historical lens, the newly erected building also becomes a symbol of squatters' conformity to the political party in exchange for protection from daily harassment. Thus, symbols of negotiation can be read in myriad ways depending on the lens used to view them.

6.3.1.3 Compliance

Along with resistance and negotiation, migrants have also shown practices of compliance in certain situations. When unable to resist or negotiate, they comply. Compliance constitutes an integral strategy of migrants' engagement with space. Compliance is when migrants give in or engage unwillingly in certain practices. Here, their participation is forced rather than voluntary. For example, because of political entanglement, one dweller from each squatter household is required to be present at every political rally and demonstration organised by the political party in power. This has been a historical practice of exploitation of the marginalised by the powerful. While most of them did not willingly participate in such activities, they did so to avoid repercussions.

Vimal, 33 years old male migrant: We have to live by taking everyone into consideration, all different kinds of people.

Subhas, 42 years old male migrant: Yes, we have to adjust to party politics because we have to work under whoever is in power. We are labourers and we have to work; we are not on our own land, we have not bought this land. We try to align our work with the politicians. This is the norm and also the only way to earn money and live for poor people.

The information to participate reached individuals through squatter representatives and one member from each household was required to be present. As a penalty for not attending, the household would be barred from working for a couple of days or more in case of more serious cases. This would mean a loss of livelihood for that period, which they cannot afford. Such practices of political representation are ubiquitous among the squatters of Kolkata.

Alongside a sense of helplessness, practices of compliance produce a space for developing political capital networks and social capital networks. The people the squatters meet at rallies, the contacts they make and the exchange of information that happens adds to the squatters'

social capital network. Thus, compliance as a practice can also be of advantage at times. Even though at face value practices of compliance appear imposed from the top, they can also be considered a strategic practice of the governed to gather knowledge to expand networks and social and spatial imagination. These imaginations come together to inform newer practices of resistance and negotiation in producing an alternative representation of space.

6.3.2 Perth

6.3.2.1 Navigation

Navigating as a spatial practice is moving in space. Spatial knowledge gathered from this activity through corporeal perceptions, such as viewing, smelling and feeling, constitutes an important part of engagement with space. Production of spatial knowledge (Lefebvre, 1991, Buhr,2014) is an integral part of engaging with space because it familiarises the individual with the environment. Inspired from navigation practice, the study uses the follow-along participant observation (McFarlane,2017) along with ethnographic methods to investigate how migrants in Perth navigate the city. Whenever possible identified respondents were followed along and observed in natural settings to gather information. Navigation is integrally associated with the section on 'representation of space' (section 4.1.2). Navigating the landscape of Perth explains the spatial information and its meanings as an integral part of migrants' spatial knowledge. Navigation as a practice catalyses the *expansion* trajectory in migrants' engagement with space. Sometimes, unfamiliarity or inability to connect with the new environment can result in *contraction* and or *conscious expansion* which is also evoked by navigation.

The section examines navigation in two ways. In the first, the migrants themselves take up a *systematic incremental approach* to understand their environment. In the second, because of the presence of extended family in Perth, they prefer to *merge with their networks and follow them* to navigate the city. Respondents were also found to take up both approaches, alternately. However, one respondent was an exception; he began with the second approach and then changed to the first because of family differences. These were purpose-oriented migrants, with the primary goal of growing their engagement trajectory. In the context of engagement with space, over time, the practice of navigation matures from a simple act of knowing the new environment to being able to identify how the migrants themselves are seen and perceived by others, making navigation a critical spatial practice. That is, it identifies which places are conducive for certain people, which suburbs are convenient to live in or which malls contains regional product.

When asked about their first experiences in Perth, the responses were similar.

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: First, it was a struggle to get to know where to get halal meat, where to get cheap groceries, where to get all the stuff we need on a daily basis. It was also about how to travel in the bus, where are the stops, what are the rules etc.... When we migrated, everything was the same for me, I had to cook food, find groceries... Only the context, that is, where I am doing all this, changed from a familiar to an unfamiliar environment.

Migrants begin gathering spatial knowledge by simply walking in a neighbourhood in order to familiarise themselves with the environment. Their accounts shows that they exchange a smile with a neighbour or passer-by, which may lead to a conversation and thereby, further knowledge-sharing. Such knowledge gathered through interaction with others and material interaction with the environment is transformed into spatial knowledge and spatial meanings. These meanings are translated to produce first, a social understanding of the space and, based on that, the migrants' spatial practices within it. Together, they result in the production of a mental image of space as discussed int he spatial cognition mode section.

Aleah, 52 years old Iranian female migrant: After a couple of weeks (after reaching Perth and staying at home), I told my mother-in-law that this is not working. You need to keep busy, knit, do something, I need to get up, go out. I took my boys to go to the Galleria. I don't know any English. My son says, what if I get lost? I say, don't worry, I will put something to identify him. When the Galleria opened, my son says, Mom, don't go inside. When the doors open, I remember 20 years ago I passed Priceline and I said that it looks like a pharmacy, no, make-up. I go in, I see what they have, then I leave. The next day, I go to Woolworths. What's that? I go up all the aisles and see what they have. I was looking for salt because I know some English words. Then we went to Target and then I returned home. The next day, from Target I went a little further, OK, let's go back, kids. Tomorrow, it's Kmart. I notice where they sell what, where is the cheap one. Oh! What's that? A $2 shop. I go there and see a lot of stuff there that I can buy cheaply. I need a fridge, I bought it with my sister-in-law's credit card. These small things, we bought them slowly [in 2000, immediately after migrating to Perth].

In the above case, a simple practice of *incremental knowledge gathering* was adopted by the migrant by locating and mentally mapping space. This practice manifest as an image of space from the cognitive layer. Repeated spatial practice familiarises the migrant with the surroundings. Looking at the same shops, same products, same people manifests as a corporeal familiarisation of the body with the environment, its function and people. It results in the production of social relations and makes navigation an integral part of engagement with space. The systematic incremental approach of spatial practice leads to an *expansion* of the migrant's engagement with space.

The next respondent explained the phenomenon of corporeal engagement from navigation by *using bodily practices* such as exchanging pleasantries, smiling or getting into conversation with people.

Rehana, 55year old Iranian female migrant: Every day I go to Woollies and smile at the shop attendant. Now, everyone in almost every shop knows me. I smile and talk to them and they talk back. Everyone knows me now... Similarly, my neighbour: on the first day, I smile. She did not smile. I bring her cake, she did not take it. I kept on smiling and talking every day. One day, I bring her some food and she takes it. Then slowly she starts talking.

Migrants use corporeal familiarisation as a strategy to get work. They regularly go to church or attend functions and meetings to build a social network. All these are a part of their navigation practice.

Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: People know me here. They call me for work......: personal relation is very important in Australia. Everything works through PR and building your own network.

Navigation practice and its associated corporeal familiarisation are driven by specific purposes and are not always only used to get to know the new environment. The purpose of navigation varies depending on the migrants' circumstances (if they have come with family, if they are boat arrivals, if their sole purpose is to work and make money or if they are looking for information to bring out their families).

Zahir, 42 years old Pakistani male migrant: Yes, that is why I came here (to bring his family to Perth from Pakistan)... No, I am saving for my family. I don't go anywhere; only sometimes to the beach.

This excerpt shows that navigation practices are determined not just by a migrant's present situation but also by their future prospects. As in the case of the above migrant, he restricted travel to save money for his family and to spend it once he is able to bring them to Perth.

Navigation also makes migrants reminiscence about their past spatial memory and compare it with the present. Such comparisons of the past with the present influence their present engagement with space. Sometimes, from the knowledge of navigation a sense of rejection builds up in the migrant, constraining their overall engagement with the city and thereby leading to a *contraction* of their engagements with space. When respondents were asked if there were any places in Perth that reminded them of their origins, everyone initially said no. One explained the reason for this.

Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: (After a long pause) Ahhhhhh. When you get bored, you remember your house. Happy times… how can you forget? No one forgets their home village. You were born there, you know the stories, the roads, the trees, you know everything... I don't know [Perth] like that... you see over there? [He points a finger]. I don't know what it looks like, I have never been there. I don't walk around. I go directly to the park by car and come back directly from there or I go directly to work and back.

Here, the respondent does not have any knowledge of the next neighbourhood. This emerges from a feeling of not needing to know; but then, with mundane spatial codes like roads and trees, he compares the present environment with his rich spatial knowledge of his native space.These are everyday feeling of otherness in the new environment.

Migrants also navigated by merging with networks of friends and family already settled in Perth. To advance their engagement with space, migrants merge with such existing networks, which become an integral part of their production of space. That is, they start to explore the new environment by following and merging into someone else existing knowledge of space. The migrant then follow them to the shop they go to, the park and engage in community activities and the social networks they are engaged with.

Places where such meetings occur include Sunday markets, parks, religious institutions and shared accommodation. Contacts made in these geographical spaces flow into virtual spaces of networks, such as ethnic WhatsApp groups or Middle Eastern women's groups. Thus, corporeal navigation in geographical spaces such as markets or parks culminates in their inclusion into virtual spaces. This is where they meet many more people, and some of them become an integral part of each other's production of space.

Collectively, all tactics of navigation first inform migrants about the physical environment and second, they aid them in producing their social networks, thereby *expanding* or *consciously expanding* their engagement with space.

6.3.2.2 Negotiation

Negotiation practices spans migrants' native networks, non-native networks and embody practices such as negotiating their local and migrant identities in everyday life. Negotiation is a common urban practice, featuring in the work of Fei (2010) and Berking (2006), who examine negotiations in the context of urban markets, space and conflict. In the context of engagement with space and this study, negotiation produces newer channels of interaction by producing newer ways to interact with space. It also has the potential to change how older space and networks functions. Negotiation is an ancient art (Fei. 2010). Social life is imbued

in negotiation. Two types of negotiation practices emerge from the analysis of the data. First, social practices produce behavioural spaces through negotiation. Second, practices of negotiation emerge from the nature of existence of geographical space, where the design and purpose of geographical spaces sets the stage for negotiation. An example is an ethnic Sunday market (such as a Middle Eastern market) where individuals go not only to buy cheaper items but also to interact with people of the same origin as theirs.

This section first explains such negotiations in behavioural spaces outside the boundaries of Australia and within it. This followed by geographical spaces of negotiation. Negotiation outside the boundary begins with negotiation practices between the smuggling network and the refugee, producing a social space where they interact. This space becomes a behavioural space, typical of a market economy. The production of such spaces outside the national boundary of countries such as Australia has a significant impact on what is happening inside those countries. Migrants bring with them similar negotiation practices to Australia.

For boat arrivals, their experience of negotiation begins with smugglers and their journey to Australia. Such negotiation practices are important because of how they make inaccessible countries like Australia accessible to migrants. How migrants live in Australia are later influenced by the way they enter the country, for example, their visa status, threat of deportation, people's general perception and attitudes towards them. Collectively, these influence migrants' spatial practices and engagement with Perth. Entering Australia by boat is purely based on negotiation practices between refugees and the smugglers. All the boat arrivals interviewed in this thesis were smuggled into at least one other country before coming to Australia. They were aware of the smuggling network and where such agents could be found. Information about prospective countries reached them through their social networks.

Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: I *had a sister. I don't know where she is now. I had two brothers. One was killed by a suicide bomber in Pakistan and another one, the younger one, disappeared. My mother also died by a suicide bomb in Afghanistan. I was born in Jaguri, Afghanistan. When I was 12 years old, I moved to Iran … I was smuggled. We paid them some money and we went. My cousin was in Iran before... I moved to Iran with my cousin. My parents stayed in Afghanistan. I moved to Iran because it was not safe in Afghanistan... I was working in a stone factory in Iswan. I came back to Afghanistan after 7 years and then went back to Iran to stay for another one-and-a-half years again. The second time, I also entered Iran through Afghanistan with the help of smugglers.*

When asked about how he negotiated with the smugglers, his response was as follows:
Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: In Afghanistan, I gave the smugglers some money, because otherwise it is very difficult to get a visa. We didn't have a visa. It was a very slow process. That time, I also could not contact the government because mostly, they were Russians... After I returned to Afghanistan from Iran, I started to work in my dad's shop. My dad is gone now. In Afghanistan no one is safe. It is a horrible country.

On his return, the respondent still found it unsafe in Afghanistan. He later moved to Pakistan with his entire family using the same smuggling route.

Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: They needed a visa but I paid money some money and crossed the border [to Pakistan from Afghanistan] ... The smugglers are actually around the border. Many of them are there. Everyone knows them. There are two main guys and they have a group. These two know everyone.

To enter Australia from Pakistan, the respondent adopted a similar practice of negotiation with the smugglers. He mentioned that everyone in Pakistan is talking about Australia. When asked why he chose to come to Australia and not some other country, he replied:

Jahangir, 35years old male Afghan migrant: Because it is safe. People come here because it is safe and also for the money. Here, there is good money. But the important thing is that it is a safe country. At that time, I was thinking, I have to go to Australia. A lot of people are coming to Australia. I talked to the smugglers ... I passed through six or seven countries and then came here. We flew in an aeroplane and suddenly there was a different country. I didn't speak any English. They locked us up, not all people (from the flight), only the smuggled group, and they told us the next flight was one week later or two days later or one month later... They did not give us a passport. They give us the passport only when we used the aeroplane for entry... I had a different passport... Everything was arranged by the smuggling agent... I paid around $3,000 to $8,000, I don't remember exactly ... From Pakistan to Indonesia and after Indonesia I pay... I stayed there for some days and then from there to Christmas Island by boat.

Another respondent focused on the negotiation practices while in the boat sailing to Australia. With little or no knowledge of the danger and their co-passengers, they set out for the Australian coast. They were not informed about the possible dangers of crossing the Indian Ocean by boat. They only realised how dangerous this was once they were out on the open ocean.
Rezza, 65 years old Afghan male migrant: After 2 hours we were caught in a whirlpool. The boat couldn't move and it was a very dangerous place. Afterwards I understood this was very

dangerous. Before, no one told me. Many ships had gone to that place; they hit a rock and die. Many people have died but the smugglers did not tell us. I had no idea.

Another example of negotiation practices in Australia took place in the detention camp. All boat arrivals, while narrating their experiences in the detention camp, mentioned establishing social relations with fellow detainees. Some maintained these relations even after their release from the camp. These relations helped one of the respondent to negotiate a place to stay upon his release from the camp. Similarly, in everyday life, the people they meet, the places they visit and the meanings they gather from these spaces help migrants to make decisions about their own lives. An example of how everyday negotiations take place in Perth are explained through the narrative of one migrant.

After reaching Perth via boat, he negotiated with a fellow detainee, who already had an acquaintance in Perth, for a place to live in the city. Later, by converting to Christianity, he started to regularly go to church and church group meetings. He negotiated his way into the church's inner circle and started going with them on camps. This gave him the opportunity to meet new people and create new networks, which would eventually provide him with free accommodation. Living alone in Perth, his prime objective was to bring over his family from Pakistan. As a result of this, he had carefully created a network of fellow Afghanis who gave him masonry work, and a group of Australians from his church, who provided him with accommodation, food and other occasional help and support. However, because of his conversion to Christianity and his association with the church, there were occasional conflicts between him and the Afghani group. He mentioned that most of them did not like him because of the conversion. As an example, he mentions how he had been cheated of $7,000 by them. They refused to pay him that money for which he had worked. This instance points to how informal negotiations occur within migrant groups in the workplace. It was important for him to nurture his Australian church network because they supported him with his visa issues. The church network helped him establish contacts and negotiate with lawyers to take up his immigration case in court. He received a temporary visa extension for 2 years but he remains apprehensive about deportation after that.

This case exemplifies negotiation by migrants in making their way into Australia and in continuing to stay in the country. It also exemplifies how their chances of being deported or high living costs lead to higher chances of negotiation with other actors. In such cases, where there are greater chances of being deported, the migrants' engagement with space is highly dependent on negotiation. Migrants' unfamiliarity with the legal system, the language and institutions force them to depend on others for information and help. However, in exchange

for such support, the migrant, who was unable to pay, would return this favour in some other way.

The individualism of Australian society means that the majority of older people have no carers in the family. In such cases, older people depend on migrants to stay in the house free of charge to take care of them. Church networks support such practices. Two of the respondents lives with elderly single individuals in their homes and supported them in their everyday life.

Zahir, 42 years old Pakistani male migrant: I sometime tidy the garden and make her food. She is very old. I feel bad for her … She lives alone and me staying there only helps her. Many people I know live like this.

Negotiation practices were also observed between migrants. Some migrants had converted to Christianity. The church supported them by giving them free accommodation and food to get new migrants to join the church. This was an informal negotiation between the church support group and the migrants.

Jahangir, 35 years old male Afghan migrant: When any new Afghani migrant comes to Perth, I meet them at the airport. I later show them Perth and introduce them to the church. I tell them about my good experience with the church. I have persuaded seven or eight Afghani migrants to join the church.

Such negotiation practices are a conscious effort by migrants to expand their engagement with space. They also reinforce the existing engagements with institutions like the church. The root cause of such negotiation with institutions (smugglers, church) can be traced back to migrants' present circumstances, in Perth and back home. These were insecure and the migrants had a need to know the new environment and to pave the way for life in the new environment.

Additionally, negotiation was observed between migrants from the same or different cultural background. It involved simple practices such as walking up to someone in a shop, who 'appeared to look like them' and approaching them for work opportunities. These negotiations were ad hoc in nature and emerged from the cultural practice of brotherhood. Ethnic shops employing ethnic people were spaces where negotiation took place. They were important nodes for the production of social capital. It is through such negotiation that the migrants' behavioural space is produced. Such practices and spaces are an integral part of migrants' overall engagement with Perth.

Negotiation was also observed between newly arrived migrants and their case workers. These case workers are assigned to humanitarian migrants by the government. They speak the same language as the migrant and provide them with overall support to rebuild their lives in Perth.

In two cases, the case worker was the first point of contact for the newly arrived migrants to secure work in Perth.

Sania, 26 years old Afghan female migrant: The case worker offered my husband work in her business. He worked there for five years. He learned the job and has started his own business.

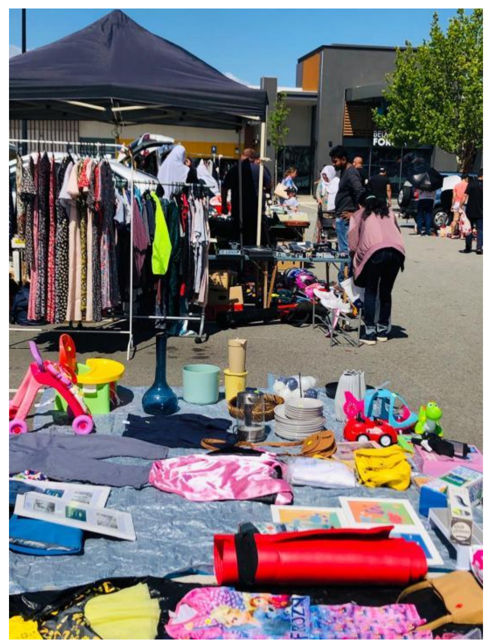
Even though initially interested, migrants have shown a cautious approach to such encounters. The above and similar initiatives with other actors have led to incidents of cheating and malpractice. Respondents mentioned negotiating a loan from friends in Perth. Therefore, the kind of negotiation practices adopted by the migrant determine their behavioural space.

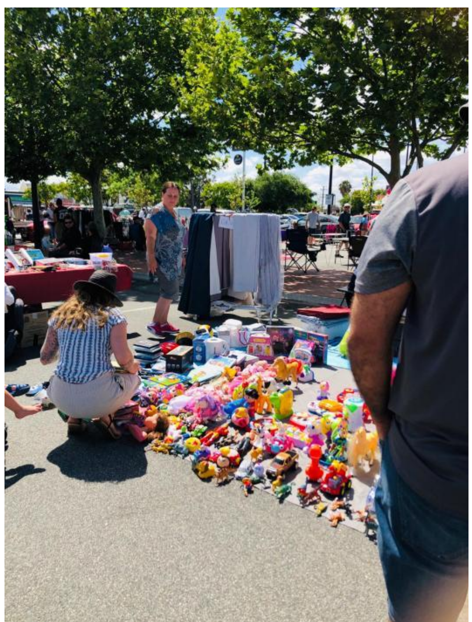
Geographical spaces of negotiation emerge from the design and function of spaces in which migrants negotiate with their corporeal presence. Religious places, Sunday markets, festivals, celebrations in parks or squares are examples where constant negotiation takes place.

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: I met that lady for the first time at a Sunday market. There, we became friends. I went to her house a couple of times and she came to mine. Saddam (her husband) also has friends from the Sunday market.

The Sunday market (As shown in Figure 6.17) is an informal market in the car park of the Belmont Forum mall. In such spaces, the body, its features, its cultural identity in terms of appearance, language and clothing are consciously or unconsciously being used by migrants to negotiate. All these forms are a part of embodiment or lived experience of the body. Through its movement, the body is continuously negotiating with other bodies and producing representative spaces. Respondents have narrated similar instances in a mall or an ethnic restaurant where they met people they knew. In Perth, predominantly migrant areas are Mirrabooka, Nolamara, Balga and Belmont, to name a few. These suburbs are geographically negotiated space for migrants, where their embodied perceptions dominate. Their identity as migrant-dominated suburbs has led to an accumulation of migrant service centres such as the Multicultural Hub, Ishar Centre for Women, Mercy Care or Edmund Rice Centre.

Figure 6.17: Showing the informal Belmont Sunday market where negotiation practices are common





6.3.2.3 Spatial appropriation

In Perth, the stringent spatial laws allows little or no scope for individual spatial appropriation. Instead, migrant groups collectively display their cultural representation. Such spatial appropriation take place in existing closed or open spaces designed for community activities. The use of such spaces is temporal and assigned for the cultural practices of migrant groups.

Spatial appropriation was briefly mentioned in the previous section, which explains how bodily practices such as walking, sitting or occupying space produce a sphere of influence which is silently negotiating and claiming spaces. Such negotiation practices, where the presence of one body eliminates the presence of other bodies. Racial and ethnic

conservativeness among migrants and migrant communities manifests individual and collective spatial appropriation. For example a Women night organised for women of Middle-eastern country origin was dominated by women from similar culture with little or no regioanl cultural mix. Such spatial appropriation is driven by embodied perceptions and cultural experiences. Such practices of spatial appropriation are latent, which means the outcomes are not intended or purposive, but the result of latent effects.

The state apparatus also plays a significant role in spatial appropriation, for example, housing migrants in specific suburbs or producing culturally dominant spaces like the informal Sunday market run by migrant communities. Every Sunday, the parking lot of the Belmont Forum Mall is transformed into an informal market by sellers from a migrant background. Similarly, during festivals such as Eid (a Muslim festival) or Holi (a Hindu festival), designated public parks are allowed to be transformed into spaces of cultural expression. Even though such transformations are not permanent, they are an integral part of acknowledgement of cultural representation in Perth.

Growing migrant communities have demanded designated spaces of cultural representation that are more permanent in nature than the above ones, like the Indian community of Western Australia building in Willetton. Other evidence of similar permanent representation was observed in the development of dominant migrant neighbourhood such as Mirrabooka, Balga or Nollamara. Mirrabooka was redeveloped around a mosque, one of the largest in Perth. This type of spatial appropriation is constantly happening under government's vigilance.

The stringency of spatial laws in Perth are a hindrance to many migrants coming from Asian and Middle Eastern cultural backgrounds, where spatial appropriation is a common phenomenon. Respondents mentioned the stringency of spatial rules was a major hindrance to their production of economic and social space.

Saddam, 72 years old Iraqi male: (For Saddam who has lived in Athens before coming to Perth for more than one decade): Life in Athens was easier than in Australia. More flexible and anyone can open a shop or anything, adopt a cat a dog anything they want. A lot of parts of ordinary life here is under law, but in Iraq and Greece it is easy.

The respondent talks about his experience in Greece as a migrant and compares it with his life in Australia. His inability to speak English has contracted his production of space. The stringent spatial laws were the reason behind living in shrinkage, even after years of migration. This prevents the migrant from engaging with space the way he had done in his home country. To be able to understand the spatial norms and practices of Australia and to be able to accept them poses a significant hindrance to migrants' engagement with Perth.

As an example of stringency, I describe below an instance I encountered outside my house, where someone dumped a chair outside my property. The concerned authority was notified about the chair and a penalty was issued for dumpling it illegally. This small instance reveals the degree of inflexibility that exists in the larger space. This has in many cases resulted in the conversion of private space into one where informal practices take place.

6.3.2.4 Informality

Informal practices that overlap with spatial appropriation are instances where migrants have converted a garage space into a workshop, which results in their car standing outside the house. There was cases where the garden space was converted into a vegetable garden. The respondent didn't allow photographic these activities due to fear of reprimand or penalisation. Another respondent, who was unable to work for some months because of his visa status, was offered coupons and cash by his social network as a caregiving practice. However, he used most of the coupons to send money back to his family in Pakistan and depended on free food from migrant support organisations such as AsETTS and CARAD.

It was also found that migrants sent money to family back home through informal channels, such as with someone returning to their native country from Australia. In this way, they are able to save on the transaction charges levied on international transfers. Migrants were also found to work extra hours for extra payment that is not officially recorded. Respondents working in the construction business mentioned a significant part of their work is off the book, which saves them paying taxes.

Informal activities that include the informal transaction of materials takes place within migrant private space such as the home and through ethnic networks. Buying jewellery which has cultural significance among Iraqi women is a practices conducted from their home. One respondent tells me about gold bangles she bought from another Iraqi woman in Perth.

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant: I bought these bangles at a cheaper price. But then when I came back home, two of the stones had fallen out. I requested my money back but the lady refused. I don't have a receipt or anything to claim back the money. So, I never went back to her house to buy anything else.

She adds that upon enquiry, most women arriving back in Perth from their home countries wear the jewellery they bought on their body to avoid suspicion. They come to Perth and sell the jewellery when they need money or run a small business. They even pay other women to smuggle jewellery into Perth in similar way.

Similarly, many women sell handicrafts, provide beautician services or they teach, which constitutes part of everyday informal practices. The lady, who manages the women's group at Mirrabooka Multicultural Centre, says she encourages activities such as salon services or selling handmade products for women who come to her group. These activities encourage more and more women to join the group and they are also able to earn some money.

6.3.2.5 Integration and resistance

Among the government migrant support schemes are those that provide financial support, housing support or English language classes. Institutions such as the Migration Resource Centre provides assistance to migrants free of charge. Collectively, these practices and institutions are an integral part of the Australian government's integration support network for migrants. However, some services, such as the English language classes, were found to be not used by the older respondents. Their resistance to accepting such assistance emerges from the need to continue native cultural practices and resistance to acculturation. It is also the result on the production of migrants' behavioural space in Perth.

Cultural practices such as language, religion and clothing are practices that inform one's production of space. The interviews revealed a contradictory imagination about 'culturalisation' by Australian society, especially among older males. This manifested as a dialectic relation between conformity to the Australian way of life and continuing native practices. Such contradiction manifests as rejection, for example, by refusing to learn the English language. It also reflects a subtle apartheid towards the Australian population, considering them culturally inferior.

For most migrants coming from Middle Eastern or South Asian countries, communicating in English is a problem. The disadvantage of not knowing English restricts their spatial practices and limits their private territory. Others, who have not managed to learn the language despite trying, restrict their navigation to home and its immediate surroundings to avoid any situation where they will need to speak in English. Respondents were also found to heavily depend on family members speaking English for daily activities such as shopping or travelling on public transport. This limited their natural engagement with the city. While most replied that they wanted to work but could not because of the language barrier, they also did not show any interest in learning the language. When asked whether she thought migrants did not wish to assimilate because of the cultural differences between their native space and Australia, one respondent explained:

Masum,45 years old Iraqi female migrant:At first, I used to think that. But now I know it is their choice not to. It was their choice to come here so they should adopt the way of life here. But if they don't wish to, it is their personal choice.

Here, unwillingness to assimilate or learn English is equated with a personal choice. The same respondent also criticised the limited flexibility of the Australian culture to accommodate cultural differences. It points to a dialectic conception of resistance and needed to assimilate among migrants.

6.3.2.6 Reflection

Reflection is the extension of past practices into the present, where 'belonging in the now' develops by bringing elements from the past into the present. However, not all migrants expressed interest in such practices. Some respondents showed little interest in continuing their cultural practices in Perth. Male migrants who lived alone in Perth showed limited signs of native practices. Their primary concern was to provide for their families and bring them to Perth. In such cases, the reflection of the material past in the present was minimal.

Migrants who migrated with their entire family or had managed to bring their extended family to Perth showed more signs of extending material and behavioural practices of the past to the present. The preservation of their cultural identity in their private space was more visible. Figure 6.18 showing the transition from the outside, the public space to the inside, the private space that showing signs of cultural identity.

Private spaces

Below is an extract from my field notes: *January,2020*

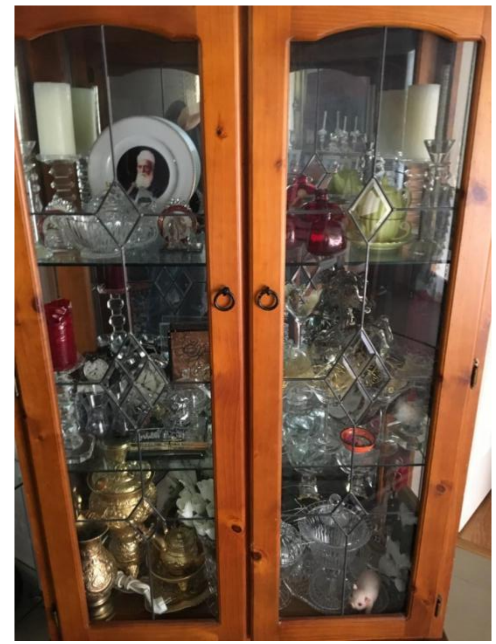
It was my first time in Girrawheen. This was a distant suburb located at the extreme north of Perth. I was going to Rehana's house, who had migrated to Perth 13 years ago with her entire family. The house from the outside looked like any other house, with a small garden and garage in the front, followed by the building behind. As soon as I entered, I was engulfed in a different feeling. The ceilings had small designer motifs that were very different from the Australian style. Rehana said she had these made by a local Iranian mason, who did this kind of work in all Iranian houses in Perth. The rugs, the pictures hanging on the walls, the artifacts in the showcase, the cushion covers, the dry fruit bowl at the centre table—everything had a Middle Eastern feel. While talking to me,Rehana explained how she slowly collected each piece from her visits to Iran. Some were gifts from friends. Others were bought from an Iranian shop in Perth. She added that almost everything Iranian is now available in Perth. She seemed proud and happy to have created a mini Iran in the heart of Perth.

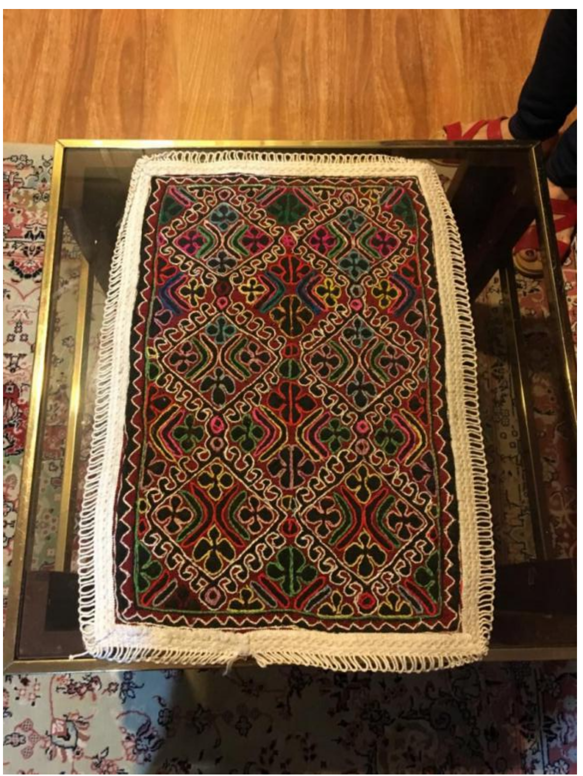
Rehana, 55year old Iranian female migrant: When I close the door of my house, I am in a totally different space, cut off from the outside. It is like I am in Iran.

Figure 6.18: Showing the transition from public to the private space and cultural identity of the private space in Perth

Top two images showing the view outside the house followed by a transition to the inside

The below three images shows the reflections of Iranian culture in the private space. The paintings on the wall, the carpet brought from Iran, the articles on the centre table, the Iranian curtains, the motifs on the wall are all example of cultural representation





Three images showing Iranian artifacts inside the house.

A common practice among migrants is to retain their native cultural heritage through the design of their private space. Even though their houses from the outside adhere to local by-laws and look Australian, from the inside, they present a completely different world.

Among other migrant communities such as the Afghani respondents, their houses reflected similar practices. The sitting arrangement is on the floor, which is traditionally Afghani. When deciding on their house layout, migrants try to match it as far as possible with their traditional native houses. When choosing to buy a house, one Iranian respondent mentioned that she wanted a house with a larger living space and did not mind a smaller garden because that resembled traditional Iranian houses.

For first generation migrants, it becomes absolutely necessary to preserve the past to remember and educate the next generation about it. But the next generation, who have come to Perth at a very young age, showed little signs of reminiscence about the past and a clear inclination to live in the present by adopting the Australian way of life. This is a point of cultural contention between generations. Two respondents from the same family but from different generations have shown signs of such tension. The younger respondent, the son, was the first to come to Perth. He then brought out his entire family from Iran to Australia. He is in his mid-twenties and lives in a house separate from his parents and other family members. He is working and studying. He says that his lifestyle does not match his family's, which is why he prefers to live separately. However, the entire family meets for dinner every day. The young respondent was critical of the Iranian lifestyle adopted by his family in Perth and mentioned that he was busy making his own life in Australia. Thus, his life overlaps with his family's, but he still strives to create a space that is entirely different from theirs. His choice of leaving the past behind to move on drives his production of space.

Therefore, the sense of belonging is subjective and temporal. It is subjective depending on migrants' nature of connection with the present and the past. But that too is not permanent; it changes to different things at different points in time. Belonging depends on memories but the value of each memory changes with changing circumstances and the creation of new memories. To what extent one should let the past affect the present engagement with space is a matter of personal choice.

Sayna, 29 years old Afghan female migrant: (When asked whether she would ask her 4-year-old daughter to wear a hijab once she grows up.) 'Yes, obviously, it is our culture.'

Migrants carry with them to Perth their native practices of wearing specific clothes, eating certain foods or drinking a particular type of tea. Even though some of the Afghani women learned to drive in Perth, their behavioural practices such as the hours when they go out or invite people home are restricted and still determined by their husbands. Therefore, for some, belonging in the past is a mere excuse to resist cultural differences of the past with the present, but for others it is a struggle despite wanting to belong because of language and behavioural differences between the past and the present.

When asked whether she thought migrants were unable to adapt because of the traumas they have gone through in the past, one respondent explained:

Aleah, 52 years old Iranian female migrant: Initially I was to think like that but now, having lived in Perth for about 10 years, I know it is a choice they make. They want to want to come out and mix. You know Ahmed's wife? She is a friend. They are very conservative Muslims. I had so many times asked her to come out with me but she refuses. Now I understand it's a choice she has made.

Public spaces

A large number of Afghani, Iraqi and Iranian shops dots Perth's landscape. Most respondents are regular visitors to these shops. These spaces not only function as commercial spaces, but also as nodes of production of social networks. They are important points for gathering information, lending money informally and getting work. They are also cultural spaces of caregiving, building brotherhood and supporting each other. They sometimes acts as gathering places for migrant groups to discuss politics, issues and family matters.

6.4 Chapter conclusion

The chapter presented empirical evidence of the form of three sub-sections—spatial conception, experience and spatial practices. It shows how migrants perceive a range of structure, spanning material, cultural, social and political life, in the new environment and how the structure-agency interaction pans out to either impede or catalyse their engagement with space. In doing that the chapter aims to answer the first objective to understanding the modes and processes of migrants engagement with space.

The first sub-section reflected the migrants' cognitive layer, sub-divided into Kolkata and Perth. For Kolkata, the basic themes that emerged were an overarching perception of space, spatial knowledge and developing territories of spatial engagement, counteracting spaces and emergence of a collective conception. Together, these wove a narrative around the temporal nature of the migrants' mental faculty in conceiving space. For Perth, the themes were an overarching perception of space, spatial knowledge and developing territories of spatial engagement, spatial scaffolding, overt individualisation and covert collective conception of space, belonging, constant comparison and reflections. These basic themes touched upon shrinkage, expansion, contraction and conscious expansion.

The second sub-section reflected the migrants' experience layer. This layer was also sub-divided into Kolkata and Perth but the basic themes were the same for both cities. The themes were based on the work of Pickering and Marotta (2019) on the structure of experience, which

can be mere, transformative or exceptional. Mere experience was further sub-divided into mediated and unmediated experience. By using excerpts from interviews, this sub-section wove a narrative around migrants' experience and how it leads to shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation.

The final sub-section reflected the practice layer. For Kolkata, the first theme was resistance, encompassing entangled resistance, silent practices of resistance, spatial appropriation resulting in slow spatial expansion of resistance, exigency and auxiliary practices of resistance. The second theme was negotiating occupancy in the city, encompassing negotiating land occupancy, eviction and resettlement, everyday negotiation such as leaks, internal negotiations and access to resources, negotiating identities and symbols of negotiation. The third theme was compliance. For Perth, the themes were navigation, negotiation, spatial appropriation, informality, extension of cultural practices from the origin to the destination and practices of reflection of the past in the present, constituting the home as private space and public space. The evidence in this sub-section also pointed to shrinkage, expansion, contraction and conscious expansion.

As can be seen in Table 6.1, the three modes of engagement with space are connected, relational and overlapping in nature. Collectively, they point to a common overarching framework of engagement with space, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 6.1: Interconnections between modes of engagement,Kolkata and Perth

	Cognition (C)	**Cognition(C)**	**Cognition(C)**	**Cognition(C)**
Practice (P)	Kolkata C - An overarching conception of space P - Leads to a spatial practice of out-migration from the origin and in-migration into the destination(push/pull) E - Results from everyday economic, social and cultural experience of the origin as less conducive			Perth C - An overarching conception of space P - Results in a spatial practice of out-migration from the origin to in-migration into the destination.(push/pull) E - Horrific experience of cultural, economic and political marginalisation, physical attack, fear and anxiety that results in an overarching conception of the origin as inhabitable
Practice (P)		Kolkata C - Mental image: Humanising the city (people, function, structures). Imagining space through dots, lines,	Perth C - Mental Image of space and physical, cultural and limited social markers of space.	

		boundaries and cognitive territories P - Negotiating occupancy in the city, everyday negotiation for resources, negotiating identities E - A unmediated experience of different and mediated experience with fellow migrants, neighbours, political institutions	Individualisation, lack of social connection that restricts a humanizing approach of spatial conception. dearth of social relations that results in identifying physical, cultural and limited social markers of space. P - Gathers information by navigating the city, spatial appropriation and casual informal practices E- Unmediated experience of a feeling of isolation and individualisation Mediated experience of experience within and outside migrant communities .	
Practice (P)		Perth C - Spatial scaffolding P - Negotiation practices between native migrant communities to produce a conducive social and cultural network in the new environment. Negotiation with other actors and institutions like church group, for work etc. Production of the everyday behavioural and geographical spaces of negotiation E -Feelings of social and cultural up-rootedness and isolation. Dissimilar nature of everyday life at the origin and destination. Lack of social connections, dependencies among neighbor and an overall feeling of isolation.	Kolkata C - Need for space and spatial scaffolding P - Silent practices of resistance, spatial appropriation, entangled resistance E - Unmediated experience with neighbours, political institutions, general public Transformative experience of the migrant from being to becoming	
Practice (P)	Perth C - Belonging constant comparison and reflection			Kolkata C - A collective approach to spatial conceptions

	P - Evidences of replicating the cultural practices of the origin in the destination. Especially in the private space, like migrants homes in Australia . Production of representation of cultural spaces and a public sphere in public space. Example: Celebration of festivals Extension of cultural practices from the origin to the destination E - An un-mediated experience of being a migrant or different in Perth that evokes a need to retain the cultural connection with the origin. Experiences of a sense of belonging from afar. A sense of up-rootedness that is compensated by practices of belonging from afar. Mediated experience related to insecurities of the next generation not knowing or forgetting their roots. Seeing others from same cultural origins change.			P - Entangled resistance, compliance, negotiating practices E - Mediated experience with general public and members of the political institutions that results in a need to collectivise their voices Transformative experience that make them question their being (who am I? and people like us), need to resist and success of prior resistance movements makes the collective approach popular
	Experience (E)	**Experience(E)**	**Experience(E)**	**Experience(E)**

CHAPTER 7 INTERCONNECTED TRAJECTORIES AND VARIEGATED ENGAGEMENT WITH SPACE

The present chapter is in continuation to Chapter 5, which shows shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation as an overarching framework of migrants' engagement with space. The diversity of migrants' perceptions in understanding the underlying space–time relation of this framework is further examined in this chapter. The nature of engagement over time differs from individual to individual based on their capacity to understand and counter existing space–time relations. Consequently, the combination and order of the presented categories differs from migrant to migrant (As shown in table 7.1). A number of factors, such as personal circumstances, different levels of perceiving urban pressure, differing aspirations and needs, are responsible for such differences. Therefore, not all migrants go through the entire space–time process of shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation. Moreover, the underlying reason for the different order of categories is determined by how individual migrant perceive structure–agency interaction in the new environment. The different combinations of interconnected trajectories from Kolkata and Perth and the reasons behind such differences are presented in this chapter.

Next, the chapter also presents variegate forms of migrants' engagements with space (As shown in table 7.2). While interconnected trajectories presents a longitudinal analysis on migrants' engagement with space, variegated forms presents a cross-sectional analysis on the same topic. Variegated engagements are socio-spatial manifestation of the three modes of engagement collectively taken together.

Following this a the theoretical concept of will underlying migrants' engagement with space is discussed.

7.1 Interconnected trajectories

Table 7.1: Showing interconnected trajectories of migrants' engagement with space

Combination	Reasons
Shrinkage	Initial shrinkage* Initial shrinkage is a common phenomenon for migrants. A complete change in environment results in initial shrinkage, in which the cognitive, experience and practice layers of engagement are completely shrunk. This is caused by a lack of knowledge about the new environment. This always happens in comparison to the past.
	Late initial shrinkage* Many migrants were found to be stuck in the shrinkage state even some years

	following migration. This can be purposive in those migrants who do not wish to know or connect to the new environment compared with their past. It was observed primarily among older male humanitarian migrants. Because of the financial, medical and other support migrants receive from the government, they are less likely to push boundaries to engage and actively participate in understanding their new environment. Moreover, because of the cultural differences and language barriers their adaptation capabilities are more limited. Many migrants also have horrific past experiences, which have sapped their will to live and engage. They are unable to trust people.
	In Shrinkage* Migrants who continue to live in shrinkage even after 10 years of migration are rare, but they do exist. This was predominant in older boat arrivals and humanitarian refugees, who have migrated to Perth under life-threatening conditions. They had arrived alone without their families. They survived on government support. Language barriers prevented them from making contact outside their own community. Some have even experienced too much pain to mingle within their own community. Confined to their houses and circle of immediate necessity, they live in shrinkage.
Shrinkage to Expansion	A transition from shrinkage to expansion is common in migrants. The rate of transition from shrinkage to expansion varies based on various factors. First, it depend on individual personalities and circumstances. Many migrate with the aim of improving their livelihood. For them, the progression to expand is rapid. Second, spaces where informality is prevalent indicate that the transition to expansion is greater because of migrants need to depend on the social networks to survive in the city. Otherwise, migrants who come by boat with a specific purpose like to security, economic stability or bringing their families t work towards these goals by expanding their engagements with space. Third, finding people in similar circumstances, culture or origin that leads to immediate connection with them and an expansion of social networks.
Expansion to Contraction	When expansion is met with a significant obstacle, it changes course and leads to contraction. Examples include: • demolition of a squatter camp, rendering the migrants homeless; • a deportation notification for boat arrivals; • loss of livelihood when political cadres demolish informal shops or evict hawkers from major roads under a clearance drive; • cheating or forgery among migrants; and • moving from one city to another, for example, from Perth to Sydney, Kolkata to Delhi, to expand; such experiences of migration post-migration result in initial contraction. • Any transformative experience with other actors.
Contraction to Conscious Expansion	The experience of a sudden contraction results in migrants taking a cautious approach to expansion, termed conscious expansion. Examples include: • post eviction, resistance movement and negotiation for resettlement, making sure chances of another eviction are low; • change in livelihood approach through diversification to mitigate risk and loss; and • being sceptical of new contacts and not easily trusting people.
Shrinkage to Conscious Expansion	Many migrants from an early stage are extra cautious about their new environment. They do not immediately expand and take a slow and steady conscious expansion approach. This was primarily observed in migrants who had traumatic past experiences at the origin or intervening spaces.

	It also depends on individuals' characteristics and is not linked to context, environment or experience.
Assimilation	Assimilation can take place directly from any prior stage, depending on the migrants' experience and will to assimilate. For many, the cycle of expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and its associated memories and experiences, evoke a feeling of assimilation. In assimilation, the comparison is with the past—the native space. Not every migrant can reach assimilation. Assimilation occurs when engagement transforms from the stage of doing things to achieve something to an emotion in which, irrespective of the environmental differences, the migrant is one with the destination. Among young women migrating from conservative religious states where they experienced little or no freedom compared with their male counterparts, the desire to assimilate is much higher. Young migrants assimilate relatively faster than older migrants. Their ability and need to adopt to their new life pushes them towards assimilation. However, the need to assimilate is different in every migrant and can be very subjective.

Note: * These categories have been reached by mapping each migrant depending on the stage of migration to reach to common time spans. Stage: initial < 3 years; late initial 3–5 years; middle 5–10 years.

7.2 Variegated engagements with space

Table 7.2: Showing migrants' variegated engagement with space

No.	Type of engagement	Description
1.	Purposive	Engagements are purposive when directed to achieve a certain purpose like securing work or occupancy rights in Kolkata or connecting with church groups to secure free accommodation or support in various aspects of Perth's lives. For example, in the case of one respondent, he converted from Islam to Christianity after coming to Australia. This can be counted as a purposive engagement. Purposes are not fixed, but they change with time or once they are achieved—following which new purposes are produced. As explained in the cognitive mode section, spatial scaffolding is a purposive engagement where the migrants adopt to scaffold or counter his/their insecurities of informal living in Kolkata and social annihilation individualisation cultural differences in Perth compared to their origins. In Kolkata, migrants produce institutions like anti-eviction committees, informal worker unions, conduct blood donation camps to develop goodwill in the neighbourhood where they operate. In Perth, they do this by looking out for people from the same cultural background, joining social groups to meet new people, and producing a social network to support them.
2.	Reflexive	Sometimes engagements are not predetermined or purposive but are instead reflexive. The reflexive engagement was observed in the Nonadange movement when suddenly an entire squatter settlement was razed by government forces, and its inhabitants jumped into a massive protest movement. Without any knowledge of what its outcome will be, the evictees continued to protest for months. Such reflexive engagements are ad-hoc and immediate. Reflexive engagements are common in urban informal living and working conditions where migrants need to reach immediately to certain unanticipated situations. In Perth, reflexive engagement was observed when migrants are served with a sudden deportation letter or resisting a sudden racial incident on the road. Other than being ad-hoc reflexive engagement also develop from a persistent issue like migrants rejection of the dominant western culture of Perth. For some migrants living in shrinkage is a reflexive reaction to their rejection of the western culture. However, reflexive engagements are more common frequently and omnipresent across informal engagements.

3.	Mutating	Mutating engagement occurs from a complete change in the course of migrants engagement due to some externality. The scale, nature and impact of mutating engagements on the migrant life are more profound than reflexive engagement. This type of engagement can potentially change the migrant's entire engagement with space by changing its locus. Engagements are temporal, and their trajectory is determined by changes in spatial cognition, experiences and spatial practices. How migrants perceive threats, obstacles and resistance in everyday life in the new environment determines the course of their engagements. For example, eviction followed by a change in location from one part of the city to another of which migrants have little or no knowledge is an example of mutating engagement. Here, the migrant is uprooted and placed in a completely new environment even after living in the city for years. In such cases, the entire locus of the migrant's engagement with space changes and he/she is required to rebuild their lives in the new place. Additionally, in Perth, migrants moved to other Australian cities like Sydney or Melbourne for better prospects. These are examples of mutating engagement. An all-encompassing effect of mutating engagements on the life of the migrant causes a shift from shrinkage to expansion to contraction to conscious expansion.
4.	Hinged	In many ways, migrants engagement with the new environment reflects their way of life in the origin. The spatial reflections of the past are therefore hinged to their present. Evidence of hinged engagements is presented in the cognitive mode's belonging and reflection section, which shows a continuation of the cultural and social practices of the origin in the destination. It ranges from simple practices like cultural reflections in the migrant's private space or home to its extension to public spaces, which spaces of cultural representation like the celebration of festivals in public spaces, Sunday markets, cultural shops like Afghani, Iranian etc. Thus the material manifestation of cultural practices and way of life of the origin in the destination are evidence of hinged engagement. Hinged engagement is a hallmark of the production of spaces of representation by migrants in the new environment.
5.	Imitative	Practices of spatial engagements are imitative; migrants learn from other actors and replicate or imitate their practices to effectively engage with the new environment. Imitative engagements result from the flow of spatial knowledge, meaning and practices from one part of the city to another and primarily between people in similar circumstances. Migrants adopt existing 'tricks and tactics', such as a collective approach to negotiating spatial rights or joining existing grassroots organisations to make their voices heard. Alternatively, they simply follow the cue of other evictees, post-eviction, and joins or develop a new squatter settlement in some other part of the city (as seen in the case of Nonadanga). Other examples include how newly arriving Afghan migrants followed the cue of existing migrants and converted to Christianity from Islam to enjoy the benefits and support of the church. Additionally, the knowledge of navigating the city, identifying where to find what, following people to join social and cultural groups to expand their social networks are an example of imitative engagements. At a larger scale, imitative engagements include potential migrants identifying established migration corridors and ways to migrate (boat arrivals) to specific countries like Australia.
6.	Temporal	Engagements are temporal in nature and change with change in the migrant's primary purpose from time to time. The purpose with which migrants migrate changes with new experiences and perceptions in the city. Newer knowledge opens up new opportunities for them which make them rethink their purpose. Like in the case of migrants who first come to Kolkata as a floating population gradually tend to settle down in squatters. Having lived the squatters live for some time they then aspire to become permanent occupants of the city. As their primary purpose in the city changes from time to time so does their spatial cognition and practices. Like in the case of Muslim female migrants who first come to Perth and live within a confined territory due to fear of the unknown. Slowly as they are able to get out of that confinement, they begin to explore newer avenues of life. This in turn reinforces their confidence and agency. They drive, dress as they wish to and socialise the way they could have never imagined.

7.	Embedding and entrenched	Some spatial practices and conceptions of space when exists over a prolonged period are embedded by becoming a dominant way of life of that space, whereas others that are less commonplace but more intense (Political moment, or a policy change) in nature are entrenched in space. The influence of specific practices as repetitive and commonplace practices transcend into embedding practices of that space. That is they become repetitive or are embedded in the way of life of the inhabitants. For example, protest gathering practices as shown in the case of Kolkata are embedding practices. Presently, these are a common way of life implanted by history that governs the life of the city's subaltern population. How the government engage with the subaltern migrants in the city by partially including- as well as excluding them partially- partial rights- has become an embedding practice of structure-migrant interaction in the city. Entrenched practice is explained by the Nonadanga movement. In which the then newly formed government without anticipating the magnitude of the protest and backlash jumped into a massive squatter eviction drive, which they finally had to recall by providing evictees with alternative settlement arrangements close by. The nature and magnitude of the Nonadanga protest movement was a watershed moment of political activism by the subaltern people of Kolkata because no massive protest of such scale was witnessed in Kolkata after this movement. Thus the movement goes down as a historic moment for Kolkata that shows the strength and power of collective subaltern voices and their rights in the city. Similarly, in Perth a transformation from a closely knitted marginalised community (Hazaras from Afghanisthan, Bahai's fro Iran) in their origins when migrants come to Perth they become more consumed with their purpose rather than collective well-being. These have resulted in wide-scale malpractices within migrant communities which they note were unimaginable in their origins.
8.	Dialectic	Migrants' engagement with space is dialectic in nature. First, their body and mind are not always exact simultaneous in action that is they are not synchronised. This is because even though in their spatial practice migrants try to maximise their engagements with the new environment, mentally they are unable to accept the present as their reality. They continue to cognitively dwell in the past. Dialectic engagements are simply under migration and being a migrant. Additionally, the unfamiliarity of spatial knowledge, different cultural practices, language and way of life adds to the dialectics. In Kolkata, respondents were found to refer to Kolkata as their home and simultaneously mentioned how people like them will never be accepted in the city. While they mention Kolkata as their home, they also simultaneously put forward a dialectic statement of their origin being their home and Kolkata as their place of work where they come to earn money and not to live comfortably and enjoy life. Similar dialectics were recorded in migrants statements in Perth. The interviews revealed a contradictory imagination about 'culturalisation' by Australian society, dominant among older males. This manifested as a dialectic relation between conformity to the Australian way of life or becoming legally Australian, but continuing native practices. These engagements are dialectic in nature. Second, moving from one stage of the engagement cycle to another- shrinkage to expansion to contraction to conscious expansion to assimilation- is a dialectic process where the migrant has to breaks through one stage to moves to the next one, which they again need to break to move to the next. While one migrant move from one stage to another newer migrants fill their empty places thus, enlivening the dialectic cycle of engagement. Like the spiral of dialectic, the cycle of engagement too is dialectic and a product of overarching structures like capitalism and globalisation.
9.	Reciprocal	In many cases, it was observed respondents' engagements are reciprocal in nature simply due to migration. Reciprocal engagement occurs when the migrant is associated with two or more spaces. In most cases, it was their connection with the origins even after migration. This happens because migrants have dependents who continue to live in the origin even after the migrant departs from it. This type of engagement was observed both in the case of migrants in Kolkata and Perth. Due to the insecurities of living informally and in inhabitable conditions, migrants don't

		always bring their entire family to Kolkata. They work in the city and lives in the squatters and send the remittance to the origin. Respondents sometimes do this to protect their family members from living in inhabitable conditions in the squatter. In such cases, their engagement in Kolkata is directly related to circumstances in which their families live in the native space. The securities and insecurities of their families in the origin directly impact their engagements in the city. They were found to be more aggressive in expanding their engagements depending on their liabilities at the origin. Some respondents even had to snap ties with Kolkata and take to return migration because of incidents in their families. Some noted they had to send more money back home and that is when they realised they can save the money from the rest by shifting to a squatter. Similarly, in Perth migrants on a temporary visa and who have their families to fend for back home plan their engagements to maximise their savings. Many who do not have dependents back home engage with the space differently. The migrants with dependents are more thoughtful in the engagements they foster this is because they wish to use these sources to bring their families to Perth. Their engagements are based on gathering information, staying connected to relevant people and organisations.

7.3 Will and migrants engagement with space

The interconnected trajectories and variegated engagement, explained in previous sections, shows that there are common traits in human behaviour, transcending contextual differences. After universalising the process of engagement with space in Chapter 5, the prior two section of this chapter identifies categories in that universal process and shows how these too, are universal. This make theorisation of the finings possible.

The reason behind such overarching commonalities of human beings is inspired by individual and collective *will*. Will explores the universal truth that underpins human behaviour and, in this case, engagement with space.

The aim here is to understand the role of will concerning the structure–agency interaction in migrants' engagement with space. Diverse perspectives on how the structure–agency interaction operates and mutates to influence migrants' engagement with space have been presented with empirical evidences from the field. These shows how migrants are able to counter, overcome structural forces to expand or consciously expand their engagements practices from a state of shrinkage. In cases where they fail to engage migrants live in a shrunken territory of immediate necessity. Thus, how the migrant is able to counter structural forces reflects their agency. The recent literature shows an overwhelming focus on migrants' agency; in Migration Studies journal, all 166 articles on agency were published between 1999 and 2020. This points to a growing body of empirical work on migrants' agency in the last two decades. However, this discussion on agency can be taken a step further by focusing on the force that catalyse human agency. Its answer is in the philosophical concept of will.

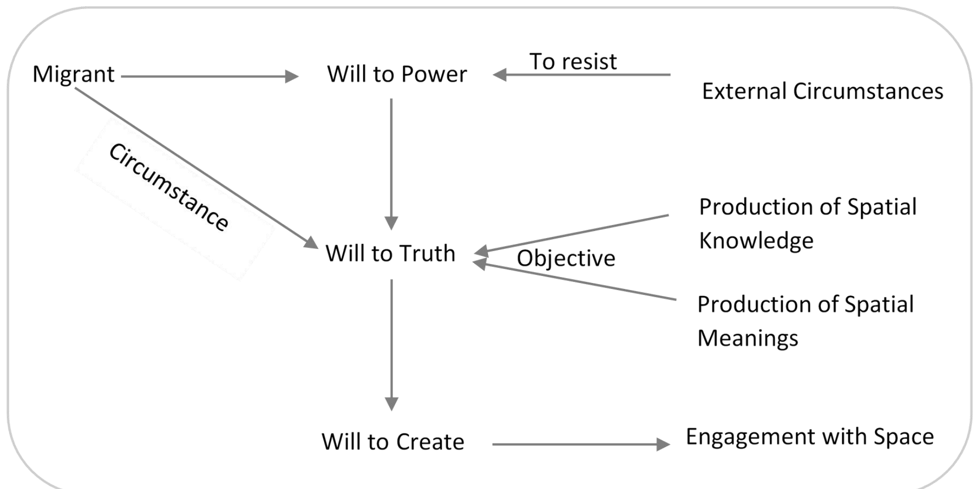
Will can be understood by referring to the work of Friedrich Nietzsche entitled *Will to Power* (1901). Lefebvre's work (1991), *Production of space*, mentions Nietzsche's *Will to Power* as

an important concept in understanding the production of space. Inspired by Nietzsche's will, Lefebvre has enquired into the role of human beings and agency in giving meaning to the production of space (Elder,2017).

According to Nietzsche (2019 etd.), every being possesses an insatiable desire to manifest power. These manifestations become evident through mundane activities in their everyday life. But the will to become powerful emerges only against resistance. Therefore, will seeks whatever resists it. In his theory of will, Nietzsche cautions against overestimating the influence of 'external circumstance' and instead focuses on 'the tremendous shaping, form-creating forces working from within which utilise and explain external circumstance'. In other words, he equates the 'self' (migrant) with 'will' or how will emerges from within the self as a central concept of 'will to power'. For the self, the 'will to power' transcends into a 'will to truth', which is objective.

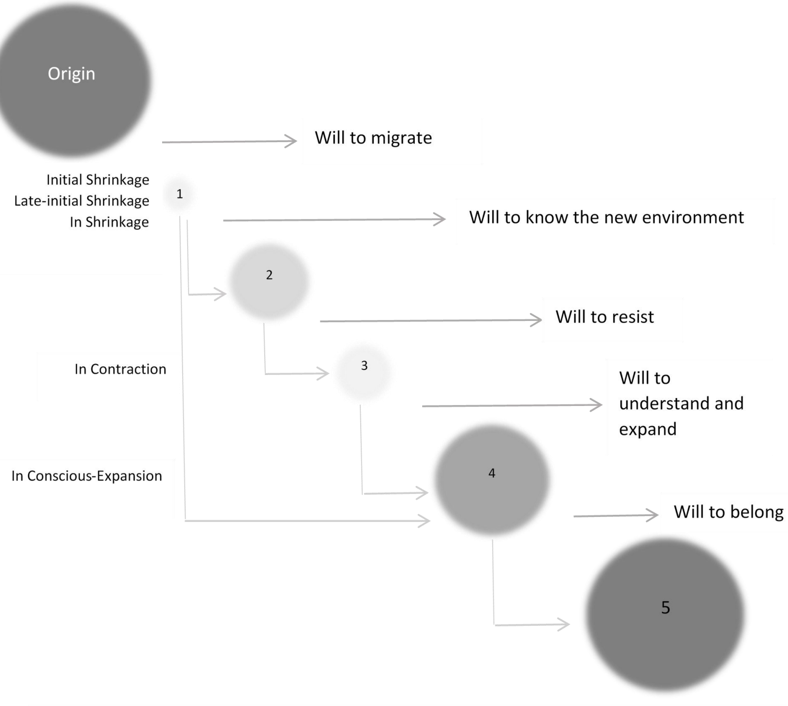
As shown in figure 7.1, in the case of migration, migrants manifest the 'will to power' through a 'will to engage' in order to realise their purpose of migration to the new environment. This is because '[p]eople do not aspire to migrate; they aspire to something which migration might help them achieve' (Bakewell, in Carling and Collins 2018). When viewed through the lens of will, the act of migration itself is a manifestation of 'will to live' which at pre-migration stage is the migrant's 'will to power'. The hindrances experienced by migrants in the initial and subsequent environment pose resistance to expand their engagements. The 'external circumstances' are either structural forces or anything else that exists resisting the migrant from engagements. These can be migration policies, public perceptions of migrants, cultural differences, inter- and intra-cultural interaction between migrant communities, social factors, informality, city governance practices, economic structures or the migrant's ego self. 'Will to power' is the migrant's determination to resist 'external circumstances' to realise his/ her purpose of migration which is their 'will to truth'. 'Will to truth' is objective and temporal. As one purpose is achieved the migrant sets another purpose and tries to achieve it. That then becomes their objective truth at that point in time.

Figure 7.1: Showing will in migrants' engagement with space



To understand the self (migrant) and its 'will to power', Lefebvre turns to banal and mundane everyday life in the production of space (Simonsen, 2015). As shown in figure 7.2 the production of space by migrants resonates with Nietzsche's and Lefebvre's work on how the 'will to power', the 'will to truth' and the 'will to create' in the migrant works against 'external circumstances'. By focusing on the objective truth the migrant resist structural factors with their will to act, engage and manifest.

Figure 7.2: The framework of engagement with space and migrants' will



Destination 1. Shrinkage 2. Expansion 3. Contraction 4. Conscious Expansion 5. Assimilation

7.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter was a continuation of Chapter 5, which outlined an overarching framework of engagement with space. The present chapter showed interconnected trajectories of engagement by dissolving contextual differences based on common grounds. It demonstrated how all migrants go through the entire process of shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation instead of producing their own trajectory from within these categories. These trajectories include shrinkage, initial shrinkage, late initial shrinkage and in shrinkage. This is followed by shrinkage to expansion, expansion to contraction, contraction to conscious expansion, shrinkage to conscious expansion and assimilation. These combinations highlight the importance of agency over structure, showing how one migrant is able to assimilate whereas another cannot. It then presents variegated ways in which migrants engage with space. The chapter showed that the underlying differences in engagement trajectories are driven by migrants' will to engage and operates within a structure-agency interaction framework. Overall staying true to the methodology adopted for the research, the chapter shows how contextually and circumstantially situated different migrants engage with space differently within an overarching common framework of space: shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

The research critically examines how forced migrants re-imagine their lives in the destination, that is, how they engage with the politics of space to produce a conducive life in the new environment. It focuses, captures and presents the time from when the migrant out-migrate to moving into the destination and their efforts to integrate. It views the migrant as a social and individual being that operates with a structure-agency framework. In doing that it aims to answer two simple questions - first, what are the modes of migrants' engagement with space; second, if a shared framework of engagement, common to migrants situated in different contexts, can be developed. For the first objective, the research identifies three relational modes of engagement with space: spatial perception, experience, and spatial practices. By drawing on their findings, it next proposes a five-stage engagement with space framework- shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation. These five stages are explained using the social and individual space-time relation concept. The research outcomes shows, that the adopted research methodology clearly brings out the fact that, even though there are overarching similarities in how different migrants engage with contextually different spaces and that a common framework of engagement with space is possible, variegated types of engagement exist depending on migrants' circumstantial factors and individual will.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first presents the aggregate conclusion of the entire study. It highlights what the study set out to achieve and how that was achieved. The second part outlines the theoretical, empirical, methodological and practical contribution of the study. The last section presents a way forward and a short note from the field—The journey: A migrant's elegy.

8.1 Aggregate conclusion of chapters

The ontological and theoretical underpinning of the study views the migrant as a social and individual entity. This is because the migrant operates in a social setting and is influenced by structures. However, migrants also use their own intelligence, past experience and adaptation qualities to overcome constraints posed by structures. By using the structure–agency theoretical underpinning, this study explored the migrants' perspective of their engagement with space.

The structure–agency perspective was used to understand structure through the eyes of the migrants. It was observed that not only political structures, such as government, management and policies, but also interactions between migrant groups, within migrant groups and with the

native population, all constitute structure. The migrants used their agency to overcome these structures, although sometimes they failed in this endeavour. Explained through real-life experiences of migrants from diverse backgrounds and nature, the study presents a rich ethno-phenomenological study of migrants' life.

The literature review in Chapter 2 was divided into four parts. The first examined the migration literature, with a focus on migrants and their activities in space. The second section explored urban studies. Starting with historical trends, the review progressed towards the more recent, comparative studies. The third section brought together the first and second sections, showing how migration contributed to the politics of space. This positioned both the migrant and their engagement with space as a critical political subject. The last sub-section explained engagement as a way in which the individual thinks, experiences and acts within the material and behavioural environment. This environment is partly virtual and partly non-virtual. The virtual part consists of conception and experience, while the non-virtual part consists of practice and its material manifestations. However, the two are tied together because one informs the other. It discuss the relevance of the body, its senses and intelligence come together to gather knowledge and produce meanings, which results in spatial practices and material production.

Chapter 3 attributes to the research methodology. It shows how by focusing on migrants' perspective an experimental comparative research methodology can be developed. Additionally, the ethno-phenemenenology approach adopted focus on individual migrants' experience of migration and also look at them in their cultural settings as collective begin. The research adopts observation, oral history, content analysis and visual methods to enrich its design. The method of analysis adopted was coding qualitative data into first, basic themes, aggregating basic themes into organising themes and and finally from the that drawing global themes.

Chapter 4 examined the background of production of space in Kolkata and Perth. The first sub-section presented a spatial narrative of the two cities. This provided the reader with a sensory perception of the landscapes of Kolkata and Perth. The second sub-section presented a comparative overview of the two cities. It concluded by going one layer deeper and digging into interpretations of such spatialities. It further explained the historical role of migrants in their development. It shows how the spatially compact development of Kolkata has produced a certain relational, interdependent and informal way of life, in contrast to the widely spread Perth, dominated by suburbanisation and individualisation.

From Chapter 5 onwards, the findings are presented in narrative format. By analysing primary data, three modes of engagement with space were identified (the first objective of the research):

the cognitive, experience and practice modes. Each mode presented an array of evidence of migrants' experiences in both Perth and Kolkata to argue first, that these three are valid modes of engagement that present an all-encompassing perspective on the phenomenon of migration by bringing the past, present and reflection together. Second, it is also argued that a process of engagement (the second objective of the study), which is temporal, overarching and common to any type of migration, can be developed. This process consists of shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation. The sections on modes repeatedly use these words but do not explain them critically. This was done in Chapter 5, which ideally should have been presented after Chapters 6 and 7, because it was developed from these two chapters. However, it was presented first, followed by its inception chapters, for ease of understanding of the reader.

Finally, Chapter 8 brings everything together by showing the flexibility of the proposed process of engagement. That is, how different migrants based on different attributes such as age, sex, purpose, circumstances and background adopt different combinations of the constructs of the proposed process (shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation) to engage with space. For example, some are stuck in shrinkage forever, while other quickly move from shrinkage to expansion. The section also shows that even though the process is an outcome of structure–agency interaction, what underlies agency is will. Therefore, a theory of will adopted from Deleuze' s work was used to reinforce the underlying reason for engagement with space.

Through empirical study, the research fulfills both its objective. It outlines how conception, experience and practice, which have been mostly researched separately because of their complex nature, can be brought together to develop a connected framework true to human behaviour; that is, that humans simultaneously think, experience and practice. It further shows how the three modes are relational, simultaneous and conflicting at the same time, but individually and together, they point to an overarching process of engagement that can be used for any migrant. The aim of the research was also to create a temporal process of engagement, which it does by producing categories such as shrinkage, expansion, contraction, conscious expansion and assimilation. It then further explains with examples how this overarching process of engagement works in the case of different migrants. Finally, by introducing the theory of will to migration studies for the first time, the research explains the various combinations of engagement that empower some to do very well while others do not.

8.2 Outcomes of the research and way forward

The outcomes and way forward of the study are the following:

- he study overcomes a significant criticism of migration studies, of being limited by 'methodological nationalism'(Meeus,2012), to produce a research design that accounts for methodological transnationalism. In doing that it not only produces a transnational methodology for comparative migration studies based on two cities Kolkata and Perth but also includes inter diversities of the selected cities based on their respective historic trajectories to select the relevant cohort of respondents. Thus the research accounts for contextual realities in developing a comparative methodology. The comparison in the two cities is based on the urban experience of its migrants. It analyses the migrant spatial cognition, experience and spatial practices in the two cities and shows how overarching commonalities exist in the ways migrants in the two contextually different cities engage with space. It presents a 360-degree overview of migrants' life under a comparative framework which is the significant methodological and empirical contribution of the research to migration and urban studies. Additionally, the study fills the long-existing gap of enquiring into the phenomenon of migration in its entirety and bringing the migrant to the centre stage.
- The three primary outcomes of the study are first, the proposed overarching common framework of space that can be de-contextualised and applied to study any migrant or city. Second, The interconnected trajectories of migrants engagement with space show the diversities of engagement within an overarching common framework. Third, variegated engagements with space show how different migrants engage with space differently at a different point in time. Thus overall, the second and the third outcomes are parts of the larger whole which is the first outcome. Thus, at a time when migration and urban studies are highly divided, there is very little research bringing them together. This study contributed to that pool of literature by developing an overarching common-to-all framework of migrants' engagement with space. This framework applies in any context. The application of the interconnected trajectories and variegated engagements are not confined to the realms of migration studies but are equally relevant to urban studies as well.
- The empirically rich research ties migrants' spatial cognition, experience and spatial practice together in one thread and shows how they are interconnected in producing their engagements with space. While existing empirical research mostly focus on one of the three mentioned aspects of engagement, this research takes all three into account. It shows how 'urban experience' (Robinson, 2015) a theoretical concept can be analysed empirically by using these three modes of engagement- spatial cognition, experience and spatial practices.

Academics and research plays a significant role in shaping government and public consciousness about the world we live in. At a time when we are highly divided it is imperative for us as a human race to think about how similar we are. The constructed realities of compartmentalised out mind and turned us against each other. In this study I show how living in two diffident worlds can be brought together by simply understanding what we want and how we function to achieve that. The human will will bring us all together as one race. Theory of will in migration studies can be further explored from different perspectives by developing new research questions. More cross-discipline research that depicts harmony in the nature of existence should be conducted.

I would like to end the conclusion section and this study with a note about how nothing ever ends. Everything that is a part of the whole has the power to change the whole and as the whole changes the parts too again change. I had written in Australia on a break between data analysis. I had just returned from an interview and was reminiscing about the story of a migrant. I dedicate this work to her and many others I have met on my journey across the globe.

8.3 Epilogue:The journey of a migrant's elegy

My past has taught me, so have the roads I travelled,
Also, the birds that sang and flew with me guiding me in my path.
The sun and the moon and the stars, they were there too.
I was not sure where to descent.
The woman at the tavern guided me.
I still carry the note my fellow passenger handed me with a map of the city he thought I should stop by.
I stopped for a while. But people were different there, very different.
I knew I could not live in that city forever, so I again hit the road.
I remember the man who held my hand when I was about to fall.
I remember how he gave me bread and water and let me stay with him.
I remember the smell of the soil of a different land. It hardly rained there. The leaves were of a different colour.
After having travelled so long, I saw myself in the mirror for the first time in years.
It was a different me. So was my smell.
Will my family recognize me? Or, they too are gone with the wind.
Their voices in my head ask me to return
But, I have to keep on travelling, so I do, like many others.
Not knowing where to reach, but by only reminiscing the journey.
Sometimes I wonder how close is their journey to mine?
\- *-By author*

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10. Appendices

10.1 Appendix A :Respondent profiling

Kolkata

Sl. No	Respondent	Background
1.	Sonarpur- Pushpo, female, 55 years	She was brought to Kolkata uninformed of her marriage. Post-marriage lived in the squatter along the Dhakuriya railway track. After multiple threats of eviction was evicted in 2002. Even though assured of re-settlement nothing came her way for five years. She along with her two kids moved to Sonarpur where she had bought land on loan. Lived in a tent on that land for two years. Started to build the house by taking a personal loan from a money lender. Throughout, worked as domestic help. Presently, lives in her own house with her family. Takes the local train to come to work in the same place where she has been working as domestic help for the past twenty-five years.
2.	Sonarpur- Subir, male, 63years	Came to Kolkata with family from the undernourished rural areas of South 24 Parganas. Living in a rented hut in the squatter along the railway track of Dhakuriya. The hut was owned by Pushpo's husband who too was an illegal occupant of railway land. Evicted and resettled in Sonarpur. The land was cheap, he bought land on loan from relatives. Presently, not working. Previously he was working as construction labour. Two sons take care of the family. Presently, lives in his own house in Sonarpur.
3.	Nonadanga-Sabuj Colony Rahaman, male, 62 years	Came to Kolkata from a village South 24 Pargana. Lived and worked in multiple places in Kolkata. Finally, landed in Salt Lake where he worked in a factory and lived in a squatter. His wife worked as domestic help. After the squatter was demolished, Rahaman along with some other evictees came to Nonadanga. They squatted land in Nonadanga and build a small squatter. Travelled every day to Salt Lake for work. Threats to demolish his squatter drew him and his fellow inhabitants into the Nonadanga movement. Post movement Rahaman got occupancy right and continues to live in Sabuj Palli. He was not working for some time due to an ailment. Rahaman passed away in 2021.
4.	Nonadanga-Majdur Colony Vidhu, male,47 years	Vidhu is from the rural areas of Nadia district. He already had relatives in Kolkata when he reached the city. Initially, he was working as a rickshaw-puller and living with his relatives in Jadavpur, located at the heart of south Kolkata. He paid a sum of INR 7000 to local political cadres who along with the local police was assigning land to migrants in Nonadanga. He and his wife moved to the China Mandir ground in Nonadanga and made a make-shift hut and lived there until they were evicted by KMC. Vidhu was a proponent of the Nonadanga movement. As an outcome of the protest, KMC announced a resettlement colony for the evictees.

		Presently, Vidhu resides in the Majdur colony in Nonadanga. He and others have been assured a more permanent arrangement in the future by the State Government. Vidhu works as a middle man to supply labour from villages to construction sites in Kolkata.
5.	Nonadanga-Majdur Colony Purnima, female, 29 years	Purnima is from the marshy Sundarban region in South 24-Parganas. Know for its ecological relevance the Sundarban are an endangered space frequented by floods. Purnima and her family are a victim of climate change. The 2009 Aila destroyed her home and inundate the entire area. Purnima moved with her husband and one child to Kolkata. Initially, they were living in a modest one-room unit and later moved to the Nonadanga China mandir ground by paying protection money to a local political cadre. Their hut was razed and Purnima joined the Nonadanga movement. Her husband is a local cab driver. He is only the driver as the cab belongs to someone else. Presently, Purnima lives with her husband and two infants in the Majdur colony rehabilitation unit. She is unable to work because the kids are too young.
6.	Nonadanga-Majdur Colony Rita, female, 35 years	Rita lives in the Mjadur Colony with her husband and two kids. She too like Purnima came to Kolkata after the Aila ravaged the Sundarban. Her story is similar to that of Purnima but the only difference being, lived in a rented unit in South Kolkata, close to where her husband got a job. The family got a piece of information that cheap land was available at Nondanga China Mandir ground and they put their entire savings to get that land. Rita and her family too was evicted and were part of the Nonadanga movement. Later, like Purnima, Rita was also given accommodation in the Majdur Colony resettlement colony by KMC. Presently, Rita works as a contractual domestic help in nearby houses.
7.	Nonadanga-Majdur Colony Shyamal, male 42 years	Shyamal lives in the Majdur Colony along with Rahaman. A skinny tall man Shyamal works under the 300 days working scheme launched by the Government of India. Under that scheme, he works as a manual scavenger and cleans the drain opposite to his squatter. Shyamal, like Rahaman, came to Nonadanga and squatted the land he presently lives on. When the nearby squatter on China Mandir ground was razed, he too participated in the Nondanga movement. Previous to moving to Nondanga, Shyamal has worked as construction labour in other parts of Kolkata. He then lived in a squatter close to the Eastern Metropolitan Bypass. The road widening programme rendered him shelter-less and he moved to Nonadanga. Presently, he does not have regular work and works whenever anything is available. His wife works as a domestic worker.
8.	Nonadanga-Majdur Colony Neelima, female, 52years	Neelima, an elderly lady in the Sabuj Colony in Nonadanga. She along with her husband migrated at a relatively elder age to Kolkata. They were subsistence farmers in their village in Joynagar. Unable to make ends meet the couple migrated to Kolkata in their mid-40s. They were given shelter by a relative in the Dhakuriya squatter. The coupled worked as lived there for more than a decade. However, an eviction programme in the early 2010s rendered them homeless. They came to know about Nonadanga from organisations that work for the betterment of grass-

		roots migrants in Kolkata. Like others, they followed suit to Nonadanga. They were permitted to live in the squatter settlement that Rahaman and others were building. The couple was also helped by their fellow inhabitants in making their huts. Presently, the couple lives in the same Majdur Colony. Neelima's husband works as a security guard in a nearby private hospital and she occasionally works as domestic help. Their children live separately in Kolkata. The couple occasionally goes back home but says it's difficult for them there exists a persistent electricity shortage and they have to live in darkness. They say Kolkata suits them better now.
9.	Salt Lake-Squatter opposite City Centre Mall. Subhas,male,42 years	Subhas was a citizen of Bangladesh, erstwhile East Pakistan. First, his parents illegally entered India by crossing the border by boat and then walking to find a safe ground to bring their children. A teenage Subhas carried his infant sister in his arm and crossed the border holding his elder sister's hand. The family settled in Duttapukur on the outskirts of Kolkata. They lived there for many years and as Subhas grew older he looked for work in the same place. Unable to find anything substantial he migrated to Kolkata with his neighbour who was already working in the city. Initially, Subhas returned home to Duttapukur after everyday work in Kolkata. Slowly as he gets to know the city better he moved to SaltLake on a new job. That is when he started to live in the city. He got married and lived in a squatter in Salt Lake. When the City Centre mall construction began they were asked to vacate the plot and they moved to a nearby plot. Subhas continues to live on the same plot of land. His mother lived in Duttapukur with his two kids. He thinks Kolkata and the environment in which he lives is not suitable for his kids. His kids are studying. His wife was a domestic help in a nearby house. Subhas has two electric rickshaws and runs a small shop repairing machines and vehicle parts from his hut. He is the secretary of the rickshaw union and is responsible for the smooth functioning of that institution. According to Subhas their family does not have as many economic issues as social issues for living in the inhabitable squatter. The fact that everyone around identifies them as illegal Bangladeshi migrant pose serious constraints from them.
10.	Salt Lake-Squatter opposite City Centre Mall. Ram, male,45 years	Ram like Subhas came to India from Bangladesh with human traffickers at a young age. His family resided 20 kilometers north of Duttapukur. He came to Salt Lake in search of work ten years back. Before that, he was doing odd jobs close to his home. His sister is married to Subhas and therefore they are related. After Subhas's marriage with his sister he permanently shifted to the new squatter Subhas and others were building. Presently, he too has a rickshaw and his wife works as domestic help. The couple has two infants. Ram informs local political cadres have confiscated their identity documents in exchange for informally occupying urban land. The squatter dwellers are at loggers-head with the local councillor, for rejecting his proposal to upgrade the squatter from a collection of shacks to tin huts, by making the inhabitants pay for this. The proposal was rejected by the squatters whom themselves wanted to do the work rather than pay the councillor for getting it done by a third party. Having gotten their proposal rejected the

		squatters went to higher authorities for support. This irked the councillor and since then the squatters have been facing everyday issues of their garbage not being collected, receiving intermittent portable water and regular political intervention in the squatters affairs. Ram along with others have joined the anti-eviction committee to make their voices heard. Ram is an important member of the committee and represents his squatter. He is also involved in other activities like organising social activities like blood donation camps, festivals etc.
11.	Salt Lake-Squatter opposite City Centre Mall. Protima, female, 37years	Protima, a lean shy lean lady resides in a dilapidated squatter opposite that of Subhas and Ram's. A couple of huts tucked in behind the tree to hide them from the public eye sprouted following the development of Subhas's squatter. Even though existing opposite to each other its inhabitants seems to not be in contact with each other. Subhas seems to ignore the question when asked about Protima's squatter. Their conditions are one of the most deplorable. Neither are they politically involved like Subhas's squatter. They simply seem to exist there to make ends meet. Her husband does odd jobs and she stays at home to take care of the kids. Their existence is more out of pity by others towards them than for any other reason. Protima and her husband came from their home in Nadia district to work as labours in Kolkata. They have lived on the streets of the city and moved to wherever they got work. The couple had lived in the railway station, construction site and finally came to Salt Lake. The fragile hut they made was to accommodate their two children. She notes with the kids have nowhere else to go. Their modest 4 household squatter is an extension of the comparatively better-off Subhas's squatter settlement.
12.	Salt Lake-Squatter opposite City Centre Mall. Vimal, male, 33years	Vimal came to Salt Lake at a time when the squatter settlement made by Subhas and Ram was starting to grow with new inhabitants. A mobile vegetable vendor, Vimal too join the wagon and made a hut. An unexpected incident in which he lost his mother made his return to his native village in South 24 Parganas. Everyone thought he was never to return as he had to take care of the agricultural activities his mom was tending to. However, Vimal returned after two years and started living in the same squatter again. He despises his life in Kolkata but stays there as there is no other option. He occasionally works as construction labour and some other time as a mobile vegetable vendor.
13.	Madhyamgram and works in Salt Lake Anil, male, 29 years	Anil is an interstate migrant who migrated to Kolkata in West Bengal from Bihar, a neighbouring state. He was interviewed in Salt Lake as he works as a rickshaw puller there and lives in the nearby Madhyamgram. He lives in shared accommodation. Anil does not have his rickshaw and hires one from Subhas. He pays a fixed sum of money every day for this to Subhas. Anil is critical of the way migrants like Subhas and others living in the squatter. Even though he comes to Subhas's shop for repairing his vehicle he says he cannot live in the environment they live in. He has his family back in Bihar, his wife and two kids. Because of his economic in-securities in Kolkata, he is not able to bring them with him. Anil came to Kolkata as a teenager. He then moved to Delhi and other cities for work. When nothing worked the way he anticipated he returned to Kolkata. He has also tried to

		write exams to join the Indian army, but that too did not work out. Presently, he is working and living alone in the city. He occasionally goes back to his native village to meet his family.
14.	Paharpur, Mustafa, male, 16 years	Sixteen years old Mustafa came to Paharpur with his elder brother. They hail from Muzaffarpur in Bihar. His brother works in a nearby factory and lives there, he thinks Mustafa will not be able to sustain that tough life and so he put Mustafa in an iron shop to do the less tedious work of pressing clothes. Mustafa lives and works in the same shop. He occasionally goes to visit his brother. Both brothers return home in Bihar when work is dwindling. Mustafe does not travel much in Kolkata. His employer provides him with food. Since he is a minor his employer is responsible for him. He, therefore, does not allow Mustafe to travel anywhere else other than to meet his brother. The entire family depends on Mustafa. His parents are subsistence farmers and he has two sisters. Climate change and low returns for agricultural products have pushed the family into poverty.
15.	Paharpur, Mir male , 45 years	Mir too like Mustafa hails from Muzaffarpur in Bihar. He migrated with his entire family to Paharpur and works in a sewing shop. He is a daily wage earner and his wife works as a nurse to an elderly couple. Mir’s family has rented a modest apartment in Paharpur and has been living there for the past seventeen years. The family occasionally goes back home during festivals where Mir’s father and mother are residing. The couple has one kid who will be a second-generation migrant in Kolkata.

Perth

Sl. No	Respondent	Background
1.	Bashir,38 years, male living in Thornlie	Bashir was born in Basrah, a city close to the Iran-Iran border. Born to parents who already had two sons, Bashir was the third. He was born with a disability that kept made a dwarf growing up. Because of his height and deformed body parts he was the butt of a joke while growing up. Other than his family he was unacceptable to everyone else. Economic deprivation, fear of Saddam's rule followed by America's intervention and complete anarchy forced many to migrate out of Iraq. Bashir's family was one among them. His father and elder brother went to Iran and him along with his mother, another elder brother and younger sister went to Turkey to migrate to Australia. The four of them when from Turkey to Malaysia to Indonesia with fake Turkish passports and with the help of human traffickers whom they paid handsomely. They travelled from Turkey to Malaysia on the pretext of family vacation. From Jakarta along with Three hundred and fifty other passengers, they left on a small boat to Australia. They were detained at Christmas island and after staying there for four days were send to a detention centre in Adelaide. He mentions there is no fixed rule on how long one has to stay in the detention centre. Some stay for one-month others for a year. Bashir and his family stayed at the Adelaide camp for seven and a half long months. He mentions a protest in the camp in which tear gas was used to stop the protesters. That is is time he heard a security guard saying " we cannot let you all free because we ear our bread by keeping you here. If all get out together we will have no job." The people in the camp were segregated into different groups based on their physical abilities and resilience. Bashir mentions the authority asked them which city they wanted to go to before giving them a visa. The obvious choice for the family was Perth because by then his father has already reached Perth from Iran. The government bought tickets for the entire family and they left for Perth. His was father was there to receive them. In Perth, Bashir's elder brother and sister work. The family lives in a rented house. Bashir went to TAFE English classes and can speak communicable English. He is also a regular to the AsETTs men group. During his more than a decade's stay in Australia Bashir has gone back to Iraq twice. One time was to get married. According to him he is much more accepted in Australia than in Iraq. He says he has a better life in Australia.
2.	Masum, 45 years, female living in Belmont	Masum was born and brought up in Baghdad. He was educated and got married when she was working as a lecturer in a college. The couple had to move the grooms family home to the outskirts of Baghdad. Things deteriorated after Masum was attacked twice and robbed while returning from work. The unsafe living conditions in Iraq and the growing political complication forced the couple to migrate to Perth. They migrated following the common human trafficking route from Iraq to Turkey to Malaysia to Indonesia to Australia. After a relatively shorter stint at the detention centre, the couple moved to Perth. Masum went to learn English and applied for higher studies and her husband mostly stayed at home.

		Presently, Masum is a caregiver to her husband and they live on government compensation. The couple has lived in many places in Perth and finally found a suitable place in Belmont. They do not have any family members in Perth. Masum's elder brother and mother are living as refugees in the United States and one of her brothers continued to live in Iran. It has been more than a decade that the couple is in Perth and they have never gone back to Iraq. The couple applied for Citizenship in 2012 and got it within a year.
3.	Rehana, 55 years, female living Girrawheen	Rehana is from the city of Tabriz in northern Iran. Born in a Bahia, she was subjected to horrifying discrimination by the neighbouring Muslim population. Their house was attacked in front of the eyes and the entire family moved to the grandmother's house in Shiraz. Her father lost his government job due to similar malpractices by the government towards Bahá'ís'. Rehana, later in her twenties got married and moved to Tehran. As government atrocities towards Bahá'í gained momentum, her husband too lost work and her kids were forced to read the Namaz in school. Her elder son despite having good grades was declined admission to the school. By that time in the late 2000s her husband too had to shut the shop he owned. Rehana says many Iranian Bahá'ís;' then was moving out of Iran to either the States, Europe or Australia. With their parents passing away the couple had little reason to stay back in Iran where they had no future. They therefore collectively decided to move to Australia. The route to Australia was also no easy as there was no direct passage from Iran to Australia. The family followed other cues and moved to Turkey where they hired a house and lived for close to a year. By this time they got a Humanitarian Asylum seeker visa by UNHCR ready. The family eventually moved to Australia in 2011. Rehana's husband enrolled on English learning classes and started looking for a job. She stayed at home and tended to the kids. When the kids started to go to school she too enrolled on English classes and joined care-giving activities with Ishar. The family also has moved to Sydney to try their luck to get better work, but they found Sydney overcrowded and in-conducive for the kids to grow. The couple owns a house in Girrawheen and even though the kids are working they continue to stay with their parents. Rehana mentions her husband is not very happy with his life in Perth and wishes to return to Iran if the government changes. She mentions she has accepted her life in Perth and she is very happy and content.
4.	Aleah, 50 years, female living Girrawheen	Aleah, a Bahá'í was born in the city of Shiraz in Iran. Similar to Rehana she too had horrific tales of discrimination to tell from her childhood. Her family moved from one city to another to find a haven. Aleah got married when she was seventeen years old and her first child a year later. She says according to Bahá'í culture women are allowed to work but she did not get any opportunity to work despite having a university degree. When all economic opportunities were shut down the couple decided to move to Australia in 2000. They moved to Turkey where they stayed in a rented house. Their they were quested by the United Nation as part of their scrutiny process as to why the family wanted to move out from Iran. After living in Turkey for eight months they got their visas. Her younger sister got

		married and moved to the United States. Aleah says they took the "dangerous route" by boat to America. Six months after Aleah and her family came to Australia her parents followed suit and settled in Sydney. Her elder son is twenty-five and has finished college and is presently working. Her younger son is sixteen and still studying. It has been twenty years that she migrated and she has never returned to Iran. The family is closely associated with the Bahá'í community in Perth. They participate in regular prayer meets and Bahá'í feasts. She presently works as a caregiver with Ishar in Mirrabooka.
5.	Rezza, 65 years male living in Gosnells	Razza was born in the Hazara community in Moqor in Ghazni Afghanistan. He was uneducated like his other three brothers and lived in Afghanistan for twenty-two years. He was married and had five kids. He was attacked by the Taliban and fled to Pakistan alone. He moved to Quetta in Pakistan where he worked in a mine for many years. Rezza mentions a lot of Afghani refugees are working in these mines. Threatened by the hazardous work the laborers had to do and witnessing the loss of life, Rezza migrate to Iran by paying human traffickers. Since he left Afghanistan he had no contact with his family or wife. He also did other odd jobs in Iran and moved to Pakistan with some savings to migrate to Australia. He found a human trafficker who helped him with a fake passport and he went to Indonesia. From there he came to Australia by boat. He along with others were detained at Christmas Island and later send to the Curtin camp in Kimberley in Western Australia. He was able to establish contact with his wife after more than three decades. she along with the kids had long back moved to Iran. Rezza shows a picture of her daughter whom he was seen last as a newborn kid. Rezza does not speak English and lives by himself in a Gosnells. He lives on government assistance and is unable to work because of a physical ailment that he caught working in the mine in Pakistan. He sometimes comes to the Men group in AsETTS. He wishes to bring his family to Perth but does not have access to the information or resources to be able to do that.
6.	Saddam,72 years, male living in Belmont	Saddam came to Australia with his wife Masum in a boat. At a very young age, he had migrated to Greece from Iraq in the 1970s. His brothers were killed by the Saddam Hussein regime and he was forced to migrate. He stayed and worked in Athens for close to two decades and later got married to Masum in the late 1990s. The coupled moved to Australia and chose to live in Perth as they heard Perth is peaceful. Saddam enrolled in English class but has not been able to learn the language. He depends on Masum for everything. The couple lives on government assistance in a rented unit in Belmont. The couple applied for Permanent Residence in 2012 and received it in a year.
7.	Janangir, 35 years, male living Nedland	Jahangir was born in the Jagori district in the Ghazni province in Afghanistan. He had two brothers and a sister. He lost one brother to a suicide bomb in Pakistan and the other brother disappeared without any trace. He too like Rezza was from the Hazara tribe. Jahangir migrate to Iran at the age of twelve and worked in a stone factory in Iswan. He briefly returned to Afghanistan after seven years and then again returned to Iran and stayed there for another one and a half years. Every time

		he has paid the human traffickers to cross countries. He later moved to Quetta in Pakistan with his family. There he worked as a fruit seller. Jahangir came in contact with human traffickers who informed him about migrating to Australia by boat. After living in detention centers which he describes as "we were happy to see they give us free food there. It was better than Afghanistan". He continues to live with a temporary visa and is likely to be deported after it expires. Jahangir lives on care service of the Church after he converted to Christianity. His wife and kids continue to like in Quetta on the money Jahangir sent them every month. He wishes to bring them to Australia but he mentions he first need to get a Permanent Residence. He is taking organisational and legal help to sort his visa issues.
8.	Sayeid, 58 years, male living in Bentley	Sayeid was born to a Bahá'í Family in Iran. He was educated till class six and later dropped out of school. During the Iraq-Iran was Sayeid who was then eighteen or twenty years of age had to join the military. He was forced to serve the army for eight long years. After he returned from the war he worked as a supervisor with a building company. He lost his job and the company was shut down as it was owned by Bahá'í. As life became economically difficult to sustain the family decided to migrate to Australia. In 2016 the family reached Perth. The journey to Perth was not easy as they had to stay in Turkey refugee camp for two and a half years. The life in the camp broke their backs and Sayeid and his wife both became sick. The family was offered to migrate to America but they chose Perth because Sayeid's elder son was already in Perth. He also had other extended family members in Perth. The family is residing in Perth as Permanent Residents Sayeid is critical of his life in Perth. He cannot speak English and neither works in Perth. The family lives on government support. He speaks about families losing their ties and drifting after they migrated to Perth. However, he is happy his boys are getting educated in Australia which was not possible in Iran. He is also very critical of the Iranian government's treatment of Bahá'í. He gets emotional while talking about his life in Iran. After his experience in Iran, it has become difficult for him to trust anyone. He carried these feelings with him to Perth where he has very limited friends and does not regularly engage with the local Bahá'í community as well.
9.	Jeh, 27 years, male living in East Victoria Park	Sayeid's eldest son Jeh came to Australia in 2013, three years before his family migrated. He followed the same migration route and process to enter Australia. Jeh is presently working part-time and is enrolled in a nursing course. He lives in shared accommodation in East Victoria Park, close to his workplace and where his family is living. Jeh, represent the young first-generation migrant. He says " My family because of the experience they have gone through have learned who is a good friend and who is just around. That because they have different background, they don't trust each other, they don't open up to each other. Inside the Iranians community also these are there. They generally have some trust issue. They like to keep their nose in others job." about Iranians he says "Culture is different because when they come here they just try to make a living. They don't really bother about helping each other anymore. Maybe when they are back in Iran they have a sense of sympathy because they are all in the same boat. But then they get out of that

		situation they don't really mind going after what they want without helping others." He further mentions before they came to Australia his family had regular gatherings with friends, a couple of nights every week or on weekends. They always had friends coming over. But since they came to Australia they realized it's not necessary to have friends all the time. For them live here is a controlled/specific situation. He adds his lifestyle is different from his family and therefore he lives separately.
10.	Pari, 24 years, female living in Mirrabooka	Pari was born in a Pashto speaking family in Pakistan. Her parents are originally from Afghanistan but they got married in Pakistan. She was born in Pakistan and after living there for 6 years when the Taliban issue subsided the family returned to Afghanistan. Unlike other Afghan girls, she went to school and was studies till class twelve. Post that she completed a midwifery course and worked for two years. She worked for another two years working as a teacher in a private institute on midwifery. Pari has two brothers and a sister. One brother of them is presently living in France and another is living in Afghanistan. Her sister works in a public hospital as midwifery in Afghanistan. Her husband was an interceptor to the Australian army. He moved to Australia and has been living there for the past six months. Pari came to Australia three years back and was living on a spouse visa. She recently received the Permanent Resident status. In Perth, the couple had lived in Mirrabooka and recently moved to Nollamara. It took some time for Pari to come out of her house and socialise in Australia. She had some racial experience which further shrunk her life in Perth. Pari along with some Afghani friends presently work with the Ishar women group. She misses her family and notes how living with them around was easy for her. She understands the difficulties they face as refugees in Australia, but she also appreciates her new life.
11.	Sania, 26 years, female living in Balga	Sania was born in Kandahar in Afghanistan. She is the eldest and has seven brothers. Her eldest brother finished university and is a teacher. She laments about the deteriorating everyday life in the country. There is no work and her brother does not receive his salary regularly. Her father has an embroidery shop mother works for it. Sanai did not complete her education she went to school till lass three. She was also not allowed to work. She got married in 2014 and came to Australia within four months. It took her close to one year to be able to come out of home and socialise. She started to learn English in TAFE and had her first baby. She completed her English learning course. Sania stays worried bout her family back in Afghanistan.
12.	Sayna, 29 years, female living in Balcatta	Sayna was born in Kabul. She went to school only till class five and after that mostly stayed home. She was not allowed to go out and work. Her life was confined to a limited circle of relatives and a couple of friends. She says she liked staying at home. She was married at the age of 23 and came to Australia with her husband in 2015. Friends to Sania the two families initially lived together in a shared house in Perth. With their kids being born space became a constrain and Sayna and her family moved to a two bedroom apartment nearby. Sayna learned to speak in English and is presently working part-time in the Ishar Women group. She

		is happy with the money she receives and wants to send it to her family in Afghanistan. She notes it has been financially very difficult for her family to survive. She also hopes to bring her parents to Australia.
13.	Meher, 23 years, female living in Mirrabooka	Meher was born in Kandahar. The youngest of five sibling, she grew up in a protected controlled environment. While growing up the family had moved from one city to the other at least twice which made her always feel uprooted. She cites economic reason and the mayhem in Afghanistan as reasons of their internal migration. She had only studies till class seven, but after coming to Australia she wishes to finish school and go for further studies. She like the other three Afghani girls came to Perth after her marriage. Her husband a former interpreter with the Australian government now works in a broadband network. He has to travel a lot for his work which leaves Meher alone at home. She is glad she came to know about the Ishar women group in Mirrabooka. Meher is presently learning English at TAFA. She says her husband wished to go to Sydney as he thinks the city has better prospect.
14.	Zahir, 42 years, male living in Swanbourne	Zahir was born in a Hazara family in Afghanistan. The atrocities of the Taliban towards the Hazara community forced him to live in his country and move with his wife to Pakistan. He does not talk much about his parents or siblings. In Pakistan, the family lived in Quetta. Zahir migrated alone to Australia by boat around 2010. after his stint at the detention centre, he started living with an Afghani friend who was already in Perth. He enrolled in learning English and presently part-time works as an integrator and in an embroidery factory. He tried to get his brother-in-law to Perth who died while trying to reach Australia by boat. Zahid is on a protection visa and has applied for Permanent Residence, however, there are some problems with this document and he is trying to sort the issue. His family back in Quetta lives on the money he sends them.
15.	Imran, 47 years, male living in Thornlie	Imran was born in Chaman at the Pakistan- Afghanistan border. His family had migrated to Iran for work when he was a kid. They later returned to Afghanistan. Imran along with his younger brother migrated to the Maldives in 2005, where they lived and worked for close to a decade. The duo later decided to move to Australia in 2015. They returned to Pakistan and with the help of human traffickers made their way into Australia. Imran’s brother died in 2017 from a heart ailment and he lives alone in Perth. He lives in Thornlie in shared accommodation. Works as a construction worker and is trying to learn English.

10.2 Appendix B : Semi-structured interview details

City	Respondent	Recorded (Y/N)	Duration
Kolkata	Pushpo	Y	1 hour 38 minutes 06 seconds
Kolkata	Subir	Y	20 minutes 35 seconds
Kolkata	Rahaman	Y	1 hour 20 minutes 41 seconds
Kolkata	Vidhu	Y	1 hour 07 minutes 21 seconds
Kolkata	Purnima	Y	59 minutes 42 seconds
Kolkata	Rita	N	20 minutes 23 seconds
Kolkata	Shyamal	Y	34 minutes 45 seconds
Kolkata	Neelima	N	20 minutes 12 seconds
Kolkata	Subhas	Y	1 hour 58 minutes 49 seconds
Kolkata	Ram	Y	48 minutes 55 seconds
Kolkata	Protima	Y	1 hour 27 minutes 21 seconds
Kolkata	Vimal	Y	1 hour 00 minutes 54 seconds
Kolkata	Anil	N	15 minutes 24 seconds
Kolkata	Mustafa	Y	45 minutes 40 seconds
Kolkata	Mir	N	24 minutes 34 seconds
Kolkata	Expert 1	Y	1hour 44 minutes 33 seconds
Kolkata	Expert 2	Y	1hour 13 minutes 33 seconds
Kolkata	Expert 3	Y	1 hour 13 minutes 13 seconds
Kolkata	Expert 4	Y	22 minutes 40 seconds
Kolkata	Expert 5	Y	1 hour 34 minutes 58 seconds
Perth	Bashir	Y	1 hour 27 minutes 32 seconds
Perth	Masum	Y	2 hours 36 minutes 18 seconds
Perth	Rehana	Y	2 hours 18 minutes 28 seconds
Perth	Aleah	Y	1 hour 34 minutes 35 seconds
Perth	Rezza	Y	3 hours 04 minutes 22 seconds
Perth	Saddam	Y	1 hour 04 minutes 18 seconds
Perth	Jahangir	Y	1 hour 25 minutes 25 seconds

Perth	Sayeid	Y	56 minutes 05 seconds
Perth	Jeh	Y	17 minutes 11 seconds
Perth	Pari	Y	57 minutes 29 seconds
Perth	Sania	Y	1 hour 02 minutes 22 seconds
Perth	Sayna	Y	54 minutes 21 seconds
Perth	Meher	Y	18 minutes 14 seconds
Perth	Zahir	N	56 minutes 35 seconds
Perth	Imran	N	34 minutes 45 seconds
Perth	Expert 1	N	20 minutes 21 seconds
Perth	Expert 2	N	30 minutes 33 seconds
Perth	Expert 3	N	25 minutes 47 seconds
Perth	Expert 4	N	1 hours 11 minutes 35 seconds
Perth	Expert 5	N	30 minutes 45 seconds

10.2 Appendix C : Semi-structured interview questionnaire

General Information:

Name: Age: Sex:
Education:
Category:
Occupation (previous and current):
Address (current and native):

On the city: Could you please narrate your story to me?

1. When and why did you come to Perth/ Kolkata?
2. Who informed you about Perth /Kolkata? Did you come with someone? Did you have someone here already?
3. How are the people in Perth/Kolkata? Are you treated as an outsider? If yes then why do you think so? Having lived here for some time as that feeling changed?
4. Do you go back to your native pace? If yes, then how frequently and on what occasions/ festivals do you go back?

Trajectory:

1. If you could describe your journey from your native space to the present? (fill from question 1)

Places	Duration of stay	Purpose	Reasons for decision to move

Beginning (Native space):

1. Could you describe the approach to your house/ setting?
2. Is the land in which your house stand owned by your family? Is there any other alternative use of that land (like kitchen garden, cooking outside, and area for family gathering)? Is your plot fenced?
3. How were your neighbors? What activities were most of your neighbors involved in?
4. What were the major problems/issues faced by you that forced you to come to Perth/Kolkata?
5. Where there any crime and security issues?
6. Which are the places that you frequently visit in the neighbourhood?
7. Did you have an identity card? Did you vote? Do you go back to vote?
8. Did you or your family or anyone you know availed the benefits of any government schemes?
9. Could you recall any important incident/ agitation/resistance that happened at any time? If yes, then could you narrate the story?
10. Describe your life in your native place in one word.

End (Destination):

Home

1. Tell me about your journey from when you reached Perth/Kolkata ? How were you receiver? Who helped you get the first accommodation? How did you pay for your accommodation and daily expenses?
2. What was surrounding like when you first came here?
3. What are the changes and what led-to or augmented these changes?

City or immediate neighbourhood (Spaces of Representation and social connection)

4. Which were your most frequently visited places, in the neighbourhood outside your home?
5. How safe and secured do you feel here? Do you wish to tell me any significant incident in this regard?
6. Which are the important places for you in the city? For what purpose and how frequently do you go there?
7. What do you do in your free time? Where and with whom do you spend?
8. Is there any place in Perth/Kolkata or in your immediate neighbourhood that you relate to or that remind you of your native space?
9. How are your local connection? Who are these people/ organisations in touch with you? Why do you think these connections are important?

10. Do you go to the local library, migration resource centre, community hall etc.?
11. If yes, how did you come to know about them? How do they help you in your problems?
12. Have you taken part in any political demonstration/ agitation? When and with whom?
13. Generally how different is this space from your native space and in what ways?
14. Would you like to go back to your native space?
15. Describe in one word your present life in the city.

Everyday practices

1. Could you describe your daily routine here? How does it change on weekends?
2. How is this routine different from the one you have in your native place?
3. Information- how do you get information in your day to day life?
4. What are the old practices in everyday life that you still continue to do? (Depending on the religion: Do you still go to pray? Where do you goa and how frequently?)
5. Water- where did you bath, wash in the native place? If that has changed in the current place- Where you do get water from? Is it always available? How do you store it? When not available what do you do?
6. Bathing- How has the bathing habits changed? No of times you take bath. Place where you take bath(pond/ bathroom/ community toilets)
7. Washing and drying clothes- who washes your clothes? When do you wash your clothes? Where do you dry them?
8. Cooking and eating- Do you cook? (collect information about the kitchen) How was the kitchen in the native space? Who cooked there?
9. Shopping for daily necessities- Where do you buy your daily requirements from? (Vegetables, cooking paraphernalia). Do you get the cheapest vegetables around or do you travel extra miles to get cheapest vegetables? Do you buy from the local shop on loan?
10. Privacy- do you think you need more privacy? Do you think you have enough privacy here?

Perception (present vs native)

1. Visual perception- aesthetics/ greenery
2. Smell- foul smell/ garbage/pollution
3. Sound- noise pollution/ what do you mostly hear people saying?
4. Feeling- comfortable living, temperature. What do you do to make it comfortable?

Conception (present vs native)

1. What was your idea about this place before coming here?
2. Has that idea changed after living here? How has it changed?
3. Would you like to continue staying here or would you like to go to some other place?
4. After staying away for long has the value of the native space changed for you?

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10-Feb-2021

Name: Reena Tiwari
Department/School: School of Design and the Built Environment
Email: R.Tiwari@curtin.edu.au

Dear Reena Tiwari

RE: Amendment approval
Approval number: HRE2019-0568

Thank you for submitting an amendment request to the Human Research Ethics Office for the project **An enquiry into the phenomenon of migration and its socio-spatial manifestations**.

Your amendment request has been reviewed and the review outcome is: **Approved**

The amendment approval number is HRE2019-0568-11 approved on 10-Feb-2021.

The following amendments were approved:
The proposed change is to extend the study to Kolkata, India, alongside the already approved Perth, Australia study. The study in Kolkata will follow exact same methodology questionnaire, a translated version of which in Bengali is enclosed with the application. The interviews are telephonic in nature.

Condition of Approval
It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that any activity undertaken under this project adheres to the latest available advice from the Government or the University regarding COVID-19.

Any special conditions noted in the original approval letter still apply.

Standard conditions of approval

1. Research must be conducted according to the approved proposal
2. Report in a timely manner anything that might warrant review of ethical approval of the project including:
   - proposed changes to the approved proposal or conduct of the study
   - unanticipated problems that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project
   - major deviations from the approved proposal and/or regulatory guidelines
   - serious adverse events
3. Amendments to the proposal must be approved by the Human Research Ethics Office before they are implemented (except where an amendment is undertaken to eliminate an immediate risk to participants)
4. An annual progress report must be submitted to the Human Research Ethics Office on or before the anniversary of approval and a completion report submitted on completion of the project
5. Personnel working on this project must be adequately qualified by education, training and experience for their role, or supervised
6. Personnel must disclose any actual or potential conflicts of interest, including any financial or other interest or affiliation, that bears on this project
7. Changes to personnel working on this project must be reported to the Human Research Ethics Office
8. Data and primary materials must be retained and stored in accordance with the Western Australian University Sector Disposal Authority (WAUSDA) and the Curtin University Research Data and Primary Materials policy

9. Where practicable, results of the research should be made available to the research participants in a timely and clear manner
10. Unless prohibited by contractual obligations, results of the research should be disseminated in a manner that will allow public scrutiny; the Human Research Ethics Office must be informed of any constraints on publication
11. Ethics approval is dependent upon ongoing compliance of the research with the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research, the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, applicable legal requirements, and with Curtin University policies, procedures and governance requirements
12. The Human Research Ethics Office may conduct audits on a portion of approved projects.

Should you have any queries regarding consideration of your project, please contact the Ethics Support Officer for your faculty or the Ethics Office at hrec@curtin.edu.au or on 9266 2784.

Yours sincerely

Amy Bowater
Ethics, Team Lead