Chapter - II

Urbanization and Slum Development: Historical Perspective

2.1 The Concept of Economic Development

Change is the law of Nature. Likewise society, by its nature, has to undergo several changes in its setup with the passage of time. With the change in time and progress, the social, cultural, political and economic needs of the people and society also change. To satisfy these changed needs of society, we need development in every sphere of life. The most significant aspect which helps every society to fulfill these needs is economic development. To solve the qualitative problems and to achieve high standards of living, there must be increase in National Income and Per Capita Income, more capital formation, less dependence on Agriculture, full utilization of natural resources, self-sufficiency, full employment, solution of vicious circle of poverty, formation of human capital etc. It is imperative that there should be economic development of the country. It is the only effective way of catering to the needs of ever rising population. Economic development implies optimum judicious utilization of natural resources. Economic development is the development of economic wealth of countries or regions for the well-being of their subjects. From a policy perspective, economic development can be defined in terms of efforts which improve the economic well-being and quality of life for a community creating or retaining jobs and supporting or growing incomes and the tax base.¹ According to Prof. Meier²,

² Prof. Gerald M. Meier was a leading figure in the evolution of development economics who authored several books on the subject well into his eighties. He was Konosuke Matsushita Professor of International Economics and Policy Analysis, Emeritus, at the Stanford Graduate School of Business, California, USA. He died from complications of a malignant brain tumor at his home on the Stanford campus on June 21, 2011. At the time of his death he was of 88 years.
"Economic development means the process where by per capita income of a country increases over a long period of time."\(^3\)

Economic development brings in its wake both prosperity and a lot of new problems. Economic development leads to industrialization which further leads to urbanization and the increasing urbanization leads to problems like crime and juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, drug abuse, migration, shortage of housing facilities, over-crowding, slums, unemployment poverty, pollution. Communication and traffic control are others common problems. And out of all these problems, slums and crime by slum dwellers is the biggest problem. Society on its odyssey from primitive time to present time, has underwent a number of changes in its socio-economic and political setup like feudalism to egalitarianism, agrarian to industrialism, monarchy to democracy etc. Out of these, urbanization is a relatively recent trend. The world has rapidly transformed itself into an urban society. Thompson Warren\(^4\) has defined Urbanization as,

> "The movement of people from communities concerned chiefly or solely with agriculture to other communities, generally larger, whose activities are primarily centered in government, trade, manufacture, or allied interests."\(^5\)

Economic Growth is an increase in a country's real level of national output which can be caused by an increase in the quality of resources by education, increase in the quantity of resources & improvements in technology. The most accurate and common method of measuring development is the Human Development Index (HDI) which takes into account the literacy rates, life expectancy and standard of living which affects productivity and could lead to Economic Growth.

Economists often tend to use the two terms, economic development and economic growth, interchangeably, as they appear to be synonymous with each

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4 Dr. Warren Simpson Thompson was an advisor to General Douglas MacArthur leader of the Occupation forces Japan. He received his Ph.D. in sociology from Columbia University in 1915. He was an eminent person in the field of "Population Studies". He authored several books on this subject.
other. The economic development of a country is defined as the development of the economic wealth of the country. Economic development is aimed at the overall well-being of the citizens of a country, as they are the ultimate beneficiaries of the development of the economy of their country. Economic development is a sustainable boost in the standards of living of the people of a country. It implies an increase in the per capita income of every citizen. It also leads to the creation of more opportunities in the sectors of education, healthcare, employment and the conservation of the environment.

‘Economic growth’ on the other hand, is a narrower concept than economic development. It is defined as, ‘the increase in the value of goods and services produced by every sector of the economy’. It is usually expressed in terms of the gross domestic product or GDP of the country. Economic development is different from economic growth in the following manner.

1. Economic development is always positive whereas the economic growth may be either positive or negative. (For example- Arab world has huge money but doesn’t have the basic amenities)

2. Economic development is a broader concept whereas economic growth is a narrower concept. Economic growth refers to output where as economic development implies changes in technological and institutional organization of production as well as distributive pattern of income. So economic development is based on a concept called ‘Social Justice’ whereas economic growth is based on per-capita income, GDP and GNP.

3. There can be a growth without development but development without growth is impossible.

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*http://www.blurtit.com/q581688.html, (visited on 28/5/09 at 10:35pm.)*
2.2 The Concept of Urbanization

To ever-increasing population of people throughout the world, a secure and optimistic future is coming to be seen as synonymous with living in urban area\(^1\). Urbanization is a worldwide phenomenon, which is realized in the growth of the population living in towns, particularly in big cities. Being a complex socio-economic process of societies, urbanization has deep repercussions on all aspect of life.

With increase in industrialization, the centre of economic life shifted from villages to the cities. Many towns and cities grew up as a result of rapid industrialization. A large part of population began to live in cities and worked in factories. The development of industries in any region provides an employment opportunity which attracts peoples not only from surrounding areas, but also from far-off places. As a result, the industrial areas support a very densely populated area.

People, generally, migrate to the cities in search of work and also trade. Cities also provide better living conditions than villages. This continuous migration of rural population into city in search of employment opportunities and better civic conditions creates tremendous pressure on the city, which is not geared up to support an ever-increasing number of people desiring to reside within the city. Urbanization, thus, brings in its wake, a perennial exodus of village into town. Some industrial cities developed from medieval cities. When a city became too crowded, the walls were knocked down and the city was expanded. For example Florence\(^8\), in Italy, increased its size three times in this way. Some cities let their walls stood but built cities nearby, other industrial cities grew up where there had been a fort, a trading port, a village, or open lands. Cities have grown more than ever in the 1900s. An even more striking growth has taken place in the area that

\(^8\) The World Book Encyclopedia; Vol. 4, at.32.
lies near big cities. Large number of people settled in these areas in the 1900s and established communities there called suburbs. The great masses of people that had filled the cities are now crowding both the cities and the land that surrounds them. The suburban growth has been even more spectacular than the growth of the cities. Population explosion has played an important role in the development of metropolitan area (the city and area around it). By 1990, the world population was about five times as large as it was in 1850. This explosion led to over crowded cities, causing many people to move to outlaying areas. Population implosion also played an important role in the growth of metropolitan areas. Motor car, a major transportation advance of the 1900s, spurred the development of these metropolitan areas and became necessity of the life for millions of people.

Urbanization means a redistribution of the population and the peopling of the cities and its essence. It is the process by which the population becomes concentrated in cities of urban places. Urbanization includes an increasing shifting from agrarian to individual services and distributive occupation. It deals with the land as well as the machine production and is closely linked with the concentration of the people at one place. It is a component of regional economic development because urban centers provides, inter alia, a variety of centralized services for the surrounding zone of influence, example, marketing of agricultural surplus, products of cottage industry including the supply of fertilizers, engineering goods, pumping sets, medicines and specialized skills in a wide variety of situations which are necessary for regional development.

Urbanization is a frequently maligned term. According to Smailes, urbanization is a process whereby land and inhabitants become urban. It refers to

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Footnotes:

5 Supra note 5. (Implosion means migration of people from rural to urban areas).
8 Arthur Eltringham Smailes (1911-1984) He was Head and Dean of Department of Geography in Queen Mary College, London. He was internationally known geographer and chairman of International Geographical Union (1972 - 1976).
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a change in both place and people but in fact it has been measured and expressed chiefly in terms of population census statistics that purport or presume to distinguish inhabitants of towns and cities from those of the rural countryside. Specifically, we use the percentage of a population living in urban areas as a static measure of the level of urbanization and refer to an increase in that percentage over time, as an indicator of urbanization as a dynamic process\(^{14}\). However, when measuring urbanization as an ongoing process, we must remain aware that not only increasing percentages of the population living in urban areas but also other processes are closely related to urbanization. In an urbanizing society, old norms are being peeled away, yielding to the force of modernization. The importance of agriculture as an employer is being supplanted by the rising role of secondary and tertiary employment, and value systems are more often than not in a state of flux.

Urbanization involves:

(i) Concentration of people at population densities higher than those on either side,
(ii) Population shift from rural to urban areas;
(iii) Occupational shift from agricultural to non-agricultural; and
(iv) Land-use shift from agricultural to non-agricultural.\(^{15}\)

Population shift implies a physical shift of population from rural to urban areas. Occupational and land use shift can take place without change in residence leading to sub-urbanization (near the city) i.e. staying in the village and commuting to the city for work. However, these shifts associated with economic development are not always coterminous, contiguous or sequential, but are accompanied by rise in income, and a consequent improvement in institutional framework. All this depends upon the peculiar facts and circumstances of the

\(^{14}\) Supra note 9.
different societies which decide the pattern of urbanization in the developing countries. The forces contributing to urbanization may be summed up to include the following factors:-

- The growth of population.
- The improvement in agricultural methods which made it possible for smaller proportions of the population to produce enough food and fiber to feed and clothe the whole.
- The progress of invention and discovery, the division of labour by area and tasks, urbanization and other development in what is known as the \textit{industrial revolution}, all of which resulted in the wholesale transfer of farm and home processing establishments to towns and cities.
- The abrupt decline in the degree of self-sufficiency on the part of the individual family and the corresponding skyrocketing of trade and commerce.
- Revolutionary improvements in the system of communication and transportation.
- The discovery and perfection of a large number of new industrial processes and the building of hundreds of new factories in which thousands of products are now being manufactured.
- The tremendous expansion of Governmental Agencies and services, which have aided in the mass transfer of populations from rural to urban areas.

Most of the cities would wane in population within a few decades, were it not for the continuous flow of migrants they receive. Many aspects of urban life are influenced by migrants. Within the realm of urban governments, the make up and stability of the electorate are closely related to the prevailing pattern of migration. Educational needs are also related to the number of social and economic characteristics of the migrants.
The term ‘Urbanism’ refers to the consequences of living in urban places. Urbanism is the outcome of the processes of urbanization of a population. It connotes a way of life and a state of being urbane. And it denotes distinct forms and patterns of life differentiated from village in folk life. It connotes a condition of life rather than a process. It refers to the behavioral aspect of urban life to the particular way of life that is typical of city living.

Today’s progressive urbanization produces both advantages and disadvantages. The major advantages are: more organised nature of economic activity, better standard of living, higher literacy etc. On the other hand, shortage of land and houses, growth of slums, increase in crime, insufficient amenities of life, higher level of environmental pollution etc. are the major disadvantages.

2.3 The Historical Development of Urbanization

The story of urbanization in India in historical times was a story of spatial and temporal discontinuities. Among the developing countries, the urban growth rate of India has been less than most of these countries during the preceding decades. Although the urban growth rate of India is lower than some of the developing countries, there are some unique features of Indian urbanization which distinguish it from that of other countries.

The growth of cities during the last two centuries was more rapid than as it has been in the 12th or 13th century, when the historical towns of medieval Europe were taking form. But until new towns came into existence, hardly a single city was conceived as a whole, with public provision for all the physical and social components needed for a well-balanced environment. Meanwhile, in the very act of the growth of old cities, which had once met many of the requirements for a high urban culture, become steadily more crowded, more in sanitary, more confused, more inefficient and more unlovable, indeed often more positively

repellent. But no new norms or standards were elected for the overgrown city itself, it is over crowding its disorganization, its long dismal journeys to work, above all, the continuous extension of its area and the growth of its population were looked upon as marks of urban success. The notion that there were natural limits to urban growth, inherent in the very nature of the city life, and that beyond these limits, mal-formation, disorganization, and deterioration would result, was absent. Just as the smoking factory chimney was regarded, not as a biological menace, but as a happy symptom of prosperity, so the uncontrolled growth of the city was looked upon as a proof of its value for civilization. City is a community where thousands or even millions of people live and work. Cities are the world’s most crowded places. Most cities are over-crowded, dirty, noisy, and sometimes unpeaceful, but despite all the drawbacks, the percentage of the world’s people who live in urban places (city and their surrounding areas) keeps growing. In 1800, only about 2.5 percent world’s population lived in urban areas. This figure has jumped to about 40 percent by 1990 and presently, is about 50 percent.¹⁷ The city was one of the fundamental institutions of the ancient world. The city was synonymous with civilization and in opposition to barbarity and chaos.

Two of the acquisitions which Honor¹⁸ levels at the civilized Cyclopes were that they had no assemblies for making laws and they had no sense of community beyond their immediate family. Both these qualities were considered crucial for orderly urban life. The Modern New Towns Movements was started by Sir Ebenezer Haward (1850-1928) who published his book ‘Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform in 1889’ and formed the Garden City Association in 1889. His combination of proposals was really new, a cardinal invention in the sphere of urban technology. This was later renamed ‘The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association’ and now known as ‘Town and Country Planning

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Association'. Until, Ebenezer Howard\(^9\) came forth with his proposals, no one had the audacity to conceive a new form of the city, which would utilize the facilities of modern technology without sacrificing the social advantages of the city. Howard’s first great contribution to the New Towns Movement was his conception that the part of the city were in “organic relation” to each other and that there was accordingly a functional limit to the growth of any one element as to the growth of the whole. Using London as the classic example of disorganized overgrowth, he sought to relieve the pressure of congestion by colonizing its excess population in new centers, limited in areas and population. Greek cities\(^20\), especially Miletus, the thriving commercial centre (6th Century BC to 4th Century BC) relieved the pressure of congestion by colonizing its excess of population in new centers, limited in area and population, just like Howard’s contribution to London.

Human being has probably lived on the earth for about two million years.\(^21\) But he began to live in permanent settlements only about 10,000 years ago.\(^22\) Men and women who established these settlements are called New Stone Age, or Neolithic people. Before people began living in permanent settlements, they wandered from place to place to hunt animals and gathered plants for food. Neolithic people were the first farmers. As farmers, they no longer had to wander to find food and they began to settle in villages. By about 3500BC, a number of Neolithic villages had developed into small cities\(^23\). Because food was surplus, a number of people switched to jobs other than farming. Through the years, technological advantages in agriculture enabled more people to become non-farm workers. These people move towards cities for non agricultural employments. This kind of migration of peoples has increased population the cities of the world.

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\(^10\) Supra note 17 at 2.


\(^21\) Filipe Duarte Santos, *Humans on Earth: From Origins to Possible Futures*, 87 (2012).

Cities have been founded in many kinds of environment, but their development has depended on the certain favourable environmental features. For example, all cities must have enough drinking water. Early communities, which developed on farming, needed enough rainfall to grow crops. Good soil and other environmental features favourable to the development of the cities included a reasonable mild climate and a location near materials that could be used for clothing and shelter. The villages were located on sites offering natural protection of elevated terrain, islands, peninsulas, or they were surrounded with barricades and moats. One of the earliest known villages was buildup piles in a Swiss lake.\(^4\) The villages provided a meeting place for assembling, and a centre for trade. The environment became popular and urbanization had begun. No one knows just when human beings left the land for the more restricted residence, but one expert\(^5\) hold that the city is at least 5000 years old. The urban transition constitutes a great human transformation. This transformation begun 5000 years ago, when the first urban settlement were established in the valleys of Tigris and Euphrate. The Tigris-Euphrate valley, near the head of the Persian Gulf, was the site of the world first civilization. This valley forms the centre of a large historic region called the Fertile Crescent. Archaeologists have discovered much about the ancient civilizations that exist in the area about 3500B.C. Thus civilization includes the Sumerian, Babylonian and the Assyrian Civilization. Babylonia became the advance capital city of an advanced civilization that gained fame for its laws, religion and walled cities. According to Gordon Childe\(^6\) the urban resolution occurred in Mesopotamia in the 3rd century B.C., as a result of which some cities

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\(^6\) V.Gordon Childe (14 April 1892 – 19 October 1957) was an Australian archaeologist and philologist who specialised in the study of European prehistory. He was professor of Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. He also wrote a number of groundbreaking books on the subject of archaeology and prehistory.
with population estimated from 12000 for the smallest to 24000 for the largest were created.27

Through the years, other environmental features have also helped cities develop. Since ancient times, for example, people traveled in ships to trade with people of other nations. Many cities that lay near large bodies of water became important trading centers. They included Instanbul, Turkey; London, England; Shanghai, China; Venice, Italy; Mumbai, Kolkata, Madras, Pondicherry, India; Chicago, in the US and Taronoto in Canada, developed partly because they lay along important land and water transportation routes. Many cities, including Manchester, England, gained importance as manufacturing cities because of nearby availability of minerals needed for manufacturing. Some cities owe their development chiefly to climate.

Twentieth century was the century of urban transition. By the end of the century, nearly half of the world’s population had started to live in urban settlements. The growth of urban life has been one of the most striking developments in the history of mankind. The phenomenon is undoubtedly of recent in origin. But even if we were to look at the last two or three centuries, we are apt to be struck with awe by the fact that the place at which the urban life itself have grown is unprecedented.

During the Neolithic period, only around 10 million people existed, whereas the population of the world reached about 500 million by 1650 A.D. and about 4-1/3 billion in 1980. This population explosion led to an increase in both the size and numbers of the cities. Two other trends have also aided the development of cities.28 One trend, sometime called the population implosion or population urbanization, is the ever increasing concentration of people in small parts of the earth. These parts are the cities and their surrounding areas. The other

27 Vere Gordon Childe, What is History, 47 (1953).
trend, sometime called the population displosion or population diversification, is the movement to the cities by the people of a variety of cultural backgrounds. Cultural diffusion ranks among the most important factors in the development of civilization.

It is, therefore, not merely an appropriate but presently urgent and a matter of greater consequence to reflect on the problems involved in urban growth, to speculate on the implication of the alternative choices; to let the most imaginative minds dream of what human dwellings and environment in cities are going to be like and to get some of the best of us to translate those dreams into reality. While the resources are limited and problems and pressure many, we have to build upon faith rather than despair; and there can be no doubt that faith in one particular resource will for ever remain unerring, homely, faith in human ingenuity, in man’s vision create harmony and beauty in the face of the most formidable difficulties and limitations.

2.4 The History of Urban Growth in India

The most striking feature of India’s urbanization is its long tradition. The emergence of early urban life in India is associated with the evolution of the Indus Valley Civilization around 2500 B.C. Some temporal and spatial discontinuities in urban growth, notwithstanding the urbanization process, diffused to other parts of the country under the impact of varied forces operating during the Ancient (prior to 1206 A.D.), Medieval (1206 to 1757 A.D.) and Modern (1757 to till date) periods of Indian History. India’s urban pattern is a mosaic of segments belonging to the Pre-colonial, Colonial (British) and Post colonial periods.\(^\text{20}\)

In view of the history of urban growth in India, a four phase periodisation of urbanization can be made in pre-independent India:-

1. Pre Feudal (prior to 1000 A.D.)

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\(20\) G. Dunber, \textit{India and Passing of Empire}, 2 (1951).

\(30\) R.Bala, \textit{Trend in Urbanization in India}, 141 (1986).
2. Feudal (1000 to 1757 A.D.)
3. Early colonial (1757 to 1857 A.D.)
4. Late colonial (1857 to 1947 A.D.).

During the pre-feudal phase, towns originated as exchange centres of the surplus agricultural produce and also as centres of culture. The feudal town was an administrative centre, military headquarters, and a magnet for artisans. In this phase existence of a bazaar and temple symbolized economic vitality and spiritual life. The Early Colonial phase (due to the flooding of the factory manufactured goods by the British in Indian market) witnessed some de-urbanization and de-industrialization. However, during Late Colonial phase, urbanization was revived with a distinct capitalist mode of production taking root around the middle of the nineteenth century. The feudal town declined and the capitalist town started taking shape. The complexion of urban population started changing. Urban employment sector had an increasing number of people in manufacturing, government jobs, general service, and, of course, trade and transport.

2.5 Post Independent India’s Phase of Urbanization

A period of industrial unrest followed the close of the Second World War in 1945. Many industries had to be closed down, creating widespread unemployment. The situation was worsened by the partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947. The industrial activities got dislocated badly. Some major resource areas of raw materials for the Indian Jute and Cotton Textile Industries were lost to Pakistan. The market for manufactured goods became restricted. However, the Government of India rose to the occasion and chalked out a new industrial policy in 1948. Rapid advancement was recorded in Engineering, Chemical, Fertilizers and Cement Industries. Automobiles, bicycles, electric fans, plastic and rubber industries also made considerable progress. This revived

the growth of many industrial towns. The migration of millions of persons due to the partition of Indian sub-continent also affected the process of urbanization. The migrants showed a distinct tendency to settle in urban centers, especially in big cities, which increased the population of urban areas in India. The migration of non-Muslims to India was approximately double the migration of Muslims from India. After 1951, a planned investment by the Government in different economic sectors like agriculture, industry, services, trading etc. resulted into all round development of India which hiked the growth rate of urbanization in India. The Green Revolution in the agricultural sector was the most important contributing factor to the urbanization process. It resulted into establishment of various types of agro-based industries. In 1990’s the new policy, adopted by the Government, (of privatization, foreign direct investment, globalization in trade market) resulted into a boom of new business opportunities. The employment in agriculture sector declined and due to this large scale migration from rural to urban areas and urban to urban areas started. People started to try their luck in newer avenues. In 1991, 67.1 percent of total workers in India were indulging in cultivation or working as agricultural labourers. In 2001 agricultural employment declined to 58.2 percent of the total worker population of India.\textsuperscript{34}

Taking a note of causative factors underlying the urbanization process, it was observed that during the pre-historic period, urbanization was synonymous with the origin and rise of a civilization itself; hence it became a cultural process. From the Ancient times to the British period, it was related to the rise and fall of kingdoms and dynasties, hence it became a political process, and in recent times, urbanization is associated with industrialization and economic development, hence, it has become an economic process.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34}Census of India 2001.
Urbanization has entered a new and more important phase in the post-independence period. Post-Independence period is notable for rapid urbanization, particularly of one lakh and million plus cities. There has been a tremendous increase in India’s urban population from 62 million in 1951 to 159 million in 1981 and 1,027 million in 2001. Though, India accounts for only 2.4 percent of the world’s surface area, yet it supports and sustains 16.9 percent of the world population. According to 1981 census, India had a density of 21.6 person per sq. Km. This figure increased to 26.7 within a decade.

Presently, urban growth in India is going through a very dynamic stage. According to Census of India (2001), India’s urban population growth from 1991 to 2001 was 31.13 percent. The rate of growth has been much higher in urban areas as compared to rural areas. Particularly, the urban population has increased from 25.85 million to 285.35 million between 1901 and 2001. 36

In 2001, 27.8 percent of Indian’s population was living in urban areas and by 2020 more than 50 percent of India’s population is expected to live in urban areas. Thus the age old image of India as a rural nation will soon be a matter of the past.37 This picture is compounded by a rapid concentration of population in larger towns, cities and metropolitan areas. It is projected that in the year 2080 India will already have 18 metropolitan cities. Presently, cities are booming, with internal growth and migration putting a colossal pressure on the State and local government alike.38 Due to lack of proper infrastructure, the ascending growth of urban poverty and the critical deficiencies of services put the success of the economic liberalization at risk.

36 Supra note 14.
37 Kulwant Singh and Forian Steinberg, Urban India in Crisis, xxxix (1996).
38 Ibid
2.6 The Pattern of Urbanization in India

The Indian subcontinent shares with Mesopotamia and the Nile Valley, a long history of urbanization. It is quite often said that India lives in her huts and cottages of olden days, but it is also true that India has a tradition of urban living and town planning which goes back to 5000 years. Like the valley of Tigris and Euphrates, the fertile Indus valley experienced early urbanization associated with the first agricultural revolution in the world based upon invention of plough and irrigation. The first phase of urbanization in the Indus valley is associated with the Harappan civilization dating back to 2350BC. The cities of Indus valley civilization, Mohanjodaro and Harrapa, which flourished 5000 years back, were large and well planned cities. Mohanjodaro in the lower Sindh, and Harrapa in the Punjab, were the two major cities of this civilization. Archeologists have also found the remains of many smaller towns from Gujarat province in South India to the Himalayas in the North. Recent archaeological discoveries have brought to surface several of then existing urban sites which were scattered all over the western part of sub-continent suggesting that this urban civilization covers quite a vast area. The greater part of the country was, however, at a lower level of the cultural and even the southern, central, and eastern India were still in the stone age.

There was thus a growth of villages and towns, which developed into a culture known as ‘The Indus Valley Civilization’. The larger towns and cities of this civilization were carefully planned. They had well laid out streets and systems of water supply and drainage. The houses were made mostly of the fire bricks; although sun baked bricks were used occasionally. Some houses were large mansions with many rooms. Others were small dwellings for poor people and craft workers. Buildings resembling citadels suggest there was some kind of political organization to govern the cities, which were large. Their inhabitants had a high standard of living and elaborate social structure.
The Harrapan civilization appears to have reached its peak in about 2500 BC. The reasons of its decline by about 1700 BC were not fully understood. It is possible that nomadic invasions and the migration of Aryan people from central Asia and Persia (new Iran), may have led to war. These wars may have resulted in the sacking and burning of the Harrapan towns. The appearances of Aryans in the Indian subcontinent was part of a large pattern of migration.

The Indus valley people had attained high standards of town planning and architectural style. The cities of this civilization flourished over a period of more than 600 years up to about 1700 BC. Hence, in India, the urban tradition continued through the century and during the ancient period of our history, there were many large well planned and beautiful cities in different parts of the country. The Aryan civilization in the North and the Dravidian civilization in the South were two major and closely related cultural streams in India. In Southern India, urbanization attained its zenith during the period from AD 800 to 1200.

The history of Aryans in India is known mainly from their religious texts, the four Vedas. The Vedic and other Sanskrit mythological literature reveals that Aryans come from the steppes of Europe and Asia, which were suited to raising horses. The Aryans settled mainly in the parts of India which they called Sapta-Sindhu, or the land of seven rivers (the composite Punjab). Over 2500 years ago, the centre of the Aryans-Sanskrit civilization shifted from Punjab, in the Northwest, to the Ganges Valley further east. It was also beginning to extend southwards. In this period, the great cities in the Indus and Ganges rivers plains, and further south, become the capitals of flourishing republics. Ayodhya, Magadha, Kashi, Sarnath, Ujjain were the famous towns set up during this period.

Patliputra of Chandegupt Mourya, Ujjain of Guptas, Kanauj, Banaras, and Mathura were some of the great cities in Northern India. In the south, great...
cities were built in the medieval period by the Chalukyas, the Rastrakutas, the Cholas, the Hoysalas and others. Indeed, the southern traditions can be seen to continue through Vijayanagar which followed during the 15th and 16th centuries to modern Mysore and Bangalore. Vijayanagar was one of the largest cities in India at that time. It covers an area of about 15 kilometers. The city contains many beautiful temples and forts.

On the basis of temporal discontinuities in Indian urbanization for the sake of convenience, the urban history of India can be divided into five periods as follows:

1 Pre-historic period – 2350 to 1800 BC
2 The early historical period – 600 BC to AD 500
3 Medieval period – AD 600 to 1800
   (Including Mughal period) – AD 1526 to 1800
4 The British period – AD 1800 to 1947
5 The post-independence period.

Thus, the beginning of urbanization in the Indian sub-continental goes back to 2350 BC (about 5000 years ago) to the Indus Valley region. Even prior to this, there is ample archaeological evidence of Paleolithic and Neolithic settlements in Northern, Central and Southern India and in the border regions of present Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Archeologists have discovered pre-historic Bronze Age sites throughout the Indian sub-continent. The economics of these pre-historic people was based on crop growing, and the herding of domesticated sheep, goats, and cattle.

The Mauryan Empire reached the height of its power with the accession of Emperor Ashoka, sometime after 272 BC. Ashoka built safe roads with rest houses

\[\text{Supra note 35 at 35.}\]
for travelers. He established hospitals. He encouraged and controlled international trades and established large towns e.g. Sarnath and the capital city of Patliputra.

The *Mughal* period stands out as a second high water mark of urbanization in India, the first occurring during the *Maitrayan* period. *Mughal* period saw the revival of old established cities, the addition of few new cities, and the building of and impressive array of monumental structures in almost every major city of Northern India, whose urban landscape today bears unmistakable testimony to the grandeur of *Mughal* architecture. The contribution of *Mughals* to urbanization in India cannot be measured in terms of the numbers of new cities that they established - there were few of these, such as Moradabad. But, on the other hand, the *Mughals* contributed in a large measure to the revival of existing urban centres.

The *Mughal* capital originally established in Delhi in 1526 was shifted to Agra, and then, during Akbar’s regime an entirely new city was built at Fatehpur Sikri, which lasted for barely 15 years. Later, under Shahjahan, the capital returned to Delhi with the building of Shahjahanabad - a planned city of great beauty and charm. It may be described as the urban jewel of the Mughal Empire.

At the Southern fringe of the Mughal Empire, the rise of the Marathas, the Bahamani Kingdoms, and Vijayanagar Empire, and finally the Nizam of Hyderabad stimulated urban growth. Golconda, Hyderabad, Bijapur, and Aurangabad are outstanding examples of urban development during this period.

The European phase of India’s urban history has its beginning, ironically, in the period during which Mughal supremacy was at its heights. The Portugese were the first to establish new port towns in India - Panaji in Goa, in 1510 and Mumbai in 1532. They were followed by the Dutch - Machilipatnam in 1605 and Nagapatnam in 1658, and the French - Pondicherry in 1673 and Chandernagore in 1690. The British established themselves in Chennai in 1639 and Kolkata in 1960. All these European settlements, and the European presence as traders in a
large number of existing Indian ports and inland cities, continued throughout the Mughal period; but without having any marked impact on the level of urbanization in India. It is only in the early 19th century that the British established a firm territorial hold in India. The course of urbanization after 1800 in all parts of India was determined by British colonial economic policies and social attitudes. The consolidation of territorial power by the British in 1900 and the end of a period of political instability brought about, surprisingly, a period of stagnation and decline of urban centres in India, which lasted for well over a century.

Around the year 1800, India had 16 cities with a population of one lakh or more and about 1500 towns spread over all parts of the country. The overall level of urbanization in the year 1800 was estimated to be approximately 11%. Varanasi was the largest city in India followed by Kolkata. Only Kolkata, Chennai and Mumbai were entirely new cities established by British, the rest had their origins in Mughal or earlier times. A major feature of the early 19th century was the decline of the pre-British cities. Prominent among the cities that lost their former importance were Agra, Delhi, Lucknow, Ahmedabad, Srinagar, Bombay, Patna, Gaya, Baroda, Indore and Tanjore. By the year 1872, when the first census was undertaken, the urban population of India had declined from 11 percent in 1800 to 8.7 percent in 1872. On the positive side, the railways contributed to the growth of the metropolitan cities and even some of the major inland towns. The railways thus helped in the introduction of modern industry in the metropolitan cities of Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai and Kanpur. The 19th century also saw the emergence of a new class of towns in the hill areas of the Himalayas and the South. These cities were Shimla, Mussoorrie, Dalhousi, Nainital, Darjeeling, Ooty, etc.

37 Id at 60.
2.7 The Criteria to Define Urban Area

According to the Census of India, 1991, definition of an urban area is specific, i.e.

(i) its population should exceed 5000,
(ii) population density should be at least 400 persons per square kilometer,
(iii) more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the workers should be engaged in non-agricultural activities, and
(iv) other factors which might induce the census authorities to declare an area as urban even if the other three criteria have not been met. India defines towns and urban areas primarily in terms of the form of local self-Government.

According to the census report of 1991, the definition of an urban area adopted is as follows:

(a) All places with a Municipality, Corporation, Cantonment Board or Notified Town Area committee etc.
(b) All other places which satisfy following criteria:
   (i) A minimum population of 5000.
   (ii) At least 75 percent of male working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits, and
   (iii) A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. Km.

Besides, the Directors of census Operations in States/UT’s were allowed to be included in consultation with the concerned State Government / UT Administrations and the commissions of India, some places having distinct urban characteristics as urban even if such places did not satisfy all the criteria mentioned under category (b) above. Such marginal cases include major project colonies, important tourist centers etc. Apart from these, the outgrowths of cities and towns have also been treated as urban.

It may be noticed from the definition that there are two distinct types of urban units, such as:
(i) The places which have come into existence by virtue of statutory notifications and are referred by the nomenclature adopted in the relevant notification as Municipal Corporation, Municipal Boards, Cantonment Boards, Notified Area, Committee etc., and

(ii) The places which are defined as urban because they satisfy criterion (b) and are referred to as Census Towns or Non-Municipal Towns.

New Towns represent not only an advancement of the urbanization but also its diffusion to new areas. These places are expected to normally fill the gaps in space. Their emergence brings additional area under influence – Mohali and Panchkula around Chandigarh. New towns do not succeed in making a strong impact in their regions till they attain an impressive size. This is illustrated by the case of Chandigarh which could evolve into a growth pole only after its demographic dimensions grew to the size of a city.

Infact, the major changes that have occurred in India’s urban scene in the post-independence period are:

1. The influx of refugees and their settlements, particularly in urban areas in Northern India;

2. The building of new administrative cities, such as Chandigarh, Bhubneshwar, and Gandhinagar;

3. The construction of new industrial townships near major cities such as Rourkela, Bhillai, Jamshedpur etc.

4. The rapid growth of one lakh and million plus cities;

5. The massive increase in squatters and the proliferation of slums in the million plus cities, and the emergence of rural-urban fringe; and

6. The introduction of city planning and the general improvement in civic amenities.

The level of urbanization in a state may be measured in a number of ways. The most common and best-understood criterion is the percentage of urban population
in the total population. In India, towns serve as focal points of socio-economic change. The rural population served by a town can be regarded as an indication of its effectiveness. The larger the rural population served by each town, on an average, the lower the level of urbanization. When no rural population is served, urbanization is total and no further urbanization is possible. There is, however, no upper limit to the number of people that an urban centre may serve.

2.8 The Reasons and Consequences of Urbanization

Following are the factors which have led to the development of urban centers:

1) Economic Development: - Urbanization is the result of economic development process. Economic development refers to the social and technological development. It involves improvement in variety of indicators such as literacy rate, social security, poverty rate, labour supply, development of consumer market, economic development and infrastructural development etc. Through different development programmes employment opportunities are created. Which increase the migration of people from rural to urban areas and agricultural to non-agricultural employment. This is called urbanization.

2) Industrialization: - Industrialization is establishment of new industries or further growth of old industries. It is a process of social and economic change whereby a human group is transformed from a pre-industrial society into an industrial one. It is a part of a wider modernisation process, where social change and economic development are closely related with technological innovation, particularly with the development of large-scale energy and metallurgy production. Industrialization also introduces a form of philosophical change, where people obtain a different attitude towards their perception of nature. Positive work ethics in populations at large combined with skills in quickly utilising new technologies and scientific discoveries were likely to boost

production and income levels – and as the latter rose, markets for consumer goods and services of all kinds tended to expand and provide a further stimulus to industrial investment and economic growth.

(3) Migration: - Migration cannot be considered a mere shift of people from one place to another. It is most fundamental to the understanding of continuously changing space-content and space-relationship of an area\(^{46}\). Bogue considered a movement of people as an instrument of cultural diffusion and social integration that result into more meaningful distribution of population\(^{47}\). Lee broadly considered migration as a permanent or semi permanent change of residence with no restrictions on the distance involve in the movement. There can be no end to stretching the term migration to its logical extreme; the population geographer may restrict the meaning of the term migration to only those movements of people which may involve a change in the place of normal residence of people from one settlement to another. Thus, imbibed within such a condition of the term migration would be:

(i) The movement for some physical distance, and
(ii) Change in normal place of residence.

2.9 The Reasons and Consequences of Migration

Migration is a complex phenomenon. An enquiry about the motive behind it is the most difficult part of the analysis of the process of migration. Broadly, all the reasons of the migrations are divided into “push factors” and “pull factors”. Push factors are those that operate in areas of out-migration and compel the people to move to other areas. Pull factors are those that operate in areas of in-migration and attract the people to these areas. It is not necessary that in an area only push or only pull factors should operate. In fact, both push and pull factors operates

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simultaneously in the same area. It is because some times it becomes difficult to
differentiate between push and pull factors. It is in this context that a scheme other
than the ‘push-pull syndrome’ has to be recommended for a detailed inventory of
determinants migration. All migrations in the modern context are born out of
growing process of industrialization, technological advancement and other
changes that are taking place in the social and economic spheres. In addition,
wars, political events, regional disparities in natural increase, in employment
potentials, in wages and in availability of agricultural land are other stimuli for
population movements. The determinants of migration for the convenience of
understanding may be classified into three broad categories of economic, social
and demographic determinants.

(1) Economic Determinants: - Economic motive constitute the most
vital determinants of population movements. Included among the various
economic determinants which govern the magnitude and direction of migration are
the general economic condition of the area, the availability of good agricultural
land, size of landholdings, the rate of growth of employment opportunities, etc.
The depressed economic conditions in an area generate tendencies of out-
migration. Where as the conditions reflect the economic prosperity offer greater
employment potential and attract in-migrants. It has commonly been observed that
the regions of dwindling landholdings send out the streams of migrants to area of
developmental activities. The areas experiencing developmental activities are
widening their employment potential. The development of means of transportation
and communication in recent times has also stimulated migratory tendencies.agement.

(2) Social Determinants: - There are certain social customs which
generate specific type of migration. For instance females move from the place of
their parent’s residence to the place of residence of their spouses at the time of

48 Research paper by Michael Mussa (Economic Counselor and Director of Research IMF), Factors
Driving Global Economic Integration. Presented in Jackson Hole, Wyoming at a symposium sponsored by
marriage. This is a type of migration, which owes nothing to the desire of economic gains. It is due to this factor that in India the number of female migrants is considerable high, although Indian population considered as least mobile. Similarly, religious freedom has been another social cause of migration. The large scale sailing of ‘Pilgrim Fathers’ across the Atlantic was also the product of the desire to preserve religious faith.

Other social factors controlling population includes socio-economic status, information network, cultural contract, desire for social upliftment and government policies. Government policies make their own contribution in giving a specific direction to the population movement. Examples of China and Russia reveal the role of government policies in the migration of population.

(3) Demographic Determinants: - A number of demographic factors also play a determining role in the migration-propensity spectrum. For instance, age has been recognized as one of the important demographic factors controlling the degree of desire to move among the potential migrants. No wonder, young adults were more migratory than other groups. Similarly, regional disparities in the rate of natural increase provide the basis for all movements by way of their role in giving a specific pattern to population-resource nexus of an area. In contemporary India, the redistributional tendencies among its population are also an expression of regional disparities in their population resource relationship. Large scale out-migration from intensely crowed parts of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh is due to a poor population resource ratio in these areas. It signifies that the relationship between human and physical resources form the basis of all population movements.

2.10 Types of Migration

The phenomenon of migration has been classified into various types on the basis of motivation (economic and social migration), distance (Long and short distance migration) and time (motive behind the move). All those migrations that take place within an area lying within the territorial jurisdiction of a country are, thus, distinguished as internal migrations. The internal migration is classified into four types on the basis of area.

1) Rural to Urban Migration: - In this type of migration people move from rural area to urban areas. It is caused by both push and pull factors. In rural areas appalling poverty due to excess labour supply, unbearable unemployment, low and uncertain wages, uneconomic landholdings, change in agricultural productivity and excessive population pressure on agriculture, family system, lack of proper implementation of public distribution system and lack of facilities for education, health, recreation and other services work as the push factors. By comparison, the pull of the urban areas may includes better employment opportunities, regular and higher wages, fixed working hours, better amenities of living, facilities for education and social-cultural activities. In country like India where rigidities of caste system are felt more in the countryside, some movement of the down-trodden from the rural to urban areas may also takes place with a view to moving to a new set of environment where the caste identities are not prejudiced against.

It is true that many rural peasants migrate to the cities not only because jobs are available there but because of high rural densities forcing them off the land. People go to the cities because there is really nowhere else to go, and the city at least offers the possibility of finding job or powerful sponsor. The major source of this urban growth, however, will not be natural population increase. Rather, it will be the continuing in-migration of rural people.
(2) Urban to Urban Migration: In this type of migration people move from one urban area to another urban area. Inter-urban migration that takes place between one urban centre to the other is more common in highly urbanized countries of the world, though it also takes place in less developed countries in smaller magnitudes. People move from one urban centre to another with a view to improve their employment prospects. In the less developed world where big cities are the chief magnets, these attract such migrants from other urban centers who have acquired sufficient skills for their absorption in big industrial centers.

(3) Rural to Rural Migration: In a country that is primarily agrarian, movement of people may take place from one rural area to another. In such cases migration is directed towards areas experience development of irrigation, reclamation of waste land, intensification of agriculture and extension of farming, into the upland areas and marginal lands. Generally, such a migration originates from crowded areas of low agricultural productivity and is directed towards sparsely populated areas experiencing large scale development activities. Such migration may take place even for longer distances and is often permanent.

(4) Urban to Rural Migration: In this kind of migration people move from one urban area to another rural area. It is relatively less common compared to other type of migrations discussed above. Such a movement takes place at the advanced stage of urbanization, as it is generated by over-congestion. Since only the advanced countries have attained this high degree of urbanization, therefore, it is seen more in developed countries and less in developing countries. Overcrowding of the cities has induced this kind of movement. The development of networking of efficient transportation system has facilitated it. In case of India, many of the retired personnel tend to settle in their native villages where they still have their landed property.
2.11 The Consequences of Migration

Beaujeu-Garnier\textsuperscript{31} rightly remarks that each migrant, by nature, seeks to recreate something of the original milieu in the midst of the new environment and consequently, enriches the civilization. Thus, the consequences of migration are no less significant than the causes of migration.

The migration has three-fold impact:

(i) On the area experiencing in-migration;

(ii) On the area experiencing out-migration; and

(iii) On the migrants themselves. Whenever migration takes place, in whatever form, it modifies the area of origin, the area of destination as well as the way of life of migrants. Beaujeu-Garnier\textsuperscript{32} and Smith\textsuperscript{33} rightly remarked that area from which people out-migrate, the area to which they in-migrate and the migrants themselves never remain the same. With the movement of people from one area to another area all the demographic attributes like numbers, density, growth, fertility, morality, age, sex, literacy etc. experience a quantitative change in their numerical experience. For example an increase in the density of population, through migration, may either increase the region’s burden upon its resources or may enhance the capacity to exploit its resource potential. Similarly, the movement of educated and technically trained people into an area may not only be seen in terms of the proportional increase in literacy but also it should be examined in terms of the change such an in-migration results in the quality of life in the region.

The migrants, on the other hand, also face serious adaptation problems, e.g., the rural migrants moving to the new industrial towns suffers from lack of pure air and open space; also from the presence of noxious fumes, dust, etc. They

\textsuperscript{31} Id at 232.
\textsuperscript{32} Id at 212.
also have to adapt to the new dietary habits and timing of food. There are evidences to prove that the incidence of respiratory disease among the people who migrate from rural areas to industrial towns is very high. Sometime, the physical contract of the people belonging to different pathological backgrounds may change the pathogenic complex of the two types of people involve. Whenever immigrants arrive in groups, they also bring with them their language, religion, and culture. Language, religion and culture become very big problem for them because they want to keep continue with their language, religion and culture in the area of some other language, religion and culture. It may cause a rift between indigenous and migrants.

### 2.12 The Concept of Slum Development

Industrialization, urbanization and migration have led to the emergence of slums throughout the world. Urbanization, being an integral part of the development process, brings in its wake more opportunities and new possibilities, yet the attendant problems are considered to be very acute and complex in nature. One such problem with which developing economies are grappling today is the problem of ’slum’.

A slum represents a habitat with defective physical, social, and economic living conditions.

Ashish Bose defines a ‘slum’:

“as a deprived human settlement, which is demographically, economically and environmentally vulnerable. Extreme overcrowding, high density and high levels of morality and fertility are the typical demographic features, a large unorganized sector, low level of productivity and extreme poverty are the usual economic features and the lack of access to basic services like water, sanitation and clean environment makes these areas environmentally hazardous.”

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54 Ashish Bose, *Urbanization and Slums*, in Prodipto Roy and Shangon Das Gupta (eds), *Urbanization of Slums*, 19 (1995) Proceeding of the symposium held by Council of Social Development. His definition of slum includes the small cluster of pavement dwellers as well as glorified slums like some of the resettlement colonies sponsored by the Government. Any settlement with characteristic mentioned above and with a population of more than one lakh has been described by him as a super slum.
Slum includes both rural and urban slums. Slums are the neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are not proper. Slums range from high density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities.

Slums do not have:
- Basic municipal services - water, sanitation, waste collection, storm drainage, street lighting, paved footpaths, roads for emergency access.
- Schools and clinics within reach, safe areas for children to play.
- Places for the community to meet and socialize.

Slums are worsening:
- As the average age of people in cities is increasing, the average age of slum dwellers is decreasing, so the youth suffer most from unhealthful conditions.
- Visible disparities between slums and better-off neighborhoods increase the social tensions in poorer areas.
- Unplanned growth of settlements makes conventional service provision complicated.

Rapid industrialization in 19th-century Europe was accompanied by rapid population growth and the concentration of working-class people in overcrowded, poorly built housing. England passed the first legislation for building low-income housing to certain minimum standards in 1851; Laws for slum clearance were first enacted in 1868. In the U.S., slum development coincided with the arrival of large numbers of immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; Laws concerning adequate ventilation, fire protection, and sanitation in urban housing were passed in the late 1800s. In the 20th century government and private organizations built low-income housing and appropriated funds for urban renewal and offered low-
interest home loans. \textit{Shanty towns}, which often grow up around urban centres in
developing countries as rural populations migrate to the cities in search of
employment, are one type of slum for which alleviating measures have yet to be
successfully introduced. Slum populations often exhibit high concentrations of

The definition of slum varies from country to country. In India, each state
has its own definition of slum. The national definition of \textit{Slum Area} was set by
the \textit{Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956}. It defines \textit{`slum’} as a place
where buildings:

\begin{enumerate}
\item are in any respect unfit for human habitation;
\item are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and
design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of
streets, lack of ventilation, light, sanitation facilities or any
combination of these factors which are detrimental to safety, health
and morals.\footnote{Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956.}
\end{enumerate}

For the purpose of \textit{Census of India, 2001}, slum areas broadly constitute:

\begin{enumerate}
\item All specified areas notified as \textit{`Slum’} by State/Local Government and
\textit{UT Administration under any Act;}
\item All areas recognized as \textit{`Slum’} by State/Local Government and \textit{UT}
Administration which may have not been formally notified as slum
under any Act;
\item A compact area of at least 300 populations or about 60-70
households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic
environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in
proper sanitary and drinking water facilities.\footnote{Explanatory Note - \textit{Slum Population Census of India}2001, www.censusindia.net, (visited on
March 18, 2007, at 11:30 am.)}
\end{enumerate}

Many cities across the world have slums leading to overpopulation of urban
neighborhood. The slum areas are called by different names in different regions
like \textit{Chawls} in Mumbai; \textit{Basthis, Katra} and \textit{Jhuggi Jhopdis} in Delhi; \textit{Basthis} in
Kolkata; \textit{Abadis} and \textit{Shats} in Kanpur, \textit{Cheris} in Chennai and \textit{Colony} in

\frac{\text{Integer home loans. Shanty towns, which often grow up around urban centres in
developing countries as rural populations migrate to the cities in search of
employment, are one type of slum for which alleviating measures have yet to be
successfully introduced. Slum populations often exhibit high concentrations of
drug abusers, alcoholics, criminals, and vandals.\footnote{http://www.scribd.com/doc/36881947/Slums-in-Bangladesh, Presentation on Slums in Bangladesh. (Visited on 10/11/2010, at 4 pm.)}}{	ext{The definition of slum varies from country to country. In India, each state
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Chandigarh such as, Ambedkar colony, Gursagar Bhattal Coloney, Kabri Colony, Kalyan Colony, Kumhar colony-25 etc.

The number of people living in slums in India has more than doubled in the past two decades and now exceeds the entire population of Britain. According to Census 2001 India’s slum-dwelling population had risen from 27.9 million in 1981 to 61.8 million in 2001. The expansion of India’s slums is partly due to the rise in India’s total population, which increased from 683 million in 1981 to 1.03 billion in 2001. That has been exacerbated by mass migration from the countryside as millions of farmers have forsaken the diminishing returns of small-scale agriculture to seek the relatively high wages of manual labourers in India’s cities. But the ballooning slum population is also evidence of the Government’s failure to build enough housing and other basic infrastructure for its urban poor.58

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United Nations said the rapid growth of slums in the world’s towns and cities is increasing urban poverty and creating a breeding ground for terrorism, fanaticism, pollution and disease. In coming years new urban era will begins,

58 http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/asia/article1805596.ece, (visited on 29/5/09, at 10:40pm.)
59 Ibid
according to the United Nations, where half of humanity will be living in towns and cities and one billion of them living in slums.60

In Chandigarh, the rise in slums is due to the lack of affordable housing provided by the Government or Chandigarh Administration, because whole land of the city has been controlled by the Government and land prices have gone to such heights that layman can’t afford proper housing.

2.13 The Reasons and Consequences of Slum Development in Urban Areas

The slum problem is created by the causative factors like rapid growth of population, increased rate of urbanization, pressure of industrialization and economic development, growth of income and black money, pushing the migrants in search of employment opportunities etc. On the other hand, factors like poor recovery of formal sector, inadequate supply of affordable houses for poor, shortage of developable land and paradoxically sub-optimum utilization of land by public agencies, inadequate access to housing finance on reasonable terms, various legal and administrative impediments to provision of affordable houses for poor are responsible for the slum development in urban areas. Following are some major reasons for slum development:

(i) Poverty: - People living in slum areas cannot afford expensive housing facility in the main cities because of their poverty; therefore they prefer to live in slum areas where they can find easy and cheap housing facility.

(ii) Land cost: - High land cost keep the poor people away from the permanent construction of their houses in urban areas. Low income and high land cost are two big obstacles in the construction of permanent houses clear from all problems and objections. Poor people can not afford expensive houses beyond their capacity. They have to satisfy all their basic necessities within their limited income. Urban poor people instead of spending huge money

60 http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/DEL110476.htm. (visited on 08/06/09 at 8am.)
over the construction of house in urban areas, send the money to their families which generally live at their native place.

(iii) *Rent free land*: Migrants generally build slums over open govt. land near to their working places, because for the use of that land they don’t have to pay any rent and they get the place to live free of cost. Where as if they live in any house any where in the city they have to pay the rent to the land lord. This is very difficult for them with their low and limited income.

(iv) *Free facilities (Electricity, water etc.)*: - Slum dwellers are using all the facilities generally free of cost. They use public water taps for water facilities, open space for toilets etc. So in slum areas peoples are using facilities without any payment. Where as if they will use these facilities anywhere out side the slum area, they will have to pay for these facilities. Slum dwellers are not paying any thing in lieu of use of these facilities it is illegal to build huts and make use of facilities. More over they are aware that they can be removed any time from that place and If slum is their temporary residence then why they pay for it.

(v) *Migration form different regions to urban areas*: - Every day huge number of people are migrated from rural to urban areas in search of job, education etc. Urban areas have a limited capacity to accommodate all these people. Because of less housing facility and more demand it is becoming very expensive day by day. Therefore it is not possible for a poor person to avail this housing facility available in main urban areas.

(vi) *Feeling of brotherhood*: Slum dwellers are poor people. Generally they belong to the same place, reason, family, gotra, cast and religion etc. or having common language. These are the main factors for feeling of brother hood in slum areas.
(vii) **Proximity to the working place:** Generally slums are developed near to the working place. Proximity of working place to the place of their residence reduces the traveling time and expenses over transportation etc. To save money and time poor workers start living in sub-standard conditions of living, near to their working places. These continue process of the building sub-stander houses near to their working places leads slum development.

(viii) **Health problems:** Despite availability of better health services in urban areas, the state of urban poor, particularly of women and children in the slum areas is much more worse than that of rural poor. Urbanization is creating serious health problems. The existing urban health services are being most vulnerable and inadequate. Poor sanitation conditions in urban slums continue to create favorable conditions for disease transmission. Surveys of few slum areas strongly indicate that the lowest segment of the poor suffer from malnutrition. Even though 95 percent of an average monthly income is spent on food, yet 73 percent of them take a diet which was deficient in protein and 95 percent suffers from calorie deficiency.\(^6\)

(ix) **Changing economic structure within city:** It also contributes to urban poverty. Restructuring and dismantling of larger industries in big cities like mills due to higher land price, environmental and other legal complications. A large number of workforce is jobless forcing them into informal sector activities.

(x) **Temporary workers:** Slum residents, men and women alike, hail from villages and come to the cities looking for better work. Viewing themselves as ‘temporary workers’ they tend to neglect the importance of economic and social advancement. Resident of slums are unwilling to make changes to improve their lives.

(xi) **Increase in the total population of the country:** The expansion of India’s slums is due to the rise in the India’s total population, which increased from 683 million in 1981 to 1.03 billion in 2001.62

(xii) **Huge economic failure of the Government:** People come to industrial areas for employment. When these industries, because of any reasons close down, then the employees of these industries become unemployed. They don’t go back to rural areas but stay in cities for many reasons like unemployment in rural areas, education of their children’s etc. Poverty and unemployment compels these peoples to live in cheap houses. These cheap houses are available in slum areas.

The above study makes it evident that there is a relation between economic development, urbanization, migration and slum development. Economic development is a positive concept which gave rise to urbanization with its some negative aspects in the form of slum development. Similarly, economic development may change in every function of society. As a result the nature of crime and pace of crime have become complicated. For example- in slum areas problems like poverty, prostitution, rape, theft etc. became very visible. In this way we can say that the nature of crime and the pace of crime have been changed by product of economic development.

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62 *[Supra note 58]*.