INTRODUCTION

Urbanisation represents a revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social life. Once it comes into being it affects every aspect of existence. The Rome Declaration (1980) on population and the urban future believes that "the process of urbanisation can be harnessed to achieve mankind's goal of just, peaceful and lasting progress. But if this is to happen, urbanisation must take place under planned and orderly conditions". Today as one reviews the situation, it is apparent that not only planned and orderly conditions do not exist but the problems are in fact already very acute. The current trends in world urbanisation is revealing. There were only six cities with a population of five millions or more in 1950 but in 1980 these have risen to more than 25 such cities with a combined population of over 250 millions. It is further projected that in the year 2000 there will be 45 such cities in the Third World Countries alone.

Urbanisation Trend in Third World Countries:

The Third World consists of Less Developed Countries in Africa, Latin America, The Middle East and Asia. It has now become synonymous with Less Developed Countries of the world. In 1980, the developed nations accounted for 28 per cent of world's population and Less Developed Countries accounted for 72 per cent of world population. The following table explains the trend of urbanisation in Third World Countries.
Table: I.1. URBANISATION IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban Population in Millions</th>
<th>Percentage of Urban Population to Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1231</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1485</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2121</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2025</td>
<td>4154</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to the above estimate, the urban population of the Third World increased from 287 million population in 1950 to 838 million in 1975 and by the end of this century, it may be over 2,100 millions. Nearly two-thirds of the increase in urban population of the world between 1950 and 1975 was contributed by the Less Developed Countries. During 2000-2025 they would be responsible for over 90 per cent of the increase in total urban population.

Beier (1976: 3-32) categorises Less Developed Countries of the world into four types in which the fourth type has superdense rural populations with cities already swollen beyond employment capacity. In the Less Developed Countries, the rural-urban influx in response to population growth could produce social
crisis. Countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Peoples' Republic of China come under this category.

Castells (1977: 17) has reported that big cities of the Third World grew more than three-fold whereas the urban population increased only one fold. When urbanisation of a society reaches about 30 per cent, it ceases to depend on industrial growth. Urbanisation over this threshold proceeds independently of job creation.

Unplanned urbanisation has created shortages of housing and shelter, basic health services, sanitation, clean air, potable water, education, transport, energy supplies, open spaces and employment opportunities in many parts of the world. Particularly in the developing countries the cumulative effect of all these problems has reached the point of crisis. It is more evident in the city slums across the Third World.

The explosive nature of urban growth and the abject poverty in which it typically takes place poses a special problem for social development. Illiterate, unskilled and socially bewildered rural migrants fill squatter shack towns and find little work, a bare subsistence and barren opportunities for self improvement. Economically their role is ineffective, socially they are nearly a complete burden on the thin layer of public services. Illegitimacy, disease and crime symbolize the demoralising social ensymes at work (U.N. planning of Metropolitan Areas and New Towns 1967). According to Streeton and Burki (1978: 142) over 150 million people in the urban areas of the poorest countries have less than satisfactory shelter.
In the absence of a planned growth, any protective planning has to first contend with the backlog of chaotic conditions that have escalated unchecked. The lack of necessary infrastructure leaves the new migrants of the city with no choice but to take to pavement dwelling or squatting and 'slumming' creating ever new slums and swelling the existing ones. The resultant psycho-social and economic frustrations have grown into tensions, political and psycho-social that threaten to rip apart the social fabric.

Indian Urban Scene:

In keeping with the general trend of rapid urbanisation in Third World Countries, India also reports a steady and rapid urban growth. Table 1.2 indicates the trends of urbanisation in India. The following table explains the trend of urbanisation since 1901 in India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Total Population (in million)</th>
<th>Urban Population (in million)</th>
<th>Percentage of Urban Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>236.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>252.1</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>151.4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>279.0</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>318.7</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>361.1</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>439.2</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>546.9</td>
<td>109.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>685.2</td>
<td>159.7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the year 1901 the percentage of urban population was 10.9 and in 1981 the same was 23.3. There has been a steady increase in the percentage of urban population since 1911. The volume of urban population has increased more than six fold between 1901 and 1931.

The big urban centres had the lion share of urban growth. The rate of growth was very high in bigger cities when compared with smaller ones. The Class I towns which were 216 in 1981 out of 3245 urban centres account for 60.4 per cent of the total urban population. The Class II and Class III towns had hardly 14.8 per cent and 11.7 per cent of the total urban population. Thus, the big urban centres have absorbed bulk of urban growth.

In Tamil Nadu state there are 245 urban centres. Here also a very similar trend is seen. Table 1.3 gives the distribution of urban centres in Tamil Nadu State during 1971-1981.

Table 1.3. The Distribution of Urban Population in Different Size of Towns (1971-1981)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class I</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9,905,508</td>
<td>57.74</td>
<td>62.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2,546,769</td>
<td>14.16</td>
<td>15.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1,994,388</td>
<td>15.11</td>
<td>15.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class IV</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1,177,991</td>
<td>9.89</td>
<td>7.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class V</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>280,817</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class VI</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22,479</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Classes</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>15,927,952</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India 1981a, Provisional Population Totals, paper 1 of 1981, Supplement, Series 20, Tamil Nadu, (New Delhi: Controller of Publications)

* These classes are: Class I 100000 and above, Class II 50,000 to 99,999, Class III 20,000 to 49,999, Class IV 10,000 to 19,999 Class V 5000 to 9999, Class VI Less than 5000.
As could be seen in the table, almost two-thirds of the people in Tamil Nadu live in big cities. Small urban centres have reported negative growth rate. Therefore, even in Tamil Nadu the bulk of urban growth is absorbed by a few big cities only.

Slum Population:

Indian urban population today is 165.5 million of whom 30 per cent live in slums. The larger cities exhibit higher growth rates and 10 to 12 per cent annual increase in the squatter population is about to double their absolute growth. With rising congestion the urban housing shortage is estimated at 5.2 million dwelling units. The total number of people identified as living in slum in the country is about 33.1 million. This includes over 4.3 million in Bombay, 3 million in Calcutta, 1.3 million in Delhi and about 1.4 million in Madras. The number of houseless population in the country was 2.3 million. This includes 1.72 million in the urban areas and 0.618 million in the rural areas (Indian Express 23 March 1985).

According to Jagannadham and Palvia (1977) the percentage of the slum population to the total population in larger Indian cities were 20 in 1951, 25 in 1961 and 30 in 1971 and 35 in 1976. These figures give an idea of the increasing magnitude of the problem.

A Town and Country Planning Organisation (TCPO 1985) compendium estimated that the total slum population in 1990 will
be around 52.2 million, of whom 38.8 per cent will be in the 12 metro cities, 35.4 per cent in 210 Class I cities having a population ranging from one lakh to one million and 11.4 per cent in 275 towns having population ranging from 50,000 to one lakh and 14.4 per cent in 2874 towns having a population of less than 50,000.

Out of 159.52 lakhs urban population of Tamil Nadu State two thirds are of them/living in Class I towns (population ranging from one lakh to one million) and more than one-fourth live in Metropolitan Madras, the capital of Tamil Nadu. The other four big cities namely Madurai, Coimbatore, Tiruchirapalli and Salem account for one-fifth of the total urban population. As high as 35 per cent of the population in Madras is estimated to be living in 1600 slums. And in Madurai, the second biggest city the urban poor are living in 102 slums. They constitute 35.09 per cent of the total urban population in Madurai.

The Nature, Types and Theories of Slums:

The word 'slum' was used in 1800 as a term for squalid housing in densely populated districts of industrial cities. Today, it describes poor housing and social conditions of every kind (Blair 1974: 46). The early sociologists of Chicago School particularly Zorbaugh (1929) has stated that "The common denominator of the slum is its submerged aspect and its detachment from the city as a whole. The slum is a bleak area of segregation of the sediment of society; an area of extreme poverty, tenements, ramshackle buildings of eviction and evaded rents;
an area of working mothers and children, of high rates of birth, infant mortality, illegitimacy and death, and area of pawn shops and second-hand stores, of gangs of 'flops' where every bed is a vote. As distinguished from the vice area, the disintegrating neighbourhood, the slum is an area which has reached the limit of decay and is on the verge of reorganisation. The slum harbours many sorts of people; the criminal, the radical, the bohemian, the migratory worker, the immigrant the unsuccessful, the queer and unadjusted.

The UNESCO document (1952) defined a slum as "a building, a group of buildings or area characterised by over crowding, deterioration, unsanitary conditions or absence of facilities or amenities which, because of these conditions or any of them, endanger the health, safety or morals of its inhabitants or the community".

The Oxford Universal Dictionary (1955: 1921) described the slum as "a street, alley, court, etc. situated in a crowded district of a town or city and inhabited by people of a low-class, by the very poor; a number of these streets are courts forming a thickly populated neighbourhoods or district of a squalid and wretched character".

Bergel (1970) defined that slums may be characterised by areas of sub-standard housing condition within a city. A slum is always an area. A single, neglected, building even in the worst stage of deterioration does not make a slum.
The Barath Sevak Samaj (1956) defined slum as "those parts of the city which may (on the face of it) be considered unfit for human habitation either because of the structures therein are old, or dilapidated, grossly congested and out of repair; or because it is impossible to preserve sanitation for want of sanitary facilities including ventilation, drainage, water supply etc; or because the sites by themselves are unhealthy".

A slum is generally characterised by inadequate housing, deficient facilities, over-crowding and congestion. Sociologically it is a way of life, a subculture with a set of norms and values, which is reflected in poor sanitation and health practices, deviant behaviour, and characteristic attributes of apathy and social isolation. People living in slum areas are isolated from the general power structure and regarded as inferior, and slum dwellers, in turn harbour suspicions of the outside world (Clinard 1970: 3).

All these observations and definitions imply that a slum is basically a sub-standard residential area occupied by poverty stricken people. The importance of distinguishing slum from physical aspects to social aspects is an essential one. It is basically a problem of the attitudes and behaviour of people and of the indifference of the community to the neglect and victimisation of the underprivileged (Coleman 1953: 41).

Hunter (1964) observes that "the attitude of the slum dweller toward the slum itself, toward the city of which the slum..."
is a part, towards his own chances of getting out, toward the people who control things, toward the 'system' are the elements which determine whether or not it is possible to do something about slums. This is what makes slums a human problem rather than a problem of finance and real estate.

The early ecologists explained that the slum develops within the zone surrounding the central business district (Burgess 1925). The city as it grows about its central business district, a belt of bleak, barren, root begrimed physically deteriorated neighbourhoods. In these neighbourhoods, the undesirable and those of low, economic status group are segregated by the unremitting competition of the economic process in which land value, rentals and wages are fixed (Zorbaugh 1929). The slum develops in to an area of high land value but cheap rents - a curious competition that results from the lands being held pawn on the assumption that the central business district expand bringing into this area high priced rental units like hotels and business firms.

Zorbaugh (1929: 128-129) classified slum dwellers according to the lengths of time and the reasons for their presence in slums into four groups - the lower class action seekers, the working class routine seekers, the lower class maladjusted, and the working class mobiles. The action and routine seekers are socially non-mobile. The maladjusted are those who are unable to control their behaviour patterns because of personal inadequacies. The working class mobiles and also the first two
groups are characterised by particular conceptions of living ways of responding to opportunities and choices.

Hoyt's (1939) sector theory projected the city patterns as a pie, divided into wedge-shaped sections. Industrial areas follow river valleys, water courses and rail road lines out from the centre and working men's houses cluster along them, with factories tending to locate even at the fringe of the city.

In pre-industrial cities the central areas were generally inhabited by elite, with slums located on the peripheries where houses toward the city's fringe are small, flimsly constructed often one-roomed hovels into which whole families crowd. The disadvantages of distant location are borne by the poorest. This pattern of slum development is seen in the extensive squatter or shanti-towns that has sprung up around the cities of Asia, Africa and Latin American Countries. In some instances they are located closely to the central city on un-occupied or undesirable land (Sjoberg 1960).

Stokes (1962) proposes a descriptive theory taking into account the psychological attitude towards the possibility of success in moving up through the class structure by assimilation or acculturation to full participation in economic and social life of the community, termed as hope and despair. A measure of socio-economic handicaps and barriers suffered by the slum dwellers which characterise them either/escalator class or non-escalator class. Thus, he classifies slum dwellers in to four
namely (a) escalator with hope, (b) escalator in despair, (c) non escalator with hope and (d) non-escalator in despair. Slum dwellers of (a) and (c) groups are self-eliminating if the society has time to wait and provide opportunities for economic growth. The problem of the elimination of the (b) and (d) groups requires a therapy.

Sleely (1959) classified slum dwellers into permanent necessitarians, permanent opportunists, temporary necessitarians and temporary opportunists. In this four broad based categories he also described twelve sub-types. Among the permanent necessitarians were grouped indolent, adjusted, poor and outcasts. In the case of permanent opportunists fugitives unfindables, models and sporting crowd are included. The temporary necessitarians include respectable poor, and those who are trapped. The temporary opportunists are the beginners, climbers and entrepeneurs.

Abrams (1964: 4) classified slums according to their physical setting, overcrowding, permanence of the inhabitants, degree of organisation among the residents, and types of problems presented. Accordingly he attempted to classify the slums in United States in to eleven types (1) metro-politan slum (2) rural slum (3) ghetto (4) company slum (5) perpetuated slum (6) depopulated slum (7) over run slum (8) hand-me-down slum (9) regenerated slum (10) home-owned slum and (11) potential slum (Abrams 1946: 22-28). Blair (1964: 47) categorised four major types: squalid tenements and working-men's houses without toilets and baths,
twilight zones of overcrowded and decaying *x-middleclass housing*,
the 'urban villages' or ghettos of colour, kith, and kin which
have names like 'little Italy', 'Black Belt', or Spanish Harlem,
and finally in the third-class commerical areas - the 'urban
dungeon' or skid row of single men, transients, illicit but
desired services etc.

In India, slums are classified on the basis of physical
apperance, origin, characteristics and regional socio-cultural
and linguistic variations into a number of brands. In Delhi,
slum settlements outside the central city in open areas in a
thick cluster of kutcha houses were called 'bastis'. Frequent
unauthorised manner. The traditional single room tenements
constructed in rows to capacity within a compound or enclosure
having a single common entrance and facilities is known as
katras which were popular even in pre-British days. The recent
squatter settlements of Delhi are known as 'Jhuggi-Jhompri'
settlements (Singh and D'Souza 1980: 6-7).

In Bombay, two or three storied tenement buildings with
common entrance and facilities having slum characteristics are
known as 'chawls'. Hutments very closely constructed with tin,
iron sheets or other materials are known as 'batra chawls'.
Squatter settlements consisting of hovels made up of variety of
hard and soft materials are known as 'zopad pattis'. In Kanpur,
old urban fringe villages which form part of the city because
of expansion are called 'abadis' and 'ahadas'.
In Calcutta, slums are known as 'bustles', a Bengali term denoting a village or hamlet. It is later used to denote the temporary (Kutcha construction) settlements of the jute mill workers. By and large, most of the slum settlements in Calcutta have come up on private lands with a 'tikka tenancy' system (three tier). The land owners collect rent, the hut owners pay rent to land owners and collect rent from tenants (Singh and D' Souza 1980: 8-9).

In Madras, the term 'cheri' was used to refer to slums until recently. Cheri is a Tamil word for hamlet, and was most often used to refer to "untouchable" hamlets located outside the main village. The quarters of the pariahs are known as paracheri and the quarters of Edaiyas are Edacheri. However, by corruption in usage, a slum was known as cheri in Tamil in colloquial parlance. The use of cheri in official records and correspondence was banned by the Government of Madras in 1957 (Nambiar 1965: 5). The ecological analysis of slums in Indian cities has brought out distinct structural and organisational patterns of slums. On the basis of location and predominant economic and cultural patterns Singh (1972) classified slums into four types (1) Central City Slum, (2) Residential Area Slum, (3) Industrial Area Slum and (4) Squatter Settlement.

Approaches to the Slum Problem in India:

Jawaharalal Nehru remarked on the problem of slum as "They are a blot on the society's conscience - it is bad enough

*See Appendix E.*
to inherit slums but to allow them to grow is the society's fault; the Government's fault" (TNSCB 1971).

"Every time I have visted them .... I return with a certain feeling a numbness and an urgent desire to have something done to remove these slums" (Bharath Sevak Samaj 1958).

During the pre-independence years slum improvement, if any were left to the discretion of the slum landlords and middle men. However, after the strengthening of the Municipal institutions some attention was focussed from 1930. During the First Five Year Plan (1951-56) there was little reference to this issue. The earliest attempt towards this problem was through the subsidised Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme introduced in 1956. A Central Act of Slum Improvement and Clearance was enacted in the same year. During the Second (1956-61) and Third (1961-66) Five Year Plan Periods the scheme was under the control of the Union Government. The Union Government released funds while the State Governments executed the scheme. However, these experiments proved futile. The constructed tenements for the relocation purpose by and large remained beyond the reach of the slum dwellers (TNSCB 1971). Even those who had occupied the tenements left it soon creating new slums adjacent to the old one. Few subletted their tenements for higher rent.

During 1972, it was realised that improvement of slums at site would be preferable than to a policy of clearance and relocation and hence, the Union Government introduced the Central Scheme for Environmental Improvement in Slum Areas. This scheme
seeks to provide one water tap for every 150 persons, one community bath for 20-50 persons, one lavatory seat for 20-50, one street light 30 metres apart besides open sewer drains, storm water drains and widening and paving of lanes. The cost of providing these services was fixed at Rs.150 per beneficiary but subsequently this was raised to Rs.300.

In some of the Metropolitan Cities like, Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras the scheme was introduced and the Union Government sanctioned funds to the State Governments for the execution. During the Fifth Five Year Plan Period (1974-79) it was made part of Minimum Needs Programme.

In the various schemes taken up so far for dealing with the slum problem, three basic approaches are discernible. One is traditional, and that is to view the slum as incompatiable 'per se'. It seeks to remove slums altogether and rehouse the dwellers in tenements. The second approach of improvement to existing slums clearly recognises the magnitude of the problem, especially in the larger cities and considers it is impossible to mobilise the resources needed for rehousing. This approach seeks to ensure at least some minimal conditions of environmental hygiene and basic facilities to slum dwellers. Lastly the programme for open, developed plots recognises that at the present economic level certain income groups are priced out of the city. This approach favours the creation of settlements with sanitary requirements but allows flexibility as regard the housing structure.
During the Sixth Plan Period 10 million slum dwellers were targeted for coverage with an outlay of Rs. 151 crores. A Town and Country Planning Organisation (TCPO 1985) compendium reveals that the scheme had a slow start and in the first three years of the sixth plan 44.7 per cent of the target was achieved.

Besides the scheme of the Environment Improvement of Urban Slums, there are three other schemes - the Urban Community Development, the Small and Medium Town Development and the Low Cost Sanitation through which basic services to the slums are sought to be provided. It has now been decided to bring all these three schemes under a single programme called the 'Urban Basic Services Programme', to be implemented with the co-operation and participation of the urban slum dwellers. It is proposed to utilise the services of the volunteers through slum improvement committees. The cost of the project is to be shared by the Union Government, the State and the Local Bodies in the ratio of 2:1:1. The UNICEF has promised an assistance of $ 9.2 million for this programme (TCPO 1985).

Studies of Slums in India:

Slum life has been studied as part of major surveys and as interesting newspaper reports by number of scholars over a period of time. Frequent seminars on slum clearance, slum improvement and welfare of slum dwellers have been organised by philanthropic voluntary agencies, academic bodies, government agencies, etc. In Calcutta a systematic socio-economic survey was conducted by Sen (1960) during 1954-58. Starting with this a number of studies have been published periodically by
of the study. The investigator carried out a preliminary study of all the 102 slum settlements to collect the primary data on the number of households, slum organisation, caste composition, predominant occupational pattern, the extent of land, tenure pattern, etc., during April - May 1981.

The preliminary analysis of the city slums shows that there are 22 Central City Slums, 47 Residential Slums and 33 Industrial Slums accommodating 64034 households. On an average each slum area is spread over 3.44 acres of land and houses 628 slum households. With regard to tenure status 40 per cent of the slums are on Government land, 38 per cent are in private land and 22 per cent have mixed ownership status.

Sample Frame:

In order to understand the characteristic features of different types of slums, it was decided to select two slum areas from each type of slum by random method. The location of slums selected for study are given the map (Figure 1). In view of time and resource constraints it was decided to allot a quota of seventy respondents for each type of slum for detailed interview of heads of households. After listing all the households in the selected slum areas by applying systematic random choice respondents were selected for interview. Table 2.4 gives the sample frame of the study.
Table: I.4. SAMPLE FRAME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slum Type</th>
<th>Total Number of Households</th>
<th>Number of Households Selected</th>
<th>Chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central City 1</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central City 2</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential 1</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential 2</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial 1</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial 2</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2730</strong></td>
<td><strong>210</strong></td>
<td><strong>1/13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As could be seen in the table, from the six slum settlements selected for the detailed interview, approximately every thirteenth household had a chance of getting selected. Since the Central City Slum had more households than the other two slums, every fifteenth household has been selected and in the other two cases every twelfth household was selected. This works out to a choice of approximately eight per cent households from the sample slums.

Tools of Data Collection:

To start with, a slum schedule was prepared to collect information on the nature, occupational pattern, physical location, general characteristics, tenure status etc., of each slum and information was collected from all the 102 slums.
A comprehensive household schedule was prepared incorporating personal profile, housing status, environmental condition, religious practice, political participation, social participation, interpersonal relations, health care and recreational practice of the respondents.

The traits of culture of poverty were converted into questions relevant to Indian conditions and the attitude was graded on five point scale. A comprehensive culture of poverty scale was constructed containing 82 questions. After a field study item analysis was done and 64 questions emerged accounting for a total of 320 scores on the scale.

Field observations, depth interviews and case studies were also used as tools for gathering field data.

Pretest:

The finalised household schedule and the culture of poverty scale were administered to 30 respondents from different slums. In the light of the experience, the wording of certain questions were changed and necessary modifications were made to elucidate information and remove ambiguity. Some of the questions were also reorganised to have a continuous flow instead of jumping from one aspect to another. Some of the terms were changed to quicken the perception of the respondents in the local situations. In the light of the experience after suitable modification the household schedule was finalised for administration.
The field work in slums was carried out from September 1931 to May 1932, a period of nine months. The researcher stayed in Madurai and interviewed the respondents in the slum situation. The interviews had to be carried out either in morning hours or evening and night. Invariably each respondent took two to two and half hours on an average. With illiterate respondents, in expressing their opinion on five point scale lot of discussion and identification through visual aids were necessary. The researcher devised a colour scheme in keeping with local conventions of approval and disapproval. Five colour cards were spread before the respondent and was asked to express his view in terms of his association or dissociation with the statement. Red, which is associated with stop and danger was considered for negative attitude, orange for moderately negative attitude, yellow for a neutral attitude, light green for positive attitude and dark green for strongly positive attitude towards the issue. Generally green colour convey pleasantness and is used for on word move. In traffic signalling system in Madurai, red, yellow and green are used at different stages to which people are accustomed. Vocal and visual methods were used to elicit the attitude gradation of illiterates. In the case of educated and well informed respondents there was no difficulty in eliciting information. On an average two to three respondents only could be interviewed per day. Many side issues and local problems used to be represented by the respondents and the researcher had to listen all this patiently and carry out the interview.
Initially the respondents had doubts about the researcher as a government officer inspite of being told about the purpose and the organisation the researcher represents. After initial reservations even the children in the slum used to show and run behind by calling the researcher as "collegecar" (Meaning: person from the college). So, in all the six slums the researcher was known by the nick name "collegecar" talking with the heads of the households and discussing with him.

Generally the researcher avoided collecting information from respondents when they were drunk. In some cases, where the respondents were under the influence of liquor and insisted on being listened to, the investigator had no choice but to record the proceedings and later throw it to dust bin. Again when the same respondent was in his normal mood his responses were better balanced. Only three such instances happened. Many a time the respondents themselves avoided discussion with the researcher when they are drunk. Sometimes, the housewives tried to give some false reasons of illness when the head of the household was under the influence of liquor.

In the initial stage when the researcher started interviewing, many neighbors used to collect around and their presence influenced the nature of the response of the head of households. Under such conditions the researcher had to shift the discussion to general topics of slum life and other common issues. In certain instances, the researcher persuaded others to give privacy by explaining to them the personal nature of the
interview. Within two to three weeks the news of the interviewer spread throughout the area and the initial charm of gathering crowd disappeared facilitating better atmosphere for interview. In a few instances, one or two days after the interview respondents came to the researcher to change some of their earlier responses, and such things were also carried out by making necessary alterations.

**Chapter Organisation:**

The introductory chapter gives a historic account of urbanisation, slum growth, nature, type and theories of slum, approaches to slum problem, slum dweller's welfare, the need for culture of poverty studies in India followed by methodology and objectives of the study.

In the chapter on personal profile, the personal data of the respondents in the three types of slum is discussed in detail. The next chapter is devoted to an understanding of the housing facilities and physical environmental condition in the slum. Chapter three discusses the religious practice, faith in family deity worship, participation in religious ceremony and the role of religion as a bridge of social integration. The political activeness of the slum dwellers in terms of their awareness, participation, involvement in political activities and their knowledge of the elected representatives and the role of various types of leaders in solving slum problems are discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter five deals with various aspects of social relationships as well as friendship ties among slum dwellers. The level of health of slum dwellers as reflected in the incidence of illness, duration of illness and institution sought for medical services are described in the next chapter. The extent of liquor addiction, type of liquor used for consumption, frequency and expenditure on liquor and opinion on prohibition among slum dwellers is presented next. The recreational choice, newspaper reading and radio listening habits are the other aspects presented in chapter six.

The next six chapters deal with the same aspects starting with personal profile and ending in health, liquor habits and recreation in terms of different levels of culture of poverty groups as well as slum types. Invariably each aspect is discussed by culture of poverty groups followed by culture of poverty within different types of slums. The last chapter is devoted to the consolidated presentation of summary and conclusion of the study.
REFERENCES


Zorbaugh, Harvey. 1929. The Gold Coast and the Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago.