CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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So much work has been done by the different Indian and foreign scholars to study the slums. In India Dr. A.R. Desai and Dr. Devadas Pillai have worked on a Profile of Indian slum selecting some of the slums in Bombay and have studied its various aspects such as tenements, slum houses, basic amenities, aspects of health, occupational life, earnings and spending patterns, patterns of living, link with native place, politics and slum life as such. It is a wonderful work and provides guide-lines to new research workers to work in different urban centres with a view to have generalizations.

The same scholars have edited a book 'Slums and Urbanization' representing the different contribution of Indian and foreign eminent scholars on the subject. Some of these eminent scholars are, Lewis Mumford, Nels Anderson, Marshal B. Clinard, Michael Harrington,
Charles Abrams, Oscar Lewis, Barrington Kaye, T.G. McGee, Victor S. D'Souza, D.R. Gadgil, S.N. Sen and P. Ramchandran etc. In this book the topic like origin of slums, nature, characteristics and theories of slums, slums in United States, Latin American Region, Slums in Asian cities (Singapore, Philippines, Indonesia), slums in India and urban renewal programmes have been dealt with.

The slums (Challenge and Response) by David R. Hunter is a noteworthy book on the subject. Marshall B. Clinard the noteworthy name in the task of community development in India has produced a book on Slums and Community Development (Experiments in Self Help). The work deals with approach to the slum problem, urban community development and the Indian Slums (A case-study) and the process of social change in the slum area in particular. Alvin L. Schorr has dealt with space structure and poverty, poverty in the midst of change etc. in his book 'Slums and Social Insecurity'. This book sets itself two parallel tasks. First to examine the interaction of the people and the housing in which they live. Secondly to examine the role
of national policy in providing housing and in helping U.S. and British citizens to move up out of poverty. Bharat Sewak Samaj, Delhi Pradesh surveyed the Slums of Old Delhi - 'A Socio-Economic Survey in 1958'. Dr. M.S. Gorre the eminent sociologist was one of the members in the survey committee. It is also one of the important work.

All these and other studies on the problem of slums have been dealt with different ways although they have studied something in common because they could not covered it. The present attempt is to make a sociological study of slums and sub-culture in a corporation city. For this purpose Agra has been selected being nearest to Aligarh. Further, much has been done on slums of Kanpur and no work so far has been done on slums of Agra. In Agra there are 15 slums having total population of 14,819 further divided into 3,451 families. The description of these 15 slums is given in Chapter IV and V.

Defining the Slum:

We should not assume that Agra as a whole is
full of congestion, blight and insanitation. There are certain areas that possess the above mentioned characteristics, whereas they are absent in others. In this way we can say that slums and non-slum areas, both exist in the forefold of the city of The Taj. Different scholars have defined slum in different ways. It would be desirable to examine those definitions prior to dealt the extent of slums in Agra.

According to David R. Hunter¹ "A slum is a mass of more or less non-descript individual houses, tenements, stables, dilapidated shops, an absence of paint, accumulation of dirt, tin cans and rubbish. The picture is scented with a dark, damp, moldy odor, intermingled with the smell of decaying matter. We think of slum as the abode of half-starved filthy clothed children, of deseared and crippled individuals; a place of poverty; wretchedness, ignorance and vice. We think of it as a

a recession from normal standards of a sound society. The slum is a distinctive area of disintegration and disorganization. It is not merely the decaying and delapidated houses, the filthy allay and streets nor number of uncared children and poverty-striken adults which make up the slums. The slum is more than an economic condition. It is a social phenomenon, in which the attitudes ideals and practices play an important part.

In 1938, The State Division of Housing, New York published a pamphlet, named as 'A Primer About Slums'. On the covering page of this pamphlet, it has been mentioned that 'Slum is an ugly name for a place in which to live. It is the final phase of a neighbourhood sickness that attacks our towns and cities'.

Ford's study can be considered as monumental.

He started reviewing the way, slum had been defined

2. A Primer About Slums (Albany, New York State Division of Housing 1938).
over the years. He has pointed out towards the funda-
mental difficulty in defining slum, as too much emphasis
is laid upon local peculiarities. The slum tends to be
defined in term of more or less accurately personel
consequences. We may therefore better define a blighted
district as any area in which large majority of buildings,
whether commercial, industrial or residential are old
and in which fundamental repairs are no-longer being made.
Any area of deteriorated housing in which there is poor
up-keep of houses and premises is a blighted district
and a potential slum. Any area of old neglected and
deteriorated housing or of new markedly sub-standard
housing is a slum as soon as it becomes insanitary or
otherwise infurjous to its occupants. The slum is thus
characterized by age, neglect and low standard or
practices in sanitation. In this way, Ford's summery
definition of a slum is "The slum is a residential
area in which housing is so deteriorated, so sub-standard,
or so-in wholesome as to be menace -- to the health,
safety, morality or welfare of the occupants". This
makes housing condition as the root cause of slum
John R. Seeley⁴ divides slums into four basic types (i) the permanent necessitarians, (ii) the temporary necessitarians, (iii) the permanent opportunists and (iv) temporary opportunists. Among the permanent necessitarians are the indolents, the adjusted poor and social outcasts. Among temporary necessitarians are the respectable poor and the trapped. The permanent opportunists are fugitives, unfoundable prostitutes and a sparting crowd. The temporary opportunists are beginners, climbers and entrepreneurs.

Charles Stokes has divided slums into the slums of hope and slums of despair. The slum of hope is a way station. One person or family may stay there, a fairly long time, but there is a feeling of transition in it. The people there are going to get out, they are on their way somewhere. These people are not yet participating fully in the economic and social life of the city, but there is reasons to believe that they feel, that

day they will.

The slum of despair is the end of the line and there is no way out. Its inhabitants feel that way about themselves.

Bharat Sewak Samaj\(^5\) has used the term 'slum' to those parts of the city which may be considered unfit for human inhabitation either because the structures therein are old, dilapidated, grossly congested and out of repairs or because it is impossible to preserve sanitation for want of sanitary facilities including ventilation, drainage, water supply etc. or because the sites by themselves are unhealthy.

**Extent of slums:**

After examining the different definitions given by different scholars, we adopt the different characteristics that may be helpful in locating the slum area. Characteristics are:

(i) dilapidated houses

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Photographs showing the pigs moving in slums
(ii) congestion and over-crowdedness

(iii) lack of sanitation facilities, including ventilation, drainage water-supply etc.

(iv) unhealthy surroundings

(v) area unfit for human inhabitation.

Keeping the above mentioned characteristics in mind different areas in the city of Agra were tested as slums. The slums of Agra are non-industrial in character as they are predominantly inhabited by Muslims, Jatavas, Balmikis, Koli, Kumhars, Barhias etc. who are mostly engaged in non-industrial occupations. Further the development of these slums is not as a result of the process of industrialization, but rather urbanization although the earlier factor may have indirect bearing. We have never talked about slums in villages although they may be having the above characteristics.

Most of the cities in India are industrial centres, whereas in rest of the cities are also in the process of industrialization. Agra has also its industrial estate located at Jamna river (Jamna Bridge), that is
towards the east end of the city. On Agra-Mathura Road, so many industries have been established. The Oil Refinery is also in the process of construction. Although Agra is famous for its leather industry in the country and exports shoes to the foreign countries. It is having 3 tanneries and more than 300 shoes factories. Most of these factories are small sized. Most of the labour in these factories is contract labour. But this labour has characteristics of its own.

Towards a General theory of Sub-Culture:

Culture refers to knowledge, beliefs, values, codes, tests and prejudices that are traditional in social groups and that are acquired by participation in such groups. But notion of culture is not limited to the distinctive ways of life of such large-scale national and tribal societies.

Every society is internally differentiated into numerous sub groups - each with ways of thinking and doing that are in some respect particularly its own. One can acquire it only by participating in these
sub-groups and that one can scarcely help acquiring, if he is full-fledged participant. These cultures within cultures are sub-cultures. In this way in different societies, we may find the differences in dress, speech, folkways, politics etc. within each age group there flourish sub-cultures not shared by their seniors or juniors. Cohen has further remarked that there are sub-cultures within sub-cultures, such as sub-cultures of neighbourhood family, gang or clique within the neighbourhood and so on so forth. All these sub-cultures have something in common. These sub-cultures are acquired only by interaction — that is interaction within the group — those who already share and embody in them belief and action. In other words we may think of cultural pattern.

In the chapter III of his book, Cohen has discussed the General theory of sub-cultures with a view to formulate the problem in hand. It is most essential to study his theory to understand as to how the sub-cultures

get started and what keeps them going-on. If the
general theory provides a key to understand sub-
cultures of different kinds otherwise not. Cohen
says that we hover between doing and not doing, doing
this or doing that, doing it one way or doing it another.
Each choice is an act and each act is a choice. Not
every act is a successful solution. On the other hand,
not every problem needs imply distress, anxiety,
bedevilment. Most problems are familiar and recurrent,
we have for them ready solutions, habitual modes of
action which find efficacious and acceptable.

If we want to know what people do, we must be
clear about the nature of human problems what produces
them. Therefore it is necessary to recognize that all
the multifarious factors and circumstances, that conspire
to produce a problem come from one or the other of two
sources, namely (1) the actor's frame of reference and
(2) the situation he confronts or faces with. The
changes in one or both of these classes of determinants
create and solve the problems as such.
This world includes physical setting in which we live in. While living in this world we must operate a fruitful supply of time and energy with a view to accomplish our needs and ends and also the expectations demands and social organization of people surrounding us. Our problems are what they are as the situation limits the things we can do and have the conditions under which they are possible. But unflexibility of the situation and the problems they create are always relative to the actor. what the actor (person) sees and he feels about what he sees depends much on his viewpoint.

Things are seared and plentiful, difficult or easy, cheap or costly depend on our scales of values. The facts never store us in the face. They, in fact, consist of interests, preconceptions, values and stereotypes and values. Our hard or difficult problems are those, that lead us to frustration, anxiety, tensions or helplessness. He may try to solve them in different ways, may be fair or foul - he may have failures or success. There is the mechanism of adjustment projection, rationalization and substitution etc. -- they are all,
ways of coping with problems by a change within the actor's frame of reference.

The other factor that we must recognize according to Cohen in building up a theory of sub-cultures is that human problems are not distributed in a random way among the roles that make up a social system.

Each age, sex, social and ethnic category, according to Cohen (including occupation, economic stratum and social class) consist of people, who have been equipped by their society and frame of reference.

The emergence of 'group-standards' of shared frame of reference is the emergence of new sub-culture. It is cultural because each actor's participation in this system of norms is influenced by his perception of the same norms in others. It is sub-cultural because the norms are shared only by those actors, who find for one-another a sympathetic moral climate. In this way the culture is continually being created, recreated and modified, where-ever individuals sense in one-another
like needs, generated by like circumstances not shared
generally in the large social system, once established,
such a sub-cultural system may persist but not by sheer
inertia. It may achieve a life which outlasts. A
sub-cultural solution entails the emergence of a certain
amount of group solidarity and hightened interaction among
the participants in the sub-culture. It is only in
interaction with those who shares his values, that the
actor finds social validation, for his beliefs and social
rewards for his way of life and confirmed existence of the
group and frindly interaction with its members became
value for its member.

The members of the sub-cultural groups are moti­
vated to look to one-another for those goods and services
and relationships of co-operation and exchange. This
accentuates the separateness of the group, the dependend
of members on the group and richness and individuality
of its sub-culture. But no group can entirely live
isolated, it shall have to maintain some relationship
with its outer-world. In the guide-lines of this general
theory of sub-cultures we can say that slum have their cultures, that cultures are sub-cultures within the cities, we live in.

The Culture of Slum:

The slum has a culture of its own and this culture is a way of life. Culture is learned and is shared and is also transmittable. This learned way of life is passed from one generation to another. It is the habits, customs, behaviour, patterns people have learned and which they hold that move them to act in particular ways. Therefore, we can say that people themselves produce neither slums, nor well kept neighbourhoods.

The slum culture affects every facet of life of the dwellers. It is largely a synthesis of culture of lower class. This lower class has been referred by Lewis7 as the culture of poverty. Marshall B. Clinard8

7. Oscar Lewis - Culture of Poverty.
WOMEN WASHING THEIR CLOTHES IN SLUM AREA

PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING SPREADING OF WATER & MUD WITH WASTE
has pointed out that nearly all slum dwellers are of the lower class and with few exceptions, they live at the poverty level, but not all lower class people or poor certain people live in slums. Each individual in the slum is influenced in different degrees by the general slum culture. Certain people may live in slum areas and may be poor but remain unattached from the slum culture. People belonging to high classes or high castes may live in the slums and yet do not become the part of the slum life. They may be living in slums because of cheap rent in slum area and not due to any other reason.

In slum the life is usually gregarious and largely centred. There is very little privacy, confusion and noise. The life has more spontaneity and behaviour of its members is more unrestricted in street as well as in home. Mostly the violent measures are adopted to settle the disputes. There is greater tolerance of deviant behaviour, a high rate of delinquency and crime and an ambivalence towards criminal activities against outer world.
There is an attitude of fatalism towards life. The slum dweller are always indifferent towards the outer world. Autonomy is the major concern of the slum-dwellers. Unemployment, under-employment and low wages are common characteristics of slum culture. Their incomes are irregular, no savings or even the absence of desire to save. Poverty is both, a relative and absolute term. In absolute sense, it means a lack of resources for specific needs.

As a slum is thought to be inferior so its dwellers are also inferior. They are socially isolated from rest of the city in terms of power and participation. Persons living in slums lack in effective means of communication with outer-world. E. Franklin Frazier points out that the life of slum is lived almost entirely without the conventional world. He further says that the local politician often becomes the only ambassador to the outside world one who unfortunately tries to

manipulate it frequently for his own benefit.

Slum dwellers realize that they live under conditions that are physically and socially inferior to those of middle class or those who are not living in slum.

Hollingshead has pointed out that the upper class view the area populated by lower class in these terms -

"They enjoy their huts and shacks along the river or across the tracks and love their dirty smoky, low class diners and taverns...... The men are too lazy to work or do odd jobs around town... This group lives for a Saturday of drinking or fighting. They are of low character and breed and have a criminal record for a pedigree." 11

A research study of midtown, Manhattan reported that lower-class tenement dwellers have feelings of futility and express a fatalistic outlook on life. Some of the studies have revealed this fact that not all slum-dwellers feel inferior or rejected. Studies of


more settled Italian slums in Boston have demonstrated that
the residents found many satisfaction in their neighbour-
hood and did not want to be moved from it. Whyte\textsuperscript{12}
stated that although the North End was a mysterious,
dangerous and depressing place to an outsider, but it
provided an organized and familiar environment for those
who have live there. In West End of Boston Gans\textsuperscript{13} found
that the residents were satisfied with their neighbourhood
and did not want to leave them for suburbs or central city
that offered improved conditions.

In the guidelines of the above mentioned
discussions, the following hypothesis were formulated.

1. Slum culture is a culture of poverty.
2. Low-class people live in slums.
3. Low Income forces the people to live in slums.
4. Slums have large sized families.
5. The extent of literacy is the lowest.

\textsuperscript{12} William F. Whyte - Street Corner Society, University

\textsuperscript{13} Herbert J. Gans, - The Urban Villagers: group and Class
in the life of Indian Americans - The Free
6. Slums consist of dilapidated houses, congestion, over-crowdedness, lack of sanitation facilities including ventilation, drainage, water-supply etc. They are unhygienic in character.

7. They are fatalists and have firm belief in God. They are mostly religious minded. They believe in magic and spell and they also practice the same.

8. The slum-leadership is a defection.

9. Slums are the out-class of industrialization and urbanization.

10. Slum-dwellers feel inferior. They are socially isolated.

11. Slum dwellers are of low character, lazy to work, dirty, quarrelsome, drunkers, extravagants and vagabonds.

12. Slums provide an organized and familiar environment to those who live in. Slum dwellers do not prefer to leave their present dwellings and are unwilling to shift to better locality.

With the help of the above mentioned hypothesis an interview schedule and an observation schedule was
prepared for the purpose of study. The preliminary information regarding location of slums in the city was sought from the office of Public Relation Officer, Agra Municipal Corporation. The information regarding the population of the slum localities was gathered from District Election Office. Afterwards all the 15 slums were visited with a view to have general information, such as location, surroundings, neighbourhood localities, who live in slums, the predominant caste group etc.

After preliminary collection of background data 6 slums, 2 slums each belonging to different religions and caste group, were selected for the purpose of investigation. Rest of the slums were found un-suitable for study of the problem in hand as some of their important dwellers seemed to be indifferent and non-co-operative at the time of rapport. The slums of Agra, called as 'Malin Bastis'. They are predominantly concentrated by low caste-groups as well as low-income groups.

Proportional representation of the house-holds in each Basti was taken. For the purpose of collection of data,
convenient sampling method was adopted. For the purpose of study, 500 cases were to be selected, therefore it was kept into mind that they must represent the proportion of the total house holds in each basti.

Table No. 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of slum</th>
<th>Total No. of house-holds</th>
<th>Sample No. of house-holds</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nagla Chidda</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>18.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nagla Faqirchand</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>13.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Basai</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>23.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Basti Taj Ganj</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>16.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nala Nuri Darwaza</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Soron Katra</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1704</strong></td>
<td><strong>500</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sample of 500 cases was selected by the following formula:

\[ S = \frac{ps \times t}{N} \]

Where \( S \) = Selection of House-hold.

\( ps \) = Population of the slum.
\[ t = \text{Total No. of sample required.} \]
\[ N = \text{Total No. of House-holds.} \]

The size of sample for each slum was drawn as follows:

1. **Nagla Chdda** = \( S = \frac{312 \times 500}{1704} = 91 \)
2. **Nagla Faqirchand** = \( S = \frac{309 \times 500}{1704} = 90 \)
3. **Basai** = \( S = \frac{395 \times 500}{1704} = 115 \)
4. **Basti Tal Ganj** = \( S = \frac{278 \times 500}{1704} = 82 \)
5. **Nagla Nuri Darwaza** = \( S = \frac{114 \times 500}{1704} = 34 \)
6. **Boror Katra** = \( S = \frac{290 \times 500}{1704} = 88 \)

On the basis of the analysis, it was found that sample represents Jatavs (36.6%), Balmiks (Harijans) (33%), Brahmins (0.4%), Thakurs (1%), and Muslims (29%) respectively. They are having the residence period in locality between 3 to 40 years. Majority of the respondents belong to urban area. The interview schedules and observation schedule were pre-tested before their final application and necessary improvements.
were being made. The data was tabulated on master sheet and on the basis of tally system tables were prepared.

The study has its own limitations such as non-representation of the entire universe. In other words this study is only confined to 40% of the total slums in Agra whereas within these 40% slums only 29.3% of the house-holds are covered. All the different aspects of slums and sub-cultures have not been studied nor it was possible for the investigator to study. It would have been better if only one slum locality could have been selected for intensive survey. The study may have some methodological short-comings. In spite of all, this the investigator has tried his level best to study the problem in hand, sincerely, honestly, patiently and scientifically with a view to have objectivity. Whatever is contained in this research work may throw light on some of the aspects of slums and sub-culture. It may not add the basic contribution towards the existing work on slums but the researcher feels that it may bring to the limelight some of the facts.