Chapter II

Review of Literature
Urbanization and industrialisation are the two major forces which bring about rapid changes in any social system. So Lewis, Mumford (1961) believes that factory becomes the nucleus organism which lures the poor rural dwellers to flock around the factory sites.

Ramchandran (1957), also believes that the first and the most important cause is industrialisation. Growth of industry require more manpower. More manpower means more inflow of the people into newly industrialising areas. Hence the migrants who come in search of job do not get very high wages and their employment is not always a certainty, so they are insecure. Further, many of these migrants are not housing conscious, so the two facts of low income and low priority of housing lead them to accept poor housing.

Another common reason put forward for the development of slums is the attitude of the landlords. Many permanent structures in different localities deteriorate because they are not maintained well. The landlords do not care to maintain them as the expenditure involved is not covered by the low rents they get from their tenants.

A third reason is that the people of India particularly those in low socio-economic levels are not civic minded enough.

Some of the other major factors attributed to slum conditions in Calcutta are the absence of practical housing policies
and programmes, half hearted measures for clearance and improvement of existing slums, non-implementation of town-planning schemes, inadequate powers with the local authorities to enforce suitable standard.

Sinha (1985), studied slum eradication and urban renewal of Patna. According to him, the concept of renewal and reconstruction gained importance because of expanding slums and blighted areas in most cities which help in haphazard growth of built-up areas. Urban renewal is intended to describe the process of dealing with a large area for preservation, rehabilitation and environmental redevelopment.

According to him, there seems to be a cause and effect relationship between the process of urbanization and the magnitude of problems of immigrants in poverty-stricken areas which manifest itself in overcrowding, substandard housing, degenerating cultural, social and environmental conditions. This has been a concrete social phenomenon since the time of industrial revolution in Western Europe, particularly in Great Britain where bulk of rural population seemed to have moved into the new industrial centres. Continued exploitation of these people, their poverty and overcrowded living conditions resulted in substandard housing, insanitary, conditions and poor amenities. The entire social environment of the region where they inhabited became polluted. Desperation and frustration became so inherent that the dwellers developed a substandard social organization full of chaos and confusion. Most of these migrations are due to inadequate employment opportunities in rural belts.
The second important factor is the lack of space and shortage of housing facilities. Thus, most immigrants, particularly in the larger Indian cities, squat on roads and footpaths, encroach upon public land and usurp government property. They settle where they can find some space. These areas rapidly degenerate into slums.

The Indian slums present a way of life. Disease and infant mortality rates are high, as there is little knowledge about health and sanitation, nutrition and proper child care. Illiteracy is exceptionally high and there is a general lack of awareness about social and cultural heritage among the slum dwellers. Often they feel apathetic to local authorities, whom they blame for their plight.

Rao (1984) in his study of a squatters' settlement in the city of Vijaywada states that the phenomenon of slum has come to be regarded as a major problem of urbanization. While no Indian city is free from slums, the problem appears to be more acute in large metropolies. According to him a major problem in the study of slums relate to the condition under which slums emerge, and these are varied. He identified three sets of situations in the growth of slums. First a slum develops as a result of squatting of poor migrants. A majority of the migrants coming to cities are unskilled workers. They can not afford to have a suitable clean house and pay for the urban infrastructural facilities, such as water, sewerage and drainage. The poor are also not provided with adequate facilities by the city's civic authority. Hence the poor migrants largely squat on vacant public land near the places of work, erect huts and use
public facilities. The city administration consider such a settlement as illegal and does not provide any municipal services. The result is the inevitable growth of slums with substandard housing, overcrowding and insanitary condition.

Another set of conditions under which a slum develops is the deterioration of a group of buildings in the old part of the city. The area gets congested and overcrowded and in the absence of adequate municipal services slum conditions come into being.

According to Narain (1960) the real history of urbanization begins from 1800. In the course of the last century and half, the countries of Europe and America underwent profound changes known in history, and emerged as new societies qualitatively. Cities of Asia have grown, not as a result of increasing economic activity but due to extraneous reasons. The impoverished country-side constitutes the main push factor in migration to the city. A city of this type can not provide even minimum conditions of civilized existence like sanitation, housing and employment to all its immigrants.

Greenberg, (1974) has pointed out that the poor neighbourhoods of America's inner cities are distinctive phenomenon, a product of common forces of industrialization and urbanization. This 'push' of rural impoverishment and the 'pull' of expanding industrialization were the forces that created inner city poor neighbourhoods.

Dhadave (1989) in his study analysed the socio-economic factor responsible for the growth of slums in Gulbarga city and their
integration with the community. He also analysed the factors responsible for the growth and development of slums. He states that urbanization and industrialization are two fundamental forces which bring about rapid changes in the social system of urban society. Rapid urbanization was due to the pressure of population on the rural economy with large size rural unemployed or underemployed labourers migrating to urban centres. There are other factors which have led to development of urban centres, namely (1) new industries or further growth of old industries, (2) repeatative natural calamities like femine; (3) tendency of wealthy and educated people to live in cities. But the growth of urban centres have not been in proportion to the growth of the development of infrastructure, housing and formal economic base in cities. This has led to a crisis in urban situation and many slum pockets have emerged on the fringe of urban centres.

Except a few, planned metropolis in India, most cities do not grow corresponding to other aspects of city life viz. in social, economic and the infrastructural spheres. The unorganised growth of cities with no provision to accomodate the evergrowing volume of immigrants and the natural growth of population in the city cause emergence of slums. The process of urbanization in India with its rapidity poses several problems. The slums are increasing and multiplying in the cities rapidly.

Singh (1973) has estimated that a quarter of Kanpur's population lives in the slum areas. They have grown as a result of wartime immigration and consequent haphazard expansion of the
city markets and workshops. Squatter settlements have grown in the industrial sector. According to him, slums of the first order include the old city slum, *ahatas* and the old rural settlements, while those of the second order are slums which developed in and around the newly built up areas. Blighted areas have been included in the second category.

Ghosh and others (1972) have made a detailed survey of Calcutta with special references to the land use pattern the utility services, housing condition and traffic arrangement of the metropolitan city. They have found that the major concentration of squatters', settlements, occurs near the railway crossings. The organic growth of the city is linked with the degeneration of old slum areas and the growth of new slums in the fringe sector.

Gowda (1977) has made a comprehensive study of the growth of Bangalore, specially after independence. He has analysed the problems accompanying urban growth and infrastructure, and has observed 120 slum areas accommodating about 1,50,000 people. He also points to the need for better housing facilities and redevelopment of the congested areas for better social conditions.

D'Souza (1978) has pointed out that unplanned and haphazard growth of the metropolitan cities in Indian was a factor for rapid development of the blighted areas. He has estimated that one-fifth of the total urban population, 22 million lived in slums or squatter settlements. In Ahmedabad, nearly 45 percent of the total urban population lived in slums.
Lahiri (1978) has discussed the urban problems of Calcutta, particularly those arising out of population growth, mass migration, employment situation and transport. He has correlated them with the squatter problem which has showed a tendency to grow in the heart of the city.

Naidu (1978) observed in her study of slums in Hyderabad and Secunderabad, that in the poorer countries where infrastructural facilities for transportation, schooling, shopping and so on remain low inspite of accelerated growth of the city peripheries, the middle and the upper classes remain near the central business district and consequently land value around these areas rise up. She also observed that though some of the slums appeared near the business districts most of the slums developed around the industries and other major establishments.

Abrams (1953) found that the worst slum condition occurred where physical slum was accompanied by overcrowding. This he felt, had become the general tendency in most cities. According to him slums punctuate almost every city of the world and types of slums vary from places to place. They include metropolitan and rural slums, new slums, hand-me-down, hand-made and pre-fabricated slums etc. Some are in shack towns, other are found in the back alleys of mansions. Some are made of scrap; others are put together with mud, adobe, thatch or wood findings. Many are one story high, but there are also six story slums. More than sixty percent of the teeming single room slums of Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur and Nagpur are unfit for habitation.
Many factory workers live insanitary settlements known as 'chawals' or airless flimsy and huts.

Hoselitz (1959) studied the problem of congestion, substandard housing complex in slums and lack of amenities confronting the Indian metropolitan centres. He holds the view that increasing trend of congestion in the Indian cities is the probable cause of such sub-standard development.

McGee (1967) has tried to show that illegal squatting is more common in the cities of south East Asia. The squatter settlements lack public amenities common to the urban environment. Sanitation and water supplies are virtually non-existent and health hazards are common.

Chowdhury (1976) describes life in the Calcutta slum. According to him, most of the slums in greater Calcutta are situated in low lying areas of Cossipore, Paikpara, Belgachia, Khidderpore, Watgung, Tallygunj, Tangra, Topsia, Beliaghata, Howrah, Baranagar, Kamarhati, Rishra and Champdani Zones.

In the view point of Chowdhuri Calcutta's slums are not squatter settlements. They are not a mottey assembly of shacks and mud huts set up on territory seized by migrants. The bustees of Calcutta are long established tenancy settlements nearly as old as the city itself. Commencing with the development of Calcutta Port and the rise of the Jute and engineering industries over 100 years ago, bustees came up in poorly developed land adjoining factories and other employment centres. The huts, usually have mud walls and tile roofs in the shape of a guard-rungle partitioned into many
rooms. They were built by middle men (Thika tenants) who had taken the lands on lease from the land owners. The bustee dwellers themselves were the tenants of the middle men who owned the huts. Unfortunately the industry that flourished in Calcutta and its management were of 19th century vintage. Thus as industry grew so did the bustee.

With people pouring endlessly into Calcutta from rural belts areas in search of job and food, hundreds of new huts sprout each day in different localities, as if from nowhere.

According to Siddiqui (1968) slums or the areas of substandard housing in cities pose a serious problems in society. In the large populous cities slums present a gloomy picture of overcrowding, poverty, insanitation, unhealthy conditions, ignorance and often social and moral decadence. Slums are generally known to be the product of all the above factors arising in course of unplanned, haphazard, industrialization and urbanization and these factors in turn tend to perpetuate themselves among the slum dwellers till the situation becomes so bad as to invite the attention of the society and its agencies for administration and reforms.

Calcutta slums have posed serious problems both in their extent and magnitude, because they involve about a quarter of total population of the city the toll of human lives they take because of their unhealthy surroundings. The gloom and ugliness that generally characterise the slums of Calcutta, constitute some of the darkest spots on the fair face of the city.
The people of the lower income groups are naturally attracted towards the areas of cheap housing where they can have the chance of securing living accommodation not far beyond their means. The Bombay Municipal Corporation in its study of the physical conditions (1956-57) of slums states that the Chawals consists of a number of tenements, usually of one small room for each family and served by water closets, washing places and water taps common to all tenments. Most of the Chawals are three or four storeys high. A number of chawals in the city are even five or six storey structure. In absence of town planning and satisfactory standards laid down by law in respect of minimum accomodation and sanitation, the general growth of the city had been haphazard and tenements were mostly substandard. There are also large number of holding in many localities of the city. In these buildings rooms are small and are situated one behind the other. The dwellers are deprived of natural light and air. A great majority of the buildings in the slums being more than fifty or sixty years old, are built to standards that are utterly obsolete. All these buildings are absolutely unfit for human habitation with the over crowding and usual congestion. Sanitary and public health facilities fall far short of the requirements.

Some studies on slums in India based on census enumeration of 1961 have been conducted by Nambair (1961) and Trivedi (1961).

Nambair (1961) identified the spatial pattern of slums in Madras city concentrated mostly along side the water courses in the city. He has found a high birth rate, high infant mortality and poor amenities in slum areas.
Trivedi (1961) studied the spatial characteristics and distribution of slums areas in Ahmedabad. The entire of population in the slum live in single room tenements. Out of 29 wards of the city 15 were classified as slums where there were over crowding and lack of civic amenities. He has also studied (1961) the slum clearance programme launched in 1950 in Ahmedabad. This has resulted in an improvement of housing conditions. Trivedi notes that the worst conditions are found in slums near to the industries.

Poverty and illiteracy are seen in its more concrete form in slums, shanty towns, shacktowns and squatters colonies. The basic feature of slum is nothing but an area of substandard housing. Primarily, the slum problem is the problem of shelter for the poor. Poverty is the foremost cause, low income forces people to live in slums. But the slum has a culture of its own.

Some studies on slums have been conducted to bring out the socio-economic and health conditions of the slum dwellers by Sen (1954-58) and Gadgil (1959) in Calcutta and Poona respectively. Such studies tell us much about the physical, demographic, health status and distribution of slum dwellers according to the variables of places of origin, length of residence and religious affiliation.

Sen (1954-58) studied the spatial pattern and characteristics of the slums and the squatters of Calcutta. His analysis is mainly confined to the construction of house in slums and availability of basic amenities of life such as water closet, bath and water tap.
Gadgil (1959) studied the problems of slum clearance and housing in Poona. His study is mainly confined to the interpretation of high density of inmates per room in the slums, inadequacy of water, insanitary conditions and housing shortage. He advocates for the provision of more space for housing and adequate conservancy services.

The works of Desai and Pillai and Venkatarayappa who studied urban problems of Mysore city discussed on the population density, state of health, infant mortality, state of education, economic condition, political life of the slum dwellers and factors responsible for formation of slum in the society. In the general introduction of the edited volume Desai and Pillai (ibid : 2) observes "all of the included writers pointed out one basic fact; the slum is basically an area of darkness, despair and poverty". Poverty is the prime characteristic of slums. It is an area of substandard housing. Cities absorb poor migrants but the housing being subjected to market mechanism, the poor people can not afford to pay the rent determined by the market. India is known for its diversity in cultural and social lives. It's social life is conditioned by many cultural, political and historical factors. The development of slums in a particular area, depends upon the conditions prevailing in particular regions. Desai and Pillai in another study (1972) of a Bombay slum area described some common characteristics of slum life particularly with regard to employment, status, income, educational levels, differences between slum and non-slum areas.
Wiebe (1975), who conducted his study on the social life in an Indian slum at Madras described the dimensions of poverty and problems of slums in India. He presented a comprehensive picture of the ways in which the members of a slum in Madras socially organize their lives and relate themselves to their various environments. According to him the problems of poverty and slums in India are immense. Marked by substandard income, low level of literacy, bad housing, insufficient medical care, inadequate sanitation, extremely poor access to public utilities and malnutrition, the slum population in India live in an appalling physical environment. He believes that slums are not the end products in society, they are divisive and destructive.

The Bharat Sevek Samaj (1958) organized a socio-economic survey of the slums of Delhi. According to the report the rapid growth of population, especially during the past twenty five years has turned old Delhi into an extremely congested city, congestion both of houses on land and of people within houses. Slum conditions prevail in all parts of the city. The basic amenities of water supply, latrines and electricity are grossly inadequate. According to the sample survey, three-fourth of the slum families are inmigrants. More than two fifths of these inmigrant families are headed by displaced persons from West Pakistan. Half of the remainder sixty percent (i.e. the non-refugee inmigrant families) have come to Delhi from Uttar Pradesh; thirty per cent from Rajasthan and fourteen per cent from Punjab. According to place of origin forty five per cent of all the inmigrant families including bulk of refugees came from urban areas and fifty five per cent from rural
areas. This organization suggested that the slum areas required prevention of future congestion, planned decentralization of population, economic betterment and clearance programme.

Jha (1985), in his study on the structure of urban poverty in Bombay slum states that there is no industrial and commercial expansion in cities. People migrate from nearby and far off areas to such cities in search of jobs. Vast bulk of such migrants belong to the weaker sections of the society having only their labour power to sell. The city is able to absorb them as cheap labourers, but is not built to accommodate them. Their contribution to the city's economy and other services are of paramount importance; but they are relegated to sub-human conditions of living. "A labourer's eight hours of work is useful for economic growth and development, but his needs of housing, public transport, water supply and other civic amenities for the remaining sixteen hours become urban problem" (ibid, 1986 : 1). The people are left with no option but to put up in temporary unhygienic structures. Slums are thus the result of such structural inequalities in cities. Hence his study was undertaken to examine the plan of reallocation and improvement of slums in Bombay metropolis.

Regarding the nature of slum clinard Marshall (1966) pointed out that slums present a way of life a 'subculture' with a set of norms and values which is reflected in poor sanitation and health practices, deviant behaviour and characteristic attributes of apathy and social isolation. A slum is isolated from power structure and regarded as inferior and looked at by the outside world suspiciously. He analyses the slum as a social and cultural...
phenomenon. He deals with the problems and processes of planned social change; particularly through the new approach of urban community development, which focusses on building citizens' active participation integrating local communities and developing self-help.

According to Clinard Marshall, (1966: 9) a high incidence of deviant behaviour crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drunkenness, drug usage, mental disorder, suicide, illegitimacy and family maladjustment have long been associated with slum living. The existence of unconventional values in slums areas accounts for the high rates of such deviant behaviour as delinquency. The slum has a culture of its own and this culture is a way of life. This learned way of life is passed from generation to generation with its own rationale, structure and defence mechanisms, which provide the means to continue inspite of difficulties and deprivation.

He observes, "the life of the slum is lived almost entirely without the conventional world" (ibid: 14). The local politician, often becomes the only "ambassador to the outside world," one who unfortunately tries to manipulate it frequently for his own benefit.

Engels (1936) studied the slum condition in Manchester which particularly developed after the industrial revolution. He analysed the socio-economic condition of the working population who were mainly concentrated in low-living portions of Cheetham Hill.

Seeley (1959) explained that the economic gap between the rich and poor immigrants is the main reason for the growth of
slums, particularly the industrial slums. On the basis of his study on American slums Michael Harrington (1962) believed that a slum is not merely an area of descrepit buildings. There are neighbourhoods in which housing conditions have run down, yet the people do not exhibit the hopelessness of other Americans. Usually these places have a vital community life around a national culture or religion. He distinguishes between the old and new slums. He states that old slums are necessarily compact and tend to develop in the centre of the cities, while degeneration causes a geographical shift in the location of the newer slum. Thus, there are in the United States old slums where the buildings are miserable and decayed; and new slums in which the culture of poverty has been imported into modern housing project. Both are parts of other America. He has described the old ethnic slums as a narrow world, with a single religion, language, and culture, but one that encourages movement towards the outside world.

Dutt (1977) has tried to analyse the complex socio-ecological problem of Calcutta created by mass immigration of rural population and the refugee influx with consequent growth of blighted areas. He has mainly discussed the social problems in the background of regional geopolitics of West Bengal. He has tried to show that the social change for poor 'bustee' dwellers has been greatly accentuated owing to the employment of both husband and wife, adoption of nuclear family structure and erosion of traditionally close kinship ties with even the close kins.
Geertz (1965) has analysed the 'Kampong' type of settlement that has developed in Java. The Kampong is marked by social disorganization where theft, prostitution gambling and drinking are most common.

Majumdar (1978) studied social characteristics of the urban poors and conditions in slums. He observed that the condition of the urban poor is similar to those in rural areas. They were lying at the bottom of the social structure and suffered from inequalities. He has shown how the processes of aggregation and accretion had helped in the growth of spontaneous settlements through self-built homes on illegally occupied land. This was a rational response to their own conditions.

D'Souza (1968) has analysed the geographical distribution of the poor people who live under slum conditions, as they cannot afford to pay rent. In Chandigarh, such people were shifted to labour colonies in the fringe sectors, so that their presence did not affect the beauty and cleanliness of the city. Each dweller was allotted a small plot on nominal rent measuring 9 feet x 6 feet but the plots were not evenly distributed among the dwellers. "Economically superior" people generally build 'pucca' huts on their plots.

According to Siddiqui (1969) a major characteristics of the slums is that they resemble rural centres in an urban millieu. They began as 'entry points' for immigrants to the city, and tended to duplicate the closeness and structuring of social life in the village, reflecting the earlier occupational background of the dwellers.
Despite the insanitary conditions and crowding in these bustees, life in them is generally well organised, relatively free of serious crime and co-operative.

Like Siddiqui, Whyte (1943), however finds a contrary feature that slum has its own sort of organised life. Whyte offers an objective study of slum life of Cornervilla. He concentrated his study upon the interaction of individuals in their groups. The author found that in every group there was a hierarchical structure of social relations binding the individuals to one another and that the groups were also related hierarchically to one another. His study is mainly concentrated on (a) group process, (b) relations of individuals to groups (c) relations of groups to larger organization. He also found in that street corner slum has its own social organization, its own norms of behaviour.

Throughout his study he places great emphasis on studying the relations of individuals with a group and the structure of an individual groups or gangs. He believes that these group studies tells us something about the relations of group structure, with leadership, performance and mental health. The leader is the focal point for the organization of his group.

Anderson (1960) has outlined the characteristics of slums of Birmingham. They are marked by structural average and decline, mass poverty and overcrowding. The slums are the refugee area for the aged, the chronically stick, the homeless and socially maladjusted. Some other characteristics are poor sanitary conditions, continuous health hazards, high rate of criminal activities and social isolation.
The volume entitled, "Slums London" edited by Gaskell (1990) states that in the nineteenth century those features which created and reinforced slum conditions existed in London and throughout the country surrounded by wealthy and respectable neighbourhoods. The slums were isolated and physically cut off from them in a way which reinforced their basic characteristics of terrible housing, foul drainage and inadequate sewerage, abundance of bugs and dirt, extreme unhealthiness and transient population presence of many criminals and unskilled people. Social situation was extremely insecure. Slums existed as sources of shame within otherwise beautiful and improving cities.

Jame Grant (1842) opined the slum was not only physically separate but the inhabitants were akin to the most primitive form of human kind like the animals with whom they share their existence. In his account on the life in London described how whole families messed together as if they were so many pigs. Arthur Morrison unreservedly described the people of the slums as rats. In his opinion, the slum should be defined in terms of the number of obsolescent houses. It was by definition transient. Its very characteristics were defined as ills in society, factors to be remedied, obsolescence, over crowding, unfit for habitation, criminal, insanitary and unhealthy.

According to Siddiqui, one of the major factors contributing to the present distressing condition in the bustee is the poverty of the bulk of the population. A fairly large number of people are unemployed and under employed. The gloomy and
distressing environment of slum habitation, diplorably bad state of sanitation, high incidence of diseases, declining independent occupation, extremely low level of income and above all the pervading gloom of ignorance coupled with growing realisation of helplessness in improving the situation have a frustrating effect on the bustee population. But he believes, "Bustee are in all respects well integrated social units of the community. They have vital links both economic and social with their surroundings in the city".

Siddiqui (1969) believes that the fact of continued habitation has led to the development of Kinship and inter family relations in bustee Parsi Bagan studied by him which is as old as a century and half or still older. In quite a large numbers of cases the bustees have their organization similar to the Panchayats where dispute between the inhabitants are settled and quite often inter bustee affairs also come into consideration. The Panchayats exercise a great influence on the slum population.

He further notes that slum or bustees of Calcutta are not disorganised area nor they have come into existance to cater to the needs of the Vagrants, criminals, prostitutes and the chronic alcoholics and drug addicts in need of rehabilitation. They are on the other hand more in the nature of the segregated areas of the less privileged than anything else who in the language of Bergel (1955) suffer from discriminations, rejection and lack of intergration rather than from disorganization. The bustees in general, are better organised than other parts of the city.
Siddiqui's (1969) observations about existence of vital links with the city population and segregation of the area appear to be contradictory. It may be that while there is economic relations in terms of jobs and other services, socially the bustee societies of Calcutta are considerably isolated from the city's social milieu.

Studies have been made in the West and East to analyse the life in the slums of the urban centres. Prominent social scientists who have given thought on slum problems in the West like Zorbaugh (1929) and Hunter (1964) have pointed to disorganised social life in slum. These studies on the slums give us an idea about the slums in the Western societies, Zorbough notes a strong feeling of alienation in slum society. He describes the physical conditions of the slum and also the state of social organization in the slum area of Chicago city as a distinctive area of disintegration and disorganization. It is an area of dilapidated dwellings. Many owners of these areas are waiting to sell the land for commercial purposes, the slum is an area of freedom and individualism. Leaving apart a few marooned families, a large part of the population is transient, prostitutes, criminals, outlaws and hobus. He also believes that people of the slum have little contact with larger society. The church, the occupational groups and government have ceased to have any direct influence on slum life which is highly disorganised, not adequately governed by law of the land, and without mores of the larger social whole.

According to Zorbough, (1929) a common denominator of the slum is its submerged aspect and its detachment from the city as
a whole. The slum is a bleak area of segregation of the sediments of the society, an area of extreme poverty, tenements, ramshackle buildings of eviction and evaded rents; an area of working mother and children, of high rates of birth, infant mortality, illegitimacy and death, an area of flawn shops and second hand stores, of gangs, of flops where every bed is a vote.

He states that life in the slum is almost entirely detached from conventional world. Practically its only thin contact with the conventional world is through the voluntary organization.

Similar description of slum life is found in the writings of Hunter (1964). According to him, slums and poverty go together, along with assorted other relations, making for an extremely complicated "multi problem family" that threatens the health and viability of the American society.

According to him, slum is the abode of half-starved, filthy clothed children of diseased and crippled individuals; a place of poverty, wretchedness, ignorance and vice, slum is a distinctive area of disintegration and disorganization.

Bhatt and Chowda (1979) in their studies of slums in Ahmedabad city also stressed on the importance of housing. According to them food, clothing and shelter are the basic necessities of life. In fact, housing ranks next to food in human life. It plays an important part in maintaining health and efficiency of the community. Investment on various social services such as education, health, family planning would not give an adequate return if housing is neglected.
As pointed out in most studies, the need for providing minimum housing facilities is most urgent in the case of urban slum dwellers. Slum inflicts on the society certain social costs. The social costs of slum include a high incidence of poverty, ill health, delinquency, crime, prostitution, spread of venereal diseases and social group tensions. The slums in the city are potentiality explosive megazines of frustration, bitterness and anger.

Trivedi (1961) in his special report on Ahmedabad city states that next to food and clothing, shelter or housing is one of the three basic human needs. Housing or condition under which people live is intimately connected with the size of population, its rate of growth. Future trends of change in the composition of families, therefore, have a direct bearing on the problem of housing, which forms an essential integrated part of national planning. In India the problem is manifold and has its inevitable repercussions not only on the social and economic life of the people but also on the health and morals of the society as well. Provision of adequate and comfortable living space with other essential services and amenities, therefore should become the chief concerns of national policy.

The problem of poverty in slums poses an immense problem. In an excellent study "poverty in India", Dandekar and Rath (1971) estimated 40 percent of the rural population and 50 percent of the urban population live under the poverty line, that is with incomes insufficient even to have adequate food with respect to calories.
According to Wiebe (1975), problems of slums in India are severe, marked by substandard incomes relatively low rates of literacy, bad housing, insufficient medical care, inadequate sanitation, extremely poor access to public utilities and malnutrition. The population of India's slum often live in appalling physical situations.

Desai and Pillai (1970) for example in the general introduction to 'Slums of Urbanization' also pointed out that all contributors to the edited volumes point to one basic fact that the slum is basically an area of darkness, despair and poverty, Madan (1969) finds a relation between poverty and disorganization. The poor have such a low income that it is difficult for them to manage the affairs of the family. Such people become discouraged and "can not perform their functions promptly". Under such conditions of poverty, Madan (1969) continues, "we can not have healthy individuals educated children, socialized men and women interested in the progressive development of our social organization."

According to Dhadave (1989) poverty is one of the disturbing features of slums. It can not be separated from slum life. Sometimes it is identified with slums. As defined by Gillin and Gillin (1969) poverty is that condition in which a person either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure can not maintain a scale of living required to ensure physical and mental efficiency to enable him and his natural dependants to function usefully according to the standards of society of which he is a member.
It is commonly believed that slums are locus of poverty and poverty is one of the patent forces that maintains the vicious circles and makes it so difficult for the people to come out. It is also considered that most of the slums dwellers are living below the poverty line.

In his reading of the economic trends in futures, Sir John Hicks quoted from Dhadava (1989) felt the urban poverty should not be neglected and that in the coming years the problem of urban poverty can become more acute as the technological revolutions take deeper roots in the economy of the country.

Ganguli (1971) says that foreign rule, exploitation of a class by the society, over population, lack of capital, lack of education, lack of ambitions and economic motivation, lack of health and stamina in harsh climate; lack of sound and honest administration and outmoded social system without social mobility are some of the important factors responsible for poverty.

Poverty and subsistence are relative concepts. To use Peter Townsend's words (1962), "they can not be defined in relation to the material and emotional resources available at a particular society or different societies. Galbraith (1968) also thinks "People are poverty stricken when their income even if adequate for survival, falls markedly behind that of the community".

According to Clinard Marshall (1966) the slum has a culture of its own and this culture is a way of life. This learned way of life is passed from generation to generation, with its own
rational, structure and defence mechanisms, which provide means to continue inspite of difficulties and deprivations.

This slum culture affects virtually every facet of lives of most of the world's slum dwellers. It is largely a synthesis of the culture of the "lower class" what Lewis (1961) has referred to as the "culture of poverty". Nearly all slum dwellers belong to low economic stratum and with few exceptions, live at the poverty level, but not all lower class or poor urban people live in slums. Although these culture patterns are typical of the slum, in overall perspective, they vary in details from slum to slum from ethnic group to ethnic group from society to society. Each individual in the slum is influenced in different degrees by the general slum culture.

Lewis was the first anthropologist to insist that there was a culture of poverty which deserved careful ethnographic study. He invented the method of seeing individuals as they presented themselves within families. Five families is the best introduction of Lewis's work. His study of a day in the life of each of five Mexican families is an attempt to give us a living picture of one segment of those millions by a process of sampling in depth. He simply lays before us five days, five perfectly ordinary days in the lives of five ordinary representative families.

In anthropological usage the term culture implies, essentially as capabilities and habits acquired by man as a memebr of the society which are passed down from generation to generation. This concept of culture is used for understanding of poverty. That
poverty in modern nations is not only a state of economic deprivation of disorganization or the absence of something. It is also something positive in the sense that it has a structure, a rational and defence mechanism without which poor could hardly carry on. In short it is a way of life, remarkably stable and persistent, passed down from generation to generation along family lines. The culture of poverty has its own modalities and distinctive social and psychological consequences for its members.

According to him, slum has given rise to a distinctive culture because of continuous poverty and unemployment in the slum areas. So this culture of slum is called by him as culture of poverty. He believes that culture of poverty emerges in a society with the following set of conditions, (i) a cash economy, wage labour and production of profit, (ii) a persistent high rate of unemployment and underemployment (iii) low wages, (iv) failure to provide social, political and economic organization either on voluntary basis or by government imposition for the low income population (v) existence of bilateral kinship systems (vi) existence of a dominant class of a set of value that stresses the accumulation of wealth and property, the possibility of upward mobility and shift that explains, low economic status as a result of personal inferiority. The way of life that develops among some of the poor is considered as culture of poverty.

The culture of poverty has economic, social and psychological characteristics. Unemployment, low wages and assortment of unskilled occupations, child labour, absence of
savings chronic shortage of cash, the habit of frequent buying of small quantities of food as when the need arises are among the economic characteristics. The social and psychological characteristics include overcrowding congestion and lack of privacy, gregariousness, a high incidence of alcoholism, wife beating, early initiation into sex, free unions or consensual marriage, a relatively high incidence of abandonment of mothers and children, authoritarianism, emphasis on male superiority a strong present time orientation with little ability to plan for the future. Fatalism and a sense of resignation prevail. Most slums have this general condition.

According to Valantine (1968) when we look at the culture of poverty on the local community level, we find above all a minimum level of organisation beyond the level of the nuclear and extended family. Occasionally there are informal temporary groupings, ........ the existence of neighbourhood gangs, ........ which represent a considerable advance beyond the zero point of the continuam. Indeed it is the low level of organization which gives the culture of poverty its marginal and anarchronistic quality. Most primitive people have achieved a higher level of socio cultural organisation than our modern slum dwellers.

To explore some of the relationship between the "culture of poverty" as desired described in the abstract and the evidence to be found in autobiographics, let us return to Lewis (1961) latest major work Lavida. In Lewis accounts of those who live in the "culture of poverty". They are presented as ones removed and alienated ignorant and uninterested, uninvolved and apathetic.
toward all dimensions of wider world. In his words the lack of effective participation and integration with the major institutions of the larger society is one of the crucial characteristics of the culture of poverty. This is a complex matter and results from a variety of factors which include fear, suspicion, or apathy.

When we try to comprehend the nexus of interpersonal relationship or intra community in these studies, we find a wide gap in the studies made so far. Life in the slum vary from other developed civic areas in many respects. Socially, poverty and physical conditions of living generate social problems, tensions and conflicts. It is assumed there that to understand the interpersonal relationship a study of conflict situations is expected to reveal what ails the slum society and slum culture affecting a peaceful social life in the slum reveals itself.

**Classification of Slum Dwellers**

Stokes (1962) has developed important classificatory models of slum by using two main variables. First, the attitude of the slum dwellers toward social mobility through assimilation or acculturation in the social and economic life of the community, and second, the measure of socio-economic handicaps or barriers to such movement. Each of these two variables provides two general classifications. "Slums of hope and slums of despair." The former are characterised by the attitudes of the resident, whether or not they expect to improve their situations and whether or not there are opportunities for advancement. Slums of hope been generally the homes of the recent immigrants to the community, whereas those of
despair have been populated by groups who have longer residence. In each type of slum, however there are escalator classes, groups of people who can be expected to move up through the class structure, whereas non-escalator classes are denied in some way the privilege of escalation. The escalator and non-escalator classes or comparable to two categories, one which permits escalation and the other which does not.

Using this distinction, four types of slums can be identified. Slums of hope with escalator classes, slums of despair with escalator classes, slums of hope with non-escalator classes, slums of despair with non-escalator classes. They are referred to as type 'A' 'B' 'C' and 'D' respectively. A, B, C types of slums are found in Guayguil Ecuador's largest city. United States and the Negro slums of Chicago South side respectively. The 'D' types of slum i.e. despair and non-escalator classes is exemplified by the Indian shack settlements outside Lima Peru, where the residents have no chance of being accepted and are largely unaggressive.

According to Berge (1955), slums may be characterized as areas of substandard housing conditions within a city. A single neglected building, even in the worst stage of deterioration does not make a slum. Moreover, the term housing conditions refers to actual living conditions rather than mere physical appearance of a building.

The slum is a complex product of many factors, as it's true of many other social phenomena. But poverty is the foremost cause. Low income forces people to live in slums, but such groups do not object they are used to even worse conditions.
According to him there are three main types of slums, one is original slum, an area which from the beginning, consisted of unsuitable buildings; these sections are beyond recovery and need to be razed.

The second type consists of slums created by the departure of middle and upper class families to other sections and subsequent deterioration of the area.

The third and unpleasant type of slum is mainly a phenomenon of transition. Once the area around a main business district has become blighted, physical and social deterioration spreads rapidly. According to the study of the Bombay Municipal Corporations slums can be grouped into three categories:

i) Areas comprised of permanent and multistoreyed buildings which were constructed years ago when the standard of living were much lower and the principles of sanitation were different from what they are today.

ii) Properties or areas built up with authorised, but temporary, or semi-permanent residential structures whose deterioration in structure and sanitary conditions is appearing fast.

iii) Slums consisting of unauthorised and insanitary huts put up by vagrants and the poor homeless people.

Zorbaugh (1929) in his classic work on the slum, has made an exaggerated statement that the slums acquire its distinct character through accumulative process of natural selection, which continues as more energetic movement and as the unadjusted, the
dregs and the outlaws accumulate." Slum dwellers, however can be
classified according to the lengths of time they remain in the slums
and the reasons for their presence there. Residents of Boston's West-
End have been classified, into four strata or subcultures: the lower-
class action seekers, the working class routine seekers, the lower
class maladjusted and the working class mobiles, who seek to enter
the middle class. The first two and largest groups are characterized
by particular conception of living, ways of responding to
opportunities presented, and choices. One is based on a search for
routine in life, and the other has a more adventurous approach to
life. The routine seekers, are likely to have stable jobs and routine
life styles; for the action seekers, life is a series of episodic thrillis
associated with card games, fights, sexual interludes and drinking
bouts. These two types result from "differences in rhythm of life, in
the patterns of family relationships, work, leisure, religious
behaviour, attitudes toward authority and, indeed, the very
purpose of existence." Whereas action and routine seekers are
socially non-mobile, there are others who, although they
superficially resemble routine seekers, strive to move themselves
into the middle class. The maladjusted are those who are unable to
control their behaviour remain addicted to alcoholism and can not
resolve other difficulties.

Stoke's classification can partly be applied in Beliaghata
slums as we find the refugees from what is now Bangladesh still
nurture hopes and many of them are seen struggling to escalate
their socio-economic position. They are hardworking people. But
most of those original inhabitants of these slums and their
descendants are not active like the refugees and live in utter despair. Very few of them are trying to improve their socio-economic condition by educating their children and improving their professional skill. Zosbaugh's functional classification of slums dwellers is not wholly applicable in respect of slum dwellers of Beliaghata barring a few aspects. Firstly, in case of length of residence the slum dwellers of Beliaghata can be classified under three categories like -

1. Old residents, residing for many decades and even for more than one generation.

2. Newcomers from neighbouring districts who have come in recent past, within a decade.

3. Refugees from Bangladesh what was East Pakistan and now during the last five decades.

These three categories of dwellers differ in some of their social customs and norms. The refugee population retain their customs and norms as developed in their Bangladesh milieu.

Secondly, slum dwellers in Beliaghata can be classified according to caste, who try to maintain their caste norms. Twenty two castes are found in two slums of Beliaghata and these castes are grouped in a hierarchical order by the people according to their traditional occupations though they can no more adhere to those occupations.

1. Brahamins who are considered as members of a sacrosanct order.
2. Vaidyas, Kayasthas, Kashtriya who worked as medicinemen, writers and worriers respectively.

3. "Nabasakha" caste-Jugi, Tanti (weaver), Tili, Teli (mustard oil producer), Kumhar (potter), Karmakar (Blacksmith), Sadgope (cultivar), Goala (milk seller) - who served the society by making essential goods.

4. Service Caste - Jele (fishermen), Kaibarta (cultivator), Sutradhar (carpentar), Napit (barber), Malakar (florist), Mahisya (cultivator), Subarnabanik (goldsmith), Saha (businessmen).

5. So-called untouchable - Hari, who work as scavengers.

6. Vaishnab is a Hindu religious sect. who are considered as a separate group.

In Beliaghata Slums, however caste factors not quite pronounced always.

Thirdly, according to present occupations and pattern of life, the slum dwellers may be classified broadly in four categories.

1. Upper working class leading a routine life, such as clerks, typists, teaching etc.

2. Lower working class leading to a routine life like the factory workers.

3. Pettey businessmen who search for a routine life and seek opportunities for better life.

4. The poorest of the poor who are at the lowest strata frustrated and desperate at times.
The observation of Gaskell (1990) on London slums that the people of the slums are living in a way akin to most "primitive form of human kind" is not applicable to Beliaghata slums, though the people are living in abject poverty and highly unhygienic condition. Morrison's observation that the slum dwellers live as rats appears to be too strong a general expression to be applied here as a section of the people, mainly the refugees are trying to improve the quality of life. However, in conformity with Jha's observation we can only say that the people of Beliaghata slums live in real "sub-human" conditions, bereft of desired normal civic facilities, in severe unhygienic and crowded condition and grinding poverty. As in agreement with Berge it may be said that abject poverty is primary reason for living in such conditions.

Chowdhury's view that slums of Calcutta are not squatter settlements may be contested for wherever there is some major construction works like buildings or industries the squatters settlement temporarily, looking for jobs in the construction work. But these squatter colonies turn into permanents slums in course of time as are seen along side railways such as between Calcutta and Ultadanga and in areas adjacent to factories and banks of the canals.

View differ about social life of slums studied in different parts of the world. Zorbaugh's (1929) Classic study of the Italian slum of the Chicago North emphasized on unorganised social life. The people living almost entirely outside the conventional world.

Geertz (1965) points to social disorganisation in Kempong slum where theft, prostitution, gambling and drinking are most
common. Similar view of disintegration and disorganisation have been expressed by Hunter. Bargel found lack of integration but thinks that the bustees are better organised than other parts of the city.

Whyte (1943) on the contrary found that the slum society is more organised, there exists a real neighbourhood relationship marked by friendliness. Wiebe also found that the life in the slum is socially organised inspite of poverty.

Siddique also found that slums are integrated social units and there exits good inter family relation in the bustees of Calcutta.

Beliaghata slums display disintegration and disorganisation as found by Hunter (1964), Geertz (1965) and Zorbaugh (1929).

From the point of view of social structure, the people of the slum area divided into three sets who dislike each other for their customs and behaviour. Beside the older residence are disdrained full of the refugees and visa versa. It will be apparent in course of this dissertations that the people of the slum suffer from various kinds of interfamily and even intra family tension and conflicts. Social apathy and deviant behaviour as pointed out by Marshall being frequent, the society in Beliaghata slum is disorganised and considerably divided.

Whyte's Wiebe's and Siddique's observation about organised Social life in the slums studied by them is not found in Beliaghata slums with Hindu population. It may be true that the
slums with Muslim population in Calcutta surrounding by the Hindu Majority studied by Siddique exhibit some degree of solidarity on the basis of religious identity but that is not found in the Beliaghata slums.

But there can not exist organisations similar to traditional village Panchayats. Since the remote past the Indian village functioned almost as mini republics with council of elders taking action for breach of norms and for resolution of conflicts. There also exist the independent Caste Panchayats (i.e. council of elders of the caste) which deal with breach of caste norms. Some sort of mechanical and organic solidarity in Durkhiemian sense caste still exist among most village communities. Members of the caste still exhibit a significant degree of solidarity in the villages. "Jajmani" service relationships still exists in many villages in India which is not found in urban slums. There are now statutory village Panchayats with elected representatives established under the Panchayati Raj as formulated by Mahatma Gandhi for decentralisation of power. We do not find any such organization in the slums of Calcutta. A kind of inter family and inter personal relation based on mutual interest exists which become apparent particularly during the crisis situation or ceremonial occasions. The relationship wither away where there is a clash of interest. Some sort of neighbourhood relationship are also seen in the Indian cities when people co-operate in times of crises and communal ritual events organised by barwari's or informal community organisations like clubs or social and cultural institutions though every family
moves independently assured of necessary civic amenities, income and much better housing facility. It is difficult to say that this Beliaghata bustee are better organised than the other parts of the Calcutta.

It is the absence of basic civic amenities, extreme congestions, persistent griding poverty and despair that generate inter personal and interfamily tensions and conflicts. Absence of any panchayat or statutory or traditional council, further aggravates conflict situations.

Bhat and Chowda's (1974) observation about the imperative need of good accommodation also corroborated by Trivedi are relevant and applicable to all slums. Lack of suitable and adequate living space and basic amenities remain a matter of vital importance not only for better living also for improvement of social situation in the slum.

Desai and Pillai, Wiebe, Clinard Marshall, Dandekar and Rath, Gangualy, Berge, Gillin and Gillin, Madan and other eminent writers have pointed out that poverty is the prime and foremost cause responsible for poor living conditions and formation of slums. The problems of slums in India are manifold and severe. Marked by very low income, unhygienic and inadequate living space, lack of basic amenities, insanitary conditions, overcrowding, lack of privacy, malnutrition, low level of literacy, unemployment etc. The above conditions prevail in Beliaghata slums. These conditions are responsible for frequent conflicts and tensions among
the slum dwellers and lead to violent confrontations. The people of the Beliaghata slums are suffering from extreme poverty. Even in extreme crisis situation they can not move to other place for better living as they cannot afford to pay higher rent as determined by market mechanism. They could hardly manage their family affairs with their meagre income. Poverty is deeply rooted in the life of the slum dwellers. To quote the words of Gillin and Gillin (1969) poverty can not be seperated from the slum life. It is identified with the slum." Really, this view is apparent to the Beliaghata slums. Ganguli, has pointed out that over population lack of capital, lack of education, lack of ambitions and economic motivations and some of the important factors responsible for poverty. Overcrowding is not as much due to the natural increase in the city population but due to the rural migration from small towns where means of livelihood is very limited. The mostly unskilled migrants come in search of job but the cities can not provide them adequate employment opportunities and adequate housing facility. As a result, a large section of people remains unemployed and shelterless as they can not afford to pay rent. Slum provides them shelter with much cheaper rent. Madan thinks that under such an economic condition we can not get healthy individual. Crime and antisocial activities become characteristics features. There is high rate of deviant behaviour, alcohalism frequent frictions, intra-family and inter family quarells. Considerable normlessness prevails.
According to Lewis (1961) slum has given rise to a distinctive culture because of continuous poverty and unemployment in the slum areas. Beliaghata slums also have some social characteristics of its own.

All slums have some commonalities based on unemployment, illiteracy, ignorance and poverty. But despite of these common features Beliaghata slums have some social features based on population composition. These slums have sheltered the displaced population from what is now Bangladesh who have some different cultural behaviour traits, and attitude to life. They have their own social and cultural customs and norms which differ in some ways from those of the original slum dwellers from rural West Bengal.

But other traits of culture of poverty as mentioned by Lewis are very common among the slum dwellers of Beliaghata bustee. Lack of active participation of the poor in the major social institutions of the society, low wages, chronic unemployment, low level of education, assortment of unskilled occupations, child labour, absence of savings, chronic shortage of cash, the habit of frequent buying of food in very small quantities as and when need arises, poor housing condition, overcrowding, congestion lack of privacy, a high incidence of alcoholism, wife and children beating, early initiation into sex, free unions, absence of future planning are some of the important traits of culture of poverty which are clearly visible in the slums of Baliaghata.
Srinivas (1959) and Reddi (1959) have demonstrated how social order and strict adherence to norms are enforced by the traditional Panchayats or elder's council. They have also shown how the social control system as seen in rural society of India is absolutely lacking in a slum society.

As found by Nandi (1969: 272) families try to restrict the conflict within its limits and do not like the extension of conflict for prestige of the family. Such prestige consciousness about family prestige helps in checking the conflict taking ugly dimension.