

Master's thesis

Gunika Rishi

Crafting livelihoods

Towards an inclusive urbanization in Jaipur

Master's thesis in Urban Ecological Planning

Supervisor: Savis Gohari Krangsås

September 2020

NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Architecture and Design
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Acknowledgement

This thesis has been nothing short of a journey and in the completion of this journey, I have found myself indebted to an array of professors, colleagues, friends and everyone I met along the way who believed in me with their time and story- this acknowledgement does not do justice to the gratitude I hold in my heart for each one of them. I cannot begin without first acknowledging my supervisor, Dr Savis Gohari, who showed immense patience, perseverance and most importantly, encouragement during every stage of this research. She showed me direction and possibilities when both seemed bleak. Her supervision was nothing short of a masterclass and her commitment as a supervisor is hard to equal. Thank you Savis, I'll forever be learning, rather bravely.

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Dedicated to my Grandparents, the #1 storytellers.

Statement of Originality

This is to certify that this is the author's own work and that the materials have not been published before, or presented at any other module, or program. The materials contained in this thesis are her own work. Wherever the knowledge, ideas, and words of others have been drawn upon, whether published or unpublished, due acknowledgments have been given. The author confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others. Any disputes regarding the copy right of the content is the sole responsibility of the author.

30th September 2020

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Gunika Rishi', with a large circular flourish at the beginning.

Gunika Rishi

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List of abbreviations

SLF	Sustainable livelihood framework
UN	United Nations
SCIAP	Sustainable Cities Integrated Approach Pilot
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UCCN	UNESCO Creative Cities Network
JMC	Jaipur municipal cooperation
JDA	Jaipur development authority

Abstract

While cities have benefited from being the epicentre of urbanisation, the pace and scale of the process is accompanied by unequal distribution of resources that leave many behind. In India, which has a society segregated on the lines of ethnicity, religion, caste, and income, the repercussions are more deepening along the existing social biases. The city of Jaipur, a UNESCO world heritage site, has witnessed large scale development along with ambitious policy level schemes that aim at uplifting both, the tangible and intangible historical assets of the city. However, the artisans who form the backbone of the city's heritage, live a stark reality that excludes them from the rapid heritage-based development. In such a tenuous situation where urbanisation capitalises on the artisans' heritage and craft, it becomes important to explore how the community itself accesses resources in an evolving and volatile socio-political urban context. This thesis regards urbanization should be an inclusive process, and with that under consideration, it aims to investigate the constrains and opportunities the artisanal community have in securing critical resources. With this objective, the thesis adopts the Sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) and by conducting interviews, observations and transect walk, it uncovers the making up of the available and deficient resources that form the livelihoods capitals for four artisanal communities. As the findings of the study, the social capital propounds as the strongest asset with an active connection to the more deficient political and financial capital. The study argues that in order to move towards inclusive urbanisation there is a need to take into account the highlighted gaps between the state initiatives and the livelihoods of the community.

Keywords: Urbanisation, Inclusivity, Artisans, Communities, Jaipur, Livelihoods, Capitals, SLF

Introduction

1.1 The unequal promises of urbanisation

Urbanisation is one of the most actively ongoing processes in the global formation. It can be generally understood as a shift from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban society, it also represents major and irreversible changes in production and consumption (Allen, 2009) of resources. Diverse groups of people migrate to cities, displaced by natural or man-made disasters, human conflicts and war, or to chase possibility of aspirations and livelihoods, in order to benefit for a better chance at an improved life. Today, this process of urbanisation is transpiring at a rate faster than any given point in human history (UNDP, 2017). Cities have been the epicenter of this rapid evolution. The high density of people in cities facilitates economic growth through better sharing, matching and learning (World city report, 2016) to ensure strong socio-economic networks. However, urbanisation isn't a linear phenomenon and has disjointed effects. At the core of it, urbanisation is a series of shifts and tensions in the economy, society, the collective and individual consciousness and expectations going forward and falling back (D'Costa, 2014). While millions of lives have been improved across the globe, the fact remains that a substantial part of the world population is still left behind. This unequal growth has led to cities being the breeding ground of social, spatial and economic inequalities. The premise of this thesis is set within this uneven socio-urban field created through 21st century's urbanisation processes and its effects on vulnerable communities and their livelihoods.

Urbanization creates opportunities but also increases multi-dimensional risks (Beck, 1986), and the speed at which it is happening challenges our capacity to plan and adapt (Yale, 2017). The uneven socio-urban, risk-laden field follows a consequential exclusion of people from the benefits of urbanisation that escalates social inequality. Social inequality can be understood as an institution that systematically excludes the poor, marginalised and vulnerable from participating and benefiting from development.

Over the years various economists and social scientists have studied the consequences of inequality—its effects have led to decrease in life expectancy due to lack of social cohesion (see Berkman and Kawachi, 2000), increased the crime rate (see Yoonseok and Donggyun, 2008) and has also hindered national economic growth (see Boix, 2009). Additionally, social inequality is also linked to the discourse of several social vices in our society such as homicide and racism (Dijk, 1999). Therefore, in an effort to tackle social inequality and to have an equal society, it is essential for cities to be inclusive.

An inclusive city is the one in which all residents—including the most marginalized of poor workers—have a representative voice in governance, planning, and budgeting processes, and have access to sustainable livelihoods, legal housing and affordable basic services such as water/sanitation and an electricity supply (Douglas, 2013). The World Bank lays out a multi-faceted approach of inclusive cities which involves a complex web of various spatial, social and economic factors. The spatial, social and economic dimensions of urban inclusion are tightly intertwined, and tend to reinforce each other (World Bank, 2020). Spatial inclusion refers to urban inclusion which requires providing affordable necessities such as housing, water and sanitation (ibid.). Social inclusion guarantees equal rights and participation of all, including the most marginalized(ibid) and economic inclusion gives benefits of economic growth (ibid), as summarised in the figure below.



Figure 1-1: Concept of inclusive cities, adapted from World Bank: Inclusive cities (2020)

1.2 The inequality of urbanisation in India

Despite the benefits that come with urbanisation, its damages on developing economies are enormous (Bodo, 2019). In the global South, where countries are experiencing the fastest rate of urbanisation, the inequalities loom even larger. India has been considered a major contributor to this urban explosion because of both its large demographic weight and the dynamics of its urbanisation (McGranahan and Martine, 2014). Under a neoliberal economic system, India has been one of the fastest-growing economies due to which, its cities have undergone an urban transformation at a skyrocketing pace. The country has witnessed an unhesitating change from slums to unauthorised colony, wherein the historical urban village has tried to change its identity to the new peri-urban development (Bhan, 2016), causing some kind of tension with law and planning. These urban contradictions have made the narrative in India a lot more complex. However, in a heterogeneous society with both poverty and plenty, inequalities have only been exacerbated. The country's inequality has led to huge wealth accumulation in the hands of a few (Sen and Dreze, 2013). It is argued that India's economic growth is under threat due to the problem of disregarding essential needs to the people, especially the poor (ibid.). If cities are to perform their role as spaces for socioeconomic mobility, what needs to be understood is how the local socioeconomic divisions that shape who benefits from life and work in cities and how are these benefits distributed (OECD, 2018).

As the country occupies a contradictory position of slums and high-rises sharing the same address, it is essential to keep in mind that ways to understand and tackle inequality in Indian cities are numerous and can be done through various lens. Serving this broad understanding as the background, the study aims to focus on how social inequalities effect communities and influences the livelihoods of vulnerable communities.



Figure 1-2: Street view of a busy market neighborhood in the city of Jaipur, India

1.3 The livelihoods framework of inquiry

Neoliberalism has brought markets closer to the people, however, precarious lives, job insecurity, reduction of social benefits and limited state control has allowed market benefits for a selected few. The privatisation or marketisation of public services has enabled corporations to set up tollbooths in front of essential assets and charge rent, either to citizens or to government, for their use (Monbiot, 2016). Globally, this privatisation of basic services has caused unimaginable distress (Sainath, 2003) for the ones who can't afford them. This unequal access to resources has caused hindrance in growth and has created barriers that prevent citizens from fully participating in economic, social and political life (United Nations, 2016). The rich persuade themselves that they acquired their wealth through merit, ignoring the advantages – such as education, inheritance and class – that may have helped to secure it (Monbiot, 2016). As these resource advantages add up, the economic inequalities widen and translate into social segregation.

Inequality can be understood with respect to how individuals or communities access resources (see D. McLeod and M. Nonnemaker, 1999). If communities or social groups do not have access to resources, power, and status they become inherently unequal and socially segregated. In order to study how communities' access various resources in a rapidly urbanising socio-economic context, it is vital to understand their *livelihoods*. Livelihoods are defined as the assets people draw upon (UNISDR,2019) in order to lead a sustainable life. These assets also known as the *livelihood capitals* stretch beyond the material income to both, tangible and intangible value that households have access to. By combining and transforming these capitals in the building of livelihoods, people can meet their material and experiential needs (Bebbington, 1999). Thus, the livelihood approach would enhance insights on the assets that the most vulnerable groups own and the ways in which they access their resources. This bottom-up perspective through a livelihoods approach would provide a distinctive insight into how urbanisation could be inclusive of everyone.

1.4 Research question

This thesis departs from the intention to understand how unequal stakes inherently leave behind many in the process of urbanisation using the lens of livelihood capitals. Such an understanding is critical for developing processes of inclusive urbanisation that can counter inequality and reach effectively to the vulnerable citizens and communities of a city. The study would be based in the heritage city of Jaipur in India that has witnessed rapid urbanisation since 2019 after receiving the UNESCO world heritage tag. A part of the UN Creative Cities Network (UCCN), Jaipur's rich history of art, craft and culture makes Jaipur a hub of creative and cultural industries. To have a more focused approach, the chosen case in point is of four artisanal communities in Jaipur, that have long been the identity of the city's heritage repertoire. The study is based on primary data acquired during the fieldwork complimented by various secondary resources. Under no means is the field work fully encompassing of the intricacies of the social realities of these artisans. However, beyond the impediments

of the limitations, the study would employ the livelihood lens to assess the interactions between the community and the resources they have access to. With the above as the basis of understanding the research question of this thesis would be:

What are the main constraints and opportunities for securing sustainable livelihoods for the artisan communities in Jaipur?

In order to answer the research question the following sub-questions would be answered through analysis of the interviews and field observations:

1. Which livelihood capitals and combination of assets are currently available to the artisan communities in Jaipur?
2. What inter-relations between these capitals are significant for the community?

The aim of the study is to interrogate ways in which cities could be more inclusive with an intend to bridge the livelihoods of the artisanal community of Jaipur with the need for an inclusive urbanisation.

1.5 Need for study

A report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimated that inequalities had reduced the world's progress by around 22 percent (UNDP, 2018). As inequalities are continuously reproduced and contested in multiple and relationally constituted spaces of the social world (Manderscheid, 2009), they have prominent effects on the urban environment as well. Even though cities have attracted many with a promise of upward socio-economic mobility, many times the mechanism doesn't work in favour causing stagnation and exclusion. Social exclusion and marginalization on the basis of socio-economic status, gender, age, caste, ethnicity, and other categories often pose particular difficulties in gaining and securing access, rights, and opportunities in urban areas (World Bank, 2015). However, a lot of other dimensions of social and cultural exclusion are often ignored as well. The UN 2030 Agenda

recognizes that high and rising inequalities are not only an impediment to growth and human development; but also a violation of shared norms, values and people's intrinsic sense of fairness (United Nations, 2016). To make sure that tomorrow's cities provide opportunities and better living conditions for all, it is essential to understand that the concept of inclusive cities involves a complex web of multiple spatial, social and economic factors (World Bank, 2020). Reducing inequalities and ensuring no one is left behind are integral to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (Sustainable development goals, 2020).

India, as one of the most populous countries and fastest-growing economies of the world, has a fragmented society ingrained with multiple forms of hierarchies and differences such as caste, class, religion, ethnicities, languages, etc. Although the country's democratic State and secular Constitution have in place several measures to counter the inherent social prejudices of its complex society, it still remains an unfulfilled dream on paper being unable to provide upward social mobility for most of its vulnerable and marginalized populations. What exacerbates the problems in recent times are co-option of visions of urbanisation, at political and policy levels, such as "world-class" city, "smart cities" or "creative cities" in piecemeal manners which make room for deep-seated social disparities to surface and deepen their roots through forms of exclusion. These inequalities which stem from a variety of overlapping and contradicting reasons translate into economic disadvantages, social injustices and impede political communication for the minorities.

As this societal gap widens emphasis on sustainability, equity and inclusion remind us that pursuing development grounded in social justice will be fundamental to achieving a socially, economically and environmentally sustainable future (United Nations, 2016). While urbanization is moving the global economy forward, rising inequality and exclusion within cities can derail development progress (World Bank, 2020). As cities have been both, the witness and the epicentre of this rapid evolution they must combat urban poverty and inequality more effectively. Thus, this study of the city of Jaipur

aims to add to such an understanding even though India has received disproportionate attention from the South-Asian context, but for a fundamental reason that the intensity and magnitude of dynamics that take place here will impact huge number of populations at once.

1.6 Personal motivation

As an architect and visual documentarian, the researcher has found that her growth is based on two tangents—her artistic impression of the urban and social advocacy, each backing and strengthening the other. Growing up in India, the researcher worked with communities where she got a chance to capture moments that piqued her curiosity on how cultures and social networks shape communities and their practices. This is when she found herself invested with those who aren't given an equal share in the socio-urban fabric, the ones who are taken out of the system due to their economic status, gender, caste, and class. The journey was of unlearning her own socio-cultural privileges while understanding and echoing the effects of the caste system in a society which she is a part of. With the Urban ecological Planning course at NTNU the researcher got a chance to expand her understanding of structural inequality and urban segregation beyond the South Asian context. This study is an attempt to chronicle some of the UEP values that the researcher holds ethically essential.

1.7 Structure of thesis

While following the prescribed academic structure, the study takes liberty to set its own pace and tone for a narrative that's comprehensible to the reader. After introducing the research inquiry (chapter 1), the thesis proceeds by explaining the origin and context of the study (chapter 2) in association with UN-Habitat, India and lets the readers have a historical and present-day background of the city of Jaipur. The thesis progresses by explaining the theoretical perspective (chapter 3) by introducing the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) along with relevant theory needed to analyse the case study. Subsequently, the study forms a base to discuss the research philosophy and

methods in which the data was collected (chapter 4) along with the challenges and limitations in conducting the research. Furthermore, the case study is narratively presented (chapter 5) by inculcating the livelihoods framework to assess the livelihoods of the community. The final chapter presents the analysis (chapter 6) that would answer the research question and discuss the various implications of the study.

The research design, as illustrated in figure 1-3, depicts the flow and connectivity of various parts of the thesis to reach the final conclusion of the study

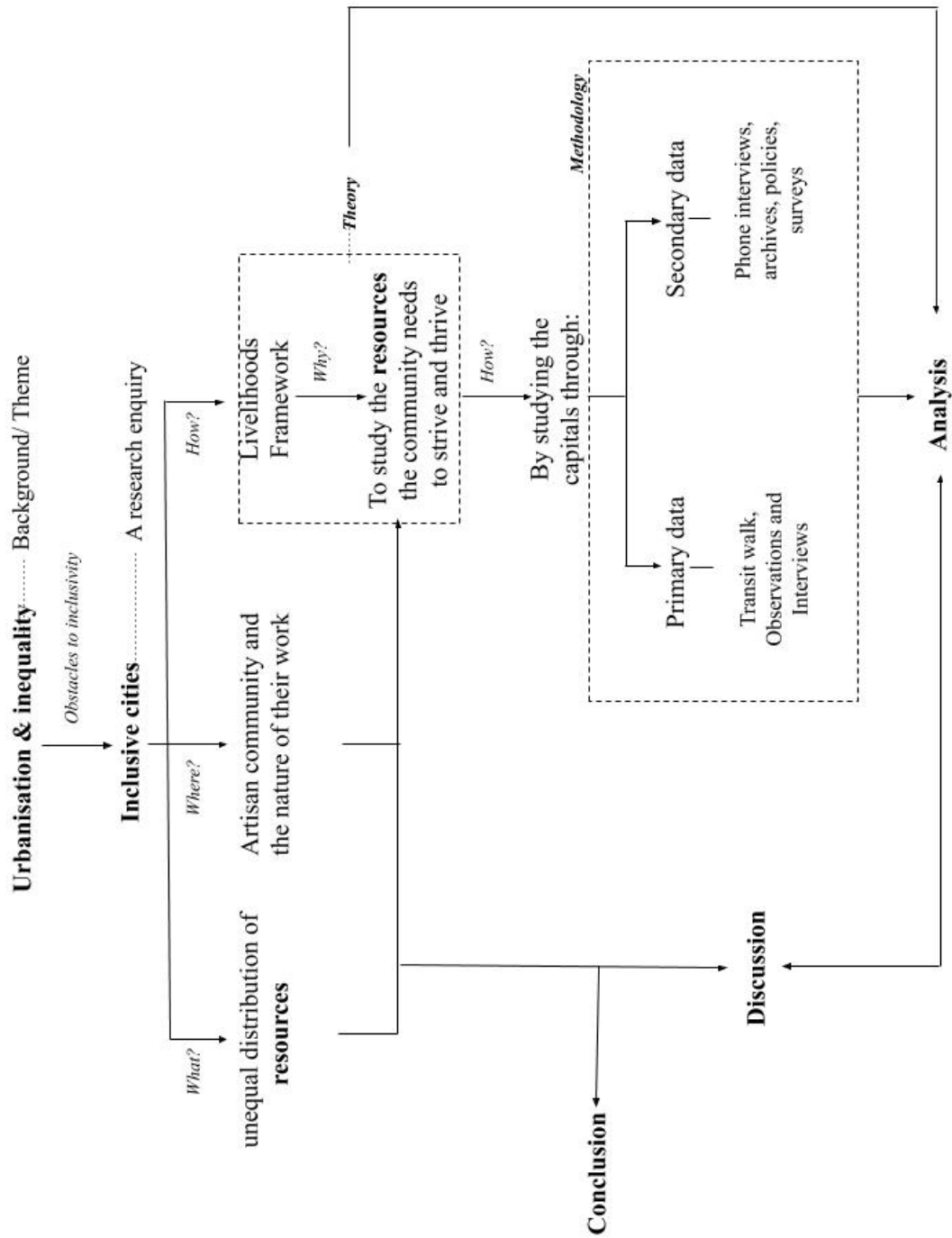


Figure 1-3: The structural research design of the thesis

2 Context of the Research

The chapter would begin by introducing the inception of the thesis project (section 2.1) at UN-Habitat, India. This would be followed by the giving a historical context of the city of Jaipur (section 2.2), followed by highlighting the current urbanisation processes happening in the city (section 2.3). Lastly, the chapter would conclude by contextualizing the status and reputation of the artisanal community both, locally and nationally.

2.1 SCIAP project

UN-Habitat is a mandated body by the UN General assembly to promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities for all (UN, 2018). During the researcher's internship at the UN-Habitat office in New Delhi, the operational project was the Sustainable Cities: Integrated Approach Pilot (SCIAP) in India. The main objective of the project was to integrate sustainability strategies into urban planning and management (UN-Habitat India, 2019) making cities more resilient. Five pilot cities were chosen in the country to carry out the first phase of the project, including: Jaipur, Bhopal, Vijaywada, Guntur and Mysore. Based on the researcher's topic of interest she was assigned the city of Jaipur, the oldest amongst the pilot cities, which had a special focus on Heritage planning and conservation, as would be discussed in the next section. The thesis progression involved familiarising to the context of the city and selecting a case study to explore the concepts of inequality. The case study selection and thesis development have been independent of the progress and focus of the SCIAP project.

2.2 Jaipur: The making of an opulent Indian city

A quick Google search on Jaipur presents a wide range of tour packages laced with innumerable forts, palaces, rich heritage, craft, food, music and handiworks. Jaipur, the capital city of the state of Rajasthan is home to a population of 3.3 million. Jaipur is the 10th largest city in India and is famously also known as the Pink city for the colour

palette of its buildings . With its close proximity and connectivity to the national capital of Delhi, Jaipur is a major tourist destination and one of the three cities that constitute the golden triangle. In 2019, its rich imagery of heritage and royalty made it the second city to be declared a UNESCO world heritage site in India.

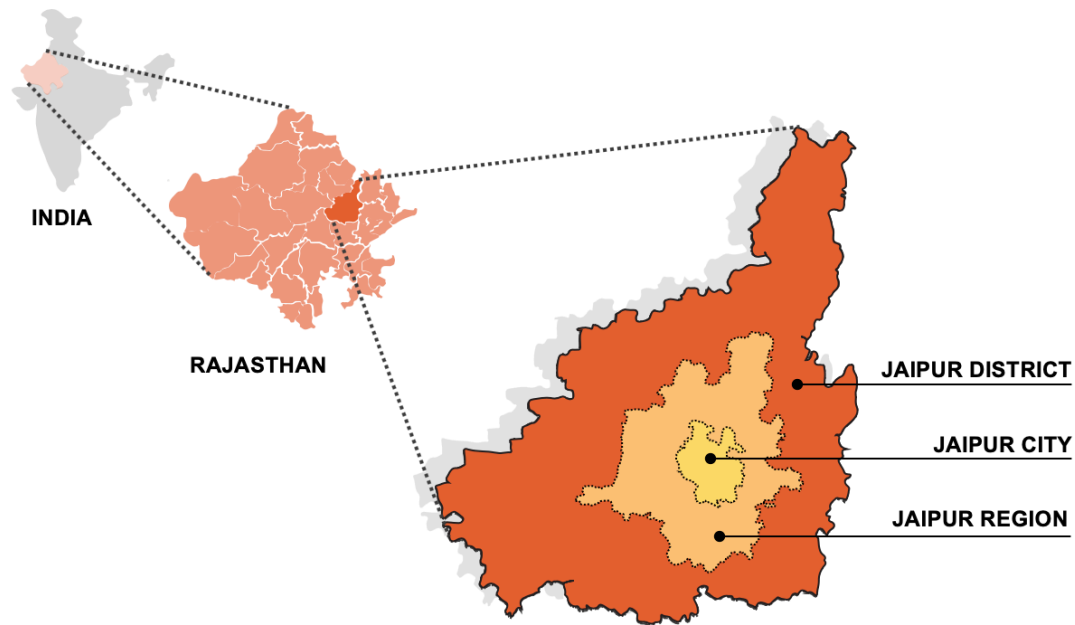


Figure 2-1: The geographic boundaries of Jaipur city (UN Habitat, 2020)

Jaipur is the oldest planned city of India, with a grid-iron layout, the city was built in 1729 by the then ruler Sawai Jai Singh who carefully chose the site of Jaipur as a reason of defence and water supply (Kamal, 2011). Similar to many ancient Indian cities that have a historical city center which can be easily identified by a rich cultural dimension and an overlooked planning system, Jaipur's medieval capital is called the Walled City. Today, it is one of the chief attractions of the city, housing several artisans, craftsmen, bazaars and temples. The walled city continues to serve as the city's central business district, hosts a dense concentration of tourism attractions and trade, and originates 60% of the city's commercial activity (MacDonald, 2015 as cited in Jawaid et al, 2017)). It dawns an identity of its own, a self-reliable model fortified on all sides with seven gates. Till date, the city wall still encircles the old city and has a suggestion

of formidable strength; its function of protecting all within (Jain, 2009). These seven rose-tinted gates demarcate the remnants of the walled boundaries between the old and the newer urban spaces outside (Narayanan, 2015). The lives of the local residents of the Walled City are in sharp contrast to the mobilities of international tourism that it attracts. It's a common sight to witness tradesmen setting up their business in the morning whilst engaging and giving directions to wandering foreign tourists, simultaneously.

A major role in the unequal nature of Indian cities is caste and religion-based segregation. In Jaipur, the planning of the walled city is based on a religious divide which was further bifurcated into income-based divisions. The upper caste Hindus including Brahmins, Banias and Rajputs dominate the walled city whereas the Muslims are estimated to number 2,00,000 persons who are mostly concentrated in smaller pockets (see Mayaram,1993). Outside the city wall are the residential areas of high-income groups and the middle class. Religion and economic status is an important determinant of identity and plays an influential role in social and political movements in cities (Narayanan, 2015). It also aggravates systemic social oppression of women, the poor, and religious and caste-based minorities in ways that undermine their 'rights to the city'.

Outside these narrow, cross-cutting by-lanes of the Walled City is a plethora of malls, high rise buildings and trade centres. Jaipur is a blend of heritage and modernity, of malls and palaces; making the two facets of Jaipur an intriguing contrast. Even though the city has grown and expanded much beyond the original boundary 'the wall', the old city still remains the major destination in terms of daily needs for the residents and an enchanting tourist destination (Jain, 2009). The opulent and cultural history hasn't held back the city from keeping up with the trends of urbanisation.

In following section describes the modern urban planning development in Jaipur.



Figure 2-2: Street view of the Walled city- the historical city center of Jaipur

2.3 Urban planning in Jaipur

As Jaipur partakes in the race of urbanisation, it becomes essential for the city to integrate its duality-- of a historic past and present-day modern development, into an organic whole. Various state led programmes have been initiated to conceptualise a comprehensive development plan. Today, Jaipur is under two different developmental bodies which are responsible authorities for development, namely: Jaipur Development Authority (JDA) and Jaipur Municipal Corporation (JMC). The two developmental agencies cover different wards in the administrative region of Jaipur. After receiving the 'UNESCO world heritage city' title in 2019. JMC got further subdivided to exclusively monitor the conservation and maintenance of the heritage of the city.

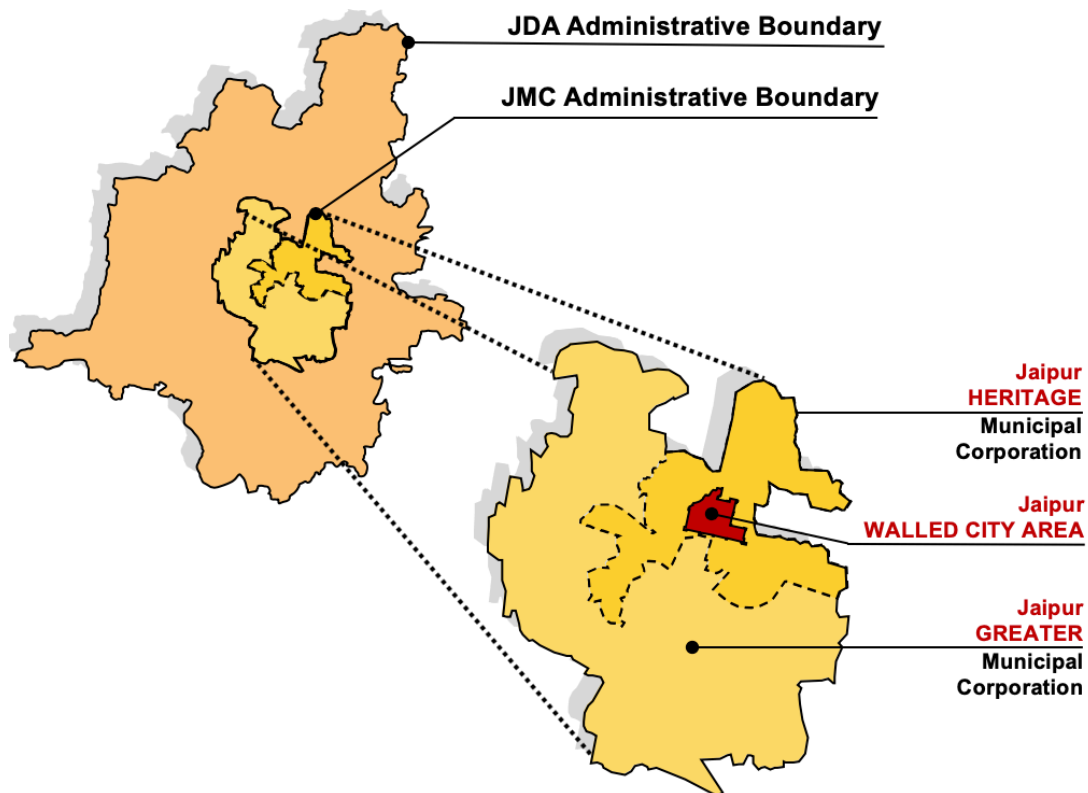


Figure 2-3: The Jaipur regions is administered by two agencies: Jaipur Development Authority (JDA) & Jaipur Municipal Corporation (JMC), (UN Habitat, 2020)

Another parallel urban development project that has recently been initiated (in 2015) is Smart Cities project of the Government of India. The highlights of the project have been ‘smart heritage’-- a part of which focuses on restoring the façade of the Walled city that has gone haywire due to a lot of unplanned development (Jaipur smart city ltd, 2020). Over the years, even though several such projects have focused on revitalising some critical aspects of the city, yet it's important to take a step back and analyse the realities and interconnection of social and historical cultural aspect of the city beyond the heritage tag that the city legitimises. As it is also mentioned in the Master development plan of Jaipur, the vision for the city is to position Jaipur as a global metropolis and a world-class city by 2025, where all people can be engaged

productively to collaborate for improving the quality of life, living, moving towards sustainable environment.



Figure 2-4: Jaipur's heritage identity has been a pivot in the urban development

Urbanisation has played an integral part in putting Jaipur's economy and heritage on the national charts. However, a closer look at the living conditions reflects differential rates of urban development (Kamal, 2011). In recent decades, there has been a population explosion which is attributed to rapid urbanization due to migration from rural to urban areas that has compelled the city to expand beyond its original city boundaries (Jawaid & Khan, 2015). The migration which has been for better prospects

of employment and better quality of life, has resulted in formation and proliferation of slums in the absence of affordable housing provisions (Jawaid et al, 2017). This not only has led to increasing pressure on the existing infrastructure of the city but has revealed (ibid.) colossal deficiencies in housing, public utilities, municipal services and community facilities especially for low-income groups and the urban poor.

2.4 Understanding the making of communities and their inherent vulnerabilities

To set foot on the strategies of making cities inclusive, it is essential to understand communities as the microcosms of urban dynamics. Communities have globally shaped and modified the urban narrative with their distinctive attributes. These population concentrations which are also known as agglomerations (see also Fang and Yu, 2017) form the puzzle pieces of a larger, more complex narrative of the urbanscape. Every city consists of such dense agglomerations of people and economic activities, even though there are strong ambiguities about where and how a lower size limit should be drawn (ibid.) Even in the very earliest cities, agglomerations of activities such as political administration, ceremonial and religious pursuits, craft production (e.g. for luxury goods or military hardware), and market trading almost always constituted the core of the urban process (Wheatley, 1971 as cited in Scott and Storper, 2014). In a community the resources individual accumulates through interpersonal activities help them to develop a strong social network and ties among individuals and their community (Leung 2002 as cited in Leung et al., 2010). These set of ‘social relations’ let communities grow and foster towards their shared goals. This social cohesion in a community is reflected in the coordinated or networked actions of individuals, organizations, and community institutions as they work together toward a common goal in a community

In the context of this study, the community in focus has a particular aspect of artists that form the heritage of the region. Indian handicraft industry serves an important role

in the development of economy of the rural masses and earns substantial foreign exchange (Khurana, 2010). Within this industry, Jaipur is a crucial trade center for the country's craft and folk art. Today, this legacy continues to bear witness to the diversity and vitality of the field of crafts and folk art, which employs about 175,000 people working in around 53,500 workshops (Jaipur Creative Cities Network, 2015).

The artisanal communities were strongly knit and would cater to the royalties and the state requirements. Jaipur's history clearly depicts how the ruling king not only encouraged the state's art and craft communities but also invited artists from neighboring states. While most of the original artisanal communities are more symbolic in Jaipur's history as they lost significance with changes in royal systems and lifestyle, 11 of them linked to the city economy and rituals still continue to thrive and flourish (UCCN, 2019). Within the artisanal community the craft is inherited. Even though not every member of a particular caste would be an artist, however the members of a craft do share their traditional occupation and the belief in a common origin or mythical ancestor (Kramrisch, S., 1958). This leads to formations of strong community bonding through which they identify themselves and their craft.

3 Theoretical Perspective

This chapter brings together relevant studies in an attempt to develop a theoretical understanding of the livelihoods of Jaipur's artisanal community and the interconnection with inequality. The chapter is broadly divided into four parts. The first part provides a general understanding of livelihood framework. The second part discusses the significance of social capital in the livelihood framework, with a reference to 'the artisan community', which is the core of this research. In the third part, this framework is discussed in adaptation to the context of this study with the aim of developing a more fitted analytical model for exploring the interconnection between different capitals and their effects on the livelihood of the artisan community. The last part deals with the theoretical interrelation between inequality and community capitals.

3.1 SLF: The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Inequality can be understood with respect to how individuals or communities access resources (D. McLeod and M. Nonnemaker, 1999) to make a living which allows human beings to satisfy their daily needs (Livelihoods resource center, 2018). The unequal accessibility to resources, make communities inherently unequal and socially segregated. An exploration of their livelihoods is helpful to understand how communities have access to or possess various resources in a rapidly changing socio-economic context. Livelihoods are understood as the ensemble or set of capabilities, assets, and activities that are required to make a living (Chambers and Conway 1992; Ellis et al., 2003). Through the means of making a living, it allows human beings to satisfy their daily needs (Livelihoods resource centre, 2018). In simpler terms, livelihoods refer to means of securing a living through a combination of resources. Chambers and Conway explain, livelihood is considered sustainable if it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation (Chambers and Conway, 1992:7-8). Analysis of livelihoods has been a focus of people-centric

developmental studies thereby, livelihoods become an integral part of creating sustainable communities¹.

Over the years, many international social organisations, researchers and practitioners, such as UNDP, have used the concept of livelihoods to develop a framework. This framework is used as an analytical research tool, focusing on the strengths and weaknesses of poor people. Among all the available livelihood frameworks, the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) analysis framework is the most widely used framework (Glopp, 2008) in which they address the links between development and poverty. The DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework² (SLF), originally developed for rural studies has increasingly been used as an approach for understanding and building in poor urban areas (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002). The aim of SLF is to reduce poverty by going beyond the conventional ideas and strategies of poverty eradication, which only focus on monetary and material needs of poor. It draws the attention also to the non-material needs of the poor, such as health, employment, knowledge and skills that enrich them in overcoming times of shocks and stresses (Lloyd-Jones & Rakodi 2002). Many traditional approaches have sought to tackle poverty by identifying and satisfying the needs of poor people through a top-down process, while SLF seeks to improve their lives by empowering them and giving them an opportunity to contribute to the revitalization and strengthening their assets or capabilities (a bottom-up approach) (UNDP, 1999 as cited in Tirmizi, 2005). In SLF, community's assets and capitals are categorized to 5 main groups: natural, social, financial, human and physical. These capitals refer to the vital resource bases of communities and different categories of households and can vary in strength depending on the community's living environment and context (SU, SAIKIA and HAY, 2018). They capitals incorporate the following elements:

Natural capital: refers to water, air, soil and other naturally occurring geographic factors

Social capital: refers to the networks and associations the community has within and outside

Financial capital: refers to the monetary resources that runs the communal economy

Human capital: refers to the people, their good health and physical state and their abilities

Physical capital: mean man-made assets such as the road and other infrastructure that form the built environment.

Nienhüser (2008) explains that dependence on critical and important resources influences the actions and decisions of people, which can be explained in relation to the particular dependency situation. This argument is the fundamental assumption of 'resource dependence' theory, which Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) brought about to explain organizational processes and structures. They explain that the behavior/actions of people are traced back, to the extent they are influenced by other people, who are controlling critical resources, which can impose external constraint and control on those dependent actors' behaviors and actions (Johnson and Bob, 1995). Accordingly, capitals can also play a major role in determining the community's decisions regarding their livelihoods.

3.2 Social capital as the core for the Artisanal community

As previously discussed in section 2.4, the effects of the capitals within the SLF are relative and dependent on the contextual situation. This section elaborates the discussion of social capital as the key capital of the livelihoods, relevant for the study of the artisanal community.

Social capital is considered one of the strongest capitals which helps in community development (see also Tirmizi, 2005) and has played a particularly important role in discerning and defining the characteristics of a community, an important precursor in representing the benefits of society-(Lin, 2001). In the community development literature, social capital is generally taken to include well-functioning social networks

In literature, the variety of definitions of social capital depicts its highly complex and context-based nature. Lyda Hanifan (1916) was amongst the first ones, who refer to social capital as “tangible assets [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit” (Keeley, 2007). Since then, several theorists have further refined the definitions of social capital under various themes, such as social networks, social norms, reciprocity, altruism, interconnectedness and trust (Jacobs, 2009). Claridge, (2014) describes social capital as both a glue and lubricant – a glue that holds societies together, without which collaboration and cooperation would not be possible; and a lubricant that facilitates getting things done. She discusses that social capital is built through everyday interactions between people of the community with themselves and with other stakeholders, such as politicians, or social representatives. Their interactions help them build trust, reciprocity and make them feel belonged (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000) whilst sharing a set of shared values and norms, as would be observed in the artisanal communities of Jaipur.

property of communities or of the individuals who compose them, social capital is seen as a reflection of the capacity of those communities to undertake concerted action and access resources (Hill and Cooke, 2014).. This capital is built among individuals, at community and societal levels through formal and informal institutions, creating stable linkages, networks and trust (Portes 1998; Woolcock 1998). The source of social capital is social networks (Dravoš and Leskošek, 2003) that forms the backbone of communities. Therefore, the relation between a community and its social capital is recursive and mutually benefits everyone involved.

Apart from the positive aspects, social capital can also limit the community’s development by impeding or restricting the actions of individuals and can result in social exclusion and isolation (Claridge, 2014). It can slow rates of adaptation and innovation and inhibit rather than promote entrepreneurship in some

circumstances (ibid.). Tirmizi (2005) argues that social capital is generally exclusionary in nature and can restrict the flow of benefits to non-members or those from outside the community or caste. Hence, social capital is a multidimensional concept, which can be generated or inhibited—depending on the community’s daily interactions, trade, or simply by meeting, talking or working together.

The artisanal communities have been formed through a structural hierarchy system distinct to the Indian sub-continent, the caste system. - In the context of this thesis, the social capital and community’s interaction becomes highly essential for the members of the artisanal communities, as they bond and bridge through a common craft that is passed on to them through generations, within the same caste. Thus, making these communities rely on their social capital. A critical look at the social capital would enrich the study by understanding the dynamics that keep the communities together but also exclude them from the rest of the population.

3.3 Adapting the SLF for the artisanal communities

The concept behind the SLF is to holistically examine poverty beyond the boundaries of income generation. In practice, the five capitals are at the core of the framework and are intensively used to analyse many complexities of livelihoods. Even though scholars and practitioners consider SLF to be a useful conceptual tool for understanding livelihoods of communities, several studies point out a need to encapsulate the complex dynamics of factors, such as, that influence the living situation of the poor. Over the years, many practitioners have also been skeptical about the framework’s ability to consider and assess broader concepts such as economy, or market pace that directly or indirectly affect the lives of the poor communities. The framework is criticised to put too much focus on a micro-level and overlooks the effects of the underlying multi-level governance systems, policy environment as well as global and national economic growth (Harper et al, 2011). Other studies argue that various factors, such

as information, knowledge and skills that are relevant to human capital have not received the prominence in SLF. They suggest to extend the ‘capital portfolio’ to for example include information a sixth capital (Odero, 2003, McLeod 2001a, Majale, 2002, Lowe and Schilderman, 2001).

Even though in one of the extended versions of the SLF, a separate segment of ‘policies, institutions and processes’ (PIP) is suggested, Baumann and Sinha (2001) argue that this political dimension, the interactions between levels of government and policies, should be studied separately and considered as a sixth capital, i.e. political capital. According to them, the role of local government and administrators influences how the individuals access resources and benefit from them. The political capital thus can help to understand how the local government or other resource-rich organizations will use power to control the behavior/action of resource-dependent actors and what the outcome of this interrelationship is in the livelihood of people.

Due to the plenty of evidence that supports the contours and operation of political capital in the distribution of power and resources in India (Baumann and Sinha, 2001), this study will adopt the extended version of SLF (Figure 3-1), consisting of 6 capitals, which justifies the consideration of political capital in exploring the livelihood of the artisan community in this research.

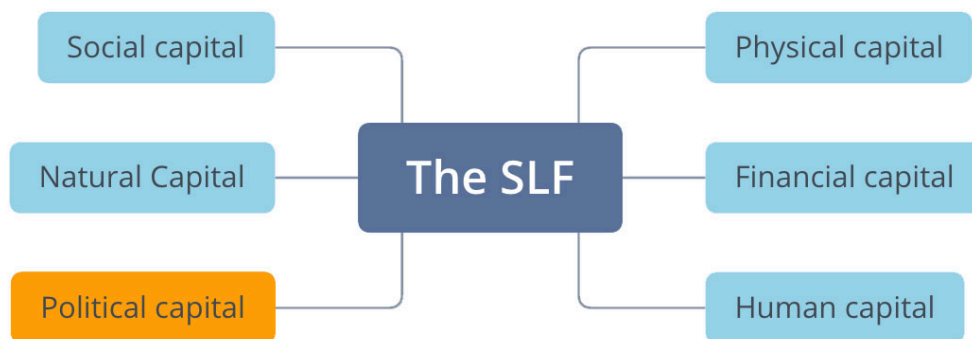


Figure 3-1: The adapted version of the Sustainable livelihood framework

Livelihoods framework	
Physical capital	The basic infrastructure that people need to make a living, as well as the tools and equipment that they use. For example, transport and communication systems, shelter, water and sanitation systems, and energy.
Natural Capital	The natural resource stocks (soil, water, air, genetic resources etc.) and environmental services
Human capital	The skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health and physical capability important for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies
Social capital	The social resources (networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations) upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions
Financial capital	The capital base (cash, credit/debt, savings, and other economic assets, including basic infrastructure and production equipment and technologies) which are essential for the pursuit of any livelihood strategy.
Political capital	Power relations influencing access to assets and entitlements. Administration and institutional arrangements. (Baumann and Sinha, 2001)

Figure 3-2: Definition of various capitals of the SLF as defined by Scoones (1998)

3.4 Livelihoods and a field of inequalities

In studies of India, social capital largely appears in analyses of socio-economic development (see Bhattacharyya 2004 as cited in Stroope,2012). In a country with ancient and rigid hierarchies, social capital can act as a double-edged sword -- both as an asset and a disabler. In the latter case, this can result in the marginalisation of citizens who are then unable to partake in development or exercise their fundamental rights. Even though there have been policy and societal shifts in the past fifty or more years that have significantly contributed to the increasing decoupling of caste and socio-economic status (Stroop, 2012) yet a majority still find themselves on the receiving end of socio-urban exclusion. As much as the constitutionality of the state emphasizes the spreading of social and economic equality and scientific temper, it does not, however, explicitly talk about the unequal stakes inherited by the traditional power brokers (Yengde, 2019). Further, the relationship between neoliberalism and inequality has been a contentious issue (see also Navarro, 1998) which has aggravated the social divide, pushing the poor to the far end of the spectrum with little to no choice for growth and survival. These class struggles are produced and pronounced by rigid social divides under a capitalist economy. These social inequalities also intersect with race, caste, class, ethnicity and gender, and form a polarised and unequal society. The ones left behind are due to the lack of choices and capabilities (UNDP, 2018). Hence, letting only a selected few participate and enjoy the benefits of development.

Amartya Sen (1979), Nobel prize winning economist, posed a crucial question: “Equality of what?” He sees equality as ‘capability’ of each citizen in satisfying his/her needs and requirements. In an urban scale, the experience of each citizen varies widely depending on their neighborhood and their access to various resources. Various

factors such as physical setting, human activities, and human, social and psychological processes g (Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Relph, 1976, 1997 as cited in Stedman, 2002) combine to influence the experience and accessibilities for the residents. Through this ideology of capability approach, this thesis would form the backbone of understanding social inequality and its multidimensional indices for measurement by studying a community in the city of Jaipur and its livelihood resources.

4 Research design and applied methods

This chapter starts by discussing the research approach (section 4.1) which specifies the various ways in which data was collected and the philosophy behind choosing those methods. The research design (section 4.2) presents the approach to answer the research question followed by the introduction of the methods applied (section 4.3) at various stages of the research. This would be followed by analytical techniques which would detail the process in which the data is assembled for analysis. Lastly, the chapter would conclude with the limitations in the analysis (section 4.4).

4.1 Research approach

To study had to adapt various evolving understandings, uncertainties and limitations, along the way. As the focus of the study is to capture and understand the various mechanisms affecting the livelihood of the artisanal communities rather than uncovering a true account that can be measured, the approach of the research is qualitative. This approach helps to explore, analyse and understand the social interactions of the community more intricately. The study is driven by the understanding that complex situations can be understood by exploring people's narratives, experiences and perception. Concurrently, qualitative research method helps understand this interpretative process and discover the motives, the reasons, and the goals which lead people to act in the ways they do (Jean Lee, 1992). This research approach also ensures that all social and spatial activities occurred in their natural settings and helps to understand the community from the close quarters of the space they inhabit on a daily. Qualitative research approach not only puts the context into place but also lets the researcher understand how the process or the development of data collection can influence his/her understanding. As this approach explores a minority community, such as the artisan community in Jaipur, the research case study holds even more significance since it provides an opportunity for voicing their

opinions, describing their views of reality that will help the researcher to better understand the dynamics of their social relationships (Lather, 1992)

This study is inductive which means the reasoning starts with primary observations, and information, subsequently, theories help to explain the situation or problem. Theories are then re-developed throughout the research process as a continuous interaction with the research observations and analysis, shifting from a specific to a general focus. In this study, based on the researcher's prior knowledge and understanding of the artisan community in Jaipur, the sustainable livelihoods framework (section 3.1) is used to explore how livelihood capitals are crucial for inclusive urbanisation by analyzing the interconnection and interaction between the six themes of physical, natural, human, social, financial and political capital. Hence, logic and reasoning become strong thresholds to analyze the researcher's data and information, gathered by qualitative methods, such as observations, transit walks and interviews, to answer the research question. Figure 4.1 below illustrates the inductive process of research inquiry, the procedural interaction between data, theory and analysis.

4.2 Research Design

The research question of this thesis inspects how livelihood capitals are crucial for the artisanal community to ensure inclusive urbanisation in Jaipur. The descriptive and exploratory nature of the research question aims to gain insight into the lives of artisans with the background of their own daily realities. To investigate an in-depth actual phenomenon, and to bind the space and time of the fieldwork, the study follows the case study method approach. According to YIN (2003a, p.2) "the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena" because "the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (as cited in Kohlbacher, 2006). This research strategy also allowed the researcher to carry out an empirical inquiry an investigate a real-life

phenomenon whilst intimately being present in the community. The versatility of case study research to accommodate the researcher's philosophical position presents a unique platform for a range of insights (Harrison et al, 2017) within the research inquiry. The figure 4.1 represents the theoretical and methodological interactions

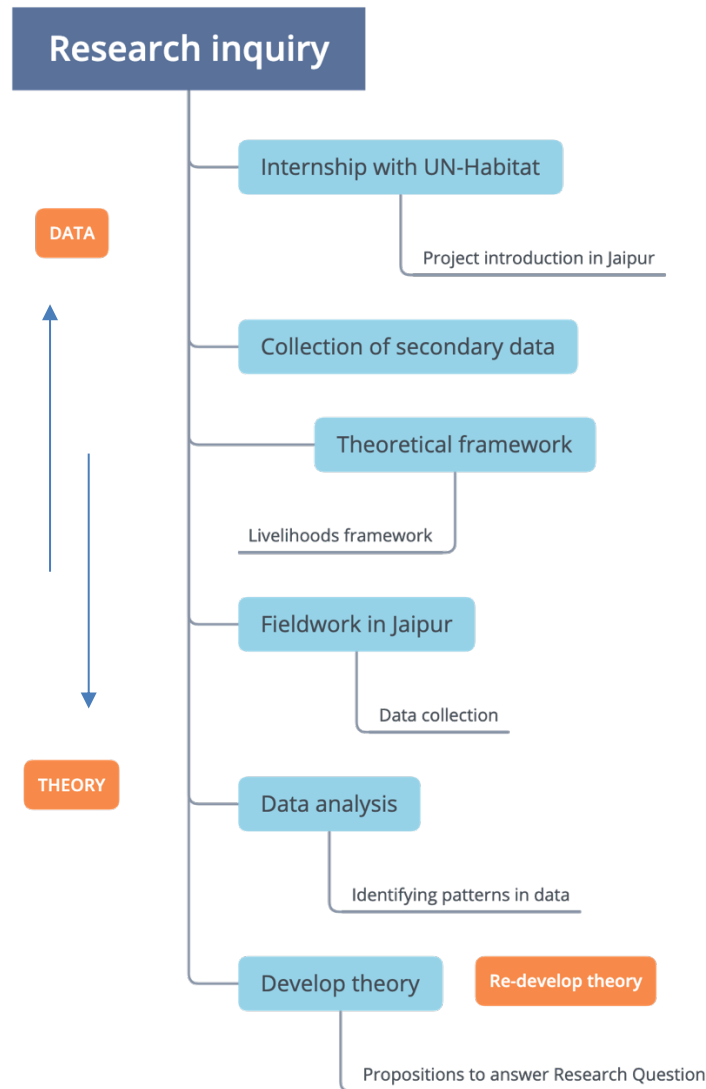


Figure 4-1: Inductive process of research followed in this thesis

4.3 Applied methods of data collection

The methods applied for data collection are presented in three phases, namely: Pre-field, on-field, and post-field. The three phases capture the process of data collection in a chronological order. Each segment would illustrate the method's technique and how it was carried out in the field. This would be followed by the purpose and justification of carrying out each of the research methods.

4.3..1 Phase I: Pre-field

Phase I broadly extended from February 2020 to March 2020 wherein the researcher was introduced to the SCIAP project (refer section 2.1) at UN-Habitat, Delhi. This phase included literature study, familiarizing with the context of the Indian cities in conjugation with the UN agendas and establishing contacts with experts and NGOs who had previously worked in the city. The researcher's Indian nationality also enabled her to understand the existing social-political structure climate of the city and hence have relevant conversations with the stakeholders. The information gathered during the pre-field phase is categorized as secondary data as explained below:

Secondary data

Secondary data analysis is the use of existing data to test new hypotheses or answer new research questions (Doolan & Froelicher, 2009). The use of secondary data allowed the researcher to understand what has already been studied and what are the gaps in the existing knowledge. to consider any kind of previous work done in the field. Before the pre-field stage, the researcher had an opportunity to have an informal telephone discussion with the UN city coordinator of Jaipur. This conversation provided the researcher with a brief idea discussed my site over a telephone call with Shruti, the UN city coordinator of Jaipur. This conversation provided with me with a

brief idea of the neighbourhood and some important contact people at NGOs¹ that were already involved in the restoration process of the Walled city of Jaipur (refer section 2.2). This gave the researcher a starting point for collecting and accessing secondary data that informed about the current state of the neighborhood. The sources of secondary data newspapers (Times of India, Hindustan Times), UN reports (WHC UNESCO, 2019, UN 2019, UNIDO), policies (NHDP, 2019), surveys and state-led initiatives (Monitoring report, 2019) that were carried out in and around the neighborhood. Conducting secondary data prior to the fieldwork allowed the researcher to be familiarized with different aspects and problems facing Jaipur that were identified, addressed and highlighted by the local, regional and national actors/ authorities, including social media.

Once the site study and the research inquiry were established, based on the literature study, the researcher decided to use the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) (refer section 3.1) as a theoretical analysis tool. The framework aided in setting a scope of definite themes that would be focused on while on the field. A set of interview questions and observation checklist were prepared in coordination with the six capitals. This process provided a structure albeit open-ended, for an efficient phase II of data collection.

4.3..2 Phase II- On field

The fieldwork was conducted on the 17th and 18th May 2020 when the researcher visited the city of Jaipur for the first time and carried out transit walks, observations and interviews that were both structured and unstructured.

Observations and community mapping through transit walks

¹ SAARTHAK and INTACH are two NGOs that have actively worked in the physical documentation of the Walled city

Transit or transect walks is an iterative method to observe the physical and social aspects of the surroundings (Pierce and Lawhon, 2015). Since Google Maps was not supported in the interiors of the Walled city, the researcher had to retrace the routes along the narrow aisles to find her way and have a better spatial imagery of the site. In addition, the researcher had to make manual maps to mark the distance between communities in the Walled city. Recording distance and spatial relationship between communities have provided a better understanding of the interaction and dynamics between the physical surroundings and the community's social life, as an outsider observant. For instance, in the Kathputli colony I could trace the walk that the women covered to fill their pots and buckets. This introduced me to important aspect of gender roles and water supply that I later covered in the interviews. The data emerging from such walking experiences can be made more reliable, and contribute to more insightful scholarship, through explicit reporting (Pierce and Lawhon, 2015). Hence, a lot of the observations during this walk was recorded through photography, voice notes and free hand sketches.

Transit walk was a reliable method for entry point, merging with simultaneous observation of the surroundings from a distance before immersing into the details.

For physical attributes like connectivity, structure etc. I used a structural format of observation. Structured observations are a method for systematically observing the behavior of individuals based on formulated rules for observation and recording of behavior (Bryman, 2016). For social behavior and experiences, she relied on unstructured observations that allowed her to look past the academic checklist of observations and have a more holistic approach to human behavior. The main objective of both types of observation method was to collect data simultaneously while the event is occurring in real time.



Figure 4-2: Transit walks along with observations as an entry point in the Kathputli colony

After the researcher's initial observations, she had to make her first contact with the members of the community. The communities are located in a highly touristic neighbourhoods due to which the interactions with residents were used to of interacting with tourists as part of their business marketing. As the researcher accessed the site alone, it was easier for her to start a conversation and avoid any bias of association. The following methods were used to interact with the residents of the community.

Interviews

As mentioned earlier, the researcher aims to understand the community's individual interpretations and experiences in relation to their livelihood, seeing the world through the eyes of the community. Since individuals are intricate and complex, the community members may experience and understand the same 'objective reality' in very different ways and have their own, often very different, reasons for acting in the world, and their livelihood. Therefore, observation and walking and use of secondary data alone are not enough. According to Denscombe (1998, p.111), "The nature of emotions, experiences and feelings is such that they need to be explored rather than simply reported in a word or two"

Interviews helped start a conversation with the community. The researcher followed the concept of unstructured interview or narrative interview wherein the interviewer typically has only a list of topics or issues often called an aide-memoire, that are to be covered (Bryman, 2016). The style of unstructured interview is usually formal but the phrasing and sequencing of questions can vary from interview to interview (ibid.). The study covers five communities that master in different crafts and are set against a similar social background. Hence, the nature of subjects conceded with the theory of unstructured interviews. I asked the same set of questions to various artists and received a variety of responds on the same spectrum

Researcher: If there was one aspect that needed help and focus what would that be for you?

Interviewee 1: Help from the government? Don't talk about the government we are invisible to them.

Interviewee 2: I think, loans. Loans should be easily accessible, but loans take away the human life. I wish the government could make special arrangements for our small businesses. I'm scared to take or even give a loan.

As the questions were open ended, this method was helpful in comparing every respondent's answers due to the easily replicable theme of the interviews. This also permitted the researcher to reach a large sample size as the method was quicker to conduct.

4.3..3 Phase III- Post field

The final phase of the research extended from April to August 2020. During this phase, the pandemic had hit the country and secondary data qualified as the only source of information. Secondary data (previously done studies, research papers, government reports) helped fill any knowledge gaps and helped add more clarity to the various observations made on field. Additionally, the data collected was transcribed and organized into a schematic form as explained below:

Analytical techniques

After spending two days on the field, the India shut down its national and international borders due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This meant the researcher had to get back home from Delhi to Chandigarh, and it was also understood that the researcher won't get another chance to continue her fieldwork. The data that was gathered through the enlisted primary and secondary methods, including transcribed interviews, field notes, such as first impressions, self reflections, and references, pictures and voice notes was

systematically gathered under the 'ground zero' file and organised, based on the theoretical framework. This process was done by filing the data gathered first into a chronological order and then by segregating them into six capitals. After several versions of hand sketches, sticky notes and digital mind maps, the researcher could identify the repetition and the pattern in the interviews. Any data that was amiss was supported by secondary data. The contradictory comments and statements were highlighted and categorized separately to be further investigated, analyzed and understood.

Once the process of generating categories, themes and concepts was conducted, the researcher started to search for patterns in the data and for ideas to help explain why those patterns were there in the first place. Through the empirical pattern matching, the findings were compared with the theoretical framework. The analysis mainly focuses on relational patterns between the six capitals of livelihood to understand how they have impact inclusion in urbanisation processes.

4.4 Limitation in methods

It's important to highlight the limitations and challenges faced before and during the course of data collection which influenced the depth and result of the study. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic the study could not reach the depth the researcher had expected. On field, the sample size could also not be expanded to accommodate a greater number of interviewees due to lack of time. The researcher conducted the interviews single handedly and therefore could only play the role of an active interviewer besides observing the surrounding and documentation of the process.

Post field research was also greatly affected due to the pandemic due to the resultant shutting down of all institutes that made gathering secondary data ineffective.

For viability and reliability, the site was located in a busy marketplace, which was the touristic hotspot of the city. This business hub and market space area was male

dominated. Gender is a remarkably important factor in the Indian context due to prescribed gender roles within the community that lead to varied experiences and outlooks of both, men and women. Due to shortage of time on the field, the researcher conducted accidental sampling which meant that participants were chosen randomly based on availability and convenience. Therefore, the participation of interviewees wasn't diverse in age. Hence, the data collected was from a single perspective lacking diversity in opinions and lived experiences. This also influenced the outcome of the analysis with the unequal variances of both, age and gender.

4.5 Research reliability

As mentioned before, the field work was short and was done single handedly. Therefore, recording data was highly essential to understand the enormous amount of information that the researcher was receiving and observing. The researcher's former experience of working in informal settlements, especially in India, came in handy to keep up with the fast-paced streets of the Walled city in Jaipur. After visiting every community, the researcher would write down crucial points from the and made quick field notes of information that needed more documentation. These entries prove to be especially useful when the researcher had to resume her research after a long hiatus.

As a citizen of the country and well versed with the local language it was easier for the researcher to dissect and infer body language, community structures and other social mobilities that greatly affected the research quality.

4.6 Analytical challenges

It is essential to point out the complexity of the research topic. Study of vulnerable, minority communities is a complex paradigm in India. It intersects with various factors such as gender, caste, income, and class to reproduce a multi-faceted issue. For India's heterogeneous society, there is no specific data that classifies people into different segments of inequality. Hence, the researcher's interaction with multiple communities,

for this study, cannot be understood with the same socio-developmental lens. Additionally, as discussed in the introduction chapter, artisans in India hold a special place in the country's heritage economy. Due to the differences in the pace of their community development, the study doesn't incorporate their historical trajectory that might have contributed to their present situation. Lastly, as the interviewees were from four different communities, the data obtained is hard to generalize and is in no way a representation of all the population.

5 Case study and capitals

The aim of this chapter is to describe the artisan community in Jaipur in close alliance to the theoretical framework. The chapter is divided into three main parts. The case description (section 5.1) puts the case study in context with the city. This is followed by narrative description (section 5.2) of the communities in form of the six themes of the SLF. The provided information is primarily based on the interviews along with supplementary and supporting secondary data. Finally, the chapter illustrates the capitals owned by the communities which would form the basis for the analysis.

5.1 Description of the artisan community through livelihood lens

The artisanal communities of Jaipur have been the backbone of the city's identity and have rendered both financial and heritage value to the its image. As the handicraft capital of India, Jaipur is home to a variety of artisanal communities. To limit the focus of the thesis, four communities were chosen based on their geographic proximity which was investigated by the researcher during the transit walk (ref methods). The selected artisans for the study are: stone sculptors, bangle makers, gems and jewelry maker, and the puppeteer's community. These communities were broadly located at two sites: within the Walled city² and outside the Walled city- in-Kathputli colony³. Even though these clusters are geographically separated, there are treated as a single unit of analysis, taking into account that they all share the same historical value and social dynamics.

² The Walled city is the fortified city center of Jaipur that plays a historic role of first accommodating the artisanal communities when they migrated from the neighboring regions (refer section 2.1).

³ Kathputli colony literally translates to Puppet colony

While the walled city included three community clusters, the Kathputli colony was the largest concentration of artisans 3 kilometers outside the walled city (as shown in Fig 5-1). Together, these areas form the historic and protected part of the UNESCO heritage site.



Figure 5-1: Colony map depicting three communities (1-3) inside the Walled city and one settlement of artisans in Kathputli colony (4).

5.2 Contextualizing the livelihood capitals

The livelihood capitals will act as useful indicators to explore the resources available (or not) to the artisanal community. To assess the accessibility of the communities to the six capitals of the livelihood framework, the researcher first needed to understand the context for each capital and then understand why the capital is important for the community. Of critical importance were also the limitations or barriers the community experiences in accessing the said capital and how each capital contributes to their livelihood.

5.2..1 *Physical*

The physical characteristics of the communities naturally formed the first set of observations, such as the quality of their housing, public services, water, electricity, etc. The houses within the Walled city have old construction. Even though the housings aren't homogeneous, the space is bound by the traditional architectural elements and uniformity is achieved through the prescribed pink building color code.

Majority of the houses are two-floored; the shops are situated on the ground floor and open to the streets whereas the artisans residences were on the upper floor. While the shops are accessible and available for public display, the houses are held private from the touristic sight as balconies face the inner courtyard and there is a provision for a separate entrance. According to one of the interviewees, many people also live together with their whole family in their ancestral village house while they buy shops in the Walled city. Additionally, the stone makers community lived in houses that doubled up as warehouses, due to the nature of their work. One of the residents of this community called this type of housing that doubles up as their workplace a '50-50' business model. In other instance, many artists have moved to other parts of the city, which were 'quieter' neighborhoods while they still own their workshops in the Walled city.



Figure 5-2: A majority of the houses in the Walled city have shops on the ground floor while the artisans live on the first floor

“Almost four generations have lived and worked here. Our house is on the same street, the same neighborhood. Over the years the family split and moved into separate houses but we still live in the same neighborhood.”

-Resident from the Bangle making community

Even though the artists inside the Walled city had formal legal housing, the scenario was far from contrasting in the Kathputli colony wherein the houses were semi-permanent with a tin or plastic roof. The roofs have been secured with bricks or stones and were covered with layers of plastic sheets for waterproofing. The community members narrated their plight during the monsoons when the alleys get flooded and the water seeps inside their houses. As the settlement is informal, the houses were occupied on a first-come-first-serve basis. There is looming sense of insecurity with the residents due to the lack of tenure security. An artisan (female, 45) from the puppet making



Figure 5-3 Left: Housing in the Kathputli colony, Right: Shops on the ground floor and houses on the first floor in the Walled city

community addresses this insecurity by explaining that many residents had left the colony over the years due to the fear of being evicted.

The formal housing in the Walled city ensured an authorized water supply and sanitation system by the municipality. On the contrary, the majority of the houses in Kathputli colony lacked personal toilets and depended on community toilets, which are located in an open ground within the neighbourhood. An interviewee (puppeteer, male, 38 years old) who was born and raised in the Kathputli colony, estimated that only 1 in 20 houses would have a small in-built private toilet. Sanitation was one of the most visibly prominent problems in the colony with many residents even using the nearby open ground for excretion. The interviewee expressed not only his health hazards but also the potential risks women and minors are prone to⁴.

For water consumption, every house in the Kathputli colony had pots and buckets at the entrance filled with water. Every morning, the women in the community would fill the buckets from the community tap that would be used for washing, cleaning and cooking. On some days, one of the female residents remarked, the queues are longer and it might take multiple trips. As the entire study area is located in the heart of the city, the residents are well connected to the city, making public transport extremely convenient. The walled city is lined with auto-rickshaws that take tourists around the area for a price of 10-50 Rs. (~1-5 NOK). Ironically, the ease of transportation along with an active market space has caused congestion and vehicular traffic creating air and noise pollution. Adding to the woes, heavy tourist footfall has added to the already highly dense neighborhood, thereby flagging off various concerns around mobility.

⁴ See 'Where India Goes: Abandoned Toilets, Stunted Development and the Costs of Caste' by Dean Spears and Diane Coffey for a detailed account on the challenge of sanitation in India



Figure 5-4: Left: View of the main access road to the Walled city. Right: Congested pedestrian pathways with two-wheeler parking

Another important aspect of physical infrastructure are the road networks. Once in the Walled city, it's hard to miss the street names. All the alleys are named after the artisanal communities that have historically been living there for forty years. Even though this trend exists from the time when the royalties identified streets based on people's profession, today the Heritage department of Jaipur find this to be an effective way to preserve and carry forward the historical essence of the place (see UNESCO Creative Cities Network)



Figure 5-5: The streets in the Walled street are named by the profession of the residents as part of the local Heritage Project

It is of prime importance to note the difference in physical infrastructure in the two study areas. While the Kathputli colony faces harsh living conditions along with no

tenure security, the communities in the Walled city are a part of major initiatives that focus on the physical restoration including, facade restoration, street infrastructure, sanitation and other building services such as electrical lines, water supply etc. to attract tourism and restore the historical significance of the Walled city while on the other hand the largest community of artisans at the Kathputli colony live in stark reality.

5.2..2 *Natural*

In the context of the study, this capital is important as artisans have natural resource-based activities, such as stones, which implies their livelihood is mainly relies on these resources available to them.

A quick look at Jaipur's map also shows that the city was designed to accommodate the existing topological conditions. Historically, the city's geographic location was strategically chosen in a valley that lied at the intersection of three trade routes (Sharma et al., 2015). Till date, the artisans access resources such as cloth, gemstones, marble etc required for their craft through these existing trade routes that have expanded nationally and internationally.

“Only 10% of material for the lak bangles is procured from here (Rajasthan region) otherwise everything is either made in china or is factory made. The lak industry is breathing it's last breath.”

-Resident of the bangle making community

Unlike other cities in the region, the Walled city is land locked on all sides with The Aravalli mountain range on the North-east side. Along with the flat terrain, strategic position, availability of water, good drainage conditions, availability of stone for construction and better communication with other cities in the region (Jain, 2009).

We get supplies from the trader on a monthly basis but with the market growing there is so much competition that the prices and quality both had started to affect the business'

--Resident of the gems and jewelry community



Figure 5-6: A typical bangle shop in the Walled city which procured lac (a resinous material) from the neighbouring regions of the state

During the interview with the jeweler's community, the artisans talked about how the accessibility to raw materials from various sources is highly contested, which have caused conflicts within the community. This is due to fluctuation in market prices and

limited retailers selling ‘quality product’. The artisans blame the privatisation of the market responsible for the deteriorating quality of products.

5.2..3 *Human*

The human capital, which refers to the skills, knowledge and ability of communities, is one of the key ones for the artisans.

“I’ve 4 daughters all of them are award winning artists. UNESCO seal of excellence award.”

-Resident of the bangle making community

This capital is of intrinsic value as it is required in order to make use of any of the four other types of assets (DFID,1999). Labour is a dispensable commodity for the households in the community through which they earn their livelihoods. On an average, every interviewee had both men and women who contributed in running the household. The women in the Kathputli colony painted the faces and sewed the dresses of the puppets, whereas the other community was predominantly run by the women. The men took the more physical extensive and travel related tasks.

Education is a highly contested and challenging aspect for the ‘urban poor’ in India. Even though formal education systems are in place, the choice is not available for many. There were three public schools in the Walled city where children would go along with a private school for the ‘middle class’ families. At the Kathputli colony there were two schools run by a local church and the other by an NGO. An interviewee (puppeteer, 35) said that the majority families chose to send their students in the school run by the NGO in order to ‘evade any religious teachings’. All the public schools offered free education up to 8th grade (age 14).



Figure 5-7: A puppeteer at work in his workshop in the Kathputli colony



Figure 5-8 Entrance of a government run school in the Walled city

“We are not illiterates. We can get a regular job but who would protect this national art.”

- Stone sculptor, 45

The artisans’ interest and accessibility to education has increased over time.

While the older generation (aged 50 above) did not go to school, the middle-aged interviewees (30-25 years old) dropped out of school due to financial constraints.

However, the current generation all had access to schools and free tuitions that encouraged full attendance.

Our kids go to school, but we would still teach them how to carve puppets. But, swear to god we would wish for them to choose some other profession. Just look at our living conditions. -Puppeteer, resident of the Kathputli colony



Figure 5-9 Artist carving a stone scuptor with visible fine white dust on the floor that has been a great cause of respiratory ailments

Cities in India provide a comparatively better healthcare system than the rural parts of the country. However, while cities tend to have better health care services, it is frequently pointed out that local environments and working conditions in poor urban areas are insanitary and unsafe and residents and workers are therefore exposed to greater health risks (Farrington et al, 2002). This was particularly noticed in the stone

carving community where residents had moved out of the neighborhood due to potential risk of inhaling the fine dust produced by grinding of the stone.

Furthermore, even though there were small clinics in the neighborhood, they could be only be accessed at a price. Which meant that the health services depended on every household's individual ability to access and afford it. For heavier medical expenditures, the residents chose to visit the state-run public hospital rather than a private facility.

5.2.4 *Financial*

This capital is based on the financial foundation of the community that includes economic assets and means in which they can pursuit it. All the members of the communities had a similar narrative of how they came to Jaipur from the neighboring villages in search of jobs and a better chance at expanding their financial capacity.

Tourism is one of the important revenue contributors for Jaipur and occupies a prominent place in the city's agenda as a crucial engine for income and employment (Rajasthan heritage programme, 2018). The relation of the artisanal communities and tourism has been symbiotic, with each benefiting from the other. Artists have relied on tourism as their sole source of employment and earning livelihood. While many artisans shared their stories of ways in which the UNESCO tag has brought more tourists to the city, some also pointed out the decline in the 'seasonal footfall' of tourists. One of the interviewees (jeweler, male, 38) blamed the government for failing to promote the city's tourism and upgrading the infrastructure. He compared and pointed out how 'poorly' the tourism industry was doing in Jaipur as compared to other major destinations in the country.

*“There are lot more foreigners here because now the world knows
about the richness of Jaipur but who knows about us?”*

-Stone sculptor, 45

As tourism forms one of the key components of the economy, the government has ensured that a significant measure is taken to stabilize the ‘people’s industry’. This has led to the introduction of various new policies (see Rajasthan Tourism Unit policy of 2015) and schemes that aim to strengthen the tourist circuits and provide support and incentives to the artisans (World Bank, 2018).

Despite all the efforts put in place at policy level, unemployment still was one of the biggest woes for the community. While the elders narrated how the younger generation was moving towards the private market for more lucrative options, there were few who were still trying their luck within the crafts industry. One such incident was narrated by a puppeteer who opened his briefcase filled with documents. While the top of the briefcase was covered with newspaper clipping of his performances covered on national news, the bottom was lined with unemployment papers that he filed three months ago. After constant back fourth at various government offices that required lot of documentation and paperwork to prove his status, Rakesh had been jobless. His wife was sustaining the family with the money she earned working as a house help in the neighborhood.

“We are artists. We work hard. We make bangles for generations. Loan should be easily accessible so that we could expand our shop and business. But I’m afraid to get a loan. It consumes the life of a human. I’m afraid to take a loan from the bank or to even lend money to a friend”

- Bangle maker, 64

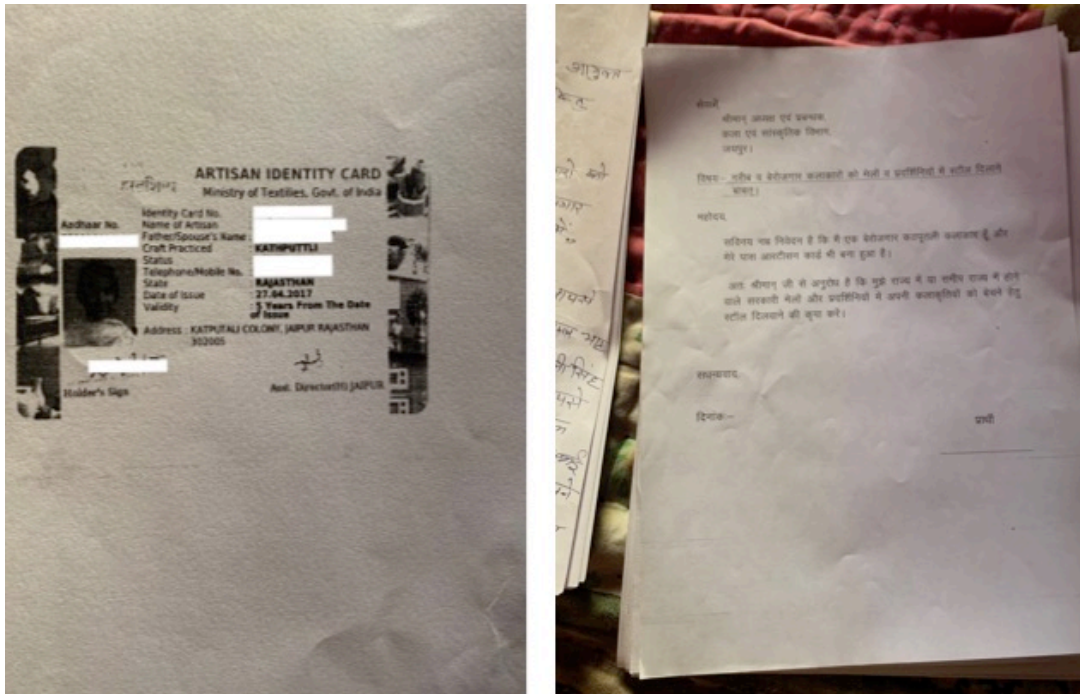


Figure 5-10 Left: The government has issued 'Artisan ID cards' to regulate the industry. Right: A template of unemployment letter that the community use to register themselves as jobless

While the reasons for unemployment are plenty, one of the most prominent cause of worry has been the infiltration of the crafts industry by machine made products that take lesser time and are comparatively cheaper than their hand-crafted counter parts. In the interviews, the residents commonly called these products ‘Chinese products’ owing to the place where the production first started. Now these dupes are created in bulk even in the country and have not only created instability in the market but have also jeopardized the value associated to the handicraft industry.

Several NGOs like SAARTHAK have set up Self Help Groups (SHG), where the women organize themselves to save small sums of money regularly, thus contributing to a common fund, which is used to meet emergency needs (saarthakindia, 2020). These micro-financing initiatives also help women to apply for loans for their independent ventures.

5.2..5 *Social*

Social capital has been described as both a glue and lubricant – a glue that holds societies together without which collaboration and cooperation would not be possible; and a lubricant that facilitates getting things done (Claridge, 2014). It is built through everyday interactions between people of the community with themselves and with other stakeholders. This helps the community build trust and feel belonged whilst sharing a set of shared values and norms.

We are the true Indians. First Indians are the army men, second us. They protect everyone and we entertain everyone.

-Puppeteer, 38

One of the main aspects of social capital is trust (see Cox and Caldwell 2000; Falk and Guenther 1999; Glaeser et al. 2000; Guenther and Falk 1999; Kolankiewicz 1996) which was named as a striking factor in the community's interpersonal relations. An old man would pick up children of four different households in his car which exhibited how the families trusted their kids with other members of the community. There was also a prevalent feeling of togetherness which perpetuated by the way the community socialized together. While the researcher was interviewing one member of the community other members walked in out of curiosity and introduced themselves. There was also a sense of pride for being associated to the community and the craft. The residents narrated stories of achievement with utmost gratification and held a sense of importance

“Everyone knows everyone here. We are like a big family.

- (points at the neighboring shops) They all have been here for as long. Five generations!!” - Bangle maker, 64

The sense of community, sense of togetherness, commitment, belonging and sympathy between all the residents was also prominent throughout the interviews. These feelings were perpetuated by their approach towards the respective artwork, which they considered a generational heirloom passed within their caste and community.



Figure 5-11 A mural in the Walled city depicting a historical celebration scene

Another important aspect of social capital is the emotional connection the communities had with their homes. This performed as a ‘glue’ between the community and the historical relevance to the place. The fact that the residents had lived in the neighborhood for five generations, added the sense of ownership and history. The evidences match with what Merchant (2019) argues, referring to heritage as a

connection to and between people and places through memories and emotions that overlap with families, and physical structure. Thus, the investment in heritage can strengthen the bond of the community both in individual and cultural contexts.

The artisans also maintain social relations outside the community that amplify their attempts at securing livelihoods. Local restaurant and hotel owners book the artists during the tourism season for performances or showcasing their artwork. These organisers secure deals for cultural events or festivals and give a platform to the artisans. During the interview, an artisan expressed his worry of fracturing these 'business relations' if they relocate to some other neighbourhood

Lastly, caste and religious bonding play an important role in binding the community together. This is perpetuated and practiced through festivals and religious ceremonies. Even though these regressive social constructs reinforce hierarchal segregation it is hard to dismiss how these factors dictate the social interaction within the community.

5.2..6 *Political*

Regarding the political capital, which includes the issues of power, decision-making, governance and community's engagement/participation, the interviewees referred to the lack of political power that make them feel excluded and unheard. and the presence can grant them access to resources beyond their reach

Within the community there were locally elected representatives who are responsible for leadership and decision-making activities. In the sculptor community there was an 'informally' elected leader who was referred to as '*pitaji*' (literally translates to father) and was given the position based on his experience and age. Any dispute that occurred within the community were taken up to him with a trust of receiving unbiased decision that would be in the goodwill of all the sides, *Pitaji*, together with a few other men of his own stature resolved issues ranging from small disputes to deciding the market price

of products and getting resources from the outside. This internal and self-organized leadership gave the residents voice and a trust of being heard.

“Don’t talk about the government. Every government should think about its citizens but here the government doesn’t think about us.”

-Puppeteer, 38

There was a general disappointment and mistrust towards the government. The belief ran stronger amongst the residents of the Kathputli colony who expected the local political representatives to visit them more than only the election season to address their grievances. The power structure has disabled any sort of interaction between the people and the government. This was visible in their futile efforts to search for jobs or to secure a steady water connection.

‘How can political aid help in this situation?’

‘It would just help in getting things done and that is all we want.’

-Bangle maker, 64

As an extension to their social network, few interviewees had developed steady relations with stakeholders outside the community. The residents explained how one can get ‘things done’ if they know the ‘right kind of people in power’. The puppeteers had connections to organizers in the city that invited them for performances during the ‘peak season’. Rakesh told how only the ones who established these relations could secure a ‘good month’. While some benefitted from knowing influential hotel and restaurant owners in the city, others had to look at more centralized government schemes that were ‘slow’ and ‘ineffective’

“I wish the government could make our shops better, but that would be a lot of money and paper work.”

-Puppeteer, 38

The commercial aspect associated to the artisans community and their craft is an important means of achieving a secure livelihood for the community. As discussed in Financial capital, unemployment was a major concern within the community. While some demanded access to micro-financing, there were others who expected the government to intervene at policy level and provide loans at smaller rate of interest.

'Loans should be easily accessible, but loans take away the human life. I wish the government could make special arrangements for our small businesses.

I'm scared to take or even give a loan'

-Stone sculptor, 45

5.3 Summarising the Livelihood capitals of the community

The six contexts cover a complex nature of the community which consist of both constraints and opportunities. It showcases how the artisanal community uses a combination of the capitals available to secure their livelihoods. While some capitals are readily available (e.g.: social and human capital), there are other capitals that are reduced or compensated (e.g. financial and political capital). This implies that the capitals, depending on the choice of the availability, carry a different value for the community. Based on the contextual description by the interviewees, the following table records the capitals of the artisanal community of Jaipur.

Livelihood capitals for the artisanal community of Jaipur					
Physical capital	Natural capital	Financial capital	Social capital	Political capital	Human capital
Access to slum through the central main road that leads to the High court	The location is in the heart of the city making it easily accessible for trade	Residents rely on the govt. policies set in place for employment of the artisans	Strong sense of community and trust	Several NGOs have worked on site to focus on development work	The industry is labour intensive and requires little to no investment in machinery
Physical infrastructure very important for unesco		Tourism industry is the strongest asset accessible to the community	Common religious beliefs and values run strong within the community		
Houses allotted on first-come-first-serve-basis and then leased	Flat geography enables ease in transport of trade routes	NGOs have set up Self help groups to teach women how to earn and invest money	Caste/ occupation based networks are prominent	Interviewees have artisanal cards that has helped the formalize the work force in the industry	The craft is predominantly manual labour with no biases based on age or gender.
		Existing business network are set up to other parts of the country	Invaluable indigenous knowledge which is passed on through generations		
community water supply and	Availability of material required for the artisans is closely	Artisans do not require any formal education. The craft is passed on generationally through training that begins at a young age	Strong emotional connection with the heritage value of the craft and the Walled city	Each community has informally elected communal representatives that	Residents have access to both public and private healthcare system
		Online businesses and international trades is explored by the community to keep up with the digital market as a way of expanding their business	Relatives from neighboring villages migrate to join family business		
Road networks have improved				Residents are aware of their local representatives and	Access to free education provided by schools run by NGOs and religious institutes

Figure 5-12: Tabular view of the livelihood capitals available to the artisanal community of Jaipur

6 Analysis and discussion

In an attempt to sequentially address the research questions this final chapter would first present the empirical findings (6.1). This would be followed by a discussion (6.2) on the SLF and social capital and a reflection (6.3) on the methods and theoretical perspective. Finally, the chapter would culminate with the conclusion (6.4) including recommendation for future research (6.5).

6.1 Assessing the livelihood capital portfolio of the artisanal community

Based on the SLF, the researcher categorised the information gathered through the eight interviews to generate a qualitative description of each of the six capitals. Even though the sample set of the interviewees is small, but due to the cohesiveness of the communities and the presence of other community members during the conversations, the derived results are representative (in part) of their reality. The aim is also to provide a methodology which can be further taken up in the future by any researcher when constraints of time and a pandemic get relaxed.

As illustrated in Fig. 6-1, for analysis a coding pattern was created that segregated each interviewee's response regarding the six capitals under two parts: available and deficient. The *availability* marker represents whether the capital is actively present and accessible to the community and the *deficiency* constitutes the missing assets that the interviewees' expressed their need for. Furthermore, the capitals were added and tallied based on a number scale of 1-8 (refer fig. 6-2), wherein 1 represents deficiency and 8 represents availability of the particular capital. The numbers were coordinated with a subsequent color scale for ease of representation. Once the data from the interviews was segregated into smaller segments, a pattern emerged for each capital that juxtaposed the presence elements of each capital with the lacking ones.

Capitals → Interviewees ↓	Physical		Natural		Human		Financial		Political		Social	
	Available	Deficient	Available	Deficient	Available	Deficient	Available	Deficient	Available	Deficient	Available	Deficient
Bangle maker, female, 64	Central location in the city, easy accessibility				Labour intensive, thus requires little to no investment in machinery		No access to low interest loans		No engagement with the local political leaders		Strong sense of community and trust	
Bangle maker, male, 58		No tenure security	Easily accessible for trade, at local and national scale		Access to free education provided by schools run by NGOs and religious institutes		Tourism has expanded since the UNESCO status		Declining trust in the government		Religious connections	
Stone sculptor, male, 45		No scope of expanding shops or houses		No access to natural resources		Self help groups for financial education					Caste based networks	
Gems and jewellery maker, male, 42	Round the clock community water supply and private connections			Gems and other precious stones depleting due to excess mining	No formal education or training available to change occupation		Unemployment				Invaluable indigenous knowledge of the craft	
Stone sculptor, male, 45	Heritage conservation by UNESCO on site		Flat geography enables ease in transport for trade routes		Insanitary and unsafe working conditions	Existing business network are set up across other parts of the country				Self governance structure, Locally elected head is the advisor and negotiator within the community	Generational occupation	
Stone sculptor, male, 34		Old construction doesn't give room for any new changes			Residents have access to affordable healthcare system, both public and private		Not enough earning to support the needs of the family		Political parties show interest only during the election voting season		Emotional connection with the craft and the Walled city	
Puppeteer, male, 35		Lack of investment in home due to temporary nature of housing	Jaipur's location and connectivity helps in accessing various parts of the country			No formal training or formal education required.					Relatives migrate to join family business	
Puppeteer, male, 38		No toilet provision, poor sanitation	Long summers help in attracting tourists for more than half a year		The craft is predominantly manual labour with no biases based on age or gender.		Lack of savings		Fear of eviction		Social ties outside the community for business links	
Proportions	3	5	4	2	4	2	4	4	1	4	8	0

Figure 6-1: Availability and deficiency of each capital in the community as analysed through the interviews

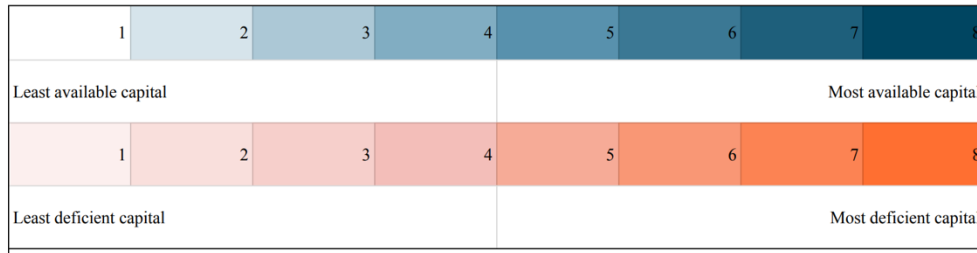


Figure 6-2: Color gradient to study the proportion of each capital available and deficient to the community

For instance, the physical capital scored a 3 for availability and a 5 for being deficient which represents how the majority of people lacked physical infrastructure necessary for their livelihoods, such as proper sanitation and tenure security in the case of Kathputli community. Natural capital had a 4 by 2 proportion for available: deficient, depicting the historical presence of natural resources that the community could access for their craft. The related deficiencies have been attributed by the interviewees to the larger debates around environmental degradation through excessive mining which has made resources such as stones and precious metals scarce.

Similarly, the human capital also fairing 4:2 shows a prime focus on the availability of basic healthcare, education and labour but highlights concerns around job insecurity for future generations as the survival through craft becomes more tenuous. The equal proportion of financial capital represents the instability of the tourism industry leaving little to no scope for the artisans to change professions.

In comparison to the other capitals, the political capital is the most deficient with a general consensus of lack of trust in the government conveyed by the interviewees. This was illustrative of the strong sense of separation and being ignored by those in power. Lastly, the frequency of responses and the repetition in answers for the social capital depicts a plausible pattern of availability of the social capital. The sense of

community is a prevalent emotion within the residents of the community making it their strongest asset.

Even though figure. 6-1 gives a qualitative overview of the assets that are currently available and deficient to the communities, it is intrinsic to examine the changing nature of the livelihood capitals. The capitals are dependent on the local conditions and are intimately connected to the community's ability to access them, in combination or otherwise. This reveals a dynamic relation amongst the six capitals based on which the community coalesces various assets available to them for the best possible way to react to challenges, changes and uncertainties. For the ease of representation, the researcher analyzed the following synergy between capitals depending on their availability and overlapping linkages, as is illustrated in Fig. 6-3,.

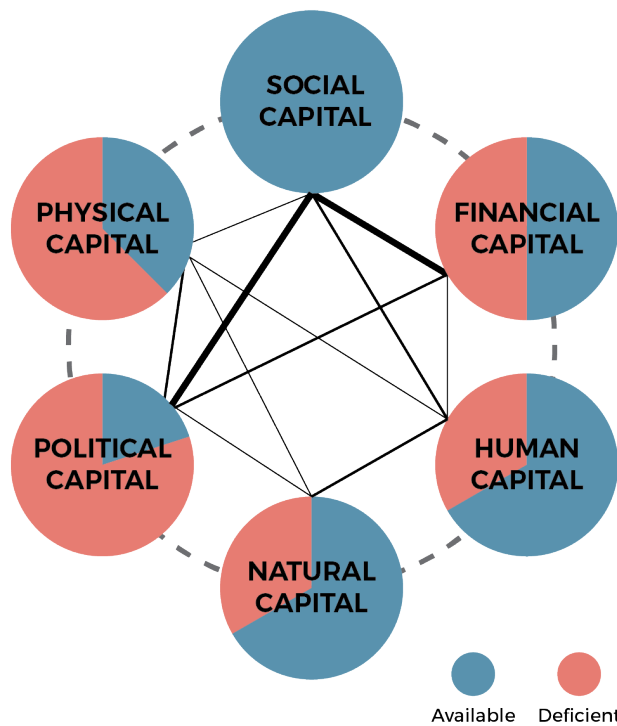


Figure 6-3 Descriptive interconnectivity of the livelihood capitals available to the artisanal community

Based on the analysis carried out, the connections were drawn that demonstrate the interconnectivity and dependence between each capital. For instance, the neighborhood-based connections (social capital) can enhance the community's chances to expand their skill sets (human capital) collectively, or a long-term secure access to resources required for their craft (natural capital) can ensure a steady financial capital. The more prominent connections have been shown through thicker lines. Hence, the thickest connection represents a strong dependency on the two capitals to influence and diversify each other's value whereas the lower grade thickness depicts a weaker yet existing connection.

While all the capitals assert equal importance, their value for the community differs depending on their circumstances. The findings also reveal a logical emphasis on the social capital. For the artisanal community, social capital is a collectively owned incentive on which they rely upon during times of shocks and stresses. The capital is noticeably a prime component that the community has invested and built over time. The nature of social capital is such that its presence amplifies the value of every other capital, to varying extent.

The diagram is also indicative of strong interdependency between social capital with political capital and social capital with financial capital. Both these connections present a strong case of the inter-connectivity of capitals that are critical to the community's development. The following segment would analytically discuss both these connections.

Social capital-financial capital

The social-financial synergy is a crucial association to understand how an abundant asset (social) can elevate a deficient capital (financial). Financial constraints have impeded the growth of all the four communities. Due to unemployment, low wages, seasonal nature of work, absence of corner-stone government policies and lack of support from the financial facilities, such as banks for reasonable loans, has forced a

lot of artisans to move to the private labour market. While the emotional attachment to their artform remains intact, many have started to reevaluate what would the future look like for the next generation. With no savings or knowledge of investment, financial capital is one of the weakest links for the community in their asset portfolio.

Yet, financial capital remains to be the most indispensable asset for the artisans in order to afford access to other capitals. With the right kind of social support at both community and institutional level, there is a chance to uplift their economic status. The discussion holds true to the argument presented by Arrow (1972, p. 357) that puts forth the presence of trust in every financial transaction hence arguing that economic backwardness can be expounded by the lack of mutual confidence within the community. This synergy between the social capital and financial capital can thus, magnify the community's need to access financial institutions that are committed to the interests of the artisans.

Social capital-Political capital

Earlier in the study, in section 3.3, it was estimated that political capital should be an additional part of the core assets of the SLF. While political capital can be considered as a formal extension of social capital, the community lacked one over the other. Even though the artisans have a thriving social connection within their community, the lack of an established relation with the local representatives impedes their chances to new opportunities. The presence of a strong political capital can aid in expanding the community's access to various resources, thus establishing the need and importance to have political capital as one of the six core capitals in the SLF. Thus, making political capital both an asset and liability for the community as it has direct impact in ways in which they access their resources

The analysis also points out that the social capital with its main features of trust and civic cooperation can synthesis the community's interest and hold the relevant people,

organisations or government bodies accountable. If artisans initiate contact with the local representatives the chances of making government more accountable to the urgent requirements of the community are much higher. Additionally, it can unite people of different political ideologies to move towards a single focus policy level change.

In the absence of trust in decision making bodies, the inefficiency in composing and implementing policy level changes would also be low due to the lack of understanding and communication. This has resorted the communities to continue relying on their own forms of governance and dispute settlement measures through the elderly figure of the *Pitaji*. However, in the presence of trust and cooperation there can be better communication leading to increased participation at the municipal and city levels. This can also encourage the members of the community to form representations, at both the community and the local level. These collaborations between the community and the governance structures make the system more efficient and reliable

6.2 Discussion

The main research question asked was *what are the main constraints and opportunities for securing sustainable livelihoods for the artisan communities in Jaipur?* The thesis first identifies the assets the communities have and the ones that they lack. The analysis closely identifies the relation and the dynamics of these assets individually and in combination. In order to answer the research question, it is essential to draw a wider picture of sustainable livelihoods. For the community a livelihood is sustainable if it is secure and steady for a long term. The communities have a staggering income which is based on an unpredictable tourist season beyond which they rely on complex human and power networks to get through each production. Considering the dynamically volatile nature of the artisans' social, economic and political lives, it is of prime importance that the assets available to the community serve them during times of shocks and stresses.

Capitalizing art but leaving behind the artists

Tourism has been the sole provider for the livelihoods of the artisans. Otherwise a famous touristic destination, Jaipur has received national and international recognition since the UNESCO world heritage tag in 2019. As part of the UN Creative Cities Network (UCCN) from 2015, there have been major advancements in preserving the city's heritage and integrating it to the mainstream urban development. In order to do so, various creative methods (heritage walks, workshops, festivals and awareness programmes) have emerged to emphasize the role of culture and creativity in sustainable development. While these latest tourism ventures explore the by-lanes of the Walled city narrating tales of historical craftsmanship that served the royal family, the contradiction of the present-day physical realities in which the artisans live in cannot be overlooked. The hype created by the tourism industry to draw attention and focus on Jaipur's popular image does little to help the daily lives of the artisans. This commodification of the 'creative class' for cultural tourism in order to integrate the artists to the art thus remains performative, due to the lack of an inverse, artisan-oriented outlook. While these initiative of providing 'authentic' experiences to the tourists have brought the general public in direct contact with the artisans, it's contribution to upgrade their quality of life, increase employment opportunities, or expand financial security remain unseen.

Can we trust social capital?

As the most prominent asset to the community, a lot of emphasis lies on the fruitful utilization of the social capital. However, even though the community is well endowed with a rich social network, it is presumed that it would be sufficient to secure a livelihood. This results in a complete isolation and abandonment by the external authorities that leave the community to fend for themselves through their social networks. This puts a disproportionate burden on the social asset to address the community's various needs.

The artisanal community built their social resource through connectedness, trust and reciprocity over generations that made it convenient for them to work and live together while expanding their livelihoods. The commonality of their craft and their caste created a social structure of values and mutual benefit that could facilitate co-operation. Due to these social affiliations, individuals tend to bind themselves to specific groups, religious communities and even economic activities. To draw a wider picture, even though the community benefits from the merits of an active social structure the shortcomings are perilous and engrained. In the Indian context, these social structures play a crucial role in defining social bonds whilst perpetuating socio-economic hierarchies that cannot be overlooked. Even though within a certain community, caste acts as a network of trust and reliability, it excludes members of other communities from accessing any potential resource.

In the context of the study, this could be understood by the building of social barriers for unskilled labour who might want to enter the handicraft circuit. This leads to dominance of one community over the other based on hierarchical elitism. Hence, not only does it perpetuate exclusionary practices but also reinforces the socio-economic hierarchies thus defeating the idea of inclusivity. The need for analysing and restructuring the social systems to get rid of the social interdependence is highly essential. This would not only ensure social freedom but would relieve the artisans to navigate their livelihoods without any social norms and restrictions.

6.3 Reflection on method and theory

As an analytical tool, the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF), served as a starting point to build an understanding with the aim of a people-centric development approach in Jaipur. Recalling the purpose of the framework, it is evident that to adapt to any setting it is essential to align the framework with the knowledge that is exclusive to the local context. Even though the framework did not provide an accurate list of

dimensions to be considered, it did provide enough space for adapting additional capital that the researcher deemed fit for the study context. The findings of the study prove that the adaptation of the political context as a sixth capital is contingent for the study of artisanal communities.

The study is also in line with the theory that SLF recognises the circumstances of the poor change constantly, and that they sustain themselves, despite precarious conditions, by employing a variety of assets (Sen, 1992, Rakodi, 1997 Beall & Kanji, 1999, Moser, 1996). The tenuous conditions in which the communities survive changes quickly depending on the tourism season, employment status or supply chains. Therefore, the complex ways in which the lives of the community functions are well translated by the non-linear fashion of the framework's structure.

The SLF is beyond an aesthetic framework and involves complex dynamics between capitals that work differently with different local contexts. To achieve precision with the SLF, it is essential that the framework continues developing in order to represent the key characteristics of the study. This goes on to suggest that capitals are not static but are rather an ever-evolving parameter that change with time, and conditions as was analyzed in the study. The framework's versatility can only be understood by acknowledging its dynamic nature that provides a unique perspective to the daily livelihoods of different communities.

6.4 Crafting the future, in conclusion

Jaipur is in the inviable position of holding a rich heritage legacy that thrives and survives on its artisans. Since the city received its UNESCO world heritage tag in 2019, a variety of policies have been put in place to restore, preserve and uplift the tangible and intangible assets of the city's heritage. While the official rhetoric exhibits various policies and programmes that focus to uplift the heritage craft industry, the reality for the keepers of the craft remains a sharp contrast. To ensure that the community reaps

the benefit put in place by the government, it is essential that the livelihood of the artisanal community is put on the forefront to yield lasting community benefits. This includes key investments in the social, financial and political capital that would permit the community to organize itself into self-sustained enterprises that are empowered to work in coordination with and support from the local decision-making bodies. All the issues that the communities faced are inter-related and can be addressed with creative interventions that bring together various stakeholders. While the government focuses on promoting and strengthening the tourism industry, it is essential that these initiatives are proactive, inclusive and sustainable to generate an ecosystem that puts the livelihoods of the artisans at the core of development.

The COVID-19 breakdown affected various parts of the world differently. In India, the effects of the pandemic were felt on the lines of poverty, caste, class and religion. These complexities exaggerated the causalities as it gripped the country. In Jaipur, the Walled city was the epicenter of the breakdown. The low-income, dense neighborhood made it hard to control the spread of infection. The burdened health care system subsequently collapsed. While many artisans tried to get back to their native villages, others failed to do so as national borders shut down. An already vulnerable community is currently on the edges of survival. In the coming months, as the country would try to get back on its feet, the communities would face the brunt for a much longer time with no tourism and hampered supply chains. During times of such unforeseen crisis, the artisans have little to fall back onto except to count on the government's aid.

On a national level, India's rich cultural resources have been synonymous to the country's heritage, diversity, traditional customs and history. Over the years, art and craft have expanded to become a major economic contributor. A solid local or state-level initiative can ensure that the artisans are linked to the broader national economy. The conversation also extends to the need of nationally dismantling the social structures that exclude communities from one another on the basis of the caste system in order to achieve socio-economic independence. Even though India today is one of

the fastest-growing economies, its society is fragmented and hardly gives any mobility for an individual to rise up or break free from this social prejudice that is so ingrained in the society. As the front runners of India's cultural heritage, the future of the artisans would ensure the sustenance of their legacy.

In conclusion, urbanisation isn't an isolated event but is an unequal process. The global effect is critical in deciding how the communities of any nature can utilize their assets to be a part of the development processes happening in the cities. At a human scale, cities are formed by communities with distinctive features that play an important role in imagining the larger urban narratives. Beyond the global competitiveness, there is a need for inclusive, targeted urbanisation strategies that can improve livelihoods of the most vulnerable and ensure equitable access for everyone.

6.5 Recommendations for future research

The study highlights the role, availability and impact of each livelihood capital and their interdependency on each other. Any future research that aims to devise a plan for inclusive development within the context of the artisanal community can focus on these critical livelihood junctures for the communities in Jaipur. The impact of Covid-19 on the tourism industry worldwide would be devastating and especially for the studied communities that rely on tourism, the loss of even one season can put them in a position of acute vulnerability. Such effects will need to be deeply examined.

Further research in the area can only strengthen the basis of this study by including other capitals unique to the situation, for example: cultural capital, information capital etc. The research was undertaken with the four artisanal communities in Jaipur as one unit of analysis. Which meant that their historical background, caste systems, and needs specific to their individual artforms would require further in-depth investigation while finalizing any development plans. India has a heterogeneous societal structure which entails that different people have access to different resources and power. Future

research could individually dissect these variables for an in-depth understanding specific to the human geography in India. Furthermore, the study could be carried for the artisanal communities nationally and internationally, to compare and contrast their livelihoods.

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Appendices

Interview guide – Sample 1: Adults (over 20 years old) who live in the artisanal neighborhoods of the walled city of Jaipur, India

General guidelines: Interviews will be semi-structured and follow the sequence below, covering four main topics. The interview section should take no longer than one 30 mins.

Introduction

1. Presentation of the researcher
2. Presentation of the research, its purpose, and the topics that are expected to be covered during the interview
3. Presentation of the research conditions: participant's rights, confidentiality, data processing
 - Consent for recording. If the participant does not agree, the researcher will ask permission to take notes during the interview. These will be available for the participant upon request.
4. Consent-giving (written)

Interview topics

- a. Description of the interviewee's family
- b. What is the size of your family?
- c. What year did you arrive in the neighbourhood? What were the reasons?
- d. Does everyone in the family work in the same profession? For how long has the profession been running in the family's history?
- e. What work do the women do?
- f. Would your children learn the art and pursue it?
- g. Has anyone from the family moved out to pursue some other profession?
- h. For how long did you live in each of them?

2. Housing conditions

- a. Could you describe the physical characteristics of the housing you lived in and how it has changed over time?
- b. Could you describe its location? (For example: central or peripheral, how was the access to public transportation, distance to services and infrastructure, etc.)
- e. Could you describe the daily routines in the place?

3. UNESCO city and it's affects

This section aims to understand how the livelihoods of the residents were affected after Jaipur city was nominated as UNESCO World heritage city.

- a. Do you know that Jaipur is now a UNESCO heritage city?
- b. How is employment been affected?
- c. Was there any remarkable change in the living and working conditions after the city received the UNESCO Status? Which felt greater, working or living?
- d. What were the positive aspects?
- e. Were there any obstacles / challenges? If yes, which?
- f. What could be improved?

4. Neighborhood and segregation

This section aims to understand the neighborhood's connection to the main city, from the resident's point or view.

- a. Do you feel the development of the neighborhood is at the same pace as the city?
- b. What were the positive aspects of living in this neighborhood?
- c. If you'd move where would you shift? Why?
- d. What could be improved for better living standards?

Conclusion

1. Do you have any questions?

2. Is there anything you would like to add / correct / change?
3. Do you have any suggestions on other persons that could contribute to this research, and I could contact?
4. Thank you for your participation!

