CHAPTER ONE

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

The twin processes of urbanization and industrialization have, historically generated a great deal of interest among the social science researchers of various disciplines like political science, sociology, economics, history, demography, archaeology and so on. The discipline of political science is particularly concerned with this phenomena, as they are to a considerable extent the result of political processes in a given society. Furthermore, the contemporary processes of liberalization, privatization and globalization since 1990s have compounded this interest and concern as they have added new dimensions to the existing social reality. The quality of governance and life at all levels are the prime concerns of Political Science whom Aristotle has called 'a master science' or 'a master discipline'. It is an apex social science discipline as it has far reaching consequentiality on all spheres of life in a given society despite these changes.

In the recent times questions have been raised regarding the quantity and quality of governance at all levels – local, state or central. There is a growing feeling that governance has touched its lowest limits in this decade on almost all fronts. Consequently, a widespread feeling of distrust in the political institutions has developed. As viewed by Singh and Yadav (1996:42) people have less trust
in either political institutions or political leaders. The trust is more in independent institutions than any political party or institutions.

**TABLE 1:1**

**Index of Popular Trust in Institutions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Score</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Election Commission</td>
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<td>Local Self Government</td>
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<td>Political Parties</td>
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<td>Bureaucracy</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>28</td>
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</table>


Political will as well as the institutions have failed to provide the basic services like clean, safe and adequate drinking water even after 50 years of independence. Administration or bureaucracy is the arm to translate the policies into realities. Questions are raised about their efficiency and efficacy to deliver these goods. The popular perception of bureaucracy, at the operating levels, (district, block etceteras) is that of ‘an organized band of exploiters’ (Saxena, 1995:3).

The larger question that the study addresses to is that of ‘governance at local level.’ Lord Ripon, the father of local – government, defines it as “the...
schools of democracy and the training ground for citizenship” (Raj, 1973:5). Montague Chelmsford Reforms proposals of 1917 also regarded the self-governing institutions as the first step in the realization of responsible government (Raj, 1973:5). The twin objectives of local government in India are:

Firstly, they are to function as instruments of local democracy whereby they help in the mobilization of both people’s co-operation as well as citizen’s participation. Secondly, they are to develop as well as operate public utilities and also provide municipal services and public convenience for a healthy and congenial environment (Raj, 1973:6).

The present study is an empirical investigation of the quality of distribution of certain basic urban services in slum areas of a middle level Indian city, namely the city of Baroda (formerly known as Baroda) in Gujarat. It has acquired a status of metropolitan city after the 1991 Census. The central object of study by any student of Politics and Public Administration should be to find out how and why a given level of government distributes the basic but scarce values in that society. It is his task to raise and make earnest efforts to answer relevant questions regarding the location, quality and consequences of distribution of any such values. The question of public services (or public utilities) in urban areas in one such theme which has generated a great deal of interest among the researchers and policy makers in government.
It has been observed that the problem of distribution of public services is not restricted particularly to slum areas. There are other non-slum areas in the city who do not receive public services in adequate measure. But the quality and quantity of public services in slum areas is so low, insufficient and inadequate that it ultimately affects the overall quality of life of the people in slums to a considerable extent, unlike the non-slum areas. As the city of Baroda has grown and continues to grow, the slum areas in the city are also growing, if not at a greater rate, then at least at the general rate of growth of the city.

The study broadly focuses on the urban local government's failure (as popular belief) to translate the resources of the urban areas to make cities livable, healthy and safe places. Today cities are expanding both in population and area. This adds pressure on the local bodies to provide the basic services like water, electricity, and drainage etceteras to the ever-increasing population. It is a widely prevalent and common observation that these services are inequally distributed in an urban area. Most city master plans reflect these inequalities. The urban poor sections are grossly affected by this distribution as they are not in a position to avail these services but are 'frequently denied access to public services' (Misra and Sarma, 1979:1). The processes of liberalization and globalization will further deteriorate their conditions, as they will be left to fend for themselves. Due to the states withdrawal from the social sector, an increasing number of people will be marginalised from the main stream and will be forced to take refuge in make shift shelters in any possible location (Razu, 1998:58, Stefan, 1998:63).
1.2 DEFINING URBANIZATION

Mankind is heading towards an urban world in the 21st century. This progress to an urbanized world, however, is neither free of problems nor it is a smooth journey to that, apparently so promising, world. Urbanization is an inevitable phenomena and it essentially brings along numerous problems like housing, unemployment, congestion, pollution, poverty, crime and slums etcetera. According to the United Nations estimates, in 1992 there were 13 urban agglomerations (more than 10 million people in each) in the world. Out of these 13, about 7 were in Asia, 4 in Central and Latin America, and 2 in USA (Roy and Gupta, 1995:30). It is predicted that in the next century, the urban scene will be dominated by cities located in developing nations, although they have a lower level of urbanization as compared to cities of developed nations like United States of America and some of the European countries.

The phenomena of urbanization is defined differently by scholars belonging and looking at it from different angles. A demographer would view urbanization as an increase in the proportion of the urban population to the total population (Bose and Bhatia, 1978:3). A school having “social welfare” view would link urbanization with housing, slums and urban policy. However, such an approach often takes one on a wrong track sidelining the main issue of economy or jobs prior to houses. The common and more widely accepted definition of urbanization is the migration of people from rural areas to urban areas. However, this definition too tends to ignore rather recent phenomena, the intra-urban
migration (from one urban area or city to another) which does not show a rise in absolute urban population. Further, it is equally essential to consider the economics of urbanization that is, urbanization is an aspect of economic growth (Bose and Bhatia, 1978:4). Therefore, instead of condemning urbanization as evil, bad and undesirable, we should accept that it is essential and desirable not only for increasing economic growth but also for bringing social change, especially in a country like India.

Eldridge (Castells, 1972:10) on the other hand characterizes “Urbanization as a process of population concentration at two levels – (a) the proliferation of points of concentration and (b) the increase in size of each of these points.” This definition assumes urban area to be a distinct form of occupation of space by a population. It is a place that reflects high concentration and high density of population along with increasing social and functional differentiation.

According to Castells (1972:15), “the term urbanization refers both to the constitution of specific spatial forms of human societies, characterized by the significant concentration of activities and population in a limited space and to the existence and diffusion of a particular cultural system, the urban culture”.

Urbanization mainly refers to two distinct processes – on one hand it refers to the growth of towns, cities and metropolis in their functional and sociological matrices representing various patterns of settlement, whereas on the other it refers to the growth of socio-cultural systems or the development of an
urbanizing society. Hence, as a space bound phenomena, urbanization refers to a system as a whole and as a culture – bound phenomena it refers to a society and the changes in a society. Schematically it can be represented in the following manner:

Urbanization thus, not only implies mere attribute of space to which the term ‘urban’ is applied, or an increase in density of urban population overcrowding and congestion of cities. It, at the same time, means the process of becoming urbanized by adopting and adjusting to the new system and new values.

Figure 1.1: Urbanization Process

In United States, the process of urbanization has brought change in political, social and economic field simultaneously; these very changes have
influenced the urbanization process. It is a dynamic process, the result of which can be experienced differently in a particular city as well as a nation as a whole. In United States there are two distinct and opposite images of a city. The positive view holds cities in a favourable manner depicting them to be innovative, progressive, modern and as engines of growth. That is, they are 'generative' of knowledge, power and wealth for the entire country. Contrary to this, the negative view holds cities as place of alienation, disease and decadence (Andranovich and Riposa, 1993:1). However, the contemporary popular perception regards city to be center of arts, culture and music, recreation, leisure, drugs, reflects gap between the rich and the poor, inadequate infrastructure, pollution, crime and concentration of commercial activities.

Especially after World War II, urbanization has become a universal phenomena. However, its rate of growth has been different from country to country and continent to continent. From among these, the developing countries, who have got independence after the Second World War, have been urbanizing rapidly due to the planned, intended, deliberate policies / efforts to develop. Therefore, urbanization in these countries is very different. Karl Marx had defined it as "urbanization of the countryside" (Gilbert and Gugler, 1995:16). Hoselitz (Gilbert and Gugler, 1995:17) observes that "the cities of contemporary underdeveloped countries are hybrid institutions, formed in part as a response of a indigenously developing division of social labour and in part as a response to the impacts made upon less advanced countries by their integration into the world economy". One of the important impact of colonial rule has been the creation of
new cities (to meet their trade interest). In the process they have either ‘destroyed, transformed or distorted’ (Gilbert and Gugler, 1995:18) the indigenous structures of urbanization. For example, in India, Delhi and Hyderabad were ancient cities but British rulers established new port cities in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The ancient cities managed to survive, but the new cities became dominant during those times and even in contemporary urban system they still dominate.

URBANIZATION IN INDIA

India occupies the seventh position in the world so far as the total area is concerned. In ranks second in population in the world. The rate at which it is demographically growing, it is estimated to top (overcome China’s population) the world by 2030 A.D. This clearly shows the magnitude of the problem – a fixed land area and an increasing number of people to be supported. Added to this, the urban development in India is at its most dynamic stages and it is predicted that by 2000 A.D. the urban population will be around 320 million or approximately 33 percent (Singh and Steinberg, 1996:xxix).

Unlike most of the developing and under developed countries, India has a long tradition in urbanization. It can be traced to the evolution of Indus Valley Civilization around 2500 BC. Historically, the process of urbanization in India has never been continuous. It has distinctly been through intermittent phases. During the ancient, medieval and modern period in Indian history, there were
forces and factors, which helped in the spread of urbanization to various parts of the country. Therefore, India’s urban pattern is a mosaic of segments belonging to the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial periods (Bala, 1986). According to Petrov (1996:2), Indian urbanization has passed through four distinct phases “pre-feudal (from early times to 1000 A.D.), feudal (1000 to 1757 A.D.), early colonial (1757 to 1857 A.D.) and late colonial (1857 to 1947 A.D.).” In the pre-feudal times, towns normally were “exchange centres of the surplus agricultural produce as well as centres of culture.” During the feudal times these towns became not only administrative centers but also military headquarters and a pulling bloc for artisans. “The bazaar symbolized its economic vitality” (Singh and Steinberg, 1996:p.2). Early colonial phase, however, reflects de-urbanization. It is believed to be a consequence of the manufactured goods imported to India from Britain and as a result de-industrialization. It was around middle of the nineteenth century that revival of the process of urbanization is noticed. During this period one can see a clear emergence of capitalist town with distinct capitalist mode of production. From here we see a change in the urban population with more people taking employment in non-agricultural sector like manufacturing, government services, general services trade etcetera.

However, after independence emphasis was on planned development in order to reconstruct the shattered economy. Achievement of this objective necessitated adoption of interventionist Welfare State and the policy of decentralization. This brought a significant change in the urbanization process. Though the capitalistic mode of production continued during the post – colonial
period, it however, brought back the importance of mainland cities as compared to the port cities, which assumed prominence and importance in the colonial phase. This in turn led to somewhat horizontal spread of cities throughout the country.

According to Ramachandran (1989:23) the Indian urbanization process can be summarized as a cultural process during the pre-historic times as it was synonymous with both the origin and rise of the civilization. It was a political process from the ancient times to the British Imperial rule as it centered around the Kingdoms and Dynasties, their rise and downfall, the ruler of these Kingdoms etceteras. From nineteenth century onwards, he says, urbanization has been intrinsically associated with industrialization and consequent economic development and therefore, he calls it as an economic process.

In spite of having a rather long urban history, G. Krishan and N. Singh, note that “India remains one of the less urbanized countries of the world. It entered the present century as one-tenth urban. It was around one-sixth urban at the time of Independence in 1947. The 1991 Census recorded over one-fourth, to be precise 26.1 percent, of the total population as urban (Table 1.2). The corresponding figure for the world was 45 percent in 1990 (United Nations, 1991, p.107). The less developed countries together recorded 37 percent of their population as urban” (Singh and Steinberg, 1996:3). That is, India has comparatively a lower level so far as urbanization is concerned.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>No. of Towns / Urban Agglomerations</th>
<th>Urban Population (in millions)</th>
<th>Urban Population as percent of the Total</th>
<th>Annual Growth Rate during the Preceding Decades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2,845</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,365</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2,590</td>
<td>109.1</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3,378</td>
<td>159.1</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3,768</td>
<td>217.6</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Census of India 1991; and Government of India, 1991 S-1 and S-3

* Data not available.
Numerically, however, the picture is different since Indian urban population is second largest (may be because of the total population) in the world, first being China. So, in absolute number it is estimated to be around 300 million in the year 2001 (Singh and Steinberg, 1996:3). Consequently, the magnitude of the problem arising out of urbanization will be high, even if it has a lower level of urbanization.

Another notable feature of Indian urbanization is the wide regional disparity in the level of urbanization. This is not an unexpected feature given the heterogeneity in resources, development stage, and historical experience of various regions etcetera. In the entire country, relatively southern India is more urban than the northern India, which primarily is agricultural. In north India, Punjab and Bengal are the only regions, which have higher urbanization rate than the national average (Singh and Steinberg, 1996:4). South India being a coastal area has commercial agriculture in cotton, oilseeds, sugarcane and plantation crops and therefore, has a higher level of industrialization.

Yet another distinct feature of urbanization is captured in the following words:

Recent urbanization is the dispersal of urban land uses onto the countryside. This is more typical of metropolitan cities [Baroda being one and has 7 outgrowths which usually emerges outside the statutory limits of a town, for example,
University Campus, Military Camp, Slum Locality and Port Area]. This urban sprawl is taking several forms: urban–rural fringe, ribbon development along with main routes and urban enclaves in the countryside. The related problems of preserving the green belt, provision of services, such as local transport, water supply and electricity to dispersed pockets, and administration of localities in the grey zone between the urban and rural call for action with foresight and urgency (Singh and Steinberg, 1996:10-12).

Moreover, there are two diverse perceptions in Indian thinking. One is that urbanization is undesirable—therefore, controlling migration of people from rural areas to urban areas is essential. This is to be controlled or checked through rural development programmes like Community Development, Integrated Rural Development and Jawahar Rozgar Yojna etcetera. On the other hand, the Five Year Plans reflect a picture where rapid economic growth/development is considered important to tackle the problems of backwardness, underdevelopment, poverty etcetera. To achieve this, constant emphasis is laid on the building of physical infrastructure—power, transport, and irrigation, increasing agricultural productivity as well as providing a massive industrial base. However, it was overlooked that urbanization will be a logical, inevitable consequence of such plans. In fact, none of the countries that are developed, has experienced a sustained economic growth without experiencing urbanization simultaneously (Singh and Steinberg, 1996:14). The Indian thinking, somehow, has rejected the
inevitability of the urbanization process. Therefore, any issue related to urbanization has been wrongly perceived and addressed viz. urbanization is a problem and needs to be checked, slums are problems, unhygienic so eradicate them. Instead urbanization should be accepted as an inevitable consequence and proper and effective management of slums should be undertaken to make them environmentally safe and hygienic places to live.

1.3 ARGUMENT OF THE STUDY

As this is a study concerning itself with the politico-administrative aspects of urban management of urban services with reference to provision of water supply, transport and sanitation in the slums and generally centers around the quality of life in slums, it is deemed not only appropriate to have a brief conceptual – definitional discussion on the term ‘slum’. That is to say, what do we mean by the term slum, how it is defined by various western and Indian scholars.

Definition of slums generally includes as well as covers all those urban poor people who are compelled to live in inadequate, inhuman, deplorable and insanitary physical conditions. They present an ugly, congested, polluted site in an urban area. However, this does not imply that these poor people who inhabit these shanties, jhuggi-jampories or basties are dirty themselves or that they lack concern or awareness about cleanliness, sanitation and so on. Quite contrary to
this, it is the lack of availability and accessibility of the basic amenities to those poor areas, which makes them ugly and unclean sites.

Kundu (1996:i) very aptly observes that, the contemporary system is not only inadequate to meet the basic needs of the urban poor but it is at the same time also susceptible to “manipulation by vested interest”. According to him, the main problem is the accessibility and affordability of the services. As a consequence of ill affordability, the poor section could get only a part of these services. On the other hand, the rich sections could easily manage to get better quality of services due to good affordability and good accessibility. Moreover, the policy of economic liberalization will have an adverse effect on the poor sections of the society. They will be further deprived on the affordability aspect with the withdrawal or minimum action of the State. The important question here is that how the present democratic system of governance intends to protect these poor sections of urban area. Any such step would require a better designed intervention specially in the field of basic services like water supply, sanitation etcetera.

Further, the urban services like water supply, sanitation, public health are the obligatory functions of urban local bodies under the Municipalities Act operating in various states in India. Slum areas which form one of the crucial components of urban society, however, often remains neglected and do not receive adequate attention that they deserve with respect to provision of the basic urban services considered necessary for healthy and good life. Interestingly,
slums in urban areas make their vital contribution in terms of various types of labour inputs – gardeners, sweepers, maidservants, cobblers and rickshaw drivers' etcetera. Urban life without their contribution can not be imagined. They create a colossal urban wealth and widen the contours of the city.

Unfortunately though, due to the lack of proper attention towards their development and basic urban services, they have become breeding grounds of various epidemics like malaria, dengue, plague and so on. As a result, they have become environmentally hazardous not only for their own localities but for the entire city. With the uncontrolled expansion of cities (where small cities are becoming big and big cities becoming bigger) and the inevitability of slum growth and their spread, (as even the planned city like Chandigarh could not remain free of this universal phenomena) they need to be attended on a priority basis. Therefore, the whole problem of quality of life in slums calls for a multi-disciplinary orientation, approach and analysis.

The main problem is that, despite there being a well-devised, well-structured, well-oiled apparatus of urban local body (also in Baroda) why is it that a large number of population, locked in slums, have to live a life of such a low quality in terms of water, sanitation and transport? Is the administration inadequate, inefficient to cope with these glaring problems and pathetic situations in the slum areas? Is there ill representation of these sections in the local government, or they are important vote banks only? These are some of the basic questions concerning the study of the distribution of basic urban services in the slums of a metropolitan city like Baroda.
If growth and spread of slums is an inevitable phenomena then the problem is not of the eradication of slums but their improvement in basic services so as to make these places livable. An effort to raise the quality of life in these areas is needed so as to make them environmentally safe for the entire city.

Though urban problems and urban development are considered as important national issues, yet the fact remains that solution of these problems lies with the local administration – municipalities or corporations. Not only the responsibility of solving these problems but also majority of the finance required for the same has to come from the local or municipal finances (Bose, 1978:17). To make matters worse, municipal finance or municipal administration does not fall into the category of major issues at the national level. As a result, they constantly suffer from deficient finance and ever increasing functions. Further, the municipal policies also fail to attract attention of any section of the society (particularly academic scholars) for correction or criticism. Local bodies are also prone to political pressures, corruption, administrative inefficiency, inadequacy and mediocre staffing which play vital role at this level as compared to State or Centre. It is at this level, there is a need of efficient persons and adequate finances in order to fulfil the ever-rising, ever-increasing demands of the increasing population.

(a) Definitions of Slum
The word ‘slum’ may have been derived from the word ‘slump’ which is normally used by geomorphologists to describe “downward” intermittent movement of rock debris (Agnihotri, 1994:3). Patridge (1958) traces the origin of the word slum to ‘slumber’, the dictionary meaning of which is “unknown, back – streets or alleys, wrongly presumed to be sleeping and quiet.” Often the term slum is associated with slavery (wealthy people in developed countries used to keep slaves for domestic activities).

Clinard (1966) traces the earliest use of the word slum to 1812 and the introduction of slumming as a fashionable pursuit to 1884. Britain is the first nation to have formed a definition of slum under section 1 of the Housing Act, 1930 purely for administrative purposes. Since then, several definitions have come up that reveal a distinct differentiation between physical and social aspects of slums. Generally, it is noticed that the term has been used to indicate the physical deterioration rather than human deterioration. Perhaps the physical deterioration is readily visible and can be easily monitored as compared to the human deterioration. For a proper understanding of slums and slum problems, it is essential to have a conceptual definitional discussion on the term ‘slum’ before proceeding to its genesis and problem.
The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1983) defines slums as “congested urban or suburban residential district characterized by deteriorating and insanitary housing, poverty and social disorganization.”

British Government in Housing Act, 1930 defines slum as “an area in which narrowness, closeness and bad arrangement or bad condition of streets and houses within such an area, or for want of light, air, ventilation and proper conveniences and other sanitary causes are dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants of the buildings” (Agnihotri, 1994:7).

The American Housing Act of 1937 also emphasizes on the physical environment of the settlements. It defines slum as “any area with predominance of dwellings which by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements or design, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morals or welfare” (Agnihotri, 1994:7).

Both American and British definitions, that are used for their government action, lay emphasis on the physical environment. This may perhaps be due to the public policies bases on physical environment in order to provide better houses to residents of the area. However, slum definitely is more than mere physically dilapidated housing. It has to do
with the quality of life, its decline, both in physical and social aspects in
the context of urban society.

Bergel (1955:410) offers a more restricted definition of the slum. He says “the slum may be characterized as areas of substandard housing conditions within a city. A slum is always an area. A single neglected building even in the worst stage of deterioration, does not make a slum.” According to a Unesco document “a slum is a building, a group of building or area characterized by overcrowding, deterioration, unsanitary conditions or absence of facilities or amenities which because of these conditions or any of them endanger the health, safety or morals of its inhabitants or the community” (Anderson, 1660:191). Bose (1995:23) defines a slum as, “a deprived human settlement which is demographically, economically and environmentally vulnerable... extreme overcrowding, high density and high level of mortality and fertility are typical demographic features of slum. A large unorganized sector, low levels of productivity and extreme poverty are the usual economic features and the lack of access to basic needs like water, sanitation and clean environment make these areas environmentally hazardous.”

According to the Slum Area (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956 enacted by the Government of India, slums have been defined “those areas where buildings are unfit for human habitation; or are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, design of building, narrowness of streets, lack
of ventilation, light or sanitary facilities or any combination of these factors are detrimental to safety, health or morals” (Chakraborty, 1995:66).

These definitions gives us a glimpse into the meaning and idea of slum. In sum, a slum is such an area where individual as well as collective life is quite far from adequate and desirable levels of living in contrast to the same in the other areas of a city. Moreover, there is hardly any city in the world which is free from slums and slum problems. “Studies on urban development has shown that modern urban slums are an outgrowth of limited and distorted industrial and commercial development and that they punctuate almost every city in the world” (Jha, 1995:76). However, individual city differs in the magnitude and standards of living in their slums and accordingly, varies in the name of the slum settlement.

(b) **Slum Terminology at Global Level**

Numerous terms have been used world-over to designate slums and slum like localities. Some of them are discussed here to arrive at a more clear status of slums and their formations.

(i) **Marginal Settlements**

Morse (1965:474-506) terms slums as “marginal settlements including many kinds of marginalities – geographic
(peripheral location), functional (deprivation of urban services), sociological, economic and psychological." According to him, slum is identified with spatial and land-use terms. A slum can be situated either in the central parts of the city or at the margins. These type of settlements have come into prominence since World War II. For example, favelas of Rio de Janeiro and barrios of Mexico are marginal settlements. Favelas, he says, are inner-city slums where people have been compelled, due to transport and topographical difficulties, to live in inner parts of the city. Most of the people own their dwellings.

(ii) Urban Blights

This term is often used synonymously with slum, the minor distinction, however, implies that a blighted area is not as bad as slum. “Blight is associated with areas having high density of rental units, all of which are fairly characteristic of residential zone of the city, either within or without ghettos” (Northam, 1979). Anderson (1960) calls partially abandoned slums where changes of improvement exist due to decongestion of the people as blight and are found in America. Still there are authors who contend that the conditions in urban blights are better than either a slum or ghetto. However, deterioration in the living conditions of these areas may lead to the formation of slums.
(iii) Ghettos

Mainly ghetto represents ethnically segregated settlements of the USA. They came into existence as a result of social, economic and political forces. In the early decade of 20th century, the black immigrants voluntarily chose innermost parts of the cities to settle which gave rise to ghettos. They are regarded as heterogeneous dwellings and contain "from illiterates to highly educated people, from filth to hospital – like hygienic standards, from poverty to riches, from political backwardness to sophistication...

These areas are usually areas of newest acquisition, inhabited by the well-to-do of the Negro community" (Agnihotri, 1994:13). Ghetto differs from the slum in two respects:

1. Slum generally comprises of native rural immigrants whereas ghettos consist of culturally alien elements.
2. Ghetto is generally an area of crime, of poverty and of danger. Slum, on the other hand, produces a distinct pattern of life and community associations (McGee, 1967:155-170).
The slum, therefore, has chances of improvement as better settlements if the process of urban development continues. But the ghettos, taken as the residential areas mainly inhabited by ethnic minorities of African origin, will continue to exist.

(iv) Shanty Towns

These are mainly peripheral slum and are distinguished from the slum of inner-city. The immigrants first settle in the inner-city slums before moving out to the peripheral shanty towns due to employment or change of place of work. This intra-city migration can be termed as sub-urbanization process (Agnihotri, 1994:14). Normally, the residential units are small with single rooms or one-room apartments with common courtyard containing water taps, toilets and baths for common use.

(v) Squatter Settlements

These types of settlements are common in South East Asian countries where there is an endless struggle for shelter in the city for landless, homeless rural immigrants. A squatter is one who neither owns nor rents the land on which he lives, i.e., one who illegally occupies the land. In this sense, squatter settlements are different from slums which though has overcrowded population
but legal status of ownership (McGee, 1967:155-170). They come into existence as a result of spill – over population of the slum and are forced to live in squatter settlements.

(vi) Kampong

These are found in Indonesia and are such types of inner – city slums that have predominant huts made of bamboos. ‘Kampongs are village settlements and are, therefore, described as reincarnation of rural life in urban environment’ (Agnihotri, 1994:17). Though the Kampongs have lower density of population but these settlements are marked by absence of urban amenities like electricity and water supply.

(vii) Chinatown

The areas where earliest migrants from China had settled in Singapore, were called Chinatown. They had grid pattern of streets and two and three – storey shop-houses (Desai and Pillai, 1972:14). These shop houses have duality in functioning – as a place of residence and also place for commerce. Chinatowns, usually, have high density of population where the shop houses are subdivided by interior partitions into cubicles. Generally, they are without windows and are in semi-darkness, insanitary condition.
Various terms are used to describe the slum localities in India (no other country has such variety of terminology). This can be a result of the multiplicity of cultures in different regions. However, the conditions of slums in India are similar in cities of similar status, though their designations are different. The superficial similarity in appearance of settlements may not be same so far as demographic structure are concerned. The common terminologies of slum in India are:

(1) **Basti**

Slums in Calcutta are known as *basties*. The Calcutta Municipal Act describes *basti* as a collection of huts covering an area of not less than a sixth of an acre (Gupta, 1968:207-215). It includes temporary type of structures which can, on the basis of the construction of house, be divided into (1) huts with mud-walls, and (2) huts with mud-plastered roofs (Sen, 1958:198-200). According to Breese (1963:253-265) *bastis* are small, temporary houses or huts that are built without permission on public or private lands by squatters. They lack in the civic amenities, sanitary facilities are generally found to be primitive and safe drinking water supply is non-existent.
(2)  **Zoppad – Patti**

In Marathi language the word *Zopad* stands for hutment, and a hutment colony is called *Zoppad – patti*. This word is acceptable now among the non Marathi people as well. Primarily, these hutment colonies consists of shelters made out of a variety of hard soft materials like pieces of wood, rags, tin sheets, mud, bricks etcetera. The slums of Mumbai are either multi – storeyed or hutment type. The latter are *zoppad – patties* that normally are found in the outlying areas (Desai and Pillai, 1972:19).

(3)  **Jhuggi – Jhompri**

Such type of settlements are usually a result of either sudden construction or other economic activity that demand labourers in the city. They are temporary dwellings which are built out of locally picked ordinary material. Such units are occupied by labourers who are generally engaged in the construction work. These clusters have likelihood of disappearance as soon as the construction activities are over. However, it cannot be ruled out that with increased in – migration these units have the possibilities of turning into slum areas.
(4) Cheris

It is a Tamil word which means ‘a hamlet’. Slums in Chennai are known as Cheris. These units are similar to the basties of Calcutta. The quarters of the socially downtrodden ‘pariahs’ are known as ‘Para Cheri’ while ‘Idai Cheri’ is a settlement of shepherds (Agnihotri, 1994:45). However, the common usage of cheri has come to mean exclusively Harijans residential area.

(5) Katra

This term is common in Delhi and Kanpur. It is generally used to denote single-room tenements facing a courtyard or other enclosure that has a single-door access to the street (Breese, 1963:253-265). The structure of Katra are like masonry or semi-masonry tenements that are built around a narrow inner courtyard with a single entrance. Though these dwellings have high population density, they do have some privacy as the internal courtyard prohibits direct opening into the streets. In these localities too, ventilation is non-existent and drainage is extremely poor. Apart from this, piped water is inadequate, bathing places and community latrines are insufficient. Extreme congestion, the
absence of open space between two units, make these areas worse than the hutment slums (Agnihotri, 1994:45).

(6) **Chawls**

This is a well-known word in Indian urban scene. *Chawls* are three to four storey structures that are arranged in such a manner that each floor has two opposite rows of one room apartments on either side of a central corridor. Many of these *chawls* run upto five or six storeys and are the true representatives of overcrowding, congestion. The sanitary and public health facilities are always short of the requirements. Usually, the private entrepreneurs construct such houses with the motive of making maximum profit (Agnihotri, 1994:96).

(7) **Ahata**

It is a Hindi word which means 'a courtyard'. "The *ahata* is a collection of dwellings in a compound of more than four buildings which are let-out for residential purposes. The *ahatas* are the most congested slum localities with a density of more than 3,200 persons per acre. Almost 60 percent of the industrial workers live in such *ahatas* in Kanpur" (Agnihotri. 1994:46). Three varieties of slum localities are there in Kanpur: the *ahata*
(the older slum), newer slum and temporary group of huts and are mainly located along roads and railway lines.

The above seven terminologies used to describe slums represent urban slums of India. Among all the above types, space is the crucial hurdle in an overcrowding situation in these settlements. As a result, provision of urban services to the people residing in slum settlements has remained a tricky and difficult task for the planners.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

(a) Genesis of Slums: Global Context

There is hardly any city in the contemporary world, which is free from the problem of slums. Slums have come to be known and accepted as universal urban phenomena, primarily an offshoot of the urbanization process. Whether a particular city is located in a developed world of America or European countries or in undeveloped, underdeveloped and developing countries in Afro-Asia and Latin America, it is rarely free from the pathology of slums. Usually the genesis of slums is traced to the Industrial Revolution in Europe. But the underprivileged strata of society comprising of artisans, labourers, workers etceteras in some of the glorious ancient civilizations like Greeko-Roman, Egyptian, Chinese had to put up with most glaringly inhuman living conditions. That is to say
that, slums are to a great extent the results of twin processes of industrialization and urbanization but have never been wholly the product of industrialization alone. It is also well documented and well accepted fact that poverty is the chief characteristic of a slum life anywhere in the world. The poor have always been on a receiving end and live in the most neglected, dirty, filthy, congested, unhygienic and remote shelter in cities.

However, it must be pointed out that there is a marked qualitative difference in the pre and post industrial revolution phases of growth of slums in the world. Proliferation of slums in old as well as new cities increased at a hitherto unseen rate of growth. The prime reason for this pace of growth was the growing potential of new factories to provide huge employment avenues in cities. Most rural areas offered somewhat limited and uncertain scope of employment, as agrarian societies were undifferentiated economies. Besides, compared to newly emerging factories and cities, the rural area offered very little and unpredictable prospects of subsistence and survival. In such conditions of poverty, ranging from relatively less chronic to severe extent, people world over have looked forward to the cities and industries with a hope of employment and good life. Thus, the cities are symbol of hopes for all men in distress.

This particular feature of the cities has continuously attracted the people in the countryside to migrate for better living standards and quality
of life. Soon it is realized that, the areas of the cities, which are available for settlement for such migrants, are no less than hells on earth. As Mumford observes (1961:460), such migrant workers are “often placed within the left-over spaces between the factories and sheds and the railroad yards” and on “land filled in with ashes, broken glass and rubbish”. Originally, one family house with more than one room were turned into single room rental barracks, housing a full family in just one room. This was a universal phenomena whether it is Mumbai in Asia or Glasgow and Dublin in Europe. It does not even need to be stated as to what quality of life was possible or existed in these “one room one family” dwellings.

Frederick Engles first hand narrative of British slums in 1884 during the period of industrial revolution reveals the horrifying conditions of life in slums. This account can be viewed as an evidence of global phenomenon. Engles wrote as follows (1936,:53-54)

In London, fifty thousand human beings get up every morning not knowing where they are to lay their heads at night. The luckiest of this multitude who succeed in keeping a penny or two until evening, enter a lodging house, such as abounds in every great city, where they find a bed. But what a bed! These houses are filled with beds from cellar to garret, four, five, six beds in a room as many
as can be crowded in. Into every bed four, five or six human beings are piled, as many as can be packed in, sick and well, young and old, drunk and sober, men and women just as they come indiscriminately.... And those who cannot pay for such a refuge? They sleep where they find a place, in passage, arcades, in corners....

In another industrial city in England – Manchester, the conditions of slums were no different. Housing was in acute shortage, arousing conditions of "horrors and indignation". The industrial era has brought forth a new category in form of industrial or factory workers. The swarms of workers where crammed into limited shelters (made from cattle-sheds) at a high price, plundering the poverty of the helpless workers and undermining their health. The industrial epoch made the owners of the cattle-shed in Manchester richer and richer without any labour or work. This is a historical account of a part of the global process.

(b) **Slums in Capitalist and Non-Capitalist Countries:**

Slums are viewed as an inevitable resultant phenomenon of industrialization and urbanization in all capitalist countries. Slums are never on a significantly corrective agenda of capitalist countries as they are incorrigible fact of urban life and uncorrectable feature of human society. The problem of slums is actually rooted in the institution of private property especially related to land and housing. But those
countries, known as socialist bloc, which did not tread the path of capitalist development (in most part of this century) such as Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and other countries like Cuba, Vietnam, China etcetera tackled the problem of slums rather appreciably. There is a paucity of literature on socialist experience on the aspect but available data / material suggests that urban settlements are so planned by the State that it does not breed slums. This is so because the prime factor land is socially owned by the state and thus freed from the ugly speculative clutches of market operators. The housing material as well as the construction activity are not left in the private hands but socially owned and operated which in turn eliminates the private profit motive which is the driving force of capitalism. The process of urban development and town planning in capitalist countries are areas of “private warfares” among fiercely and brutally competing profit oriented individuals. This leads to formation of a vested class interest in cities, which leads to securing the best of resources for a few and leaving the rest economically not so profitable or viable areas for the masses. The prime urban space is reserved for the business and commercial premises of this class whereas the underprivileged masses are pushed into peripheries of urbanscape. In socialist societies, the resources are socially controlled and hence, they structurally eliminate the scope of breeding slums and subhuman slum life.
Today, for instance, one of the most advanced, developed and the richest countries like U.S.A. is not free from the shocking conditions of sub-standard housing, hunger, ill-health, insanitation and poverty. What is more striking is that this problem is nowhere near solution even in a developed country like U.S.A. Furthermore, the new upcoming housing tenements are also turning into slums or ghettos, breeding juvenile delinquency and other minor as well as major crimes. Harrington (1982:140) has aptly pointed that “the other America” is heartless and hopeless place. The old slums had some ray of hope of prospects of good life and spirit of oneness on account of common nationality, race or religion the people in that area. But all this was wiped out with urban renewal programme of the federal government, which destroyed the old structures and made new ones for the evacuees. These displacements have caused huge despair and distress among the slum-dwellers in “other America”.

The same problem is seen, in its most acute and chronic form, in undeveloped or underdeveloped capitalist countries of Latin America. Almost all cities in Latin America such as Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Lima, Caracus, Cargagenia, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago or Puerto Alto have slums and shanties. All these slums are located on the outskirts or peripheries of these cities known by different names in different cities and countries.
Oscar Lewis (1961) has done extensive studies of life in slums of Latin American countries and developed a concept of 'culture of poverty'. This concept encompasses all those who are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in a given society such as poorest workers, peasants, plantation labourers, a large mixed mass of small artisans and other destitutes. The victims of the 'culture of poverty' are those who are marginalised and least integrated in the national and societal mainstream. Their participation in institutions of local or national governance, public services like health, education, co-operatives etceteras is either negligible or marginal. Sadly, as Lewis (1961) observes most of such people are not even members of trade unions and political parties.

He contends that there are economic, social, political and psychological aspects of 'culture of poverty'. Unemployment or erratic employment, subsistence wages, an assortment of hazardous, unskilled occupations, child labour, chronic shortage of cash, frequent but need-based purchases in small quantities of food are some of the economic indicators. The social and psychological aspects are evident in overcrowding, congestion, lack of privacy, alcoholism, drug-addiction, gambling, beating of children and wives, authoritarian tendencies leading to patriarchal social order. It is found that all these features of 'culture of poverty' in slum-lives render the slum-dwellers politically alienated, impotent, apathetic, fatalist and distrustful of political institutions and processes. It also turns them away from the union based organizational
activities. This can turn them off to a participative democratic process and lure them to authoritarian, fascist ideologies and political parties who may in turn use them as political fodder for more vicious, rightist, fundamentalist, adventurist issues. The slums in African countries generally have the same characteristics of slum life as elsewhere except that politically they are different. Lewis's notion of political indifference is not found to be wholly relevant in African context. According to Abrams (1921) and Fanon (1968) the slums in Africa have generated black power through political struggles which often become violent.

Asian countries, however, present a somewhat different picture. A major characteristic of an Asian city is the rural look and impression. In countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Java and Thailand slums are housed in small cubicles about the size of two beds, accommodating fairly large families of seven or more members. In many cases, these cubicles are part of the shop-houses. These people sleep on the floor, often under the bed. Their possessions are in wooden, metal or now paper boxes placed in shelves to leave the floor free for sleeping. Their food is kept in tiny cupboards, which hang from the rafters. Their clothes hang on the walls or racks. Those without access to cubicles live in open public places like railway platforms, gardens, airport etceteras. Apart from shop-house slums there are also the slums of hutment. Slums are also there on the shores of fishponds, market areas, pavement areas, wagons, carts and floating colonies in boats in some South-Asian cities. In some of the cities
in this region foreign military bases had come up which also attracted people for earning their livelihood and thus they settled in the slums around the base (McGee, 1967:158).

To conclude, urbanization in the west was gradual, slow and anarchic process. The quality of life was quite distressing but not so alarming as in the Asian, South-East Asian and African countries. In contrast to this, we find that the process of urbanization in underdeveloped regions is quite sudden, rapid and the quality of life in slums is enormously subhuman. The pressure of population faced by the non-European cities in general is enormous. In many Asian cities sleeping in the open under the sky has come to be an accepted way of life among the poors. Everywhere the first city of a country is at least twice as big as the second city, but it is much more so in south-east Asian countries where the largest urban concentration is at least five times as large as its nearest rival (McGee, 1968:23). Finally, the cities in the developing countries are growing without proper planning and provisions for employment, housing and other urban amenities such as water, transport, sanitation, health, drainage, sewerage, schools etceteras. As far as housing is concerned it has taken the natural form of squatting. Squatter colonies are so widespread that the policy makers no longer talk of eradicating them but think in terms of improving the slums, for example, Slums Improvement has been substituted for Slums Clearance. Moreover, improvement of slums is directly related to the question of the quality of life in these areas.
This in turn necessitates the provision of basic amenities in these areas as well as the accessibility of slums people to public utilities.

(c) A brief profile and constitutional status of slums in India

While attempting an all India statistical profile of slums, the researchers confront quite a formidable challenge, as there is no systematic and scientific survey of slums in India. As a result, a correct nationwide estimation of slum population is difficult, despite the fact that some of the worst slums of the world exist in Indian cities. The 1981 census prepared a list of slums in Class I and Class II towns of India with a population of a million and above and fifty thousand to 99,999 respectively for both categories. From a survey conducted of 269 towns in 12 states, it is reported that all the cities above a population of a million, 69 percent of Class I towns and 45 percent of Class II towns have notified existence of slums. There were 6741 notified slums in the country of which 5787 were in Class I towns and 954 in Class II towns.

It has been observed that bigger cities with a population of a million and above have a large number of slums on an average of 379 slums per city, while it is 18 slums per town in the remaining Class I towns. From among the four mega-cities of India, viz. Mumbai (Bombay), Calcutta, Chennai and Delhi, Mumbai tops the ranking of having 34.30 percent of its total population staying in slums. All India
average of slum population to the total population works out to be 29.10 percent among cities with 10 lakhs and above population. The population density, viz. Number of person per square kilometer in slums is found to be high and the highest in the country is found in Mumbai (1,074,484), followed by Pune, Calcutta, Bangalore, Chennai and Kanpur. The average population density in slums in Class I and Class II cities is 20,994 as against the national general population density of 6641. Population density of Mumbai slums is 162 times the national average. The other states, which have a higher percent of slum population than the all India average, are West Bengal (28), Bihar (26), Maharashtra (22), Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh. The estimated slum population in 1981 was about 28 million, forming 18 percent of the total urban population of 160 million. This is estimated to have risen to 51.23 million, forming 21 percent of estimated urban population of 242 million in 1990. Needless to state, higher intensity of urbanization is found to be pushing percentage of slum population even higher.

Another well-known demographer estimates that thirty to fifty percent (Bose, 1995:19) population of million – plus cities in India resides in slums. In the nineties the process of urbanization has increased at a very high rate and the first Census of twenty first century, in all likelihood, is poised to report astronomical rises in slum population in the cities of India. The number of million – plus cities has increased from 12 in 1981 to 23 in 1991. Their population has grown from 42 million to 72 million
at a rate of 69 percent per decade. All indication are towards reporting higher rate of urbanization and slum formation in coming years and there is definitely no reversal of this trend, unless the country wakes up to tackle it on war-footings by restructuring and recasting its town planning, housing and urban development policies and practices and machineries by adopting a truly people oriented agenda of governance.

When the question of subhuman quality of life and slow death of so many slum-dwellers in the country is at stake, it is quite natural and appropriate to examine the constitutional provision on this issue. Justice Krishan Iyer argues that considering the gravity of the problem, the right of pavement – dwellers to stay on pavement can be constitutionally defended. This right may not be viewed in the context of perpetuity but can be enforced until alternative housing arrangements are made by the state. It is quite clear that the Constitution of India does not give right to housing as a legal or fundamental right but we view the whole issue in the light of the real spirit of the constitution which is amply reflected in the provisions of Preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy, where we find that, as basic a need as housing, cannot escape Constitutional consideration and attention. Justice Iyer takes a bold view that absence of proper housing is the failure of the successive governments.

Justice Iyer’s reading of Constitution of India is quite interesting and greatly relevant to the problem of slums in India. He argues that, "you
cannot throw out a pavement dweller or drive out a slum dweller or restrict his movement into or out of one place or another or categorize him as against another unless reasonableness is a concomitant of the legislation. What is unjust, inhuman and incongruous in a poverty-stricken society cannot by reasonable by any measure" (Abraham, 1982:1308). This is not to say that Constitution protects the intruders and encroachers of public spaces. Such types of spaces can be vacated and such dwellings can be reasonably relocated under various schemes of governments, such as slum resettlement, antyodaya and other welfare schemes.

The concept of social justice can incorporate the idea of reasonableness on this issue vide the Articles 14, 19 and 21 of the Constitution of India. The Preamble clearly contains an egalitarian essence and spirit of the Constitution of India which can in turn be used in interpreting it appropriately for such issues as housing for homeless and slum-dwellers (low income groups). Besides Articles 38, 41 and 47 vide the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution instruct the state (as its duty) to promote a social order with economic justice at its core, to secure the right to work and education of all the people, to promote economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and to raise the standards of living of people.
Justice Iyer's argument is quite convincing that it is quite inhuman exclusively to classify urban land for parks, streets, pavements and playgrounds when so many do not have one square meter of earth to stand on. The egalitarian justice of Constitution will not endorse such a classification. Public authorities have public responsibility and accountability to all the people uniformly. But the first charge on its limited resources should be for providing the basic needs of everyone first and then such community facilities as parks, playgrounds, pavements etceteras be taken up. Any interpretation of Constitutional provisions must be made aware of the alternatives that exist to the 'sub-animal' conditions of slums (Iyer:1309).

It is clearly evident that there is a need for immediate review of the present urban planning and housing development practices and strives to reach long term solution on humanitarian grounds.

(d) Poverty Alleviation Programmes in India

In India poverty, like in many developing countries, is defined as that level of consumption which is essential for subsistence. All those people who do not have adequate income to secure such predetermined levels of minimum consumption are identified as poor. Planning Commission in 1977, set up a Task Force to formulate a qualitative poverty index based on projections of minimum needs and effective
demand. This Task Force defined poverty line “as the mid point of monthly per capita expenditure class having daily calories intake of 2400 per person in rural areas and 2100 per person in urban areas” (Ghosh, 1995:7). According to the prices during 1976 – 77, the mid points worked out to be Rs. 61.8 in rural areas and Rs. 71.3 in urban areas. These figures have been changing from time to time. This definition of poverty line, thus, enables assessment of the number of poor both in rural as well as in urban areas.

Urban poverty has numerous manifestations like proliferation of slums, rapid growth of the informal sector, inadequate and irregular supply of civic services, under-utilization of the labour force etcetera (Ghosh, 1995:8). Majority of the poor households are mainly employed in the informal sector. According to the National Sample Survey Organization (1986), the percentage of casual labour employed in the informal sector has increased from 13.2 to 14.5. This is an indication of increasing poverty to some extent. However, in India removal of poverty assumed important, as late as, in the Fifth Five Year Plan of 1974 – 70. Removal of poverty was given the status of dominant objective in this plan, where as earlier plans merely mentioned and recognized the existence of large-scale poverty in the nation. The subsequent plans started more focused and definite approach to the issue of poverty. Especially the Sixth Five Year Plan regarded the growth process to be inadequate for the removal of poverty. Instead, it stressed on the adoption of specific policy measures
that will “influence the consumption of output in favour of mass consumption goods” (Ghosh, 1995:9). As per the observations of Sixth Five Year Plan in 1979 – 80, about 51 percent of the rural population and 41 percent of the urban population, were living below the poverty line. As a result, various programmes were suggested to reduce both the urban and the rural percentages to 30. However, this plan reflected a bias towards rural poverty through implementing various rural poverty alleviation programmes (Ghosh, 1995:9). It was the Seventh Plan of 1985 – 90 which addressed rather consciously and directly the issue of urban poverty. It mentioned that constant and frequent migration from rural areas was responsible for the rapid growth and proliferation of slum in many urban areas. These migrants further overcrowd in unskilled and low paid jobs, specially in the informal sector. Therefore, stress was laid on generating employment and skill formation for these people.

The approach to the issue of urban poverty has undergone various changes. From “welfare and service oriented strategy it has shifted towards poverty alleviation through expansion of employment opportunities and raising of the productivity levels of those engaged in jobs with low productivity” (Ghosh, 1995:9). In addition, the management of urban services have also shifted their approach from a trickle —down service delivery to community participation at all stages of service provision – planning, implementation and evaluation (National institute of Urban Affairs, 1988). The urban poverty alleviation
programmes can be classified as – shelter and physical environment related programmes; programme for employment generation; programmes for the development of citizen participation etcetera.

Slum Clearance has been the main approach (since Second Five Year Plan) in most shelter related programmes. This approach is abandoned after the Fourth Five Year Plan and emphasis is on Slum Improvement. Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUs) is one such programme that aimed at providing alternate shelter to slum dweller with water supply, drainage and sanitation facilities. It is one of the major programmes of Central Government which was launched in 1972 with full central assistance. This programme was, subsequently, transferred to the State Governments under the Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) during the Fifth Plan (Kundu, 1993:139). This programme was included in the Prime Minister’s Twenty Point programme which emphasized its importance. Both Sixth and Seventh Plans have allocated substantial share of funds for this programme with the objective of covering greater number of people, Eight Plan has relatively reduced the financial assistance for these programmes. Kundu (1993:139) identifies the following services under EIUs:

(i) One water tap for 150 people;
(ii) Open drains for outflow of waste water;
(iii) Storm water drains for quick draining out of rain water;
(iv) One community bath for twenty to fifty people;
(v) One lavatory seat (in community latrines) for twenty to fifty people;
(vi) Widening and paving of the existing lanes; and
(vii) Poles, 30 meters apart, for street lighting.

This indicates that EIUs are primarily designed for the physical improvement through the provision of basic amenities/services.

The government has made significant efforts for the involvement of citizens on a sustainable basis in the urban sector, through its Urban Community Development Programme (UCD). This programme has its origin in the rural community development projects of 1952. UCD was launched in 1958 with its pilot project initiated in Delhi – “It is designed to function as part of the local body... The objective is to strengthen local voluntary organizations and establish bustee (slum) level agencies in order to cover activities normally not covered towards creation of stronger communities with their own leaders who can plan finance and carry out self help projects. At present UCD projects are in operation in 18 towns and cities (including Baroda)” (Ghosh, 1995:11). Kundu (1993:143) observes that, “UCD is a process of social transformation in urban areas through which people can organize themselves in communities, understand their local problems and work together for their solution. The programme is seen as a catalyst in the development process wherein the
community is the most important actor with the local authorities and
government playing, at best, a sponsoring and supervisory role”.

Another important effort in this direction is the initiation of the
Urban Basic Services (UBS) Programme in 1985 along with the Self –
Employment Programme for the Urban Poor (SEPUP) in 1986. UBS was
a new programme which resulted from merging UCD, Low Cost
Sanitation and the Small and Medium Town Development Projects
(Ghosh, 1995:12). The rationale was to evolve a mechanism where all
basic services relating to child and maternal health, can be developed,
utilized and also maintained in an effective participatory manner. That is,
UBS programme focused at some form of institutionalization of
community participation on one hand and bringing various government
organizations, NGO’s and urban slum dwellers together on one platform
on the other, in providing basic services. Further, UBS has undergone a
change in Eight Plan and is known as Urban Basic Services for the Poor
(UBSP). This effort is regarded as the most important in the hitherto
urban poverty alleviation programme. Under the UBSP numerous
programmes like EIUs, Low Cost Sanitation Programme and Nehru
Rojgar Yojna (NRY) have been converged at the local level (Ghosh,
1995:12). Presently UBSP is being implemented in 618 towns across the
major states in the country.
Apart from these programme many State Governments have implemented income-generating activities in slum areas. So far as Central Government is concerned it had launched SERU in 1986. However, it was realized that "any sustainable strategy of poverty alleviation should be based on increasing productive employment opportunities in the process of economic growth itself" (Ghosh, 1995:101). With the intention of providing opportunities to generate minimum level of income for the urban poor Nehru Rojgar Yojna was launched in 1989. This programme of poverty alleviation provides two types of employment – (1) One concerns setting up of self-employment ventures like poultry farming etcetera. (2) Second is concerned with wage employment in shelter up-gradation works and creation of public assets in low income neighbourhoods of urban local bodies (Ghosh, 1995:10).

All these programmes have been implemented with the objective of ameliorating the socio-economic and environmental conditions of the urban poor people and also to make these places (slum) more habitable or livable. However, the situation and the conditions of slum dwellers do not reflect the benefits of these programmes. One of the reasons can be (also observed by Kundu) that the advantages of these programmes have not reached to the poor people. It is the rich classes which has taken advantage of these subsidized programmes on account of their affordability. So the money allocated for the poor has actually (it seems) not reached to them.
1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The prime objective of this research exercise is to empirically investigate into the problem of uneven, inadequate and erratic distribution of such basic urban public services as water, transport and sanitation to the slum areas in a million – plus populated city. Every arrangement of public distribution of scarce values, at any level in a democratic society, is bound to have various politico – administrative dimensions to it. This study intends to briefly explore them from the end of urban slum consumers of these three basic public utilities. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To trace the global genesis of slums and to detail, compare and contrast various inter-continental variations in the characteristics among the slums to the extent and in a manner to form a theoretical and conceptual backdrop to the proposed study.

2. To attempt briefly national statistical profile of slums in India and examine their Constitutional status for the same purpose as in 1 above.

3. To examine the existing state of distribution of urban services of water, transport and sanitation in the slums located within the limits of Baroda Municipal Corporation (VMC).

4. To examine the efficiency of local urban political institutions and processes with regard to this issue in relatively newly found slums.

5. To look into, understand and explain various administrative constraints in dealing with services in slums.
6. To find out whether any scope and practice of interaction between the slum people and the agencies of urban governance and administration exists and if so, in what form and substance.

7. Attempt to propose alternative ways and means to improve the services in slum areas, not only by way of policy measures alone but also by socio-political advocacy to policy-makers in urban political institutions.

1.6 HYPOTHESES

The following are an inter-linked set of hypotheses whose validity this study attempts to examine in the course of its theoretical and empirical investigation:

1. It is assumed that those slums which are formed more recently are comparatively likely to receive less and inadequate municipal attention and these three basic urban utilities.

2. Slums, by their very character, are initially a tentative but gradually turn into distressed, option-less settlements.

3. This very character of slum-formation becomes an inherent obstacle and limiting factor in pursuing various politico-administrative option generally available to the citizens to redress various routine grievances regarding public utilities and urban formation of alternative elitist urban agenda for parks, over-bridges, paving the roads, fountains, fly-overs, community halls, beautificatory innovative ideas.
4. The economic character of the households in slum areas determine the very level and extent of politico-administrative actions on their part, occasionally needed for the redressal of one or the other civic grievances.

5. The increasing processes of casualization and informalization of various monthly fixed income-generating, salaried industrial economic activities such as jobs of taxi-drivers, auto-rickshaw drivers, gardeners, mechanics and typists etceteras has resulted in form of gradual pauperization, rise of slum population, weakened working class union activity and political apathy and fatalism among slum-dwellers. That is to say that lot of people have been pushed to the economic uncertainties, which in turn results into political inaction and apathy leading to less of faith in democratic political process.

6. Slums are the sites of systematic exploitation of the distressed, uprooted, insecure, helpless people as their dwellings are, on periodically but continuously raised rentals (often collected ruthlessly and violently).

7. To explore whether it is a myth or reality for slum-dwellers, that in Gujarat generally, people are able to earn their livelihood by some form of self-employment and entrepreneur skills.

8. The issue of sufficient supply of potable water to the people in cities, in general, has acquired primacy but the supply is particularly very acute and chronic in slum areas.

9. In view of the slum-dwellers being low income group segment of urban society, their dependence on public transport system is considerable, and often very high, as well as the distances that they have to commute are
also long. To compound their inconveniences, the quality of public transport service in terms of frequency, regularity and availability is very erratic and undependable for the peripherally located slum areas.

10. It is assumed that some kind of feedback system between the supply and demand sides of these public services does not exist.

11. It is assumed that urban slums are highly fertile breeding grounds for all kinds of diseases, health – hazards and epidemics. It is believed that this is on account of the failure of supply side of the service rather than the demand side.

1.7 METHODS OF STUDY AND SOURCES OF DATA

Generally researches can be carried out from two angles – it can be academically – oriented, wherein it emphasizes on the basic research and aims at theory-building. Or it can be policy – oriented where an effort is consciously made to explore the alternative policy measures to deal with the problems that the target group may be facing. Urban research is no exception to this general trend of social science research (Andranovich and Riposa, 1993:5).

It is to the goal of applied research angle that the present study is aiming at. There is also a view prevailing that there is no difference or distance between the basic and applied research. Both are mutually complimentary and unavoidable. The aim of both these types of research is to better understand the problems that are faced by a society – be it urban or non-urban, and suggest
measures to improve the quality of life in these areas. As the present study is
devoted to urban research, it tries to identify and understand one of the perennial
problems of urban areas that is the slums. Thus, the primary focus of this study is
on slums.

As this is an empirical investigation of examining and determining the
relative quality of a few basic urban services in recently formed as well as long
existing slums within the limits of Baroda Municipal Corporation, a carefully
devised methodological steps are taken as follows:

Firstly, a sample of eight slum from six of the ten wards was drawn from
the vast universe of 336 slums by applying various scientific methodological
sampling techniques in a manner that it met both the criteria of representativeness,
viz., demographic and geographic that is, population and space or area. A multi-
stage probability sampling technique was applied in selection of these eight slums
from six of the ten wards. This was done by obtaining the zone and ward-wise
list of all the slums in Baroda from the municipal corporation. From among a
total in all the ten wards of 336 slums, we kept those slums out of the universe
which were: (a) having less than 20 households, (b) not older than 20 years and
(c) not located within the centre of the city. This was done in order to eliminate
systematically entering inaccuracies in the sample frame.

One more factor in methodology of this study was the unevenness of the
municipal ward-wise spread of number as well as population in slums. Some
wards have high density of slum population as well as number of slums in it whereas other have low density of slum population and number of slums. In order to retain the representative character of the overall sampling frame of the study, the principle of proportional representation was selected in a manner that does not leave out those slums which are in large number in one ward and in smaller number in another ward. Selection of slums was made in a manner, which ensured prospects of proportional representation of all slums in a given ward or zone area, irrespective of the size of their overall concentration. In all, there are ten municipal wards, from which four were eliminated from the universe on account of their having either negligible number of slums, or less number of slums or slums existing in the centre of the city. From among remaining six wards the eight slums were sampled in the ratio of 1, 1, 2, 1, 1 and 2.

Secondly, a mix of partly pre-coded, structured or close-ended and partly open ended questionnaire was specially designed for this study for administering it to a population of a list of sampled respondents in the already sampled eight slums. The respondents from the sampled slums were further sampled in the second stage of sampling by applying a mix of the techniques of quota and judgmental or what is popularly known as purposive sampling procedures. It was particularly kept in mind while sampling the respondents in each of the eight slums that they are not drawn from a island like or narrow lane like clusters of houses in a slum but should have been selected from a subjective geographic proportionality which holds up and retains representativeness of the entire slum area and population. A set of fifteen respondents was thus selected from each of
the eight slums to give us an aggregate of 120 respondents to be interviewed. In
order to solicit and retain totality of responses from the respondent, the
test was translated in Gujarati language and then administered. Apart
from the individual interviews one focussed group discussion was also held in
each sample slum area in order to ensure a free and open interaction with these
people and to find out their level of readiness to participate in the improvement of
the civic utilities.

Further, a total number of about 52 concerned and knowledgeable
municipal administrators, political leaders, corporators, journalists and office
bearers of voluntary agencies working in the slums of Baroda city were also
interviewed in order to gain qualitative insights into the problems of slum areas
and measures planned as well as taken or implemented by the municipal officials
and other agencies. In all, the data collection phase continued for about twelve
months with some intervals and gaps. Along with generating primary data
through the structured instruments, a good deal of use was made of secondary
sources of data, which are collected from the following sources such as –

(1) Several libraries such as (Hansa Mehta Library of Maharaja Sayajirao
University, Baroda and Library of Centre for Social Studies, Surat) in
form of numerous dissertations by university students of various faculties
for post-graduate, Master of Philosophy or Doctorate in Philosophy
degrees;
(2) Research reports by voluntary agencies, municipal corporation, research institutes;

(3) Content analysis of vernacular and English language newspapers as well as periodicals,

(4) Material relevant to this study and published by central, state and local governments was also utilized.

1.8 PLAN OF ANALYSIS

This thesis comprises of eight chapters. The first chapter entitling "Theoretical framework for the study" tries to describe and formulate the basic problem under research from various macro perspectives. It tries to trace the genesis of the problem at global and national level. It further deals with the process of urbanization in the country and tries to explain its consequences on slum improvement strategies. It explores the constitutional position on the issue of right to housing and prospects of its radical interpretation. This chapter also covers a list and discussion on objectives, methods employed in conducting this study, sources of data – primary as well as secondary and techniques of analyzing data.

Second chapter attempts to review the literature available on urban problems, urbanization, urban affairs etceteras. Further this chapter tries to review some of the major works in the literature produced both in India and abroad. Various urban studies are critically examined and attempt is made to
enumerate some of their deficiencies. In this context, it is also attempted to state as to how the present study will help fill such gaps and to what extent.

The third chapter contains an introduction of the setting of the study where a brief political history and socio-economic composition of Baroda city and society is profiled. The unique characteristics of the city and city administration are also profiled. It tries to locate and relate the problem of the study with this profile of the setting. Firstly the Fourth Chapter summarizes the general findings of the survey categories into socio-demographic, educational and economical characteristics of slums in Baroda. Secondly, it presents analysis of the data, which was collected, with the help of a questionnaire. It aims to establish the status of water supply with the help of certain indicators such as quality of water, frequency and adequacy of water supply, its availability within the area etceteras, in the slums of Baroda city.

The fifth chapter analyses the condition of transport services available to slum inhabitants, their reliability, quality, utility, frequency etceteras. The sixth chapter likewise is devoted to assessing the state of conservancy services in form of sanitation and hygiene services in these localities. It profiles a picture of emergent and future scenario of slum life in Baroda city.

Seventh chapter attempts to analyze various politico-administrative dimensions of the whole problem. It raises and attempts to answer certain questions regarding the quality of existing and future prospects of community
action for bringing about a change in the quality of life of slum-dwellers. The final chapter reports the major findings of the study and discusses the conclusions drawn from the study. It also attempts to highlight the limitations that the study faced and suggests themes as well as directives that the future studies may take.

**REFERENCES**


Engles, Frederick (1936), *The Condition of Working Class in England in 1844*.


