CHAPTER III

RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE
OF ALIGARH CITY
There is no uniformity of plan of the dwellings Units in urban residential areas of cities and even of localities of a city. Socioeconomic factors and historical facts through which a city has passed, are the resultant factors influencing the growth of residential areas. Earlier a number of factors viz., its site or location, bazar (market) in its vicinity, pre-existing land use, place of worship etc. had determining effect on the pattern of a particular residential area.

Apart from the above factors heavy industries ownership of land, lease system, availability of transport and above all the Laws and by laws of a municipality have bearing on the pattern of dwelling units of a city. Besides the urban folks are not identical in the requirement and preferences. They also differ in their purpose of building a dwelling unit or units. Pattern of houses also very according to income of the family, its resources, size of the family, education of its members and their aptitude. Difference of social status, learning, aptitude, family income has contributed to the setting up of pockets & formation of different strata in a residential locality. The author, in this chapter, have ventured to analyse the existing residential patterns. What has been the concept of residential pattern in city is briefly discussed in this chapter.
3.1 RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF CITIES

Residential areas are not affected by one factor alone but by numerous factors. Pockets are formed on the basis of religion, caste/sub castes and social economical and financial status of the dwellers. Moreover education, aesthetic tastes and views of the people of the locality so divide the areas that they seldom mingle with one another. Topography of the residential areas also plays an important role in the divide. Lanes, by-lanes, and the houses of the people make the residential area a sub-system in a city system. Hence the residential patterns are not independent but are influenced by various factor as mentioned earlier. The demographic sub-system affects housing demand by supplying larger or smaller numbers of house holds and by withdrawing larger or smaller numbers of house-holds through dilapidation or out-migration.

The economic sub-system affects the residential pattern of a locality. Availability of jobs, shapes the occupational structure of the city's work-force plays its own part. This in turn, determines the economic status of population, their competitive ability for housing and housing requirements. The location of employment also affects house-holds critically as many employees try to minimise travelling distance. This results in the high population density of zone
surrounding the central business district of the city. This is reflected to some extent in the old Indian Cities also but not as strongly as in the modern days because in old days most of the production activity was carried out in the dwelling units of the craftsmen.\textsuperscript{2}

People prefer to reside in the areas where they can get company of the people having the like socio-cultural values and norms. The kind of home required, the kind of neighbours and the kind of residential area desired are closely related with the social values that a particular segment of population holds. It is observed that other things being equal, Muslims generally prefer homes with large courtyards surrounded by high walls, while Hindus tend to prefer houses with little or no court-yard. Muslim women stay and work within the house while Hindu women may work and pass time outside the house. Therefore an open and large courtyard is a necessity of Muslim household.

Similarly, the concept of purity, pollution, and caste system has led to the residential segregation of untouchable in the peripheral zones. Thus, they are secluded from the core activity to minimise chances of their contact with caste Hindus. Finally, the sub-system of finance and controls such as availability of housing subsidies, public housing funds, construction, industry capacity etc. exercise great deal of influence over the
volume and type of housing that had been and are being constructed.

### 3.2. MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

We have noticed that residential patterns depend much on social differences of the inhabitants in different parts of the city. Social differences are various which influence the divide in different parts of the city. Social causes which are responsible for the division have been discussed under the heading RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS. Apart from the social area analysis which uses theoretical constructs to comprehend the reality of social patterns, a great many researchers of modern days have analysed different forms of multivariates responsible for the differentiation in the setting up of pockets over the city space. Some of the factors analysed by these researchers are linkage cluster analysis, Principal component analysis and common factor analysis which according to them play an important role in the pocket formation in a locality. Though these multivariate analysis methodologically differ from the social area analysis in that the former derives the dimensions of differentiation from the available numerical information, the latter tends to impose theoretically driven categories on the available data. The major findings in large conform with each other. It will be fruitful to discuss the dimensions of
spatial differentiation of household as seen in cross-cultural analysis by various researchers.

3.3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Almost all the societies, irrespective of caste and religion, have inequalities in terms of wealth, power and access to resources. These inequalities will always exist and play an important role in social stratification. Some households always remain richer and higher in social status than others and hence the two do not mix up. Societies that live upto certain code maintain clear cut distance from the people of different strata and avoid mixing with them. But now with the advent of social reforms and uprising, social distances are not only decreasing but are extinct. Industrialization has also helped in decreasing the social distances and in increasing mobility between groups of different status.

In multivariate analysis of data including variables bearing upon the social stratification in a society, there always emerge a dimension of socioeconomic status. In majority of cases there is found only one such dimension. This dimension has been named variously as "socioeconomic status", "social rank", "social status", "economic development", economic status", and "affluence". The variables which are found to load usually high on this factor are indicators of
income, occupational structure, educational attainment, value of home owned or rent paid, and material possessions of the households.  

The Socioeconomic status, educational attainment and above average income are directly related to value of house and division in professional and managerial work force. Hence the areas of the city inhabited by people of high status having above average income are those which have large numbers of professionals, less manual workers. Large number of people of such areas receive high income and live in high valued houses. Conversely, areas showing low scores on this factor contain few professionals, more manual workers, few persons with above average educational or income levels and below average value houses. The correlation among these variables are found strong and the factors generally explains most of the variances seen in urban residential differentiation. 

In cities of the developing world, this dimension is also found to be strongly related with minority group memberships, as epitomised in the concept of caste and more general differences in way of life. Despite variation in the indicators used to measure the socioeconomic status in changing societal context, this dimension is universal and has proved consistent cross-culturally.
3.4. FAMILY STATUS

Family status is yet another factor causing differences in households over city space. Earlier the families were living jointly and their business too was joint. Their place of work and the place of residence was one and the same. This joint family system is still prevalent in less industrialised countries. Increased mass production has eroded the household basis or production organisation. Industrialisation had led to the separation of working places and dwelling places. The place of extended or joint families is being taken by nuclear families. Not only this, the joint families having a large number of children prefer to live away from center location while youngers stressing career opt for more central location. This tendency has strong bearing on the size of household, age structure and marital status of the population of urban areas. Volume of production has put women in dilemma. They may opt either the role of a mother or of a worker. If the job require them to stay away from houses once again affects the life style of families. Women preferring career to family life strengthening the trend towards family nucleation.

There are no two opinions alike to brand this trend. Those who have studied the subject deeply believe that more than one dimension is associated with the
measures of 'family type', 'age structure or marital status. The most common labels to this dimensions are 'family status', 'age structure', 'stage in life style' proginiture, familism, and suburbanism.6

This dimension or factor is usually found to be highly correlated with the age structure of the population, size of household, fertility, marital status family type, housing type, and housing age. Thus, dominant factor appears to be one indicating differences in what Bell has termed 'familism', a way of life characterised by a concern with family characteristics rather than with those relating to careers or consumption.7 Thus a large number of people having great concern for family characteristics have many young children, few old people and few unmarried adults. This can be seen in areas situated some distance away from the inner city and characterised by single family houses.

Since most of the variables considered to characterise household composition are not strongly related with each other, subsequent addition of detailed demographic and family characteristics of the population breaks up the single factor of family status into a series of more specific factor relating to different age groups and different stages of the family cycle. However, the linkage of the various demographic
variables appear universal, but there is much less factor or factors to such variables as the proportion of women working outside the home. In Calcutta, Berry and Rees report that female employment is related to the differences between Hindus and Muslim areas rather than to familism. Where the same way as they do to men, a separate female careerism factor may emerge. The evidence based upon direct experience or observation suggests that there exist several factors associated with the family status rather than one.

It may, therefore, be more realistic to differentiate a set of related factor all of which highlight some aspects of the familism but every one of which has specific meanings individually. The fact whether there are many or a single factor explaining the family status depends largely on the variables used in analysis and socio-cultural characteristics of the society concerned.

3.5. ETHNIC STATUS

The city space can be differentiated on the ground of racial, national, religious and linguistic origin of the households. Cities in the past were more or less homogenous in these characteristics of the households. However, increased, demand of labour and skill requirements, is an outcome of industrialisation and modernisation have resulted in attracting people of
diverse origins to the cities. Thus, the ethnic heterogeneity has been posited as a general characteristic of the modern cities and there are only few cities which appear to be essentially homogenous in their ethnic composition.

If variables measuring the proportion of sub-areas population that belongs to one or other distinct group in the society were included in the analysis, in most cases a dimension associated with that group emerged from the analysis. Depending on the nature of variables used to measure the ethnic status of the households of the sub-areas, the resulting factors were variously, labelled, as 'segregation', 'ethnic status', 'racial status, race and resources' or the minorities factors.10

This sort of dimension arranges tracts in a continuum, at one end of which are concentrations of the particular ethnic groups referred to in the label for the factor and at the other end of which the tracts contain relatively few of the ethnic groups. However, it is interesting to note that if more information relating to ethnic city is included, a larger number of factors sometimes pertaining to broad individual ethnic groups, are found to explain spatial differentiation. In the case of developing countries sometimes the ethnic structure is related with the variables of socioeconomic status. Berry in his study of Calcutta found that
segregation of population by caste was related with the professional and educational characteristics of the populations.\textsuperscript{11}

3.6. OTHER DIMENSIONS

Apart from these three major dimensions of spatial differentiation of household which are more or less universal, other more specific dimensions are also found. The most common among them are "housing status" and "mobility status". But in cases, where familism is not so prominent or more information regarding houses is input, there is found a dimension of housing status. In analyses which include such variables as moment rates, population change etc. a bipolar 'mobility -stability' dimensions is obtained. Except these two many other dimensions obtained in the analyses are generally specific socially and culturally for instance, the traditional commercial communities factor in Calcutta.\textsuperscript{12}

3.7 VARIABLE SELECTED

In the present analysis of Aligarh city, the author has used thirty eight variables for the factor analysis (Appendix B). These variables are selected keeping in mind the personality of Aligarh and the theoretical constructs of social area analysis. As such, they are chosen as indicators of socioeconomic status, family status, housing status and ethnic status. These major categories of residential differentiation were
subdivided into variable subsets as income, education, occupation, demographic characteristics, households, religion, tenure. Income is indicated by six variables, education by five variables, occupation by eight variables, demographic by four, households by seven, religion by three, tenure by two and housing size by three. In selecting the variables to represent various dimensions of the residential patterns, care was taken to select such variables which directly describe the status of residential characteristics of the areas. The process variables are generally ignored. Moreover, certain variables common to many factor analysis of the western cities are not taken note of because of two reasons firstly that they are not relevant or significant in Indian conditions and secondly due to the limitation of the computer programme where in the number of variables should not exceed the number of unit areas. The variables are generally measured on ratio scale and in several cases values are reduced to the total population so that wards of the city comparable to each other.

3.8 FACTOR STRUCTURE

The factor analysis of 38 variables related to the socioeconomic characteristics of population of 40 wards of Aligarh city yields four major factors which together account for 75.00% per cent of the total variance in the
residential structure of Aligarh city (Table XII). Examination of the rotated factor loadings (Table XIII, XIV, XV, XVI) on these factors rendered them to be labelled as dimensions of socioeconomic status, family status, housing status and ethnic status. As regards the contribution of total variance, it is found that socioeconomic status explains 26.73 per cent, of the total variance, the family status 19.24 per cent, housing status 17.19 per cent and Ethnic status 11.83 per cent of the total variance of Residential structure. These results interestingly enough are in close conformity with the factor structure of the western cities though their explanation is not as simple.

Table XII

Residential Structure of Aligarh City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Per cent of Total Variance Explained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Socioeconomic status</td>
<td>26.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Family Status</td>
<td>19.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Housing Status</td>
<td>17.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ethnic Status</td>
<td>11.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Per cent of total variance explained by four factors 75.00

Source: Based on field Survey (1995).
It is a general notion that the cities of the underdeveloped world in general and those of India in particular display a single integrated factor of socioeconomic and family status (these two are weakly independent), and ethnic status by religion and caste is the second important factor.\textsuperscript{13} Contrary to this general belief and findings, the present analysis of Aligarh shows that socioeconomic status and family status are two independent factors though for quite different reasons. It is also interesting to note that there is a separate and significant dimension of housing status that ranks third in order, while ethnic status seems to be less significant dimension as it takes fourth position. It should be emphasised that the last factor is highly related with the variables of socioeconomic status. However, interpretation of these factors needs caution as relationships exhibited are complex and can only be understood in the context of historical development of the social areas of the city.

3.8.1 Factor 1: Socioeconomic Status of the sampled households

The first factor is closely identified with the socioeconomic status (Table XIII). The nature of this factor is clearly defined by the high loadings of six income variables two occupational variables, five educational variables. Besides these very high loadings,
high loadings of secondary importance are shown by two occupational variables, one ethnic variable and one demographic variable. This latter category of the variables is also related to the socioeconomic status in one or the other way. These variables can be regarded as the basic indicants of the socioeconomic status.

The higher status is associated with the positive sign of the variables which represent high level of socioeconomic well-being. On the other hand, variables representing lower status are negatively loaded on this factor. Thus median income, per cent households with income (Rs.1500-3000) per cent households with income (Rs.3000-4500), (Rs.4500-6000) and per cent households with income above (Rs.6000), per cent educated upto primary level, per cent educated above primary level but upto higher secondary level, per cent educated above higher secondary level but upto graduate level, per cent upto postgraduate level, professional worker, managerial workers and female literacy all load high and positively on this factor, while small income households (with income below Rs.1500) load negatively. Beside these, other workers, service workers load moderately negative while the caste Hindu population shows a marginal positive relationships with this dimension. All these variables are remarkably consistent in their magnitude and sign of the loadings.
Table XIII

Socioeconomic status of the sampled households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Income**

1. Median Income 0.85820

2. Per cent households with income less than (Rs 1500) -0.76663

3. Per cent households with income (Rs 1500-3000) 0.65109

4. Per cent households with income (Rs 3000-4500) 0.71353

5. Per cent households with income (Rs 4500-6000) 0.69645

6. Per cent households with income (above Rs 6000) 0.81785

**Education**

7. Per cent female literacy 0.70933

8. Per cent educated upto primary level 0.87431

9. Per cent educated above primary level but upto higher secondary level 0.71616

10. Per cent educated above higher secondary level but upto graduate level 0.82616

11. Per cent post-graduate level 0.78487
Occupation

12. Per cent professional 0.74697
13. Per cent managerial 0.74022
14. Per cent clerical 0.22702
15. Per cent sales workers 0.22285
16. Per cent service worker -0.49526
17. Per cent businessmen 0.27373
18. Per cent craftsmen -0.17792
19. Per cent other workers -0.57523

Demographic Characteristics

20. Fertility rate -0.04492
21. Sex Ratio 0.22159
22. Per cent working population (15-59 of age) 0.44620
23. Dependency ratio -0.12401

Households

24. Per cent households (with one family) 0.24953
25. Per cent households (with two families) 0.12255
26. Per cent households (with three families) -0.12020
27. Per cent households (with more than three families) -0.02583
28. Average size of households 0.12588
29. Per cent small households
   (households with less than
   six members) 0.32604

30. Per cent large households
   (households with more than
   six members) -0.06423

Religion

31. Per cent Caste Hindu 0.48185
32. Per cent Caste Muslim 0.18454
33. Per cent Others -0.11948

Tenure

34. Per cent renter occupied 0.11944
35. Per cent personal occupied
   (house owner) 0.11843

Housing size

36. Per cent small dwellings
   (with less than three rooms) -0.28622
37. Per cent medium dwellings
   (with between three to six rooms) 0.27862
38. Per cent large dwellings
   (with more than six rooms) 0.23754

Per cent of total variance explained 26.73

Source: Based on field survey (1995).

The highest positive loading is shown by per cent educated upto primary level (0.87431), which is followed by median income (0.85820) and per cent educated above higher secondary level but upto graduate level (0.82616). These variables are closely followed by per cent households with income above, Rs.6000,
In the social and economic setup of India, education is not only a means to get a respectable job but also a mark of social status. This explains not only very high loadings of educational variables on this factor but also a high association with the median income and high income population as income of households determine level of access to education. Higher the income, greater the number of children going to school. High positive loadings of professional workers (0.74697) and managerial (0.74022). These variables show almost equal loadings and female literacy (0.70933) as well as high negative loading of small income households below Rs1500 (-0.76663) can be understood in terms of association of these variable with the level of socioeconomic status of the population. Relationship of income with the socioeconomic status is direct and so is the case of professional and managerial workers as their special skills earn large income. Literacy, in the situation of mass literacy as in India, is sign of socioeconomic status. However, it takes on added significance in the case of females as due to certain social taboos and poverty which even prevents education of males, female literacy is very low. Therefore, a high rate of female literacy characterises high status social group.
(landlordism) very adversely affected Muslim population, while Hindu population primarily engaged in commercial and business activities remained largely unaffected and financially sound. Moreover, industrialisation has also adversely affected a majority of Muslim populace who have been basically craftmen. Decline of socioeconomic status of the Muslim population and increase of that of Hindu population go hand in hand. This explains relatively a significant loading by the caste Hindu population on this dimension. However, significant as it is the association of the caste Hindus with high socioeconomic status is not too high to suggest a definite conclusion. The loading shows simply an edge which this section of population has over rest of the population.

Positive and marginally significant loading of the working age population on the socioeconomic status is perhaps typical of cities in the developing countries and reflects differential pattern of fertility behaviour of different social strata. Population of India shows a bottom heavy age structure which is characteristic of the growing population in most of the developing countries. This is mainly due to generally high fertility and relatively low mortality. But a segment of this population, the privileged minority which enjoys a high socioeconomic status reveals a demographic
behaviour which is typical of the western societies. That is, the fertility rate in the elite group is low accompanied by a low mortality rate. This is perhaps the result of 'social capillarity' action as explained by Dumont. Since the majority of population in India lives below subsistence level and access to resources is not equal, the size of family means nothing to the mass of population in terms of socioeconomic status lost or gained through division of property among off-springs. On the contrary, the elite group is conscious towards socioeconomic status and in order to maintain or to increase it, this group exercises regulation over fertility. This makes the population of this elite minority older than the general population. Therefore, proportion of the working age population in the city of developing world is to some extent related with the socioeconomic status. This explains whatever little association of this population is observed with the high socioeconomic status in Aligarh.

Thus, Factor 1 because of its close association with the measures of income, occupation, and education appears to be a dimension of socioeconomic status as hypothesised in the social area analysis and confirmed by a number of studies in the residential characteristics of occidental and oriental cities.
The lower income households living in jhuggi/jhopdi in the Delhi Gate Mohalla.

In the usman para Mohalla where lower/medium income households resides, open clogged drain are found.
Fig. 13 shows the spatial differentiation of socioeconomic status factor in the city of Aligarh. The factor scores which are standardised measures of the ward on this factor have been divided into three class intervals: high, medium and low. The high status scores are more than +1.25 standard deviation from the mean (0.0). The category of medium status ranges from -1.25 to +1.25 standard deviation. Wards showing factor scores less than -1.25 standard deviation are grouped in the class of low socioeconomic status.

The low status areas are found in the core of the city consisting of ward number 22, 24, 26, 31, and 37 (Fig. 13 and Appendix-C). Other low status areas are on the periphery comprising of only one ward, which is ward number 32 outside the core of low status and lying contiguous to it in the west is the area of high socioeconomic status. It spreads over ward number 27, 34, and 36. Apart from this there is another high status ward, ward eleven which is contiguous in the medium status area of the core. The high status of the core, which is the commercial centre of the old city, is characterised with very high socioeconomic status which is the result of business community. These wards have been the traditional place of their residence and work, therefore, in the changed situation this commercial centre in the residential core of the city has emerged
ALIGARH CITY
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

SOURCE: BASED ON FIELD SURVEY, 1995

FIG. 13
as the area of higher status groups. These sector is
dominated by exclusive residences of the business
community. Despite affluence people living in these
areas are not suburbanised. On enquiry during the field
survey it was found that affluent people lived in these
over-crowded areas only because they had lived there for
generations and felt attachment with the locality and
because they did not want to live away from their kins
and community of friends. It appears community and
social ties are strong to bind them with their mohallas.

Another high status area lying to the east of is
that the first part includes five wards, ward number
6,7,8,9, and 10 other two wards are found in the south­
east, ward number 3, and ward number 40. These wards are
inhabited by the university staff, mostly junior
executives and other professional and managerial
workers. An appreciable part of the population of these
areas consists of well-to-do business men.

The area of moderate socioeconomic status
surrounds the low status core and high status wards
eleven and spreads over the entire city. Moderate
socioeconomic wards are found in the peripheral as well
as in the core of the city. Ward number 1,2,4 and ward
number 5 in the eastern periphery, while ward number
15,20,23 and ward number 29 on the western periphery of
the city. The old city consist of ward number 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25, 28, 30, 33, 35, 38 and ward number 39.

3.8.2 Factor 2: Family status of the sampled households

This is the second most important factor explaining 19.24 per cent of the total variance. It is closely related with the variables of size of household, age structure and sex ratio (Table XIV). These relationships suggest that this is the dimension of family status which had so often been identified in many studies. The rotated factor shows that the highest loading is by average size households (0.87783) which is followed by large households (0.82087) and dependency ratio (0.82068). Later two variables are closely or almost equally loaded. High loading is also by sex ratio (0.71717), working age population (-0.76950) which is followed by households comprising of two families (0.69136). Households comprising of three and more than three families load (0.71230) and (0.70575) respectively, also load high on this factor. On the contrary the small households (-0.76966) and working age population (-0.76950) load negatively. In addition to these fertility rate also loads positively on this factor with a moderate strength (0.44027). The loadings of size of households, age structure, sex ratio and fertility rate are remarkably consistent in their sign. They clearly indicate the prevalence of traditional family structure which can be expected in the cities of
Table XIV

Family status of the sampled households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Median Income</td>
<td>-0.12575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Per cent households with income less than (Rs 1500)</td>
<td>0.16548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Per cent households with income (Rs 1500-3000)</td>
<td>0.28333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Per cent households with income (Rs 3000-4500)</td>
<td>-0.27768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Per cent households with income (Rs 4500-6000)</td>
<td>-0.19208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Per cent households with income above Rs 6000</td>
<td>-0.11746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Per cent female literacy</td>
<td>-0.04599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Per cent educated upto primary level</td>
<td>0.18245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Per cent educated above primary level but upto higher secondary level</td>
<td>0.13167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Per cent educated above higher secondary level but upto graduate level</td>
<td>0.08610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Per cent post-graduate level</td>
<td>0.03310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Per cent professional</td>
<td>-0.21868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Per cent managerial</td>
<td>0.04273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Per cent clerical</td>
<td>-0.17224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Per cent sales workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Per cent service workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Per cent Businessmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Per cent Craftsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Per cent other workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Demographic Characteristics</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Fertility rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Per cent working population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(15-59 of age)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Dependency ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Households</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Per cent households (with one family)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Per cent households (with households with two families)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Per cent households (with three families)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Per cent households (with more than three families)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Average size of households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Per cent small households (households with less than six members)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Per cent large households (households (with more than six members)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Per cent Caste Hindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Per cent Caste Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Per cent Others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tennure

34. Per cent renter occupied -0.21604

35. Per cent personal occupied
   (house owner) 0.31411

Housing size

36. Per cent small dwellings
    (with less than three rooms) 0.15274

37. Per cent medium dwellings
    (with between three to six rooms) 0.07379

38. Per cent large dwellings
    (with more than six rooms) -0.08694

Per cent of total variance explained 19.24

Source: Based on field survey (1995).

the developing world. Age structure in the developing
world particularly in India is generally bottom heavy
and emphasises youthfulness of the population. The high
loadings of dependency ratio (population 0-14 age group
to the population in 15-59 age group) signifies this
fact. On the otherhand the high loadings of average size
of household with those of large households and negative
high loading of small households point towards the large
family size.

Historically in the western cities high level of
urbanisation and economic development accompanied by
rising incomes have been associated with the nucleation
of families in terms of separate households. On the
contrary in Indian conditions of appalling population
pressure, least old age security, low incomes and
traditional family bonds tend to extend family size so that pooled income be used to substan the family. This is further fostered by the kinship structure of the society, kinship is necessary to obtain employment, to ascend on social status, to achieve political prestige and to gain materially from favours and patronage of high placed kins. This makes close relationship among the members of the clan and binds brothers and immediate cousins. Thus, in contrast to the nuclear family of the western cities, the eastern cities particularly ancient Indian cities have preserved expended family. However, a small minority of modernised and westernised persons prefer family nucleation but over whelming majority lives in the traditional extended family. Aligarh is no exception to this fact. This explains the high loadings of average size of household and large household with negative loading of the small family size on the dimension of family status.

The high positive loading of sex ratio (males per 1000 females) in conjunction with youthfulness of population and large family size again attests the low level of urbanisation as expressed by this dimension. Bouge points out in the United States "the urban areas have a preponderance of females, while rural areas have a preponderance of males". If we do not judge level of sex ratio in the developing urban societies against this
finding, there is every reason to believe that in a mature and stable urban society the sex ratio will tend to achieve its natural balance. However, in the developing societies the parent population from which urban population is derived generally shows an excess of males over females. The urbanism as a way of life may be expected to bring this ratio to its natural balance by ending prejudice against female child through increased education and by creating awareness of and providing facilities for health care so that risk of female deaths during their child bearing age is minimised. But, urbanisation in these countries is in its primacy. This is reflected in the sex ratio of the urban centres. Urbanisation as a process of the growth of population in urban areas result from the natural increase of the population as well as rural to urban migration. In the case of big urban centres it also includes migration from small urban centres. Migration to urban areas motivated by economic consideration is always male-selective in the developing countries where males are principal bread earners. This male-selective migration disbalances the sex ratio of the receiving areas in favour of males. This signifies the fact that a high and positive loading of sex ratio on this factor of family status indicates immaturity of urbanisation and failure of modernisation to end prejudice against females.
Also associated with the family status is fertility rate which again characterises a low level of urbanisation and material development. High fertility among a population distinguishes it from the population of western societies. Urbanisation with its concomitants tends to decrease fertility. Even in India natural growth of urban population is slower than that of rural one. This is the result of increased education, availability of recreation facilities, and other socioeconomic and psychological factors generated by urbanisation. However, the urban centres in India as well as in many developing countries are characterised by duality of values. On the one hand is a minority of highly modernised people and on the other is a majority of poor traditional people a large section of which derives its values system from its rural origin. Latter are less assimilated people in urban environment. This explains their demographic behaviour which is naturally characterised by a high fertility. Therefore, loading of fertility again emphasises the fact that the dimension of family status is associated with the low level of urbanisation in Aligarh.

Fig.14 shows the spatial patterns of family status that characterises the city. The high positive factor scores on this factor imply large average size of household, high dependency ratio, greater proportion of
ALIGARH CITY
FAMILY STATUS

FIG. 14

SOURCE: BASED ON FIELD SURVEY, 1995
large households, and high sex ratio. On the contrary high negative factor scores imply relatively high proportion of working age (15-59) population, and smaller size of household. Thus the high negative factor scores can be identified with the modernity of family or a high level of urbanisation, and high positive scores with traditionality of family or low level of urbanisation.

As shown in fig.14, the high factor scores (i.e. low family status) are concentrated in the core covering a large part of the old city. This means that core of the city hosts large households with a large number of children and disproportionate sex ratio which is in favour of males.

Medium factor scores (i.e. moderate family status) extends over area in the peripheral wards towards north, west and only one ward in the east. It surrounds high and low family status areas in the old city and adjoins with high family status areas on the western periphery. Due to medium level of factor scores it can be concluded that this area is inhabited by medium size households, with a relatively low proportion of children, a more or less balanced sex ratio.

The low factor scores (i.e. high family status) are registered in both old and new areas of the city. In old part, they occur in an intermediate zone between the
The lower income households having big families living in one room in Turkman Gate Mohalla.
core of low family status and peripheral zone of medium family status. However, the high family status gets a prominence in the eastern periphery. The inner zone of high family status includes wards where people of high and medium socioeconomic status particularly from business communities live. The outer zone of high family status in the east includes wards which developed later under the process of suburbanisation. The majority of the residents of those wards belong to political, industrial, business and professional elites. They form the core of the westernised or modernised population of the city. It is, therefore, natural that these wards are characterised by small family, small proportion of children and a low fertility, all emphasising modernity of family by the western standards.

3.8.3 Factor 3: Housing status of the sampled households

Factor 3 is strongly related to the measures of house occupancy, size of houses, and certain occupational variables (Table XV). This factor isolates those residential characteristics which bear upon housing status with an emphasis on the occupational status of the occupants. Generally, there is found a strong relationship between family status and housing status in the western cities. Most of the social area analyses use the indicators of family status and housing status together to analyse family status. However, in
Table XV

Housing status of the sampled households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Income**

1. Median Income  
2. Per cent households with income less than (Rs 1500)  
3. Per cent households with income (Rs 1500-3000)  
4. Per cent households with income (Rs 3000-4500)  
5. Per cent households with income between (Rs 4500-6000)  
6. Per cent households with income (above Rs 6000)  

**Education**

7. Per cent female literacy  
8. Per cent educated upto primary level  
9. Per cent educated above primary level but upto higher secondary level  
10. Per cent educated above higher secondary level but upto graduate level  
11. Per cent post-graduate level  

**Occupation**

12. Per cent professional  
13. Per cent managerial
14. Per cent clerical 0.84463
15. Per cent sales workers 0.38416
16. Per cent service workers 0.75393
17. Per cent businessmen 0.26782
18. Per cent craftsmen 0.19948
19. Per cent other workers 0.53870

Demographic Characteristics

20. Fertility rate 0.36953
21. Sex Ratio -0.05245
22. Per cent working population (15-59 of age) 0.26782
23. Dependency ratio 0.28391

Households

24. Per cent households (with one family) -0.32648
25. Per cent households (with two families) 0.34279
26. Per cent households (with three families) 0.17120
27. Per cent households (with more than three families) 0.12825
28. Average size of households 0.04903
29. Per cent small households (households with less than six members) -0.22797
30. Per cent large households (households with more than six members) 0.21955

Religion

31. Per cent Caste Hindu 0.53266
32. Per cent Caste Muslim 0.13057
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33. Per cent Others</td>
<td>0.28098</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Per cent renter occupied</td>
<td>0.89675</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Per cent personal occupied</td>
<td>0.64675</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house owner)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Per cent small dwellings</td>
<td>0.69552</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(with less than three rooms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Per cent medium dwellings</td>
<td>0.73821</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(with between three to six rooms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Per cent large dwellings</td>
<td>-0.81777</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(with more than six rooms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of total variance explained</td>
<td>17.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on field survey (1995).

The present factor analysis, housing status turns out as a separate dimension of residential pattern in the city and shows more linkage with the variables of socioeconomic status than with those of family status.

The highest positive loading on this factor is registered by the renter occupied dwellings (0.89675). This is followed by an almost equally high and positive loading is shown by clerical workers (0.84463). The next high and positive loading by service workers (0.75393). A significantly high and positive loading is also exhibited by small dwellings (0.69552), high positive loading is shown by personal occupied or by house owner (0.64675). The large dwellings are the only variable that loads negatively but remarkably high (-0.81777).
Beside these, there are certain other variables which register though small but significant loadings. These are other workers (0.53870), sales workers (0.38416), fertility rate (0.36953). All of them load positively. These relationships in their strength as well as in direction suggest a general scarcity of living space with high congestion.

The highest loading of renter occupied dwellings together with high positive loading of small dwellings and high negative loading of large dwellings reveal that the living space is shared by a large number of persons in small dwellings. This is further indicated by the fact that clerical workers and service workers load high on this factor. The significance of these variables is further strengthened by loadings of the other and sales workers. Infact majority of these workers are migrant workers. The desperate migration of rural population to urban areas make them take low paid jobs in service, trade, and other activities. A large part of the clerical workers too is migrant population either from urban to rural areas. This population due to its meagre income cannot support rent of good and large houses, but they do not like to live like slum dwellers, as a result they take small dwellings on rent and share it with others.
The small but important loading of fertility is neither an input nor an output variable of housing status. In fact it signifies the demographic behaviour associated with the population identified with housing status. Since low housing status is generally associated with the middle or lower class population, its positive relationship with fertility rate can be explained in terms of demographic behaviour of the poor. However, despite high loadings of variables of housing this factor is not a pure factor and is associated with the status variable like other factors.

The spatial patterns of housing status are shown in Fig.15. Factor scores mapped show the nature of occupancy and size of dwellings with associated occupational categories. The high factor scores mean that size of houses or living space is small characterised by renter occupation and vice versa. Much of the old city including wards are ward number 16,18,22,26,31,37 and ward number 39 are characterised by high factor scores, that is, low housing status. This housing status is further extended to the south and consist of only one ward, ward number 32. These wards are characterised with greater renter occupancy and smaller dwellings. The low housing status core is surrounded by the wards showing moderate housing conditions. This is an extensive zone extending over
ALIGARH CITY
HOUSING STATUS

FACTOR SCORES
-1.25 HIGH
0 MEDIUM
+1.25 LOW

SOURCE: BASED ON FIELD SURVEY, 1995

FIG. 15
more than half of the wards. This zone is occupied by educated middle and upper middle class people. In this zone houses are relatively a little larger, nevertheless renter occupancy is high. In fact, this zone houses educated immigrants well placed in government offices and as well as indigenous wealthy people engaged in business and trade. Thus, renter occupancy on the one hand and larger dwellings on the other accounts for a medium level of housing status. Another feature is that wards surrounding the core of the city are characterised with moderate level of renter occupation, and relatively large dwellings. Perhaps it is due to traditional significance of the city centre around which have always lived privileged families. The higher renter occupancy and small dwellings are again found in the western part of the city beyond the zone of medium housing conditions.

The areas of low factor scores i.e. areas of good housing conditions are generally concentrated in the east. Only one ward, ward number 14 in the north-west which shows a high level of housing status.

In the areas of high socioeconomic status renter occupancy is comparatively high while size of houses are relatively larger. On the contrary in the areas of low socioeconomic status renter occupancy is relatively great and size of houses is relatively small. The space
of Aligarh may be divided into three belts the high level of housing status passing through the eastern periphery. With the exception of ward number 14 in the north western and ward number 24,27 in core of the city, medium housing status passing through the centre of the city as well in the eastern periphery and the low housing belt comprising the few areas of the core and the western part.

3.8.4 Factor 4: Ethnic Status of the sampled households

Factor 4 is the next important dimension of population segregation in the city. This factor shows high loadings of such variables as draw a dividing line in the population along religious and associated occupational, cultural and demographic characteristics. Table XVI shows the loadings on this factor. Proportion of Muslim population loads highest (0.86770) followed by craftsmen (0.83725). On the other hand the highest negative loadings is shown by the caste Hindu population (-0.72203).

In a sense this is a Muslim dominance factor showing segregation of population along the religious lines. The loading of the caste others (-0.66603). Interestingly the significant loadings of occupational, cultural and demographic variables reflect this bipolarity of ethnic segregation of the city population.
Table XVI

Ethnic Status of the Sampled Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Medium Income</td>
<td>0.11544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Per cent households with income less than (Rs 1500)</td>
<td>0.10303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Per cent households with income (Rs 1500-3000)</td>
<td>0.13001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Per cent households with income (Rs 3000-4500)</td>
<td>0.19710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Per cent households with income (Rs 4500-6000)</td>
<td>-0.19818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Per cent households with income (above Rs 6000)</td>
<td>-0.23190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Per cent female literacy</td>
<td>-0.51326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Per cent educated upto primary level</td>
<td>-0.39340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Per cent educated above primary</td>
<td>-0.25035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Per cent educated above higher secondary but upto graduate level</td>
<td>-0.09074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Per cent educated post graduate level</td>
<td>0.13312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Per cent professional</td>
<td>-0.17873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Per cent managerial</td>
<td>-0.15091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Per cent clerical</td>
<td>-0.32725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Per cent sales workers</td>
<td>-0.55730</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. Per cent service workers 0.07699
17. Per cent businessmen 0.17614
18. Per cent craftsmen 0.83725
19. Per cent other workers 0.33872

Demographic Characteristics
20. Fertility rate 0.51747
21. Sex Ratio -0.29809
22. Per cent working population (15-59 of age) -0.19587
23. Dependency ratio 0.08017

Households
24. Per cent households (with one family) 0.26338
25. Per cent households (with households with two families) 0.23594
26. Per cent households (with three families) -0.15670
27. Per cent households (with more than three families) -0.09704
28. Average size of households 0.12931
29. Per cent small households (households with less than six members) -0.09116
30. Per cent large households (households with more than six members) -0.07458

Religion
31. Per cent Caste Hindu -0.72203
32. Per cent Caste Muslim 0.86770
33. Per cent Others 0.66603
Tenure

34. Per cent renter occupied 0.11598
35. Per cent personal occupied (house owner) 0.26595

Housing size

36. Per cent small dwellings (with less than three rooms) 0.06574
37. Per cent medium dwellings (with between three to six rooms) 0.16595
38. Per cent large dwellings (with more than six rooms) -0.09081

Per cent of total variance explained 11.83

Source: Based on field survey (1995).

The second highest positive loading is shown by craftsmen. This makes a clear distinction between Muslim and Hindu population. Traditionally Muslims in India largely had either been rulers or craftsmen patronised by the rulers. After the abolition of zamindari and partition of the country a large part of Muslim elite either had been reduced to poverty or migrated to Pakistan. Consequently the remaining part of Muslim population comprised a large part of unemployed craftsmen whose patrons had departed. In conditions of widespread unemployment and discrimination against them in the labour market, a large part of Muslim population still clung to their traditional arts and crafts, while a bulk of them are engaged in low paid miscellaneous services which do not so strongly distinguish them
occupationally from others. However, relatively small but important positive loading of the category of other workers (0.33872) signifies the fact that a significant part of their population is engaged in unidentifiable menial occupations. This occupational category is mainly constituted of mazdoors (labourers) who are engaged in a wide range of unskilled jobs which are not permanent. This section of the workforce of Aligarh comprises Muslims more than their proportion in the population of the city.

On the contrary Hindu population has always been associated with the trade and commerce. Their occupational specialisation is reflected in the moderately high and negative loading of sales workers (-0.55730). This category includes both owner of shops and stores and their workers. Similarly a relatively small negative loading of clerical workers (-0.32725) indicates a lower level of education among Muslims and discrimination against them in the offices of the government which is principal employer in the country. Thus, trade and clerical occupations are characteristic features of middle class Hindu population in the city which forms a large part of the total population.

Fertility rate as a ratio of new born children to the productive age female population also loads moderately high and positively (0.51747) on this factor.
This highlights the demographic characteristics of the two populations. It is observed on the national and subnational level that natural growth rate of Muslim population is generally higher than that of many other communities. Several socioeconomic and psychological factors operate in creating this demographic behaviour of Muslim minority. The low incomes, fear of extinction and indistinction and religious restrictions on the adoption of family planning, non-vegetarianism and a high fecundity contribute to the high fertility rate among Muslim population. Whatever the causes of high fertility among Muslims is definitely distinguishes it from the Hindu population.

Similarly a moderately high negative loading of female literacy distinguishes Muslims from the rest of the population. Given their low level of socioeconomic development and system of pardah (female seclusion) which is observed among middle class urban Muslims, negative association of female literacy with them is not strange. It further emphasises this low socioeconomic status.

All demographic and occupational and other variables which load high on this bipolar ethnic or Muslim dominance factor make a clear distinction between Hindu Muslim population. The segregation of the population according to religion in this city is not a
new phenomenon. Muslim dominance mohallas are still found in the older part of the city while mohallas of Hindu dominance are in the old as well as in the new developed areas.

After independence the increased frequency of communal riots in India has generated a trend towards communal segregation of population in the cities. The trend of communal segregation generated by communal riots is having some influence on the ethnic segregation in the city of Aligarh. Sociocultural variations between the two communities have further helped the segregation. Muslims prefer to live in Muslim dominance localities because they have meat shops, mosques, urdu teaching schools etc. in such localities. Coupled with the inertia of sites so common a characteristic of Indian community in general, segregation stays. The Hindu community similarly prefer to live in those localities where their habits, customs and cultural aspirations are fulfilled.

The segregation of the caste Sikhs, Christian also prefer to live in those localities where their habits, customs and cultural aspirations are fulfilled. In Aligarh there are separate colonies of Sikhs and Christians.

The spatial pattern of ethnic structure is shown in Fig.16 The high factor scores on this dimension mean
ALIGARH CITY
ETHNIC STATUS

SOURCE: BASED ON FIELD SURVEY, 1995

FIG. 16
that proportion of Muslim population is high. An examination of the map of ethnic status reveals a random distribution of the high and low levels, thereby signifying the randomness of the areas of dominance of the two communities. City centre appears as an area of Muslim dominance as it scores high on this factor. In fact in this area Muslims population is more than half of the total population and larger than the caste Hindus. The distribution of high negative scores i.e. high proportion of the caste Hindus, is found in the adjacent wards of the old city and peripheral wards of high socioeconomic status, where there proportion is more than 75 per cent.

Besides these community wise segregated pockets the rest of the major area of the city exhibits a moderate level of segregation. These wards of medium level of concentration generally appear to be transitional zone between areas of Muslim and Hindu dominance. They include almost proportional population of the two communities which live in Mohallas of these wards adjacent to their respective wards of dominance. Thus, as a result of this mixing of population at the ward level, no clear segregation of population by ethnic status over a large area is observed. These medium
factor score wards are ward number 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22, 25, 26, 31, 33, 37 and ward number 13 has a dominance of Sikhs also.

The pattern of ethnic status are mainly historical. Muslim population for a long time has been dominant in this city and are concentrated in the city. Next to them were the mohallas of the caste Hindu belonging to business community.

3.9 CONCLUSIONS

The above analysis of the residential characteristics of the city of Aligarh reveals that the existing residential segregation and spatial patterns are at considerable variance from those of the western cities. Here residential patterns seem more influenced by historical circumstances and less by economic reasoning.

The Aligarh city is quite old city i.e. one of the oldest city of India. Due to this characteristic it has varying type of residential structure. In olden days it was known as Sarai town, so named some mohallas as Sarai Rehman, Sarai Ansari, Sarai Hakeem, Sarai Nawab, Sarai Kababeg, Sarai Mian, Sarai Qazi and Sarai Khan. These mohallas are dominated by the Muslims. Around 80 per cent in these mohallas are Muslims, 15 per cent Hindus and 5 per cent are others. The houses of these mohallas are very old and made up of red bricks. Windows and
doors are made up of wood. The low class residential areas in the city have developed, more or less, in the old central core where there is work opportunity. Many houses owners get more profit by low rents, keeping as many persons or families in the houses as they can and thus making the locality look like slums. Low class labourers, clerks, shopkeepers, hawkers and vegetable sellers seek residence in these quarters. The houses are old and obsolete with two to three storeys and sub-standard conditions prevail there. These residential areas are commonly mixed with areas having other functions. Besides, these slumbs of inner zone low status residential areas have also developed in the peripheral areas where land values are low environment unhealthy and public amenities are least developed.

The middle class residences have developed on the periphery of the central areas. People prefer these areas to city centre because in centre the land values are higher and housing conditions are also unsatisfactory. Moreover this because of the location just around the city centre, keeps them near to their work places also which are not far from here. Middle class residential areas differ from the low class residences of the inner zone in that the houses in the former are larger newer and more open. Mostly the houses are double storeyed. population and house density are comparatively low.
High class residential areas have generally developed on the eastern periphery of the city. These are mostly civil lines areas. The mohallas like Sir Syed Nagar, Zohra Bagh, Dodhpur, Friends Colony, Badar Bagh and Medical Colony are the Muslim dominated mohallas with varying income groups. Upper middle class people, bureaucrats, executives, professionals prefer the open well connected areas along major thoroughfare. These residential colonies consist of well planned modern houses, mostly single storeyed with spacious frontage. In contrast to these outlying residential areas, a exists near the city core, which contains the residences of traditional elites particularly business elite. These people live in usually two storeyed houses of traditional style.

In summarising the residential structure of Aligarh following observations can be made:
1. The congested city centre is an area of mixed commercial and residential uses and residences of the poor and elite business community exists side by side.
2. The residential areas in the north eastern areas of the city dominated by business, professional and industrial elite.
3. Squatter colonies at the outskirts of the city have developed, and from the city centre.
References


10. Rees, P.H., op. cit., p.16.


14. Most of the information was collected by field survey on the basis of stratified random sampling. Data then were tabulated and classified. As regard to income variables, the medium income of all surveyed households for every ward was singledout.
