Conclusion

To sum up, this research shows that the definition of justice among Indian citizens has changed in three stages from "justice as unequal casts", to "justice as providing minimums for the masses" and recently to "justice as increasing capabilities". The table below

(table 1). provides the possibility to compare the three definitions of justice in India and their spatial representations.

This process, in its current form, shows a trend in improving cities spatially (by decreasing slums) and managerially (by citizen participation).

Table1. Three interpretations of justice and their spatial representations among Indians. Source: author.

Era	Definition of Justice	The main factors who shape the city	Spatial representation	Cases of study
Pre-modern	justice means unequal casts	Rulers	Grid system city with concentric layers	Jaipur, Udaipur
Modern	justice means providing minimums for the masses	Rulers and technocrats	Great mass residential complexes	Chandigarh and Gandhi-nagar
Post-modern	justice means increasing capabilities	Rulers, technocrats and citizens	Empowerment and resettlement	Ahmedabad

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the state and the local government. This kind of work division has been applied to achieve more democracy in the framework of political reforms since 1990.At the beginning of these administrative changes, because of undefined financial relations, the responsibility of each of these three components in the administration of cities faced failures especially in the provision of services and urban infrastructures. In the early 90s, this ambiguous managerial space, led to several problems in major developingIndian cities, such as Ahmedabad, and increased problematic urban tissues (Khaliji, 2015). This according to new participatory approaches, led to the formation of NGOs to empower citizens.

The Parivartan complex is a successful case which is implemented by a grassroots organization entitled Mahila. Mahila is an association that trains women in Ahmedabad to construct buildings. Educating professional and technical skilled women working in the building industry and integrating their work force, this NGO helps them create their own living spaces. Mahila has also made governmental activities more targeted and so they 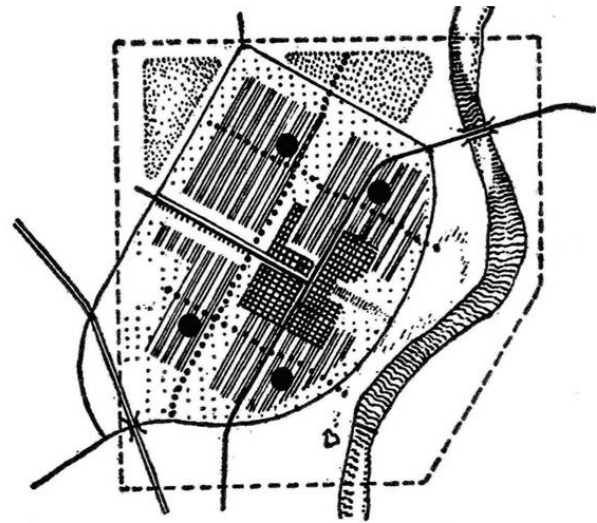succeeded in upgrading Parivartan which was a collection of slums.Construction of houses of each family was based on the area occupied by the old hut, in order to provide a living room, kitchen and toilet for each house. The government facilitated this process via funding infrastructures and financing through loans to residents (Kimiyayi, Under publications); (Fig.12). shows a meeting that have been held to educate people and empower them in Ahmedabad, Gujarat. The way Ahmedabad is going ahead with its Slum Networking Programis based on a social process which provides opportunities for residents to promote the status of their own settlements and gradually the quality of their life, through taking advantages of abilities and the interest of NGOs in educating residents and enhancing their skills. Therefore, this model is based on the approaches of poverty reduction and entrepreneurship for empowerment. Within the framework of these approaches, the usage of local funds and helping residents develop by enhancing their skills has priority to receiving of any external credit or financing (Khaliji, Under publications).Therefore, we can see that recent actions in Ahmedabad were based on the two basic principles of education and participation.

Fig.12. An image of the educations for empowerment of the residents of slums in Ahmedabad. Photo: Omid Kimiyayi, archive of NAZAR research center, 2012.

Fig.10. labor protests in the 17th zone of Chandigarh which shows the existence of inequalities. Photo: Mohammadsaleh Shokouhibidhendi, archive of NAZAR research center, 2012.

Fig.11. the scheme plan of the city of Gandhinagar, designed by Mewada and Apte, Source: http://www.planetizen.com/node/49410 Apte, 2011.

instead of one center). In any case, what is similar in the two cases is the attention given to technocrats in the construction of the city. During this period, although unlike the previous period, the city is not only made by the rulers, people are still not involved in the process of urban design.

The Third era: postmodern

The third period is the post-modern era which is particularly influenced by the ideas of the Indian scholar, Amartya Sen, the Nobel laureate in economics in 1998. His ideas have a special place among the policy makers of modern India. As an example, the President of the Parliament of India in 2008 invited him to speak about the requirements of justice (Sen, 2011: 32).

Amartya Sen explained his ideas about justice in several writings. In this article, in particular, there

is a focus on three of his books entitled "the idea of justice," "Inequality reexamined" and "Identity and Violence: the Illusion of destiny". He defines justice mainly as the equality of capabilities. According to his books, business schools have generally defined justice based on financial incomes. Indicators such as families' income poverty line show the reliance of the previous definitions on the incomes. But given that humans do not have the same abilities, equal incomesdo not lead to equal utility. For example, a disabled person needs lots of requirements achieve the same capability of an average person. As a result, he proposed new criteria to define justice: increasing individual capabilities (Sen, 2011; 2000 and 2009).

• Case Study: Empowering and resettling slums in Ahmedabad

The Indian governmental system consists of a three-level structure for administration: the central,
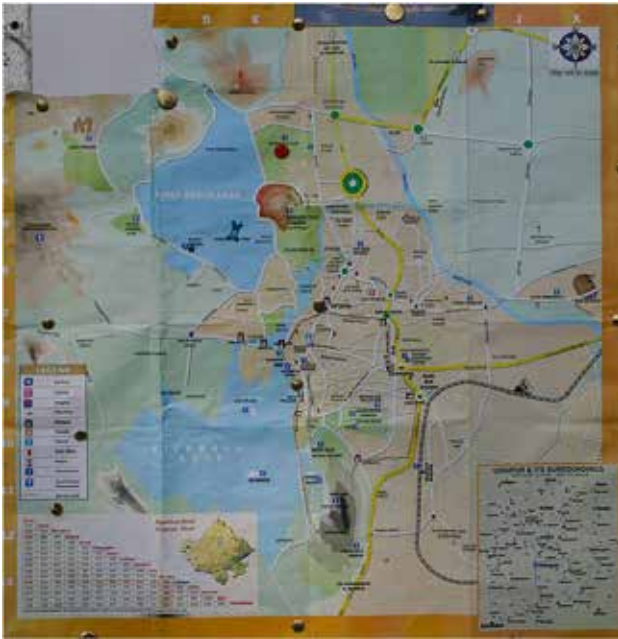
Fig.8. the map of Udaipur and the position of the islands which are occupied by the palaces of the rich, Source: Travel pod, 2012.
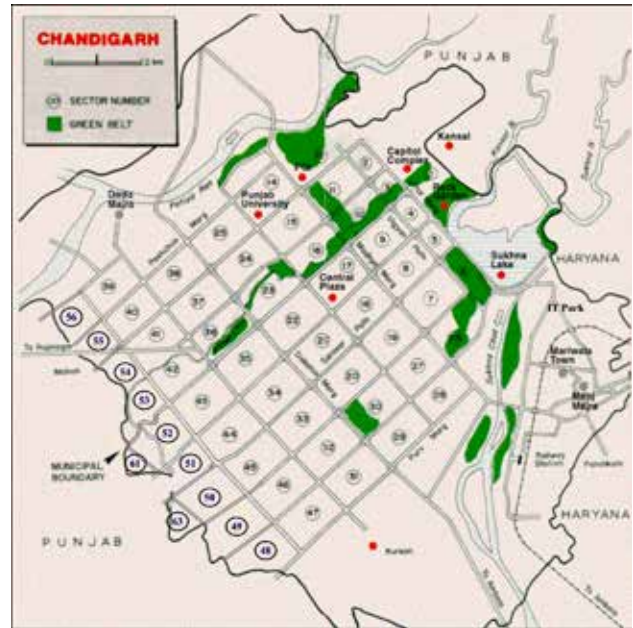

Fig.9. the map of Chandigarh with a grid urban system, Source: Chandigarh Administration, 2012: http://sampark.chd.nic.in/images/city_map.gif

urban areas of the city, as opposed to the traditional model of urbanization in India, is a city with wide streets. Different parts of the city are clear of a class system and the network design of the city allows all parts of the city to have the same equal conditions. Sufficing to a minimum for all has led to residential houses not fulfilling the intended function of Indian citizens. On the other hand, the large-scale used in concrete buildings such as the Supreme Court of Chandigarh, is creating a sense of fear.

Chandigarh consists of 56 sectors which are formed of blocks in a network of streets that are perpendicular to each other (Fig.9). The most important section is sector 17 which is actually in the center of the city and is perhaps considered the only urban space (though today additions to the original design has created new public spaces in Chandigarh).

Field observations display special functions in sector 17. One of the most interesting of these functions, shown in the image below, is the protesting of workers. What is interesting is that despite the fact that in the designing of Chandigarh efforts were made to provide the least for all and eliminate

classes, nowadays workers living in the city protest against existing inequalities (Fig.10).

The second city studied in this period, is the city of Gandhinagar. Gandhinagaris the state capital of Gujarat and was built by Le Corbusier's Indian students, H.K. Mewada and Prakash M. Apte. Gandhinagar was a smaller sample of Chandigarh (Farahanirad & Shirdast, 2012).

Field observations of Gandhinagar showed that it was a city that regardless of its planned streets and squares, it more resembled a haunted forest. Homes and commercial office buildings were built at a distance from the edge of the streets and unlike other traditional Indian cities, street life was not seen in this city. Slum dwellers were seen sporadically in the city, something that seems inevitable in all the cities of India. Fig.11 Shows the idea of Gandhinagar's city planners. It can be seen on the map that like Chandigarh the urban morphology consists of a grid shaped network. However, in this city, there are more urban centers and these urban centers are more decentralized than what was anticipated for Chandigarh (four
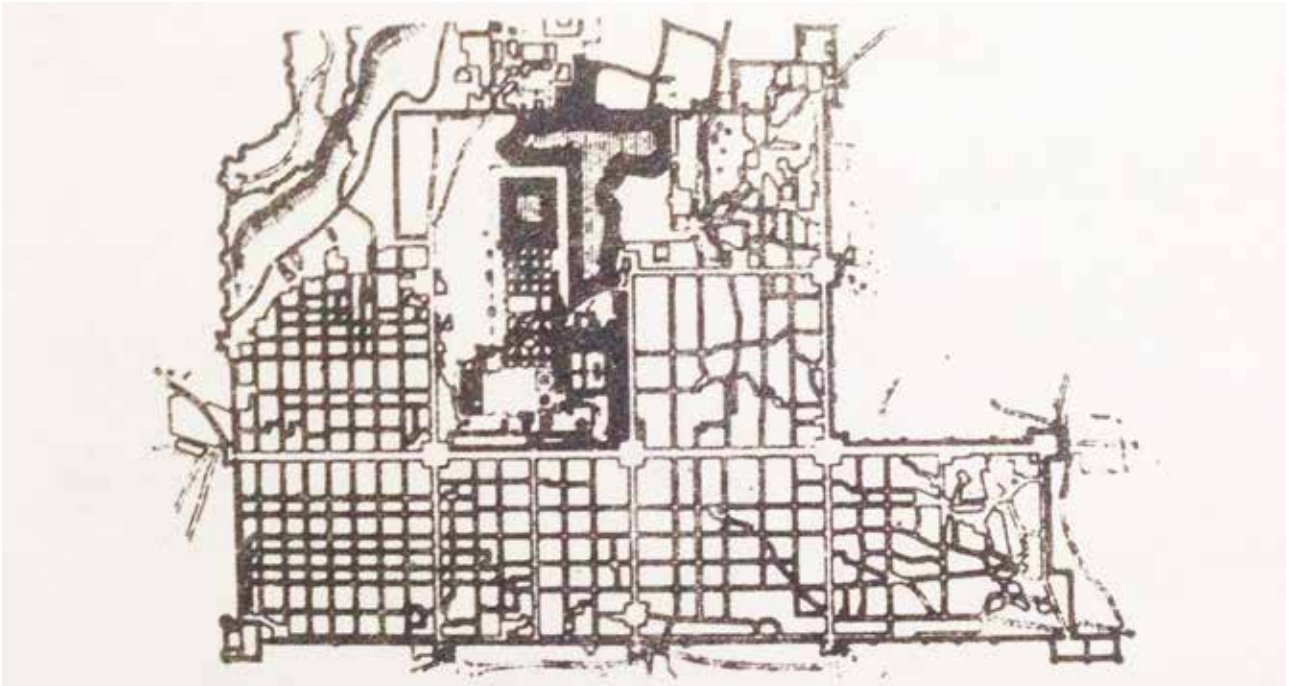
Fig.6. General Map of Jaipur, Source: Morris, 2008.

the significant role of the government and architects for the planning and construction of residential complexes. Le Corbusier, like other modern architects, turned to standardizing and since he was making efforts to provide minimums for all, he was merely paying attention to the land uses which has certain "functions". With such an argument, streets lose their concept as urban spaces, and a residential home will be merely a dormitory.

Chandigarh field observations showed that in the

Fig.7. Image of a grid network in urban fabric of Jaipur. Source: www.maps.google.com, 2012.

Fig.4. an Image of the city of Sanganer (near Jaipur) in the 18th century, Source: Tillotson & Sachdev, 2003: 29
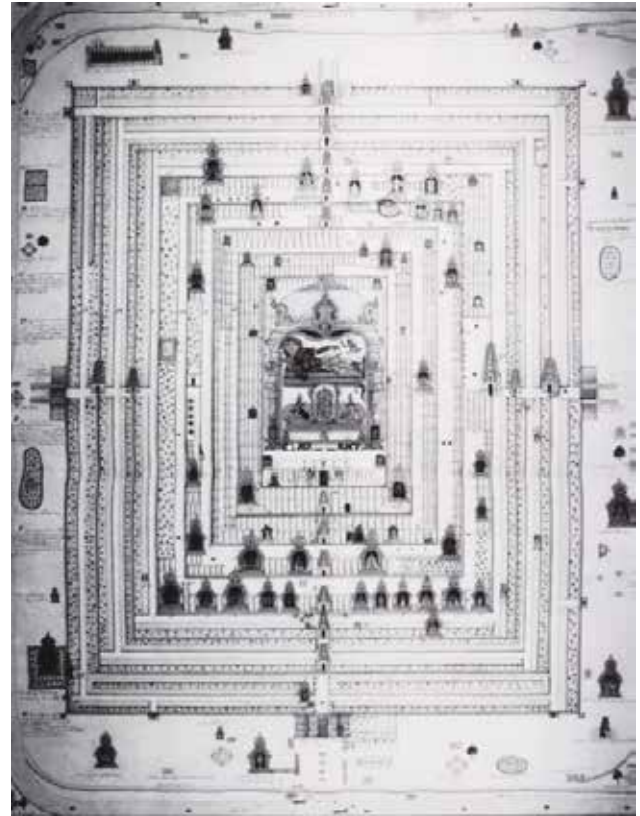
Fig.5. A pattern with concentric zones in a Hindu drowing in the Ra-.janta temple in Srirangam, Source: Tillotson and Sachdev, 2003: 28

At first all cities were studied but each was rejected for a reason. Thereafter it was decided to have a new city be built because it would probably help create national pride among the Indian state of Punjab. The central government also supported this decision and Nehru called this city the symbol of freedom and liberation from traditions of the past and a representative of the future of the nation. The perspective was designing a new modern city; therefore, Nehru invited Le Corbusier, the French architect, to design the city. Figure 9 illustrates the grid network of Chandigarh.

An overview of modernist ideas regarding justice, Le Corbusier in particular, shows how justice can be seen spatially in the city of Chandigarh. Le Corbusier was initially in favor of the capitalist system and believed that the invisible hand free competition that was introduced by Adam Smith will be able to solve all the problems of the society. But with the series of events, including the severity of the economic crisis of 1929, Le Corbusier gradually came closer to his anti-freedom thoughts and started believing that only a government armed with dictatorship can make the necessary coordination in the society and a diverse and free society cannot adapt to the demands of the new era. Le Corbusier's trip to America and seeing the poor in New York's underground corridors led him to believe that a humanistic city should be classless. It is not the rich or the poor who should be thought about in the planning of a city, but it is humans who should be considered. He defines human scale as "just as much a human needs, not more and not less" (Bahreyni, 1999: 28). Having turned away from the capitalist system, Le Corbusier started believing in the Visible Hand (in contrast to the theory of the invisible hand of the market) and believed that this is how the needs of the lower classes can be met. Therefore, he agrees with
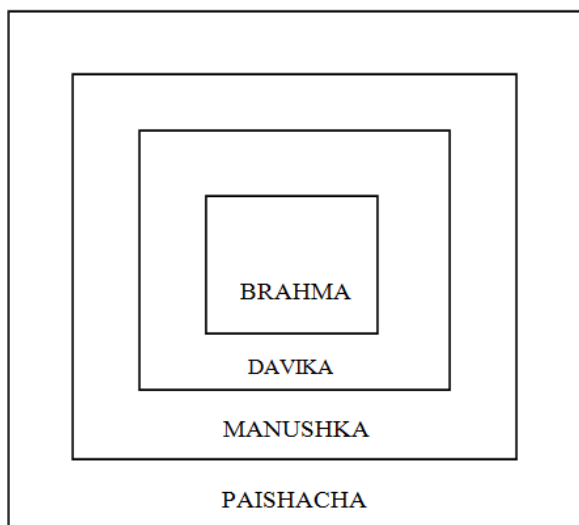
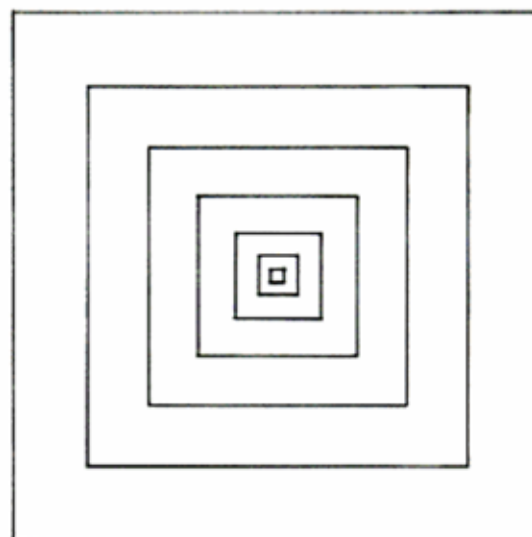Fig. 2. Location of classes in a Hindu city. Source: Rapaport, 2008: 431.

Fig. 3. Concentric zones as the spatial pattern of a Hindu city. Source: Tillotson and Sachdev, 2003: 25

The second era: Modern

The second period began with the independence of India in the late 1940s. Gandhi's movement, despite the fact that it appeared to have no conflict with the religious beliefs of the citizens, implicitly questioned the idea that it is impossible for people to change their lifestyle (Chandra, 2005: 9). This idea, that later was incorporated with the thoughts of the modernists, was looking to have more focus on the primary and basic needs of the masses of citizens. Modern ideas of justice define it in having met the "minimum" of what humans "need" and so standardization is upraised. Spatial and visual qualities of the city have no place in these "minimums" because the main purpose is to provide all with the basic needs indicated in Maslow's pyramid. Therefore, urban space is demolished; however, form strengthens in the city which is because of the power of mechanisms performed by the government.

Gandhi believed that mass production does not help the poor, but it is production by the masses that helps them (Bahreyni, 1999). Nonetheless, when Nehru, India's first president after independence, plans on giving the citizens of Punjab province some pride, he invites Le Corbusier start the mass production of housing in the city. If in the first period the rulers of the cities gave them shape, in the period it was the rulers and technocrats that indicated the shape of the cities. In order to scrutinize the shape of the city in this period, the two cases of Chandigarh and Gandhinagar will be studied.

• the experience of the creation of the two new cities of Chandigarh and Gandhinagar

In order to investigate the modern interpretation of justice in the spatial system, the city of Chandigarh is chosen as the first case. Chandigarh is a modern city formed of grids which was built due to the command of "Nehru" because of the social crisis after the separation of Pakistan from India. After the signing of the agreement of 1947 between India and Pakistan, Punjab state was divided between the two countries and Lahore was to be the capital of the state in the west of Pakistan. The government of eastern Punjab encountered the issue of refugees and organizing state regulations and so a city was to be chosen as the capital of Punjab, India.

take the city back to year 1727 and say it was formed by Singh II, the Maharaja. However, James Morris takes the formation of the city to a much further time in the past (Morris, 2008: 404).

The spatial system in Jaipur today, is still based on segmentation according to social divisions. Evaluation of historical maps (Fig.6) and the current city map (Fig.7). As well as field observations show that the city of Jaipur is composed of a multilayered network which is planned in a way that leads to the separation of social classes. The image below shows the spatial system of the city of Jaipur.

Another city that has historically maintained this hierarchy in its spatial system is the city of Udaipur. Udaipur is another city in the state of Rajasthan, India. Although the city has been the Raj's summer area and is considered to be one the clean cities of India with less poor people, the separation of the privileged classes is more evident here than the city of Jaipur. This distance among classes in the city of Udaipur has led to mansions being built on isolated islands in the three lakes situated in the west of the city and remote from urban context and this is where the rich live. The map below (Fig.8). Shows the position of the three lakes and the location of the mansions. Studying these two cities showed how the Indian mindset, which believes in the separation of classes and social castes, has affected the structure of the city through the creation of concentric layers.

Fig.1. High-rise buildings erected behind slums of Mumbai. Photo: Maryam Talebi, archichiv of NAZAR research center, 2012.

Ramesh Chandra and SanghMittra and is entitled "Caste system in India" (Chandra and Mittra, 2003). Chandra also studies the origin and growth in India's caste notions in another book called "Identity and Genesis of Caste System in India" too. In this book he claims that the caste system in India is as ancient as the Indian civilization. He also refers to reformsmade by those such as Buddha and Gandhi in this area is (Chandra, 2005: 7). Conjeeveram Hayavadana Rao, in the book "Indian caste system: a study",points to the fact that there is no certainty showing that racial, social, economic, or religious issues have led to the foundation of India's caste system (Rao, 2003). In the book "Indian caste system", published in 2004, Pruthi divides theories related to the emergence of the caste system in India into three categories including: "religious-mythical theories", "biological theories" and "socio-historical theories". He notes that, according to the religious-mythical theories based on the Rig Veda, an ancient Hindu book, the difference between each of the classes (the so-called Varna) has been established at the time of their creation from different body parts of the primal human (Purush) (or in another narration, from different parts of the body of Brahma the creator). Accordingly, citizens are separated into the four groups of Brahmans (created from the head), Kshatrias (created fromthe hands), Vaishias (created from the thighs) and Sudras (the Najis created from the feet) (Pruthi, 2004: 1). Chakravertistudies the origins and the evolution of India's caste system and untouchability in the Indian society from the time of the Aryans to the current era in a book called "Caste system in India" (Chakraverti, 1970). Also, Naronakar dedicates his book, "Untouchability and class system in India" to the same issues (Naronakar, 2003). However, regardless of the views concerning the origin of ideas about the caste system in India, what is agreed upon is that during this period (the pre-modern era), citizens were classified in different groups by the caste system.

The idea of the caste systemremained unchanged in the colonial period also and the social system continued to legitimize class inequalities in the society. A point worth noting here is that it was impossible for people to change classes during their lifetime and due to the philosophy of reincarnation, the inequalities were justified by the promise of an upgrade in the next life. Spatial systems of the cities was also affected by the same thought and was the formed in various layers (perhaps similar to that of what is called Kohandejh, Sharestan and Rabaz in Iran). Lower society groups, known as the Najis, even after they found their way into cities, were homeless and lived on the streets. The figure below (Fig.1). is a demonstration of class conflict in different parts of an Indian city that is evidenteven today.

To study the physical form of these cities, Jaipur and Udaipurwill be discussed as the two cases of study.

• **Case Study: Spatial system in the two cities of Jaipur and Udaipur**

In Indian cities, Hindu religious symbolism is considered to be highly important. During this period, all urban plans consisted of wide streets of North to South and East to West that collided in the city center and next to temples. These plans also show consecration according to class relations. As the Brahmans were located in the center, lower classes were situated with distance to the center and the Najis were around the city. In these plans localization of different groups was sometimes as follows: The Brahmans: Head, The Kshatrias: Heart,The Vaishias: Arms, The Sudras: Feet (Rappaport, 2008: 430 and 431). The symbolism and localization of classes is illustrated in the image below (Figs. 2 & 3). This spatial pattern, which indicates the way in which the casts were segregated in the city, is evident in one of the small towns around Jaipur city. The map of this town (Fig.4). Can show how urban streets and texture morphology is formed based on a grid network.

The network of squares and rectangles, which has historically affected some cities in India, is seen even in some Indiandrawings.(Fig. 5). Shows a pattern of concentric circles in an area that has been illustrated in an Indian drawing.

In order to examine the spatial definition of justice, this paper examines two case studies among Indian cities. The first case is the city of Jaipur. Jaipur is the capital of Rajasthan state and is one of the ancient cities of India and has a long history. Some sayings

Howard Gillette, in the book of "Between Justice & Beauty: Race, Planning, and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C." (Gillette, 1995), Heather Campbell in an essay entitled "Towards justice in planning: A reappraisal" (Campbell and Marshall, 2006), Peter Marcuse, in his book, "Searching for the just city: debates in urban theory and practice" (Marcuse, 2009), Edward Soja in the book of "Seeking Spatial Justice" (Soja, 2010) and Susan Fainstein in a book entitled "The just city" (Fainstein, 2010) have attempted to define the concept of spatial justice. For example, Soja writes that distributional inequality is the most basic and obvious expression of spatial injustice. He mentions to needs of urban life, education, mass transit, police and crime prevention, to more privatized provisioning of adequate food, housing and employment references and tries to define "spatial justice" via applying the definition of Lefebvre from "space" (Ibid: 47). Despite these studies, it seems a long way still remains in achieving an agreed definition for spatial justice (if such a definition is even possible). In particular, almost all of these ideas have "Occidental" considerations of justice and spatial justice. Therefore, it is necessary to pay more attention to the interpretations of other nations to justice and its spatial representations.

Justice in the thoughts of the Indian society

The perception of the concept of justice in each society could be different according to the ideological foundations and political, social and the economic thoughts of people. So far, many studies have analyzed the perception of justice among citizens in various societies. For example, (Marshall and Swift, 1993) have addressed this question that whether the British society is truly a meritocratic society? Australian people's understanding of distributive justice and the relationship between real incomes, subjective incomes and legitimate incomes have been studied in National Survey of Social Sciences in Australia (1984) and Survey of Australian Values (1983). In America, Rainwater's research (1974) showed that the American public's perception of legitimate income is the same as their social

ranking status, the higher the social status, the more legitimacy it gives to the high income. In France, various studies and surveys such as Lipton Sigleh (1993) and Bag and Boston (2003) have focused on the difference between the just and unjust in sight of citizens (Yaqoubi, 2009: 67-63).

This study aimed to investigate the perception of the Indian society in the past, and today of concept of justice. The complexity of the study, compared with previous studies, is its historical review. Therefore, the methodology can't be based on conventional survey via questionnaires. Due to this, on the one hand, and the references and literatures regarding to the Indian society will be reviewed, and on the other hand, the form of the cities of India will be analyzed as an expression of the public's perception of justice. The main structure of Indian cities and their evolutions can show that the interpretation of the Indian political and social system of justice is to what extent egalitarian. Studies show that the interpretation of justice in the philosophical, political, social and spatial systems of India can be divided in three periods.

The first era is when the Indian society was most affected by religious ordinances (especially Hinduism). The second era is the modern time and coincides with the post-independent India, when a new India was shaping by Gandhi's political philosophy. The third period of time is today's India which can be called post-millennium India. In the following, each of these periods of time will be described.

The first era: Pre-modern

Several studies have been carried out about the caste system in India in the past. For example, Ekta Singh provides a history of the Indian caste system and its changes after the age of social reforms made by Gandhi. He asserts that the class system, in fact, arises not of faith, but of social norms followed in India (Singh, 2009: 11). Two books with almost similar titles, "The caste system in India: Myth and Reality" have been published, one by Sangeetha Rao and another by Rajendra Pandey (Pandey, 1986; Rao, 1989). Another written work is related to

Introduction

The concept of justice is a relatively complex philosophical and social subject that has different implications in various political systems. The research question in this article is what evolutions have occurred in the definition of justice in political, philosophical and social thoughts in different periods of the history of India (especially in modern times) and these evolutions have led to what spatial representations in cities. Addressing this question (which in fact consists of two questions), requires an analysis of the perception of Indian citizens. Similar researches often apply questionnaires to identify the factors contributing to the perception of citizens of a society. In this study, first, due to the limitations of the survey for the author as a foreign visitor, and secondly, because of the emphasis on the historical evolution of Indian opinions with no possibility to survey in the past, focus has been put on the spatial representations of equality and inequality in the cities of India. Hence, by studying the five cases, an effort has been made to draw a sketch of the Indian society's understanding of justice in different periods of time. The method used for this study is the case study approach. Thus, having studied the ruling ideas of each period of time, examples of cities that have been formed under the influence of these ideas have been discussed.

Hypothesis: It seems that the interpretation of justice among Indian citizens, has changed in the three stages of pre-modern, modern and post-modern, and each interpretation has led to a special city form. Seeking a definition of justice and spatial justice Justice is one of the most complex concepts in philosophy and social sciences. This concept has various interpretations in different social, political and philosophical schools which sometimes are even in conflict with each other (Tabibian, Shokouhi & Arbab, 2010: 112). Theoretical studies indicate that at least eight different definitions of justice are considered in the history of the scholars. The first definition is more considered by Plato and Aristotle is the "justice as equity for equal groups" that may justify a caste system (Lashkari, 2009; Bakhtiari, 2001; Mirahmadi, 2006). The second definition that has a base in Marxism is "justice to remove classifications as and a complete equality" (Burkett, 2006). The third definition which is mainly considered by the modernists and has led to standardization is "justice as providing a minimum for all" (Bahreyni, 1999). The fourth definition that thinkers like Montesquieu and John Locke have discussed about is "justice as being identical in law enforcement" (Locke, 1998). The fifth definition which is particularly mentioned in votes of Henri Lefebvre is "justice as the rights to the city" (Lefebvre, 2010). The sixth definition which for example considered in the ideas of John Rawls is "Justice as supporting the disadvantaged groups" (Rawls, 1971; Rawls, 1997; Rawls, 2006; Fitzpatrick, 2004; Vaezi, 2009). The seventh definition by liberals is that the "Justice as to maximize benefits" which has less attention to the manner of distribution (Talisse, 2006). Finally late thinkers like Amartya Sen, has defined this concept as "justice as equality of capabilities and freedom of choice" (Sen, 2011).

The expansion of the related concepts to justice in the literature of Geography and urban planning, which started about 40 years ago, has led to new approaches in recent years. David Harvey, the Marxist geographer, can probably be considered as the first one to deal with spatial distribution of "income" using the phrase of "Territorial distributive justice" in the book of "Social Justice and the City" in 1973 (in a general definition, he know income as "whatever it is that we are distributing"). He has tried to define characteristics of a just distribution in a regional scale (Harvey, 1997: 98 - 99). 10 years after Harvey, Gordon Pirie sought to shape a concept of spatial justice, based on the concepts of social justice and territorial social justice (Pirie, 1983). Then,

Evolution of the Concept of Justice

in the Indian Society and its Spatial Representation

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Abstract

The perception of the concept of justice may change over time in every society. This can lead to differences in social systems, and of course, spatial and physical systems of cities. This study focuses on the philosophical and social interpretation of justice in India and deals with changes in the definition of justice in this society in different periods of time. Accordingly, it has been tried to point out how each understanding of justice leads to evolutions in the formation and development of human settlements in India. To this end, this article analyzes five cases (cities of Jaipur, Udaipur, Chandigarh, Gandhinagar and Ahmedabad) over different periods to study the evolution of the idea of justice in India and its spatial and physical representation in human settlement in this society. The findings show that the perception of justice among Indian citizens has changed in three stages from "justice as unequal casts" in the pre-modern era, to "justice as providing minimums for the masses" in the modern era, and recently to "justice as increasing capabilities" in the post-modern era. These three eras can also be outlined in the shaping process of Indian cities. In the first period of time, it was rulers who formed the city.In the second era, the technocrats alongside with rulers designed cities. Finally, in the third period of time, rulers, technocrats and people renovate slums in a participatory way.

Keywords
Justice, India, City, Spatial justice, Modernity.