In this section a brief survey of literature relating to socio-economic and demographic factors that influence basic amenities is presented. During the search for literature on basic amenities, especially in the slums, we have been able to find only a few studies that examine the association between socio-economic and demographic factors and basic amenities. Studies that have appeared in print often deal with the general standard of living of the people residing in the slums to us. These studies which are general in nature indicate only the quality of life in slums. In the literature survey that is presented below, we have studied those studies that have investigated household characteristics of the persons living in the slums. Studies that have referred to socio-economic and demographic factors related to basic amenities have also been surveyed. For the purpose of literature survey the studies have been categorised under the following headings: i) Economic factors, ii) Social factors and iii) Demographic factors.
2.1 ECONOMIC FACTORS

Most of the scholars agree that lack of basic amenities of the people in urban areas arises mainly due to poverty. In the slums, a major proportion of workforce is engaged in informal sectors which consist of wage labourers, unpaid workers and self employed workers who perform essential functions of urban economy but do not have adequate income (Sivaramakrishnan, 1983; Mishra, 1989). People having very low income can not afford to improve their physical condition of living since almost all their income is spent on food, fuel and clothes (Rao and Tiwari, 1979; Kundu, 1993).

Studying the slums and squatter settlements of Delhi, Majumdar (1977) reports that a large majority of the workers are absorbed in informal and service sectors where entry is easy, requiring less skill and less education. 42 per cent of the workers were engaged in construction work and 29 per cent in occupations like cooks, waiters, domestic works, unskilled office works and other low paying services. Analysing the occupation structure in terms of skill, he observed that 60 per cent of the workers were unskilled and 31 per cent were semi-skilled and 71 per cent of the households had monthly incomes of Rs.250 or below.

The National Institute of Urban Affairs, based on twenty sample towns of various sizes, estimated that about 50 per cent of the slum population was below the
poverty line (NIUA, 1988a). The study assumed the poverty line to be Rs.154 at 1987-88 prices. While in another survey in Madras Metropolitan Areas, the population below poverty line was reported to be 62 per cent (Vaidya and Mukundan, 1987). A very high percentage of population below poverty line in the slums of Bangalore, Calcutta and Indore was found by National Centre for Human Settlements and Environment (NCHSE, 1987) and the figures were 73, 89 and 68 per cent from the three cities respectively. The study on low income groups in Calcutta has shown that the people can not afford better shelter (Jagannath and Haldar, 1988).

In case of basic amenities of medical and educational facilities, studies have shown that higher income groups have better access to those services. Studying the health and nutrition of Calcutta slums, Sapir (1996) reports that the poor have little access to higher quality and free medical services available in the city. In the study of slums and pavement dwellers of different cities of the country Singh (1978) observed that people with higher income are better able to send their children to school.

In a study conducted in Delhi it was found that 71 per cent households of squatter settlements had a monthly income of Rs.250 or below, the average income of the households being Rs. 237, although there were 1.6 earners in each households (Majumdar, 1983). In another study of squatter settlements in
Delhi, Singh (1983) found that the average monthly income of the employed woman was only Rs. 76 compared to Rs. 196 for males. Over 90 per cent of these women stated that they were working to provide for the minimum needs of the families. In Calcutta, according to Sivaramakrishnan (1983) 63 per cent of the people living in Calcutta Metropolitan District (CMD) have income of less than Rs.300, 46 per cent of them are having income of less than Rs.200. In another study, while discussing the housing scenario in Calcutta, Chakraborty (1991) has shown that in Calcutta Metropolitan Area 15 per cent of the population is below poverty line and 49 per cent falls in the economically weaker sections. Maitra (1990) in his study observed that the slums of Calcutta and Howrah are mainly dominated by poor people but all the inhabitants living there are not poor. In Howrah, he noticed that 35 per cent of the families of the bustees have incomes higher than subsistence level and 38 per cent families have earnings from the stable employment.

Sampath (1987) mentions in his study of slum improvement in Madras that about 60 per cent of the families have a monthly income of Rs.200 or less and, 35 per cent of the families earn Rs.201 to 600 per month. Kundu (1990) in his analysis of NSS data on water supply and sanitation found a positive relationship between income and basic amenities of water supply and toilet. Analysing the determinants of overcrowding and housing condition in Ghana, Willis(1991) observed that per capita income of the households leads to a decline in the
occupancy rate (persons per room). Ramachandran (1987) in his socio-economic survey in Bangalore has studied the needs of the people with reference to living conditions. He found the most urgent requirement cited by low income group is water facilities, that of middle income households is sanitation, while the higher income group requires recreation facilities. Kumra (1982) in his study of Kanpur, showed about 25 per cent slum dwellers have income of Rs.125-250 per month and he also noticed that the situation in slum localities is so appalling that in the absence of basic amenities the whole environment is foul and polluted.

2.2 SOCIAL FACTORS

Along with economic factors the social background of the people also affect basic amenities. In our study three social variables will be examined which are related to the basic amenities. These are education, caste and religion.

2.2.1 Education

The aspirations and the pattern of needs of the people who are educated is different from those of who do not have education. Muttagi (1987) in his study regarding the problems of low income groups in Bombay shows that among the low income groups, the chawl dwellers appear to be better educated and they enjoy certain civic amenities and medical facilities more than their uneducated
counterparts from slums. According to Muttagi, there are some indications to believe that chawl dwellers are more worried about hygiene and providing better education to their children, and it is generally felt that certain measures like school fee concession in the field of education be taken to help the low income groups so that some of them can possibly cross the poverty line. Reberio (1987) is of opinion that due to lack of education, there are some special groups in urban areas who do not want to change their living habits, preferences and social customs. After studying slums of Bombay, Ramachandran (1970) suggested that education among slum dwellers is necessary to improve the physical condition of living. "It has been observed in few cities of India that after getting houses in new residential areas with better civic amenities, the slum dwellers again settle in the previous locality in which they were living or they form another slums in new sites" (Singh and Kumra, 1986: 133).

In Calcutta, some schools have recorded low school enrolment rate among the children of slum localities (Sen, 1970; Sivaramakrishnan, 1977). One of the important reasons for low enrolment rate is the lack of educational facilities. But, in some cases it is observed that there is a gross under-utilisation of the free primary educational facilities in the slums. According to CMDA (1980) study the cause of non-utilisation of educational facilities is because of child labour in industry, trade and domestic services. There is some apathy among the lower income groups of the bustees to keep their children in the conventional school
because that does not suit nor enrich the skill for the existing jobs. Scholars are of opinion that the slum dwellers will have to be motivated for sending their children to educational institutions as without some basic education, young people cannot be trained in different jobs for better employment (CMDA, 1980; Singh and Kumra, 1986; Banerjee, 1991).

2.2.1 Caste

In India, there is stratification in society in terms of castes and most of the lower caste people are economically backward (Mandelbaum, 1974). Although the lower castes comprise a smaller proportion of the urban population than of the rural population of India, but it has been found that lower castes are a disproportionately large percentage among slum dwellers in all the major cities (Singh, 1978). In the slums of Delhi, a study has shown that 65 per cent of the population belongs to scheduled castes (Majumdar, 1977). A recent study in the slums of Calcutta also shows that 65.4 per cent of the population is of the lower castes (Sapir, 1996). It is usually seen that "the urban poor are the same as those in rural areas - both lying at the bottom of the social structure, and suffering from cumulative inequalities" in terms of basic amenities (Majumdar, 1977:217).

According to Sivaramakrishnan (1983), in the urban areas there are lower castes people, who try to continue their caste specific occupation with low income, like
petty manufacturing, handicrafts and trade. De Souza (1983) commented that though there is scope for occupational change for low caste group in the urban situation, the choice is limited by skill and education level. An in-depth study in the slums of Delhi conducted by Majumdar (1977) has revealed some important findings on castes and their occupation in urban areas. In urban areas, a majority of the scheduled castes continue in their traditional occupations of scavenging and street sweeping. In the slums, Majumdar also found that there was 15 per cent artisans and occupational castes. Out of them 65 per cent belonged to scheduled and lower castes.

In urban areas, there are possibilities of overcoming the limitations of castes and of finding employment on the basis of skill. Many lower caste people do change their traditional occupation, but they are still found clustered in the lower status occupations consisting mostly of unskilled workers in industry, construction, miscellaneous manual work and low paid service occupations. Thus, the "horizontal mobility" within the same occupational status is possible for lower caste groups, though "vertical mobility" as a movement from one stratum to another is very limited. Sometimes it is seen that there is a marked tendency among lower caste people to shift from wage employment to self employment. Lubell (1983) noticed that lower caste people have a little or no access to credit facilities for improving basic amenities. Singh (1972) in his study on Kanpur city,
examined various factors of slum growth and associated problems. He observed that the areas of low castes live in insanitary conditions.

2.2.3 Religion

There are few studies which have attempted to examine the relationship between religious groups and basic amenities. But, studies have indicated that among different religious communities, Muslims are more socio-economically backward in our country. Different scholars have tried to examine the causes of socio-economic backwardness of this particular religious community.

Hasan (1989) is of the opinion that after the partition of India in 1947, all the leading industrial families, trading groups, professional men and top ranking political leaders moved to Pakistan, leaving behind a 35 million socially backward and economically depressed Muslim community. Due to poor representation in central and state government and unequal opportunities in education and employment, Muslims in the post independent India continued to be socio-economically poor. There are no compensatory programmes for socio-economic upliftment of the Muslims like in the case of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. The abolition of Urdu as a medium of instruction affected a very large sections of poor and middle class Muslims who sought employment and admission in lower government services and educational institutions respectively. Moreover, till now, both in rural and urban areas a large section of
Muslims, particularly poor and middle class, is educated in religious institutions, viz., Madarasa. The cumulative effect of all these is that, the Muslims have been at the lowest rung of the ladder in terms of the basic categories of socio-economic indicators of development (Khan, 1978).

The benefits of various government schemes aimed at improving the lot of the weaker sections have not accrued to Muslims. Of the allotted houses to economically weaker sections and lower income groups, only 2.86 per cent were allotted to Muslims. The licenses issued for Fair Price shops and loans advanced by financial institutions account a very meager percentage for Muslims as beneficiaries. Therefore, the socio-economic backwardness of the Muslims is partly the consequences of official neglect and discrimination (Akbar, 1985).

In the slums of Calcutta, it is observed that Muslims are typically in wage labour or petty business whereas Hindus are typically on salary (Sapir, 1996). In Delhi slums also, like Scheduled Castes, Muslims are also engaged in the jobs of informal sector and low income occupations (Majumdar, 1977). In a study on Kanpur city in the early seventies, it was noted that Muslim inhabited areas had worse insanitary conditions and civic authorities were indifferent about the problems of those areas (Singh, 1972).
2.3 DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Demographic factors have an important relationship to basic amenities. Among these factors family size and migration have been discussed in the studies related to basic amenities in urban areas.

2.3.1 Family size

The relationship between family size and basic amenities has been examined in a few studies. While studying the problem of basic amenities in slums scholars have discussed about family size and general level of birth rate and fertility among the slum dwellers.

Oberai (1989) in his study of rapid population growth, employment and housing in mega-cities found that in slums, the majority of the population are young migrants (age selective) and fertility among these migrants was relatively high than the native population. In their studies of Hyderabad Metropolitan Area, Alam et al., (1987) find that the economy of slums is dominated by low income generating unorganised sectors. They examined, among other things, the proportion of earning members and per capita income of the sampled slums and
earning members is consequently low, and is only 30 per cent of the total population.

In a study of the slums of Delhi it was seen that children under the age of 15 years accounted for 42 per cent of the total slum population and the percentage was considered to be very high for urban areas (Majumdar, 1977). Among the slum population of Calcutta a very high birth rate (55.3 per 1000 population) is observed by Sapir (1996) and it is opined that this high birth rate is supposed to be the cause of high growth of slum population. In the study of Singh and Kumra (1986) it was also noticed that in Madras the slum areas have a birth rate that is 43 per cent higher than non slum areas. Banerjee (1991) mentioned that high birth rate in the poorer sections still continues, making improvement of slum conditions as difficult a task as ever. Because of the young age structure of the slum population, Singh (1978) emphasised the need to have greater facilities of child care, maternity centres, education and training programmes.

2.3.2 Migration

The large urban centres are growing rapidly not only due to natural increase but also by receiving huge rural migrants every year and this rural to urban migration raises the percentage of slum inhabitants (Mitra, 1993). The study of Singh and Kumra (1986) has revealed that three-fourth of the slum families in
Delhi are migrant families and live in a situation of inadequate basic amenities of water supply, latrines and electricity. The problem of basic amenities is more acute in the “bustees” of Old Delhi. They are of the opinion that the corporation has tried to provide sanitary facilities in slums but the continuing process of migration in the city has caused further growth of slums and thus creating stress on civic amenities. Sinha (1985) found that the income of the migrants in the city is very low as they are mostly engaged in petty jobs and thus, they are forced to live in slums and blighted areas. In his study, it was shown that in Ahmedabad about 83 per cent and in Delhi nearly 93 per cent of the household heads in slums are migrants. They tend to occupy both public, semipublic and private land and create slums and blighted areas for themselves. It has been seen that the primary reason for rural-urban migration is economic, and the rural poor migrate to the cities in search of employment rather than for better employment opportunities. That is why they do not bother about living conditions and pick up any job.

Maitra (1990) observed that the manifestation of poverty in the bustees of Calcutta is partly related to the attitudes of the migrants. Out of the total income they earn, a major portion is sent regularly as remittances to their native places and their poor living in slums is a self imposed austerity. Many a time, the
geographic origin of the migrants determines their dominance in specific occupations. For example, rickshaw puller and porter ("Quli") in Calcutta are mostly from Bihar and construction workers in Delhi are largely from Rajasthan (Lubell, 1974). Saberwal (1976) in his study of urban Punjab also reveals that there is a continuity between the rural and urban occupation of a large proportion of migrants. This is in part, in his opinion, a function of their lack of skills which inevitably pushes most of them into occupations of unskilled manual labour and service. Studying four squatter settlements in Delhi, Nath (1986) indicated that 81 per cent of the respondents had left their village because of abject poverty and the informal sectors in the city absorbed these distressed migrants who came from country side.

From the existing literature on the basic amenities in urban areas, as mentioned, it is found that most of the studies portray the conditions of basic amenities in the slums of the large cities of the country. Among basic amenities shelter, water supply and sanitation are referred to in a majority of the studies. Education and health care facilities are studied only in a few cases. The relationship of income, occupation and migration status of the slum dwellers to basic amenities are discussed only in some studies. But how socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the households are related with basic amenities are not
analysed. The present study differs from the earlier studies as it considers, in addition to shelter, water supply and sanitation; health care and educational amenities. Another important basic amenity, electricity in the slums of Calcutta is also considered in the present study. The relationship between socio-economic and demographic factors and basic amenities is discussed in detail in Chapter VI. In the next chapter we develop a conceptual framework through which we examine the relationships.