Chapter 3

The State of Existing Literature

3.1 Introduction:

Slums in India are increasing at a rapid pace with the spread of urbanisation in recent years. While no Indian City today is free from slums owing to heavy exodus of population from rural areas, the problem seems to be more acute in the metropolitan cities. Indian metropolises and large cities are fast degenerating into extreme filth and squalor. Within the slums themselves, conditions have reached a low sub-human level owing to the pressure of population in a limited space. The denial of minimum space to the masses of illiterate and unskilled peasants from the marginalised and pauperised villages add to their misery when they are further denied the provision even minimum amount of water, sanitation, electricity and health care facilities in the slums (Mukherjee, 1993). The slums are known by different names like katras, and jhugi-jhopdis in Delhi, chawls in Mumbai, ahats in Kanpur, bustees in Calcutta, cheries in Madras, keris in Bangalore or petas in Andhra Pradesh. All of them reflect human misery and the effort to survive by human beings under the most adverse circumstances.

In India slums which are essentially viewed as a problem of urban poverty, are beginning to acquire increasing attention in recent years. Regarding the origin of urban poverty, the differing approaches in the literature enables us to divide the scholars into two groups. Dandekar and Rath who view “urban poverty as a spill over effect of rural poverty” lead one group. According to them, rural poverty is carried to the city by the mechanism of ‘rural-urban migration’ (Dandekar and Rath. 1971). The other

group comprising Michael Greenwood (1971), Ursula Sharma (1977), Biswajeet Banerjee and S.M.Kanbur (1981) contest their proposition, as they believe that 'property is more conducive to migration than poverty'. According to these scholars rural poverty acts as a deterrent to migration. According to these scholars, depending upon the economic opportunities available in the urban areas, those people with distinctive socio-economic background prefer to migrate to the cities. A good number of studies (Gupta T.R, 1961; Hebsur R. K, 1979) also show that people belonging to the upper stratum of the rural society tend to migrate to the urban areas for higher education and better economic position.

However, though until now there has been no common agreement on causality in this debate, by both groups urban poverty has been essentially viewed as a process of migration into the city. Most of the studies that explored the reasons and consequences of migration found this problem to be mainly economic in nature.

The theoretical explanation of rural-urban migration dates back to 1889, when Ravenstein first proposed his 'laws of migration'. According to him, migrants move from the areas of low opportunity to the areas of high opportunity. The choice of destination is regulated by distance, with migrants from rural areas showing a tendency to move first towards nearby towns, and then towards larger cities. His explanation of factors behind migration is also found to be economic in nature. He writes "bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation etc.), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration but none of these current can compare in
volume with that, which arises from the desire inherent in most men to ‘better’ themselves in material respects’.

The above theory has been supported by Todaro who suggests that, the decision to migrate includes perception by the potential migrant of an expected stream of income that is a function of both the prevailing urban wage structure and a subjective probability of obtaining employment in the urban modern sector (Todaro, 1976). According to him, rural-urban differentials of expected income is the main cause of migration into the urban areas. He further adds that, migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological.

“The basic problem with the Todaro model is that it explains an ex-post total situation as a mere aggregation of a mass of individual decisions based on an ex-ante calculation of probabilities. Such an explanation necessarily requires the assumption that a person’s choice is independent of his precise context and location i.e whether he is a potential migrant in the rural area or an actual migrant but unemployed in the urban area, his choice of residence remains unaffected (for otherwise the urban unemployed would migrate back to the rural area). This is violative of the elementary principle that one’s ability to take risk is dependent upon one’s economic position”.

Lee (1966) argues that, the decision to migrate is never completely rational, and hence, it follows that it is always possible to come across exceptions to any type of generalisation about migration. According to him,


migration is a "permanent or semi permanent change of residence". All migrants do not move by their own decision. Some moves are sequential. Here he gives the example of children following their parents and wives following their husbands.

In 1954, W.A. Lewis developed his celebrated model on rural-urban labour transfer, which was later extended by Ranis and Fei and came to be known as L-F-R model (1961). This model considers migration as an equilibrating mechanism, which transfer of labour from the low productivity labour surplus primary sector to the labour deficit sector and brings about overtime equality between the two sectors. The model is thus based on the concept of a dual economy comprising a subsistence agricultural sector characterised by unemployment and under employment, and a modern industrial sector characterised by full employment where the 'capitalists' reinvest the full amount of their profit. In the subsistence sector, marginal productivity of labour is zero or very low, and the workers are paid wages which equal their cost of subsistence. In the dual economy, migration from the subsistence sector to industrial sector increases industrial production as well as capitalist profit, and since this profit is fully reinvested in the industrial sector; it further increases the demand for labour from the subsistence sector. This process continues as long as the reserve army of disguised unemployed persists, whose supply to the urban industrial sector is assumed to be elastic at the given urban wage rate. "It might continue indefinitely if the growth of population in the rural sector is higher or equal to the rate of labour out-migration, but would come to an end eventually, if the rate of expansion of the demand for labour outstrips the growth rate of population in the rural areas".

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From the above brief discussion we can reach the conclusion that the forces which stimulate or retard migration can be dichotomised into ‘push’ or ‘pull’ factors. It has been hypothesised that some migrants are primarily ‘pushed’ by a combination of unfavourable forces, which make it undesirable on their part to continue their residence at their place of origin. There are other migrants who are induced to leave primarily by the relatively more attractive conditions in other locations.

A section of economists (Schultz, 1961, Sjaastad, 1962) also analyse migration on the lines of ‘cost-benefit’ approach, from the point of view of the individual migrant. Before migrating into a city the probable cost involved in shifting the settlement from one place to another and the long-term benefits after migration is calculated by the concerned migrants. Migration is also often viewed as “a process, which largely depends on the differential level of economic development of different regions.” Hence the relative extent of migration from different rural areas is largely attributed to the relative backwardness of the concerned region in terms of lack of irrigation facilities, low rainfall, low fertility, low productivity of land and incidence of failure of crops.

In addition to the general view on the relative backwardness of agriculture, a good many studies also emphasise the fact that most developing countries in South Asia along with India, are characterised by a highly unequal distribution of land ownership. Although some land reform legislation has been attempted, progress towards redistribution of land has not been such as could have contributed to a sizeable reduction in inequality. Unequal distribution of land has a built in tendency to encourage large-sized

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6 Shrestha, M.N, 'Internal Migration of the People of Nepal', *The Eastern Anthropologist*, xxxii (3), 1979, p.166
operational farms with adverse consequences for manpower absorption. Further, unequal distribution of land is also likely to have an adverse effect on the distribution of rural income. This is largely because non-wage income tends to be distributed less equally than wage income (Kravis, 1973).

In India, the continuation of highly unequal ownership of land in the absence of strongly redistributive land reforms, combined with the effects of faster commercialisation of agriculture, resulted in increased landlessness. The well-to-do farmers brought up land or leased in from the poor farmers, as producing for the market became profitable. The increased commercialisation of agriculture also affected the land less through changes in the mode of wage payment, and in particular, the increase in monetary rather than share payments. In the post independence period the effect of Green Revolution which had initially greatly enhanced agricultural productivity and employment opportunities for the land less labourers also failed to maintain the trend in the subsequent years. Once Green Revolution reached its plateau, many agricultural labourers lost their jobs and hence were forced to migrate to the cities.

Apart from the structural changes taking place in the agricultural sector, natural calamities like flood and cyclone, which frequently occur in regions such as coastal areas both in the western and in the eastern part of the country as well as drought in the arid regions, combined to force the rural poor peasants to migrate. Added to this was the non-availability of additional means of livelihood and the gradual decay of home based industries and village handicrafts, which augmented the flow of migration from the villages.

Caste also constitutes one of the important dimensions of the process of migration from the rural areas. A review of Indian migration studies indicates that little attention has been given directly to the relationship
between caste and migration. However, a few migration studies conducted in different parts of India by Mukherjee (1975), Connel et al (1976), Eames (1967), particularly based on sample surveys, have shown that the different castes have different types of inclination and modalities regarding their decision to migrate.

Mukherjee (1975), for example, found a direct relationship between ascending caste hierarchy and the ascending purposes of the move. He also brought to light that the people of higher castes move out for higher education and for professional jobs, while lower castes move for jobs giving the barest subsistence. Connel et al. (1976) reported from Gujrat villages, that most high castes showed a greater rate of individual migrants than for other villagers. In a study for Rajasthan villages, it was found that, 62%, 14% and 24% of current migrants were from high, middle, and low caste households respectively. A study of migrants in Bangalore and Mysore cities by Gist (1955) and his another study on Tamilnadu indicated that, in both the cities the Brahmins were the most migratory as judged by the proportion born outside the city of residence. In a study of social change in rural India, it was observed that, the migrants are from two layers of village society: the lowest (low caste); who have nothing to lose, and the top most (high caste) who have much to gain. A study conducted in five villages of Uttar Pradesh reveals that a majority of rural migrants belong to the artisan castes followed by service castes. The main clue behind such migration process was found to be the decline of village handicrafts followed by customary payment being stopped to the service castes Chauhan D.S, 1957). A good many studies also highlight the fact that persons belonging to the upper stratum of the society with higher educational levels and a balanced economic position tend to maintain a higher percentage of migration from rural to urban areas. These migrants are drawn by ‘pull factors’ of the place of destination-better
opportunities for obtaining professional qualifications and for engaging in business, being important factors.

It is evident from a reading of the available literature that, while many research findings suggests that the propensity of migration is higher among the higher castes than the other castes, several other studies also refute the above view and significantly show that there is an increasing trend of migration among the low castes. Due to the traditional socio-economic discrimination, the low caste migrants generally prefer to stay in cluster in a city chiefly to avoid such discrimination and atrocities committed on them by the caste hierarchy.

The above studies generally indicate the socio-economic factors operating behind the process of internal migration in India. However, in the migration literature we find there are a number of studies, which deal with migration to destinations outside the national boundaries. India’s being part of the far-flung British Empire facilitated large-scale migration of Indians from the mid 19th century into British colonies in Asia and Africa. The 19th century migration of Indian workers from specific locations in Bihar, East U.P, Andhra and Tamilnadu to work on plantations in the West Indies, Mauritius, Fuji, and South Africa was organised through the mechanism of the “indentured” system where the selected workers were “tied” to a labour contract for aspecific period of time through the payment of advances (Patnaik and Chandrasekhar, 1998).

According to M. Dingwaney, “The system of indentured labour was the consequence of the overall economic policy of the British in their colonies: the extraction of minerals and raw materials, the flow of colonial labour along with British capital and expertise, created the overseas wealth of

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7 Ibid.
Britain. Legal enactments of the government facilitated indentured emigration, and the labour code of colonies, which helped to maintain this repressive system, were an essential part of overall imperial policies.\(^8\) D. Nayyar states that “The abolition of slavery in British empire started the migration of Indian workers as indentured labour for plantations or mines in the colonies: to far away places such as Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Fiji, to not too distant lands such as Mauritius, Malaysia, Singapore, and South Africa, and even to neighbouring countries such as Sri Lanka and Burma.”\(^9\) Many Indian immigrants eventually filled the gap between the British ruler and the native population of the underdeveloped colonial countries for purposes of administration, industrial and commercial exploitation. These immigrant communities taken together, though originating from different regions of India, by and large belonged to the same cultural region. For example, “the cheap plentiful supply of labour in west Malaysia were obtained from south India.”\(^10\) The Indians in west Indies and Mauritius went largely from Bihar and U.P., those in East Africa went from Gujarat and Kutch and the migrants in Ceylon and South Africa had their origin in the Tamil speaking areas. Thus apart from the internal rural-urban migration where the rural poor left their place of origin owing to economic compulsions, international migration of Indian labour was mainly encouraged to serve the colonial interest in the 19th and early 20th century.

At the advent of Independence, the immigration of Indians was characterised by a movement of people with technical skills and professional expertise to the industrial countries. The principal destinations were the UK.

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the US, Canada, and on a much smaller scale, Western Europe and Australia. In the later post independence period however, international migration was directed towards the oil exporting countries of West Asia. The nature of such migration was strikingly different in the sense that an overwhelming proportion of migrants belonged to the category of unskilled or skilled workers and persons in manual or clerical occupations (Nayyar, 1994). They are generally temporary migrants who aim for a higher income in the West Asian countries.

The above studies show that in the case of both internal and international migration, the migrants belonged to both the poor and rich sections of the society. However, our present study is concerned with the migration of the poor rather than the rich irrespective of their castes.

3.2 Slums in Western and Other Developing Countries:
While in the literature, slums have been described in various terms according to the local situation, some amount of arbitrariness is generally perceived in the various definitions of the term. Throughout the world, the concept of 'slum' has been treated as an urban phenomenon in the social system as it is commonly believed that it is an outcome of the process of urbanisation. While in the western countries the growth of the slums is generally attributed to the increasing pace of urbanisation, in the developing countries specifically in India their origin is considered to be the consequence of poverty and socio-economic backwardness. But to understand 'slum' in its proper form it seems necessary to understand it in a theoretical perspective.

The problem of slums has been first propounded by Zorbaugh (1929) who studied the magnitude of the problem in the background of socio-economic condition of the people. In his study about the spatial distribution of slums in the Gold Coast the author found that the frequency of slums showed a progressive increase in the regions occupied by the black people. They lived in dwellings built with grass and other vegetable materials under extreme poverty.

One of the earliest studies of slum condition originally published in 1936 (London: Allen and Unwin ed.) was Engel's famous “The condition of Working-Class in England in which the author wrote about the pathetic condition of Old Town of Manchester, which particularly developed in course of the industrial revolution. The Engel says, “True, poverty often dwells in hidden alleys close to the palaces of rich; but, in general, a separate territory has been assigned to it, where, removed from the sight of the happier classes, it may struggle along as it can”. About the residential areas of the working class he writes that, “the streets are generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable refuse, without sewers and gutters, but supplied with foul, stagnant pools instead. Moreover, ventilation is impeded by the bad, confused method of building the whole quarter, and since many human beings here live crowded into a small place, the atmosphere that prevails in these working men’s quarters may readily be imagined. Engel’s study gives a true impression of the filth, rain and uninhabitableness of the slums in Manchester, which contained at least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. About the living condition of the working class, he further writes, “By unconscious tacit agreement as well as with out spoken conscious determination, the working people’s quarters are separated from

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the sections of the city reserved for middle class; or, if this does not succeed they are concealed with the cloak of charity (Engels, 1872).

In 1943, Whyte found that the social organisations in the slum areas were mostly composite in nature. Later in 1953, Charles Abram wrote that the worst slum conditions occur when the physical slum is accompanied by over crowding. This, he felt, had become a general tendency in most cities as no nation has ever been able to prevent the emergence of slum under the pressure of mass movements of the people. Just as migration to the cities during the industrial revolution vastly expanded the slums in Europe, the migration to America produced the ‘band boxes’ and ‘dumb-bell tenements’, so the great migration of modern era must inevitably produce their quota of make-shifts to help shelter human bodies against the elements. In another study, the author has also examined various forms of slums including metropolitan and rural slums in Venezuela. He shows that the 1950 census of agriculture and livestock in Venezuelan placed the number of rural squatters at 35.8% of the total agricultural workers. The rural squatters were also found on private, state, and municipal lands. Squatting, according to him is an illegal occupation, which might take the form of open or furtive mass movement or of individual operation. One of his articles (1953) also deals with the government procedure of compulsory acquisition of land for housing which is necessary for proper planning of an urban centre. He has further studied the need for rehabilitation of disgruntled slum dwellers on the outskirts of urban areas.

The origin of slums in western countries has been further traced by Mumford (1961), who infers that, “the factory which became the nucleus of the new urban organism, lured the poor rural dwellers to flock around the

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factory sites". Structural changes and decline gradually marked these places and there was mass poverty and overcrowding. Some of the characteristics of these places were poor sanitary conditions, continuous health hazards, high rate of criminal activities, and social isolation.

Regarding the slums in the United States, Frazier (1939) writes about the black poor, who have been compelled to live in dilapidated slums, where the state of affair is chaotic and they suffer from all sorts of social ills. Myrdal and Rose (1944) have also noted that the families of the black poor are disorganised and that they represent an unhealthy form of American community. They project slums as settlements of the social rejects.

In his well known book The Other America, Michael Harrington (1962) writes about ‘old slums and new slums’ in the United States. While the old slums had a streak of hope in the air, liveliness and a spirit of oneness based on religion as in the case of immigrant groups, the new slums have a cloud of despair cast over them; they have Dead End Streets.

In a number of other studies on American Cities, the existence of slum like conditions has been related to the clustering of black American in the central cities. Grodzins (1958) writes that, the slum like substandard housing complex of the afro-Americans, the conversion of one-family houses to multiple dwellings and the squeezing of two or more black families into apartments previously occupied by a single white man are some of the causes for the suburban conflict resulting into class schism. Kain (1969) has also analysed the spatial structure of urban areas in United States. He mainly discusses about the impact of Black-ghetto, which had grown as a result of immigration from the agricultural south to racially segregated sections of

large metropolises. Moynihan (1969) also draws attention to the crises in American cities created by the expansion of the Afro-American ghettos. Hunter (1964) considers slums as cancerous growth of the city.

Oscar Lewis (1966) developed a new concept called 'culture of poverty' on the basis of his study on slums in the Latin American region. According to him, the 'culture of poverty' would apply only to those who are at the very bottom of the socio-economic scale. They include the poorest workers, the poorest peasants, plantation labourers and a large heterogeneous group of men like artisans and tradesmen usually referred to as proletariat. The culture of poverty, which is seen in the slums, has the following features:

1. Lack of effective participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions of the larger society.
2. Low wages and chronic unemployment and under-employment leading to low income, lack of property ownership, absence of saving, absence of food reserves at home, and a chronic shortage of cash. These conditions reduce the possibility of effective participation in the system.
3. People with a culture of poverty produce very little in return.
4. People with a culture of poverty are aware of the middle class values; they talk about them and even claim some of them as their own. But on the whole, they do not live by them.
5. Poor housing conditions, crowding, gregariousness and above all, a minimum of organisation, beyond the level of nuclear and extended family. Occasionally there appears informal temporary grouping or voluntary association within the slums.
6. In spite of the generally low level of organisation, there may be a sense of community in urban slums and in slum neighbourhoods.
7. On the family level the major traits of the culture of poverty are the absence of childhood as a specially prolonged and a protected stage in the life cycle.

8. On the level of individual the major characteristics are strong feelings of marginality, helplessness, of dependence, and of inferiority.

9. Other traits include high incidence of material deprivation, of mortality, and of weak ego structure; sense of resignation and fatalism.

Thus until now we find that starting from Eric Partridge’s short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English which says the word “slum” is derived from the word slumber and explains slum as an unknown back-street, or alleys, wrongly presumed to be sleeping quiet, most of the urban literature on slums in the western countries reflects the darker side of the slums. However, in general, we come across two approaches in which the slums in the cities are looked at. Some authors emphasise on the seamy side of the slums in the sense that they are very pessimistic about the future of slums in the cities. The slums have been treated by them in isolation of the urban economy and their distinctive physical traits have been more emphasised. The other view considers slums as the product of the capitalist urban social system. According to them, the slums have been created to serve the interest of the affluent sections of the society. The poor slum dwellers are exploited individually and also as a class and little attention are paid to improve their living conditions. This view also presents a bright aspect of the slums by considering their positive contribution to the urban economy. However, in order to understand ‘slum’ in its proper form, it is necessary to study it in a theoretical perspective.
Stokes theory of slum:

In one of the first theory on slums, emphasising psychosocial aspects Charles J. Stokes (1962) assumes that, slums do have a function in the development of the city. The author seeks to find meaningful relations among the major variables to be associated with slum situations in such a manner that predictions can be made about slum development.

To illustrate the complexity of slum formation in the American cities, Stokes divides the slums into two major categories, namely, 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair'. By 'hope' is meant the quality of psychological response by the inhabitant of the slum, which indicates both his intentions to better himself and his estimate of probable outcome of such an effort. 'Despair' by the same token denotes either a lack of such intention or a negative estimate of such probable outcome of any attempt to change his status. The psychological distinction between hope and despair may readily be converted into distinction between employable and non-employable.

Stokes has built a simple model of two classes he terms 'escalator' and 'non-escalator' respectively. The escalator class is a group of people who can be expected, barring unusual circumstances to move up through class structure by assimilation or accumulation to full participation in the economic and social life of the community. A person in the non-escalator class is denied the privilege of escalation. Stokes however does not address the basic question of how it can be determined whether an individual belongs to one class or the other except ex-post facto that is, by seeing what happens to him. Thus the categories the 'escalator' and 'non-escalator' class appears as a purely descriptive categories.

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Stokes says that strangers who come to the city for the betterment of their life but lack the ability to meet the demand of the city may find escalation difficult and hence they tend to fill up the poor housing facilities and spill over to shanty towns. In the slum of despair, people are deemed to spend their entire life, at that place. Finally he concludes that the ‘slum of hope’ may disappear as migration slows down when it becomes impossible for the immigrants to get over the ‘ability hurdles’, which the city erects but the ‘slum of despair’ do not disappear for there live the poor.

Among the others Seeley (1959) expresses a very optimistic view on slums and remarks that it is the provider of goods and services to the non-slum population. He doesn’t consider the slums to be sleeping as they are engaged in the economic and social development of the city. In a sense the rich require their services for their own survival. Slum dwellers render services to the rich while themselves live in darkness and dirt.

Seeley’s view is further supported by Clark (1965), Gan (1965), Keil (1966), and Lievow, who have shown that slums are organised in their own way. The investigation carried out by Schwartz (1975) in the slums of Venezuela also provides little evidence of apathy and resignation. There are also many scholars who do not see slums as a pathological or diseased part of a city, but rather view them as creative, coping in city building and construction of new Institutions (Rao and Rao, 1984). Eke (1981) conducted

\[\text{Stokes Model}\]

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<th>Classes</th>
<th>Hope</th>
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<td>Escalator</td>
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<td>Non-escalator</td>
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\[\text{Thakur and Dhadave, Opcit. p.8}\]
a study of poor in Ankara, where he found the slum dwellers employed in
different sectors of the economy and they try to benefit from all meagre
opportunities that society offers them.

In the western countries while some authors consider life in the slum
as a social phenomenon, others like Oscar Lewis consider it as a cultural
group having its own distinct traits\(^\text{17}\). The various theories associated with
this concept give us an insight into the different dimensions of this living
reality of urban life. At the same time the theories miss many complex socio­
economic, cultural and religious factors, which powerfully operate in the
developing countries. Hence, it is difficult to fit the definitions developed by
the western scholars into the local situations in India. Here, most of the
studies conducted by the sociologists, geographers and other institutions
about the life of slum dwellers appear somewhat generalised. One can find
that the slums in the cities are mostly cast into a stereotype image and mostly
the physical characteristics rather than the actual causes behind the existence
of slums in the cities have been discussed. They are generally described as a
'rasch' on city landscape, 'a blot on civilisation' with their over crowding,
filth, sub-standard housing, drinking, vice, violence, apathy and poverty\(^\text{18}\) etc.
However, in a few studies the slum as a 'component' of the city is also
seen.

3.3 Slums in India:

A chronological review of literature on slums in India shows that the
first socio-economic study on the working class was conducted by H.K
Chaturvedi and S. Bhattacheryya in 1948. This study on the 'change in

\(^\text{17}\) Oscar Lewis, Op cit, pp. (187-199).

\(^\text{18}\) Rao V.L.S.P, Urbanization in India: Spatial Dimensions, Concept Publishing Company,
New Delhi, 1983, p.13
standard of living of jute mill workers in Jagaddal between the years 1941 and 1945 shows that the standard of living that jute mill workers enjoyed in 1941 was far from what may be called a minimum living standard. S.N Sen (1954) studied the spatial pattern and characteristics of slums and squatters in Calcutta City. However, his analysis was mainly confined to the construction of houses and the availability of basic amenities in the slums at Calcutta. Nambiar (1961) conducted a similar study in Madras City where he found a high birth rate, infant mortality and poor amenities a common feature in the slums of the city. In the same year Trivedi shows the concentration of a large number of people in a single tenement in the slums at Ahmedabad. Over crowding coupled with the lack of civic amenities was the basic characteristic of the slums in the city. He found that the slums are more visible in the industrial Northwest and around sources of water supply.

While analysing the socio-economic characteristics of the slums of Bangalore, Singh (1964) shows that they consist of small patches of huts built out of mud and roofed with thatch or flattened kerosene tins. In one of his later studies in 1966, Singh estimated that slum population varies from 10% to 16% of the total population of major urban centres of India. He has also analysed the spatial structure of the old dilapidated houses of slum dwellers around the central business districts and industrial centres. In 1967, Ramachandran studied the socio-ecological problems of slum areas arising out of the negligence and inadequate amenities and suggested a few solutions. He has also provided a conceptual framework on the growth of slums and their spatial structure.

In his study about the socio-ecological characteristics of the slums and squatters of Calcutta, Siddiqui writes that slums mostly occur near the heart of the city. In 1972, a detailed survey of slums in Calcutta with special reference to the land use pattern, the utility services, and housing conditions
of the metropolitan city was made (Ghosh, Dutta and Roy, 1972). It was found that the major concentration of squatter colonies occurs near the railway crossings, local bus depots and in low-lying areas in the heart of the city. The organic growth of the city is linked with the degeneration of old slum areas and the growth of new slums in the fringe sector.

Singh (1973) estimated that a quarter of Kanpur’s population lives in the slum areas. The slums have grown as a result of war-time immigration and consequent haphazard expansion of the city. He found that the slums are concentrated in the older parts of the city, marked by markets and workshops and squatter settlements have grown in the industrial sector. According to him, slums of the first order include the old city slum called ‘ahatas’, while the second order of slums, which developed in and around the newly built up areas.

While analysing the morphology of residential areas in Indian cities, Taneja (1973) has discussed the nature and characteristic of slums. Citing the example of Kanpur and Delhi she asserts that slum development in Indian cities is the result of over crowding and haphazard growth of the cities. Bose (1973) in his study of the trend of urbanisation in India in 20th century analyses the nature and spatial characteristics of the Indian slums.

In 1974, Sinha brought to light the extent and the nature of unplanned urban growth in the city of Patna by studying the slum conditions in the city. He emphasises on the characteristics of the slums and discusses the approach for the eradication of slums from the city. Bharadwaj (1974) discusses on the rehabilitation of slum dwellers by proper survey, planning and development. His comprehensive and analytical study also includes questions of land acquisition, drainage and housing especially for the low-income people.
Khatu (1975) has examined the nature and characteristics of slums of Baroda and has identified two distinct categories—inherited and satellite slums. The former includes the villages, which were incorporated into the city during its expansion, while the latter includes the blighted areas that grow around the former on illegally occupied areas. Chandra and Punalekar (1975) acknowledge the need for immediate renewal and redevelopment of the blighted and dilapidated areas of the major metropolitan centres of India. They have suggested that the housing condition of low-income people must be improved through development oriented community programmes.

Dutt (1977) has tried to analyse the complex socio-ecological problem of Calcutta created by the mass immigration of rural population and refugee influx with consequent growth of blighted areas. He has mainly discussed the social problems in the regional geopolitics of West Bengal. He has also tried to show that the social change for poor bustee dwellers has been greatly accentuated owing to the employment of both husband and wife, adoption of a very limited nuclear family structure, and the erosion of traditionally close kinship ties with even the immediate family members.

Alfred de Souza, (1975) attributes the rapid development of blighted areas to the unplanned and haphazard growth of the metropolitan cities. He estimated that one-fifth of the total urban population lived in slums and squatter settlements. In Ahmedabad, nearly 45% of the urban population lived in the slums and their number amounted to 2.5 million in Calcutta. He has also studied the nature of urban planning, renewal, housing for the poor and socio-ecological characteristics of the slums in the background of urban poverty.

Unni provides a comprehensive analysis of the speedy deterioration of the environmental quality, owing to the rapid growth of 'jhuggis' or larger
kind of squatter colonies in most of the metropolitan centres of India. Such colonies have usually developed in the peripheral areas of the cities and their inner zones.

Majumdar (1978) in his study on the social characteristics of urban poor tries to prove that urban poor are similar to rural poor, as both of them lie at the bottom of the social structure and suffer from cumulative inequalities. He has shown that the process of aggregation and accretion has helped the growth of spontaneous settlements or bustees. Sivaramkrishan in the same year has discussed the origin, extent and nature of progress of urban development programmes for Calcutta metropolitan districts with special reference to the spatial structure and distribution of the squatter settlement colonies. He has also used certain parameters to deal with the problem of slums arising out of socio-economic imbalances. Khan (1978) has discussed the socio-ecological character of the slum areas and the growing socio-economic differences between Hyderabad north and Hyderabad south.

Mohsin (1979) has provided a sociological account of the mental and physical growth of slum children of Patna. In another study (1980) he shows a high degree of illiteracy among the slum children is due to the lack of educational facilities. He has also studied the socio-economic condition of the slum families to which those children belong. Mani (1980) also observes that lack of motivational forces for education is one of the important reasons of large number of dropouts of the children from the school.

The social and economic situation of the slum dwellers in Delhi metropolis have been meaningfully explained in Majumdar’s (1981) sociological study of the low-income migrant community in the city. The author explains the way in which the migrant slum dwellers contribute to the functioning of an indigenous city on traditional lines, which meets the needs
of majority of the population. Another similar study conducted by National Institute of Urban Affairs finds the formation of slums and squatter settlements linked with the emergence of a new social group resulting from its growth pattern and nature of social, economic, and physical incorporation in the development process of the city.

It is found that there is a wide gap of literature on urban slum dwellers during the last decade (1980-1990). Though a number of studies on urbanisation (Mohan and Pant, 1982, Kundu, 1986, Sundaram, 1986, Banerjee, 1986, etc.) have been conducted during this period, mostly the studies emphasise on the growth of urbanisation, rural-urban migration behaviour and the related aspects in this area. A number of studies (Papola, 1981, Aziz, 1981) have also been made on the urban informal sector, which plays a crucial role in absorbing the jobseekers in the slums of the city. In the subsequent years we again come across a few studies which deal exclusively with the problem of slum dwellers in the city.

Ratna N. Rao (1990) looks at slum as an organic unit of the larger urban social system and examines the inter-relationships both within the smaller system of the slum and between the smaller and larger systems, namely, the slum and the city. He also tries to find how the changes in the larger system affect the smaller system - a linkage, which no slum development planning can afford to ignore. His findings are the result of a field study conducted by the author in the slums at Karnataka and Pune.

Rajesh Gill (1994) in the same year makes a comparative analysis of the slums in terms of the socio-economic characteristics, rural-urban linkages, and integration with urban community and degree of satisfaction among the inhabitants. The author says despite some differences owing to the functional type of the cities under study, the slums under consideration
resemble urban villages in more than one respect. The book unveils how a
darker past keeps the urban poor satisfied with a relatively better present as
perceived by them. The notion of slum as ‘area of hope’, and ‘area of
despair’ are refuted in the light of heterogeneity within the slums in terms of
income, occupation, ethnicity and age. Findings of the study suggest a multi
dimensional approach to the problem of urban poverty, which extends
beyond ecological, economic or housing issues.

In a serious attempt to investigate factors that have caused growth of
slums in the two industrial towns, Durg and Bhilai, Gupta (1993) shows
36.4% house holds in the slum are below poverty line, while little less than
two-third of the remaining house holds reported a monthly income of slightly
more than Rs600/-. The study shows that lack of education and skill and
entrepreneurship forces them to work in the informal sector in sub-human
condition.

In 1994, Pushpa Agnihotri in her study on survey of slums in various
cities of Madhya Pradesh shows that, inner city slums have more population
than the peripheral slums. Those who are better off are found to have one
earning family member and they can live in a peripheral slum being able to
afford the loss of working hours spent in commuting. Arup Mitra (1994)
perceives the problem of slums in terms of ‘employment problem’. His study
mainly examines the pattern of urbanisation particularly city growth in India,
employment structure in the cities, impact of rural-urban migration on urban
informal sector, and inter linkages between rural and urban poverty and etc.

In a path breaking study about the slums in Bombay metropole,
Sujata Patel (1995) shows that, “more than half of the city’s population of 10
million inhabitants live in the slums or are altogether homeless. They must
perforce struggle to find and then retain unoccupied spaces under bridges,
along railway tracks, on pavements or even on rooftops. They are crowded together in tight clusters of one-room huts. With a land area restricted to 600 odd square kilometres, Greater Bombay supports a density of 16,500 persons per square kilometre. Very many Bombayites do not have access to clean water or to waste disposal systems. Only a minority of city's inhabitants enjoy incomes adequate to ensure a comfortable existence”¹⁹. A recent survey indicates that half or less than half of Bombay's slum dwellers fall below the generally accepted poverty line (Swaminathan M, 1995).

From the review of above literature we find that apart from a few studies and a few exceptions, like Wiebe (1975) and others, a majority of studies on slums in the Indian cities can be labelled as negatively biased as they generally discuss about the 'disorganised social life' of the slum dwellers. For instance, Alam (1965) dubs ‘slum’ as a 'social canker of the city'. On the same lines Gupta (1968) believes that the social effects of slum life may include ‘family disintegration’, the debasing of marriage and deterioration of youth through parental neglect. Nayak (1968) mentions about the low level of community feeling in the urban slums. Madan (1969) also thinks that under slum conditions we can not have healthy and socialised members of the community.

The problem of slum dwellers is associated with an exploitative capitalist system by Desai and Pillai (1972). According to them, life in the slums in the Indian cities is pathetic and disorganised due to the exploitation of labour power by the merchant class. Rao and Rao (1983) supported their view in their study on ‘Peta Slum in Vijaywada City’. There they write “industrialists, traders and others who recruit a large number of workers, do

not care for their welfare. The former get cheap labour supply from the slums without their having to provide them with house or other facilities

Many a study shows that the low income and weak purchasing power of slum dwellers are manifestations of poverty that characterise the majority of households living in the hutment’s of the cities. Even in a number of studies it is found that majority of them are living below the poverty line. This is evident from the fact that in the squatter settlements of Delhi, Majumdar (1978) found 71% households’ monthly income was Rs250/- or less than that. In another study in Delhi Menefee and Singh in the same year gave the monthly income of employed women to be Rs76/- compared to Rs192/- for men. In Madras Wiebe shows 80% of the slum dwellers live below the poverty line.

Most of the studies mentioned above reveal the sociological factors operating behind the unwarranted growth of city population! Nowhere the economic aspects of the life of slum dwellers has been treated separately as it is believed that Poverty in the slums is greatly influenced by caste, religion and other regional factors. “The urban literature expresses the general problems of slums and urban development in the framework of urbanisation and rural-urban interaction and migration due to lack of job opportunities in the countryside”

In India, slum like conditions are also visible in the rural villages “where caste structure constitutes the basis of a traditional society”

Ibid
houses, from which it is separated by a dumping ground for collecting manure and for defecation. Untouchable habitations are mostly small mud huts with thatched roofs. "The small huts, hardly big enough to house a family, and the small starved looking bullocks tied up outside these huts, show the untouchable settlement to be the poorest quarter in the village". However, since throughout the urban literature slums have been treated as an urban phenomenon, in the present study it has been dealt in the same light.

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