THE INDIAN URBAN SLUM: MYTH AND REALITY

by

DESHPAL SINGH MALHOTRA

B.Arch (Hons.), Indian Institute of Technology, India, 1967

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THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1972
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Date OCTOBER 6TH, 1972
ABSTRACT

The population of India is made up of an infinite variety of castes, religions and language groups which have lived side by side in an intricate division of labor for hundreds of years. Many customs and much of the social structure, historically isolated from modern technological and industrial developments, have remained essentially unchanged. Such deeply embedded ideologies and patterns of relationship and behaviour do not respond easily to change.

The urban centers in India are a study in contrast between the old and the new, survival of the rural past and innovations from the West. The vast majority of the inhabitants in the cities are recent migrants from rural areas. Although the rate of urbanization is low, it nevertheless involves the movement of large numbers of people because of the high population base of the country. In 1971 the urban population was 108.8 million out of a total of 548 million. It has been estimated that if the present rate of rural-urban migration continues, millions more can be expected to be added to the already overcrowded urban areas.

A result of this migration has been the continued growth of the urban slums which receive the bulk of in-migrants and provide them with the only available shelter. The migrant is ill-equipped to define his role in the largely alien urban environment; he has responses to his old culture of the village and conflicts and tensions within the new urban context. For him it is not only a physical survival but also a survival in the largely alien socio-economic and cultural environment. The government's neglect of these communities has led to their physical deterioration and social and cultural stagnation with the result that once a
migrant has moved into the slum, he is forced by circumstances beyond his control to live out the rest of his urban life in it.

This study examines the process and patterns of rural-urban migration. It outlines the social, cultural, economic and political effects of the urban environment on the migrants and illustrates their inability to have any control over the environment in which they must live. It describes the nature and problems of the Indian slum and points out the inadequacy of the existing government concepts and policies to ameliorate this situation and the necessity of designing the kind of environment that can cope with the high population and the scarcity of economic resources. It is the contention of this thesis that slums are an important feature of the Indian urban environment: they have provided the migrant with the only available shelter, have fostered group associations and have provided many of the essential ingredients necessary for the acculturation of the rural migrant into the urban environment. It is the purpose of this study to show that if the physical environment of the slum can be revitalized it then has the potential to serve as a cultural bridge between the urban centers and the traditional rural hinterland. In other words, urban slums are envisaged as communities which can function as ecological, sociological and cultural zones of transition between the urban environment and the rural areas. Proposals are made for revitalizing the slum environment and for creating a new organic community for the future migrants to the cities.

There are seven basic conclusions of this study: the first is that rural-urban migration is not only an integral part of industrialization, urbanization and economic development but also a major means for achieving social change. The social and cultural differences between the urban
centers and the rural areas can be bridged through the processes of the shuttle and reverse patterns of migration.

The second conclusion is that under conditions of rapid modernization and urbanization, slums are functional and in this sense normal. The problem lies not in the existence of these settlements but in the fact that they are uncontrolled and that their forms are often distorted.

The third conclusion is that existing government policies on low-income housing and slum clearance are clearly inadequate to deal with the problem. All prevailing ideas of slum clearance as a solution to the problem should be abandoned.

The fourth conclusion is that any solution intended for the improvement in the standard of living of the slum dwellers must be commensurate with the limited economic resources of the country.

The fifth conclusion is that any comprehensive program aimed at improving the environment of the slum must be based on the resources most readily available - the labor of the community dwellers themselves. The objective should be the encouragement and stimulation of local community participation.

The sixth conclusion is that any housing program for the low income slum dwellers must benefit large numbers of people. It follows, therefore, that for any slum housing program the total community living environment is the critical variable and NOT the individual housing unit.

The seventh and final conclusion is that all possible housing stock in the slums must be preserved. Government policies must be directed towards expanding the total housing stock and NOT towards replacing slum housing with standard public housing.
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CHAPTER I

PATTERNS OF RURAL - URBAN MIGRATION IN INDIA

I. INTRODUCTION

Urbanized societies in which a majority of the people live crowded together in towns and cities represent a new and fundamental step in India's social evolution. Although cities themselves first appeared some 5500 years ago, at that time they were small and the overwhelming majority of the people lived in the surrounding rural areas. The urbanized societies of today not only have urban agglomerations of a size never before attained but also have a high proportion of their population concentrated in such agglomerations. The eleven largest cities of India contain 31.6 million people (as per the 1971 census) or approximately one-third the total urban population. In addition, the population of these urban centers is growing at an extremely rapid rate. The large and dense agglomerations comprising the urban population involve a degree of human contact and of social complexity never before experienced in the Indian context.

A discussion of urbanization in India is fundamentally a discussion of net rural to urban migration. An analysis of the forces that underlie urbanization is also an analysis of the migration stimulating effects of various demographic, economic and social forces which are at work. Urbanization usually is said to be taking place when the proportion of total population that is residing in places defined as urban is increasing, or when urban population is growing at a faster rate than the average rate of growth for the country.
K.C. Zachariah points out that an analysis of all urban population growth reveals that it has two components:

(i) Reproductive change or natural increases; which is the excess of births over the deaths. In India today the rate of reproductive change is approximately the same in the urban and rural areas. In fact, in the cities death rates may tend to be lower than in the rural areas but birth rates also tend to be lower, so that the rate of growth of population of urban and rural areas from the process of reproductive change is roughly the same. Thus, very little urbanization can be said to take place by the vital processes alone.

(ii) Net migration of people from the rural to the urban areas.

It is the purpose of this chapter to illustrate that since the process of reproductive change is not the mechanism for urbanization, rural to urban migration is by far the most important component of urbanization in India today.

Although the rate of urbanization in India is one of the lowest of any major country in the world, it nevertheless involves the movement of large numbers of people because of the very high population base (548 million according to the 1971 census). A migration of even a small percentage of this enormous population can mean the addition of millions of people to the already overcrowded Indian cities. Within the urban areas natural increase is taking place at the rate of 1.5-2.0 per cent per year. Since the urban population in 1971 was estimated to be 108.8 million, the process of reproductive change at the present rate would mean the addition of 80 million births during the next twenty-five years at a time when the death rate is declining. Migration is expected to add millions more.

Urbanization is a critical process in the development of modern India. Historically, all complex and advanced Indian civilizations have
sprung from the city, and in the contemporary world urban life is the dynamic basis for most of the activities and processes that we associate with modernity and social and economic progress. Therefore, any systematic effort to transform the traditional Indian society into a modern nation must envisage the development of the cities and modern urban societies.

Urbanization is also a profoundly disruptive process. In nearly all transitional societies the early emergence of the urban centers has produced a fundamental cleavage between the separate worlds of the more modernized elites and the more traditional and village-based people. In the psychological sphere the rapid transition from the compact and intimate world of the village to the highly impersonal and anonymous world of the city can leave people with deep personal insecurities. Thus, in a multitude of ways urbanization can cause social, economic and psychological divisions and tensions which, translated in the political sense, can become sources of instability and obstruct effective nation building.

Both the vital role of urbanization and its potentially disruptive consequences create enormous and perplexing problems for those formulating public policies. The simple formula of allocating more funds, energy and resources may be appropriate for coping with most problems of development, but no easy solutions are possible with respect to issues related to housing the rural migrants in the urban environment.

Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to achieve any sort of sound policies because there is so little accurate information and knowledge about both the dynamics of the urbanization process and the
motivations of the migrants who swell the cities and become the objects of public concern. The lack of reliable knowledge has often led to confused and contradictory impressions about the migrants. Policy makers in many instances view the new arrivals to the city as rustics and simple souls who require little attention and few public services, and see them as an anonymous, alien mass separate from the rest of the urban society.

The current surge of people to the cities seems to be quite different from the old style urbanization of British India, particularly with reference to the migrants and their objectives. For example, the contemporary stream flows with enormously large numbers of people; it involves migrants coming into the cities with new types of relationships, not just as domestic servants but as potential factory workers; not just for an interim period of time, but for permanent settlement.³

II. CAUSES OF MIGRATION

Who is a migrant? In ordinary parlance the word migration means the movement of individuals or groups from one place of abode to another or from one country to another. For the sake of clarity the internal movement of peoples within their own country from one region or place (village, town or city) to another is sometimes referred to as in-migration or internal migration.⁴ For the purposes of convenience we will speak of migration and other derivative words to refer to the internal migration of individuals or groups from one place or region to another.

Very little is known about the factors which impel residents of rural areas to make their way into the cities. There is a great deal of
controversy as to whether they are "pushed" towards the urban areas because of circumstances over which they have no control or whether the compelling reason for moving to the urban areas is the "pull" which the urban area exerts over those who live elsewhere.

The "push" versus "pull" controversy is difficult to differentiate. However, it is quite apparent that both the "push" and the "pull" factors have a significant impact upon the patterns of migration of the rural population into the urban areas. Gerald Breese points out that among the factors which constitute the "push" that forces rural residents to migrate must be included the following:

(i) Overpopulation in rural areas which has implications in terms of available food or opportunities for work.

(ii) Too little opportunity for securing land that can be worked upon to produce a living.

(iii) Reduced opportunities in government and business which may not expand at a rate required by the increase in rural population.

(iv) Among people whose familial bonds are loosening.

Among the factors which constitute the "pull" that encourages the rural residents to migrate to urban areas must be included the following:

(i) The economic opportunities which are present in the urban areas.

(ii) The variety of environments in the target area.

(iii) The diversity among people in the target area.

(iv) The reduction in the cost of intervening obstacles, e.g. distance.²

Breese⁶ goes on to say that there may be a sense of relative deprivation which arises in rural areas once the inhabitants recognize that there are other, notably urban, areas where they might live and presumably where living standards are higher than those they are
accustomed to in the village. Rural residents want more of what the city has to offer and they view with great interest the reportedly higher incomes and access to other facilities in the city. They also view with interest the greater freedom from the restraints of the caste system in urban areas irrespective of the fact that these expectations may be false.

The lure or "pull" of the "great" city is generated partly from experiences such as these and partly from "feedbacks" about the benefits of life in the city, irrespective of their attainability. Better roads, systems of communication, reverse migration, government representatives moving through the countryside and other similar influences have much to do with the nature and quality of feedback to rural areas from the city and the differential sorting out of claimed advantages.

Donald J. Bogue and K.C. Zachariah in their study on the patterns of migration in India come to the conclusion that:

(i) Rural to urban migration in India is not negligible, but is a very widespread phenomenon.

(ii) Streams of migrants are flowing not only towards the very largest cities but also to hundreds of smaller size and medium size cities in all regions, except those adversely affected by partition.

(iii) Although originally this migration may have had some aspects of a pioneering movement, comprised predominantly of males, the 1941-51 decade witnessed the removal to the cities of almost as many women as men.

(iv) There is little evidence of reluctance on the part of the villagers to seek their fortunes in the city. In fact, the unemployment data suggest that they crowd into the cities looking for work. Very possibly, unemployment in the cities rather than the restrictive effect of cultural tradition in the villages, is the major brake upon the rural – urban migration at the present time.

(v) This upswing in urbanward migration probably is a fairly recent
phenomenon which began in the late 1930's. It has now progressed to a point where the residents of almost every village have relatives or fellow villagers living in at least one (and possibly several) of the major cities. Family and village ties are sufficiently strong to create an obligation upon the successful migrant to help sponsor new entrants to the city. With villagers becoming progressively more oriented towards the new urbanized economy, and with migration channels firmly established the nation seems to be all set to enter a phase of unprecedented urbanization, assisted by prevailing family system and culture rather than hindered by it.

III. SCOPE OF MIGRATION

Although India's urbanization rate has been slow as compared to that of such countries as Japan and the United States, there has been a steady increase in India's urban population. Kingsley Davis believes that the slow growth rate has been the result of a slow rate of past industrial and economic growth in India as a result of British policy of restricting industrial development in the colonial areas.

In 1921, the urban population was 11.4 per cent of the total population; in 1941 13.9 per cent; in 1951 17.3 per cent; and in 1971 19.8 per cent; or approximately one-fifth of the total population of India. As industrial development is accelerated there are bound to be relative increases in the population of the urban areas. Davis estimates (Table III) that by the year 2000, the percentage of the Indian population living in cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants will have risen to 30.8 per cent, with 21.2 per cent living in cities which have a population of 100,000 or more.

Urban growth has been particularly great in the larger cities and this trend will intensify. Table II indicates that in 1941 only two Indian cities had populations of more than a million inhabitants, in 1951
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>INDIA POPULATION (million)</th>
<th>URBAN PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>19.8 (108.8 million)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**PROJECTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>INDIA POPULATION (million)</th>
<th>URBAN PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**

(i) *1961 Study Group of the Planning Commission* (Third Five Year Plan - Notes on Population and Employment, Table I, Column 4, p. 750).

(ii) 1971 Census of India in *The Hindustan Times* July 1, 1972.
**TABLE II**

POPULATION GROWTH OF MAJOR METROPOLITAN CITIES IN INDIA DURING 1931-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF CITY</th>
<th>POPULATION (add 000)</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta Metropolitan District</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,485</td>
<td>4,054</td>
<td>5,253</td>
<td>6,575</td>
<td>12,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Bombay</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,303</td>
<td>1,695</td>
<td>2,839</td>
<td>4,152</td>
<td>5,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>447</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>1,437</td>
<td>2,344</td>
<td>3,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td></td>
<td>647</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>1,460</td>
<td>1,729</td>
<td>3,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td></td>
<td>667</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>1,086</td>
<td>1,251</td>
<td>1,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td></td>
<td>314</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>1,206</td>
<td>1,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangalore</td>
<td></td>
<td>311</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>1,207</td>
<td>1,654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanpur</td>
<td></td>
<td>244</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>1,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucknow</td>
<td></td>
<td>275</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poona</td>
<td></td>
<td>263</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>1,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagpur</td>
<td></td>
<td>242</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>not available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(ii) 1971 Census of India in The Hindustan Times, July 1, 1972.
### TABLE III

ESTIMATED SIZE OF THE TEN MAJOR CITIES IN INDIA IN THE YEAR 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>METROPOLIS</th>
<th>TYPE OF ESTIMATE OF POPULATION IN CITIES (in millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangalore</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanpur</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poona</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagpur</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

there were five. In 1961 there were seven and by 1971 there were close to eleven (Table III). In 1951, seventy-seven cities had populations of 100,000 or more, and in 1971, the number was one hundred and forty-two, thus representing an increase of over 50 per cent. K.C. Zachariah has estimated that during the years 1936-71 the population of the ten largest cities of India has increased more than four times.

During the seventy-year period 1901-1971 there has been, in general, an upward trend in the volume and rate of migration to the city accompanied by a downward trend in the relative contribution of migration to the total intercensal population growth. The upward trend in migration was interrupted by sharp downward swings during the depression years of 1930's and the 1950's. These aberrations in the overall trend, inasmuch as they are responses both to the "pull" of the city and also to the "push" of the rural areas, help to explain the relative importance of the various factors associated with migration.

The decades of 1951-1961 and 1961-71 are of great importance from the point of view of migration of people from the rural hinterlands to the cities. K.C. Zachariah points out that the intercensal rate of population increase in India was up by eight percentage points during this period; the density of population in the rural areas increased from 284 per square mile to 297; the literacy level of the rural population in the age group fifteen and over increased from 15 to 22 per cent; and that the transportation and communication systems in the country had improved enormously. Moreover, the first two Five Year Plans for the social and economic development of the country had met with a considerable measure of success and per capita income increased by nearly
one-fourth from Rs.266.00 in 1951 to Rs.326.00 in 1961. All these changes favor an increase in rural-urban migration, particularly to the major cities. The consensus among authorities on urbanization in India seems to be that the country is in the midst of tremendous urban population increase and that this trend of rural to urban migration is expected to increase.

Marshall B. Clinard in his study points out that the expected migration will result in almost incalculable consequences for the cities. A staggering volume of new housing, water supply, transportation and urban employment will be required. When the growth from migration is added to the natural population increases the problem of accommodation in Indian cities almost defies imagination. The effects of migration on the ten major Indian cities are illustrated in Table III. Not only are the larger cities increasingly and dangerously overcrowded but the trend of population increase will continue. The Bombay and Calcutta conurbations combined now contain about 40 per cent of all Indian industrial plants; however, such a degree of concentration does not necessarily distinguish India from the industrial countries of the West. What does differ is that the Indian cities lack even a fraction of the economic resources of their Western counterparts to deal effectively with such a growth. The biggest cities will continue to grow relatively rapidly and will continue to generate overcrowding and need an urgent comprehensive planned environment for the millions of low income families. According to the estimates, Calcutta will probably remain the largest city with sixteen to twenty million in habitants by 1980 and between thirty-six and sixty-six million by the year 2000. The second largest city, Delhi,
will have between eighteen and thirty-three million people within the next thirty years (Table III).

It seems difficult to comprehend the impact of cities of such enormous population pressures, and it should be remembered that no country with a projected population of one billion by the year 2000 has ever experienced a transition from a village economy to an urban industrial one. If India experiences the obvious industrial development that the population projections imply and the economic plans envisage, there is every likelihood that it will have cities of such tremendous populations.

On the basis of the estimated one billion population in the year 2000, the principal Indian city of sixty-six million will contain only 6.6 per cent of the total population, which is actually a fairly modest percentage for the premier city of a large country. There has been a great deal of research done on the possibility of decentralizing urban growth in India to prevent people from concentrating in the major urban centers. Decentralization could be accomplished, in part, by developing new industrial towns and by locating new industries in areas away from the major cities. This procedure could siphon off a certain percentage of rural migrants if done on a sufficiently large scale. However, the potential volume of migration to the cities is so tremendous that the major urban centers can be expected to continue to increase their populations because of increased pressures on rural agricultural land. Although improvements in rural life and the development of small-scale industries might prevent some migration, the consolidation of land holdings and the mechanization of agricultural techniques might drive even more people to the cities. Any restrictions on such migrations seem to
be almost impossible under a democratic framework.13

IV. MIGRATION DIFFERENTIALS

The summary of the characteristics of urban migrant residents covers age, sex, education, occupation, income, morbidity and mortality, mental health and fertility. Information about many of these subjects is relatively scarce and not uniformly available so that it will be necessary to make certain generalizations from which specific instances may depart to some extent.

The migrants generally include an excess of adolescents and young adults. About 43 per cent of the migrants are between the ages of 20 and 35 (compared with 24 per cent in the all-India population), and over 70 per cent are in the working ages 15-59 (compared with 53 per cent in the all-India population).14

The sex composition of migrants seems to favor males. The ratio of males per 1000 females is almost normal (1,045) between the ages 0 - 4 but increased to 2,367 between the ages 40 - 44. Distance from the place of origin to the urban area seems to be an important factor in determining the sex composition of the migrant stream. K.C. Zachariah15 says that the greater the distance the greater the proportion of males. In each age-sex group, the proportion single was found to be less among migrants than among non-migrants in the metropolis but greater than in the general population of the States of origin. The high sex ratio among migrants is due not only to high rates of in-migration of single males as compared to single females but also to the migration of married males unaccompanied by their wives and children.
The occupational characteristics of the migrant population are interesting and serve as significant indicators of the relative attractiveness of life in urban areas. Almost without exception the rural migrant comes to the city totally unprepared to compete successfully—i.e., above the day laborer role—in the urban society. This is partly because he lacks the skills and sometimes even the language as well as ways of the city by which he can introduce himself into the more productive aspects of the labor market. The multiplicity of urban occupational differences seems to be increasing.

Most migrants do not have any fixed "occupation," but work wherever they can get a job. The marginally unemployable always gravitate toward marginal services. It should also be pointed out that the urban labor force also includes a fairly substantial number of children who must be counted on as a part of the labor force although they are only partially employed from time to time. In addition, out of necessity to supplement the meagre wages of their husbands, there are also a substantial number of women in the labor market.

The wages earned by the unskilled migrants are extremely low and barely permit a subsistence level of living. Even the total family income is not enough to support it with all its obligations in an urban environment. There are very great income differentials in the labor force of the city. The ratio of professional to industrial workers' income, for example, may be 15 or 20 to 1, or even greater. It is also important to remember that most of the migrants are common laborers rather than industrial workers and, therefore, there is even a greater income differential between professional and laborer occupations.
A United Nation's report on the world social situation points out that sickness and death are subjects about which not much is known. It is clear, however, that medical facilities in urban areas have had a substantial impact on the reduction of death rates particularly in comparison to rural and remote areas where medical facilities are not likely to exist. Mortality, in other words, is generally lower in urban areas than in rural areas. Data on length of life and its relationship to illness rates are very hard to find; however, it is to be expected that the generally low nutritive diet and a very densely populated environment in which migrants tend to live are not conducive to the maintenance of a high level of health. In addition to their impact on the general health of the urban population, these conditions frequently have a noticeable effect on the mental health of the migrant resident. As has been pointed out earlier the birth rates are fairly similar in both the rural and urban areas.

V. PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

Very little is known about the patterns of migration from rural to urban areas. There is some evidence to suggest that migration occurs first from rural or village areas to small towns and then to the bigger towns and cities. However, there is also considerable conflicting evidence which indicates that this gradual step-by-step migration may not take place, but rather that rural migrants may move straight to the bigger cities.

It also appears that there is a certain amount of "floating migration," composed of people who wander from one city to another, desperately
trying to make a place for themselves in an urban environment. M. B. Deshmukh\textsuperscript{18} noted in his study on Delhi that no less than 65 per cent of the migrants had attempted to find suitable employment in six to fifteen other towns before coming to Delhi.

Selective migration, in terms of the education of the migrant, is also intriguing. Although the evidence is limited, there are indications that the relatively higher educated rural inhabitants move in larger numbers. If taken from another point of view, it might be implied, as Wilbert E. Moore\textsuperscript{19} has indicated, that perhaps it is the rural "misfits" who find themselves incompatible with rural society and therefore are impelled to move to the urban areas. Obviously the use of the word "misfit" does not necessarily imply anyone with inferior intelligence, but rather "misfits" refer to individuals who seek a new and different environment in which to explore their own potentialities and capabilities.

For general purposes of analysis and policy planning it is useful to distinguish four distinctive patterns of migration and urban growth within the Indian context. (Schematic 1).

The most common and well known is the \textit{shuttle-pattern} common to extended families in which there is a fairly widespread and constant movement back and forth between family establishments in rural and urban areas. The movement is frequently highly seasonal following the agricultural cycle and consists largely of able-bodied males. In such situations, both the urban and rural areas show a remarkable absorptive capacity, as even the most sudden and severe influxes of population are easily handled and with very little demand being made on the public institution. The family ties seem to be able to provide the necessary
PROCESS & PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

Schematic 1

VILLAGE
- Oversaturation
- Pressure on Land
- Little Economic Opportunity
- Loosening of Family Bonds

PUSH

CITY
- Economic Opportunity
- Variety of Environment
- Diversity of People
- Easy Transportation

PULL

SHUTTLE PATTERN

SEASONAL MOVEMENT

COMMUNAL PATTERN

PERMANENT MOVEMENT

ISOLATED PATTERN

PERMANENT MOVEMENT

REVERSE MIGRATION

TRANSIT URBAN CULTURE
support. In such situations, the tradition of sharing facilities proved to be extremely useful.\textsuperscript{20}

Another pattern is of isolated individuals moving more or less permanently into psychologically and socially alien urban settings. This is likely to have far-reaching and dangerous consequences. Whether the people are primarily "pushed" off the land or "pulled" to the city the result is a sense of rootlessness. Therefore, the fear is that urbanization built on such patterns of disorganization lacks firm foundations and is not likely to develop into a creative urban culture. This is particularly true if the rate of population increase in the city is not related to an increase in the economy. This is to say that if people coming into the cities in search of a better existence cannot find the satisfaction of being suitably employed they are likely in time to turn to anti-social activities in order to find a sense of belonging.\textsuperscript{21}

A third pattern of urban migration is based upon communal groupings in which people of a common ethnic, religious, or regional background move together into the cities. Often such people assume that they will be periodically returning to their rural origins (as in the shuttle pattern), but in fact, the movement tends to be permanent and most ties with the old locations will be broken. Such groups tend to cling together in the urban setting; and committed to mutual support, they often appear to present a united front in opposition to the rest of the urban society.\textsuperscript{22}

Socially, this communal pattern of migration might appear to perpetuate divisive tendencies, yet often these anxieties are excessive and based upon a myth rather than a reality. In fact, aggressive policies
designed to break up such communal associations may drive these minority groups into greater hostility towards the urban society. It calls for truly wise statesmanship to be able to measure the point at which communal groupings become more than an association of human beings seeking the security of collective identity and become a threat to the larger community.

The phenomenon of reverse migration, that is, when the migrant returns to his ancestral village, is extremely interesting. With the exception of cases where there might be an attempt to migrate for a short period of time the evidence seems to suggest that the primary goal of the rural inhabitants is to return to their ancestral villages in the later years of their lives. The evidence seems to indicate that there is very little reverse migration in the age group 12 - 40. Although the exact figures are not available, the percentage of people in the age group 40 and above returning to their ancestral villages is comparatively higher.

It is difficult to interpret the significance of this pattern because available figures include the following factors:

(i) Visitors to the city.

(ii) Government workers and others on transfer of service.

(iii) Industrial workers and unskilled laborers returning to their ancestral villages after ten-fifteen years of work in the city to take up the cultivation of ancestral lands.

(iv) Retired government workers going "home."

(v) Low income workers who decide to send their wives and children back to the village so that their children can be brought up in the cheaper and traditional environment of the village.

(vi) Those migrants who came to the city looking for work but failed to find suitable employment.23

The significance of these patterns of migration is that they remind
us that no uniform or generalized policy can be advanced for handling the problems of urbanization. Different patterns of development call for quite different approaches, and not all signs of even disorderly growth need to be classified as a threat to stable urban development.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Rural-urban migration is not only an integral part of industrialization, urbanization and economic development, but it may also become a major instrument of social change. The urban setting is a fertile ground for the generation of social and economic changes, and these can be spread to rural areas by the process of migration. Return migration of workers after retirement and the regular shuttle movements between villages and city provide the basis of many contacts between the migrants and the rural population. Every time a migrant goes back to his village, he takes with him some urban ideas and customs - the discipline of the factory, the concept of a job with fair wages, the advantages of trade union organization, new ideas on health and hygiene, the convenience of piped water supply and of electricity, the usefulness of books and newspapers, the radio and the cinema, the bicycle and the bus service, and the needs for education of children, both boys and girls. The rural population can thus be exposed to urban ways of life. Often, however, we observe authorities trying to break this pattern of population movement either from a misplaced fear of the possible social and political consequences of what may appear to be unreasoned mass mobility or from incorrect understanding of the conditions in which the sentiments basic to extended families can retard and inhibit urban and industrial growth.
Policywise the political problems of migration call for two types of activities. There are, first of all, problems related to public administration and the need to provide social services and shelter for the crowded populations. There is, secondly, the inherently political problem of providing such populations with a sense of participation in the larger policy. It is important to distinguish the limits and utilities of each of these aspects of policy.

Modern governmental bureaucratic institutions have emerged to cope with the problems of rising urban populations, and certainly every department of government has a role to play in dealing with the swelling of urban populations in a transitional society. Unfortunately there are no easy solutions to such problems, and the compelling need is only for governments to realize their responsibilities and try patiently to carry out effective programs to the best of their abilities and in line with their limited resources. There is a fundamental need for the swelling populations to be given new channels of political participation so that they may come to feel that the national policy is responsive to their needs, aspirations and anxieties.

With reference to the specific problems of urban growth, it appears that some of the patterns of migration contain within them some stabilizing elements that should be respected during the difficult phase of the transitional period. In both the shuttle pattern and the communal one, mechanisms exist for reducing strain, and the task for the policymakers should be one of devising ways to permit the degree of parochialism necessary for preserving the sense of community to be maintained while at the same time exposing to people new opportunities and new patterns of
loyalty.

The problem is thus essentially one of assisting people as they are inducted into a new society so that they can emerge from the experience as constructive citizens and not frustrated subjects. To bring large numbers of people into urban life always means inducting them into some form of politics. The question is only whether they will turn to some constructive and legitimate form of politics or whether they will become an anti-social force. Lucian Pye says that historically the experience of all modern industrial societies has involved the critical issue of inducting the urban population into the political system. If the process can be carried out without alienation and damaging consequences the polity can rapidly gain in benefits of an enlarged citizenry; but if the process is marred by tension and conflict then permanent scars can be left on the polity which will be a constant source of trouble for the effective operation of the political and cultural process.

Thus, the phenomenon of urbanization can either increase the dangerous gap between the established urbanite and the newly arrived migrant, which is so characteristic of any transitional society, or it can become a process in which this gap is greatly reduced. For the latter pattern to occur it is essential for the authorities to demonstrate that they fully appreciate the problems, the sentiments, and even the parochial inclinations of the new urban masses.
CHAPTER I. PATTERNS OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN INDIA


5. Breese, p. 81.

6. Ibid., p. 81.


10. Davis, p. 16.


13. Ibid., p. 72.


15. Ibid., p. 165.


18. Breese, Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries, p. 83.


21 Ibid., p. 402.

22 Ibid., p. 403.


24 Pye, p. 405.
CHAPTER II
THE MIGRANT IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

I INTRODUCTION

In studying the rural migrants in the urban environment, it must be remembered that they have migrated to the cities from an ancestral village which has its own highly developed culture, much of which they carry to the city with them no matter how intensely they may attempt to reject it. They come to the urban areas with an overlay of rural tribal traditions and established ways of doing things, loyalty and obligation patterns, economic arrangements and systems of constraints in channels of communication which do not readily die in the urban context.

The migrant is unequipped to define his role in the largely alien urban environment. He has responses to his old culture and conflicts and tensions within the urban context. For him it is not only a physical survival but also a survival in the largely alien socio-economic and cultural environment. He cannot easily detach himself from his rural background and yet he is provided with few criteria to decide what aspects of the new culture he should embrace and what he should reject, what he should refashion and rationalize as the new way, and what aspects of his past life and practices he should either preserve or push into the background. These conflicts arise partly from a necessary rate of change from a rural to an urban way of life: a kind of compulsive conversion on which he has to pay a very high price. As will be shown later in this chapter, this compulsive conversion has negative and anti-social results,
there being evidence that the related tensions and strains are associated with higher rates of alcoholism, crime, juvenile delinquency and mental disorders.¹

Mere physical presence in the urban environment does not necessarily imply an individual's participation in urban life - a migrant may very well be in the city but not socially involved in it. His sphere of contact and his relationship with the established urbanite may be extremely limited, especially in the early stages of his residence in the city. This arises partly from his unfamiliarity with the urban way of life. Furthermore, his experience - or lack of it - his dress, his language and his customs may effectively cut him off from the rest of urban society with whom he is likely to come in contact. His tendency to seek out his "own kind" in the urban area still further restricts him. This may lead to partly self-imposed segregation that derives from the fact that the many people around him have come from different tribes, different geographic areas or different cultural backgrounds of which he is inherently suspicious. Often the residential sorting out and the clustering of peoples from different backgrounds and origins leads to the emergence of settlements populated almost entirely by people from a particular tribe, tradition or district. The in-feeling of these groups may become so great that because of their frustration in dealing with the society at large they may develop their own specialized and origin-related institutions.

The phenomenon of "rural transplants" or the survival of certain rural customs and traditions is fairly common; indeed, it is often these rural transplants which insulate the newly arrived migrant against his new urban environment. Perhaps the most overwhelming phenomenon of all
characteristics of the rural migrants is the subsistence level of living to which they are exposed and from which they are unlikely to escape even after a long period of residence in the city. This grossly low level of subsistence urbanization may be so close to the subsistence level of living in the rural agricultural economy that the only difference may be one of location. One definite alternative to this urban subsistence condition is for the rural inhabitants not to migrate to the cities; an alternative that seems to be generally unacceptable to them. The future prospects for the migrants seem to be that if the present migration trend continues the conditions will get much worse before they start to improve.

A high degree of physical urbanization - in terms of where people live - is quite likely to be characterized by a low degree of social urbanization, in the sense of providing social amenities for an urban way of life.

Nevertheless, re-socialization of the migrant is required for what is essentially a new way of life. Generally, this will proceed differentially in terms of rate of change of specific urban practices. The migrant may, for example, accept certain urban relationships but still retain his beliefs in certain tribal traditions. The differences in the acceptability of certain urban practices and customs may lead to strains, discontinuities and conflicts within him. Free from the village and tribal restraints he may also appear to have a good opportunity to escape the social and caste stratifications of his ancestral village. However, there is the danger that the familiar rural stratification may be replaced by a form of urban stratification which is a complex product of urbanization and industrialization.

As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, India today is
experiencing a movement of population from the rural areas to the urban centers which in sheer volume is without parallel in its history. A result of this process of urbanization has been the continued growth of the slum population due to the fact that most internal migration has been concentrated in the slums. The Indian cities have always had their bustees (slums). They receive the bulk of in-migrants and provide them with the only available shelter. The reasons for this are primarily economic but beyond that they are social and cultural; the migrant without any resources in the alien urban environment has a better chance of finding a means of livelihood and the way of life he is accustomed to in the slum, rather than anywhere else in the city even if he could afford the rent. The prime function of the slum is therefore a constant, but the relative size and distinctiveness of character are variables. Relative size is a consequence of the volume of in-migration and the rate of assimilation. Distinctiveness of character, the degree to which the slum differs in culture and social structure from the city, whose offspring it is, varies in relation to the cultural alienness of the migrant.

The difference in cultural level and type between the established urbanite and the ex-villager just arrived in the city is so great that the rate of assimilation and acculturation is extremely low. The result is that the capacity and the capability of institutions and agencies of control and service have fallen further and further behind the need, reflecting a condition of saturation and incipient breakdown. This has aggravated the already severe problem of heavy influx to the point that in some instances the aggregate size of the socially unintegrated slums is now close to the size of the city proper. (Schematic 2).
This chapter is concerned with the causes and consequences of this serious phenomenon: the overburdening of the regulative and assimilative institutions in the urban centers by excessive growth of the slums and the problems this poses to the orderly and effective accomplishment of nation building. Will the cities be able to stabilize and manage the flow of in-migrants from the traditional hinterlands, and integrate them civically, bring them into the body politic fast enough to keep pace? Or will the present tense situation grow worse? Although the slums are characterized by physical deterioration and decay, and a severe lack of social and cultural facilities, they are an important feature of the Indian urban environment. In particular, they have provided the migrant with cheap shelter, have fostered group associations and have provided many of the essential ingredients necessary for the acculturation of the rural migrant in the urban environment. However, the government's neglect of these communities has led to their physical, social and cultural stagnation. The result is that once a migrant has moved into the slum he is forced by circumstances beyond his control to live out the rest of his urban life in it. It is the purpose of this study to show that if the slum environment can be revitalized, it then has the potential to serve as a cultural bridge between the urban centers and the traditional rural hinterland. In other words, urban slums are envisaged as communities which can function as ecological, sociological and cultural zones of transition between the urban environment and the rural areas. In order to clarify the problem it will be useful to set forth a provisional explanation of why the slums exist and assume the character they have, and how the acculturative process works in them. Charles Abrams says,
Slum life is not always the symbol of retrogression. It may in fact be the first advance from homelessness into shelter, or the way station on the road from abject poverty to hope. The slum exists because no nation is able to produce adequate housing at a cost that the workers can afford. It is the shelter that the industrial age provides for its rank and file.

The discussion is organized in two sections. The first examines the negative aspects of the slum, analyzing its relationship to the city and describing its social and physical characteristics. The second section deals with the positive aspects of slum life, examining the culture, the group associations and the process of acculturation.

II THE CITY AND THE SLUM

The widespread belief that Indian society is predominantly rural and agricultural, has in fact minimized the important and essential role that Indian cities have played in the past and are still playing today. Indeed, four-fifths of India's population resides in its half a million villages, yet the country should no longer be referred to as a "nation of villages." The preceding chapter has illustrated that several of the Indian cities are huge metropolitan centers. The Indian metropolis tends to be a massive urban center of government, culture, economic and social activity. It stands, however, as a sort of sociological and cultural island within a traditional subsistence-minded rural hinterland. The cities of India have become the important centers of technology and in them must lie the country's hope for the future. They are the core of the country's commercial and industrial power and the strength of its transportation, distribution and communication systems. They have played an important role in breaking away from tradition bound social practices
and most of the modernizing processes have radiated from them. Political and social reform movements have largely originated in the cities and then spread throughout the country. Indian cities can be expected to play an even more dynamic role in the future in the social, economic and political transformation of the country.

The slum comes into existence and continues to exist because it meets certain needs: the migrants from the pre-urban hinterland need a place to live, and the city needs them for their labor. The migrant has the best chance of putting up and keeping a sub-standard dwelling on property not his own - on land not in use either within the city or outside it, waste land, land held for speculation or publicly held land acquired for some particular purpose to be realized in the future. Such lands are geographically within the city but functionally they are outside it since the local governments do not consider it feasible to include them in the public utilities network: water, sewerage and electrical power. The migrant is a home owner and yet he is not, he owns his dwelling under common law but he lacks title to the land it stands on; he gains his livelihood from the city but is excluded from full participation in its social and cultural life; he is a citizen of the city yet he is denied the full rights of citizenship. In addition, since he is very often an illegal tenant, he is in an extremely poor position to demand his rights. He is, therefore, forced to keep his cultural roots in his ancestral village. He is an example of a "marginal man": he has existence in each of two separate social and cultural orders and is fully and finally involved in neither.

The local government, with its lack of economic resources, is
institutionally underequipped to react to this situation. Its officials are often confused and demoralized and lack the will to act while the migrants are sucked into the vacuum, as it were, and improvise their own institutional solutions. They put up shacks on unused land, and little by little by aggregation, the shacks constitute settlements and the settlements constitute communities with their own sub-culture and social order.

The responsibility for the existence of the slums in their present form must be shared by the landlords, the tenants and the community at large: the landlords because of their indifference to the poverty of the migrants and their willingness to profit from the overcrowding; the tenants because they are too poor, too ignorant or too indifferent to maintain their dwellings properly, and the community at large because it permits the slums to persist and develop in their present form.

**Social and Physical Characteristics of the Slum**

Slums have a long history in India and the social and physical conditions of the Indian slum are generally considered the worst and most extensive of any country in the world today. Although India is a large, heterogenous country whose diversity often makes generalizations difficult, slum conditions can still be characterized in general terms. The streets, lanes and open drains in typical slum areas are filthy and people sleep as many as six to twelve in a room, shack or hovel. The Indian slum, however, is far more complex than the mere aggregate of these appalling physical surroundings. Sociologically it is a way of life, a sub-culture with its own set of norms and values. Rates of disease, chronic illness and infant mortality remain high, and there is little knowledge of health
and sanitation, nutrition and child care. Illiteracy is extremely high and cultural and recreational facilities are almost entirely lacking except those provided by such commercial enterprises as movies and gambling. Most slum dwellers are apathetic and suffer a great sense of futility in dealing with the "outside world." They have little community pride or even consensus and they often blame the local authorities for their plight. They have become antagonistic towards the municipal personnel and seldom co-operate with them in their efforts to improve either their immediate area or the city as a whole.

*Non-Conforming Land Use Patterns.* The physical growth of the Indian slums does not seem to have any organic pattern and visually gives the impression of a conglomeration of structures of varying shape, size and construction, criss-crossed throughout by an irregular street pattern. There is no orderly arrangement according to which structures for different uses have been segregated in different areas. Indiscriminate intermixture of uses is such a common feature that there are no areas which may be now called purely residential neighbourhoods. The older tenements are often also the center of the commercial activity of the city and, consequently, shops of all types and sizes are found spread all over the area. The ground floor of structures abutting the main streets are invariably flanked by shops, commercial units and industries. (Plate VI).

An examination of the Walled City area of Old Delhi gives a good indication of the inter-mixture of various incompatible land uses in a residential area. The Walled City, a physically compact area of 1240 acres, is bounded by the river Jamuna, the old city wall and a steel band of railways. It was built in 1648 to accommodate about 60,000 people.
In 1961, the same area had 420,000 people. The gross residential density has arisen to 350 persons per acre and there are several areas here where the densities are as high as 500 persons per acre. 43 per cent of the structures are put to non-residential uses, and a large percentage of these uses are incompatible with any residential neighbourhood. Trades like leather tanning, pottery, slaughtering of animals, keeping animals such as milch cattle, tonga horses, donkeys and pigs, and a host of other trades are conducted right in the heart of the neighbourhood resulting in unhygienic living conditions. Out of a total of 1240 acres the land use pattern is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residential Use</td>
<td>43.11%</td>
<td>534.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads and Streets</td>
<td>25.14%</td>
<td>311.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public and Semi-Public Facilities</td>
<td>8.62%</td>
<td>106.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Use</td>
<td>10.50%</td>
<td>130.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Use</td>
<td>3.91%</td>
<td>48.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Use</td>
<td>less than 1%</td>
<td>less than 0.17 acre for 1000 population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Spaces</td>
<td>5.20%</td>
<td>less than 0.17 acre for 1000 population</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Density in the Slums. It has been estimated that the slum populations in the large Indian cities run from 7 per cent to a high of 60 per cent of the total population of the city. If, however, the slum areas were to be defined by Western standards the percentage of slum dwellers would be far greater. It has also been estimated that three-fourths of the population of the city of Calcutta proper live in overcrowded tenements and slum quarters. A study group of the Bombay municipal government reported at least 144 slum areas in the city.

Indian slum dwellers live under conditions of extreme population densities. For example, the 1951 average population density was 136,536 per square mile in Delhi, 77,300 in Calcutta, 38,834 in Ahmedabad, and
25,579 in Greater Bombay. These figures can be compared to 27,308 for London county and 11,318 for Greater London in 1956, 27,000 for Paris in 1956, 16,721 for New York City in 1950 and 15,830 for Chicago in 1956. These differences are far greater if we are to consider the densities within some of the Indian slum areas: in three of Delhi's eighteen wards the densities are more than 400,000 to the square mile, another four wards have densities in excess of 275,000, and only five of the wards have densities less than 100,000. In comparison, Manhattan Borough had the highest density (76,156) in New York City in 1956, which means that Delhi's average density was nearly twice the most densely populated borough in New York City. These high densities occur despite the absence of tall buildings since most of the people live in buildings which are three or four story walkups. If an average of 2.5 people to a room is an index of overcrowding, for example, then more than 90 per cent of the population of Bombay live in overcrowded conditions.

Housing Conditions. Rural migrants, on reaching the city and looking for shelter, are faced with two alternatives: either they can seek accommodation in the older tenements of the city where space is at a premium (and often unavailable), or they can move into a community of squatters and shanty town dwellers that have sprung up on vacant public or private land.

The older tenements or katars are small, single room structures, normally constructed in rows within large courtyards or enclosures having single entrances. Many of the Delhi katars were originally parts of old Muslim homes which were dark and dingy because they were originally constructed for security against depredations of robbers and security of the
womenfolk. Such protection was provided by building the walls with only a single entrance and no windows. (Plates I and II).

The multistoried buildings in the Bombay slums are called chawls and they often house as many as eighty families or more apiece. In many of their one-room tenement cubicles they get no sunlight and even at midday the rooms are dark. More than seven people, sometimes as many as two or three related families, live in one room. For the twenty or thirty families whose lives center around a single air shaft there may be one or two latrines and a few taps of cold running water. Cooking is done on a brazier on the floor of the cubicle and often without the benefit of a chimney. The doors and windows are dilapidated, the plaster has dropped from the walls (many of which have never been whitewashed), and the general odor and squalor of the staircases makes these buildings extremely unhealthy.

Bustees are usually thick clusters of small, dilapidated mud huts, often with roofs and with walls made of scraps of wood, gunny sacks, scrap metal or other waste materials. Located in rather open areas of the city or away from the city center, usually on unauthorized land, they are of two types: jhompries, huts made of stone and wood, and jhuggies, huts made of wood and straw. In cities like Kanpur, they are called akatas and are built within compounds or enclosing walls. These small, dingy rooms are usually overcrowded with as many as eight to ten persons living in them. (Plates III, IV, V and VIII).

In the southern cities of India such as Madras, Madurai, and Cochin, slums are called cheris. These usually consist of mud and thatched huts similar to those of the villages or as built of old kerosene-tin plates.
The average hut is approximately eight by six feet and poorly constructed; it easily collapses in rain storms and admits almost no light, and in all cases does not have the minimum basic sanitary facilities.

Pavement dwellers also abound in many Indian cities. It has been estimated that Calcutta, where the situation is the worst, has several hundred thousand pavement dwellers, consisting mainly of families, many of whose members have been born and reared on the sidewalks. They cook, eat, sleep and die on the streets. Some of these families live there because they cannot afford housing of any sort, others live there because they want to be near their place of employment and thus save transportation costs. During the day their meagre possessions may be stored with nearby people, but at nightfall the sidewalks become alive with hundreds of cooking fires and sleeping people rolled up like mummies lying beside the buildings.

Problems of Sanitation in the Indian Slum. Some critical observers have called the slums of India the filthiest in the world. In fact, there are very few slums anywhere that are generally clean since the very nature of living in such areas presents problems of cleanliness. The Indian slums are, however, generally characterized by open drains and stagnant water because of poor gradients. Refuse is everywhere and the few available containers are seldom properly used. More often trash, garbage and refuse are shoved into the open drains or left on the streets. The municipal sweepers may even dump refuse in the drains and the children usually use them as latrines. Whereas individual dwellings, even in the worst slum areas, may be well swept and clean, a sense of cleanliness is seldom extended beyond the limits of the individual dwelling.
Some of the factors that account for the unsanitary conditions are citizen apathy, the poor sanitation practices of village India, insufficient latrines, drains and trash bins and religious beliefs.

The general attitude of the slum dwellers is that either the municipal government or the landlord is responsible for the provision and maintenance of latrines, drains, trash bins and water taps. There is little sense of responsibility for taking proper care of the few public facilities that might exist in the neighbourhood. Most Indian families insist upon the cleanliness of their own brass cooking utensils and upon the cleanliness of their personal living quarters, yet they appear to think little of adding to the general disorder in their streets and alleys.

Gandhi once characterized the villages as "dung heaps": "Instead of having graceful hamlets dotting the land, we have dung heaps." Few village residents use latrines, preferring the open fields near their homes. People are prejudiced against latrines because others use them and because they are a source of caste pollution. Attitudes towards human feces are intense, highly charged and negative. Gradual changes in environmental sanitation practices are being brought about in the villages through various rural community-development programs and they will undoubtedly improve the sanitation practices of future rural migrants to the cities. Progress has not been great enough to alter the situation sufficiently and to affect materially the pattern of living that rural migrants bring with them to the urban environment.

Religious beliefs and attitudes also play important roles in the problem of sanitation. Stray cattle wander through the slum lanes and effective action is often barred by public sentiments of charity and
tolerance towards animals, particularly cattle. For centuries, religion has exhibited concern for cleanliness, purity and avoidance of pollution. However, this concern has largely involved ritual rather than biological pollution. A pious housewife may make sure that no dirt from the street is brought into her kitchen on the sandals of family members, but she may be impervious to the contaminated drinking water in the water jug or the flies that swarm over her food. Although the individual may bathe daily before his morning prayers or before going to the temple, he is seldom bothered by the unsanitary conditions around the typical temple.

For centuries it has been customary for a municipal or privately hired sweeper to clean the city streets once or twice every day. However, the use of such a sweeper system accounts for many inadequacies in the sanitation practices. The system diminishes community responsibility since the residents feel that all trash will be removed sooner or later. The problem, however, is that few sweepers are assigned to the slum and the result is that the trash is seldom cleared.

One contributing factor here is the absence of sufficient latrines and proper drains. Approximately two-thirds of the slums of the city of Kanpur have no community latrine facilities, one latrine being used by an average of eighteen people.11 Two-thirds of the slums of the city of Agra have no drainage system and an average of eighty people use a single latrine. In most of the slums of Delhi there are either no latrines or they are insufficient. Out of 1,724 katras surveyed, 27 per cent, housing 33 per cent of the population, had no latrines.12 Not only are these facilities inadequate in areas where people live, but few are available to pedestrians in many areas. No receptacles are provided for trash and
consequently most of the garbage is thrown on the streets or in the open drains.

Outdoor Community Living. The inhuman densities in the slum dwellers' shelter are often relieved by the space outside, but too often the only space outside is a narrow rutted path that must provide room for the movement of people, the carrying off of waste and rain water, cooking, peddling one's wares, and sometimes space for draft animals as well. Where streets are paved and a little wider, however, they have assumed some of the functions that the home unit lacks. In the Indian slum the street is often the mass dining room for the family and the place where one gets his oxygen amid the miscellaneous odors of culinary activity.

Wastage of Water. Water is an extremely precious commodity in any urban community. In most Indian cities its importance is magnified by generally short supplies, inadequate distribution to people in the slum areas and frequent contamination. The filtering of water is an expensive undertaking in India and is often one of the largest items of a municipal budget. In order to conserve filtered water, the supply is often restricted.

Public water taps are the chief source of water for drinking and bathing in the slum areas. In one survey of Delhi it was revealed that one-third of the katras had no water taps and the water had to be carried some distance from public hydrants. The common water taps were shared by an average of eight families or forty people. In bustees the situation was even worse with 16 of 61 bustees having no water taps. In the remaining 45, approximately 134 people used each tap, with as many as 500 people utilizing single taps in some areas.13 (Plate V).
Despite acute shortages and high costs, large amounts of water are wasted in the slums. In Delhi, for example, an estimated thirteen million gallons each day, or about 15 per cent of the total supply, are wasted through carelessness. Public water taps are either not properly turned off or are left open; they may also be plugged open by the slum residents to keep them running constantly. In either case the water seems to be wasted incessantly. In most Indian cities the water is pure upon leaving the filtering plant but frequently becomes contaminated in the delivery process. The reasons for this seems to be that, due to the shortage of water, the flow is often stopped during the day, a vacuum is thereby created in the pipes and external impurities can be sucked in through the weak joints of the pipes. This problem illustrates the relationships between a pure water supply, the wastage of water and the unsanitary practices of the slum residents.

Lack of Community Facilities. Poor slum housing is invariably associated with poor facilities and a severe lack of community services. Along with the physical dilapidation, the parks and open spaces are at a premium, the schools are of poor quality and in short supply and other public facilities are either inadequate or totally lacking. Slum dwellers are usually illiterate. Although there is a great need for mass adult education programs and facilities are often available, a major drawback to effective literacy campaigns has been the urban slum dweller's lack of desire. They often associate little economic advantage with learning to read and write. In addition to the problems of adult illiteracy, few pre-school facilities are available for the children in these areas. These conditions have led Nirmal Bose to say that the "slums in India are
chaotically occupied, unsystematically developed, generally neglected, over-populated and crowded with ill-repaired and neglected structures, insufficiently equipped with proper communications and physical comforts, and inadequately supplied with social services and welfare agencies to deal with the 'needs' and the social problems of the families who are 'victims' of the biological, psychological and social consequences of the physical and social environment of the slum."14

Lack of Recreational Facilities. The constant pressure of poverty and poor living conditions along with the added pressures of monotonous jobs makes recreational outlets even more important in the Indian slums.15 Such a need, however, has not been recognized by the authorities, partly because of the failure to comprehend the importance of this human need. The absence of adequate open space and the limited experience of the community in assuming initiative for organizing recreational programs has led to the decline in enthusiasm for pursuing even those traditional activities of the village such as dance and music.

Young children, particularly those of school age, seem to suffer most from the lack of these facilities. Hundreds of children roam about aimlessly looking for something to do. Some parks and organized recreation do exist but they are often inaccessible to the slum children and their limited equipment is often in disrepair. Studies have shown that the men of the slum spend money that they can ill afford on frequent attendance at movies or on gambling.16

Deviant Behaviour. As in other countries, deviant behaviour such as juvenile delinquency, crime, prostitution, professional begging, and the use of alcohol and drugs is also associated with the Indian slums.17
PLATE I

TYPICAL KATRA – JAMA MASJID, DELHI
PLATE II

INTERMIXTURE OF INCOMPATIBLE LAND-USES IN A TYPICAL RESIDENTIAL AREA
JAMA MASJID, DELHI
PLATE III

TYPICAL BUSTEE - MOTIA KHAN, DELHI
PLATE IV

LANE AS AN EXTENSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL HOUSING UNIT - MOTIA KHAN, DELHI.
PLATE V

COMMUNITY WATER TAP – MOTIA KHAN BUSTEE, DELHI
PLATE VI

COMMUNITY SCHOOL - SUBJIMANDI BUSTEE, DELHI
PLATE VII

COMMERCIAL LAND-USE IN A RESIDENTIAL AREA - SUBJIMANDI BUSTEE, DELHI
PLATE VIII

SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRY IN A RESIDENTIAL AREA - AJMERI GATE BUSTEE, DELHI
However, these problems are not as serious as they are in the Western slums; in fact, studies of the Indian slum indicate that poverty alone does not explain deviant behaviour in slum communities. In the Indian cities, the family, and to a certain extent the caste system, operate as a social control over such behaviour. It is questionable whether such controls will continue to be effective in the face of increasing urbanization, industrialization and a urban way of life. One can, however, expect rising rates of deviant behaviour in Indian cities, and in particular, in the slum areas.

III CULTURE OF THE SLUM

Culture may be defined as a system of symbols and meanings for normative conduct and having three distinct properties: it is transmittable, it is learned and it is shared. The slum has a culture of its own and this culture is a way of life distinct from the culture of the city. This learned way of life is passed along from generation to generation with its own rationale, structure and defence mechanisms, which provide the means to continue in spite of difficulties and deprivations encountered by the inhabitants of the slum.

The culture of the slum affects every facet of the life of the slum dwellers. It is largely a synthesis of the "culture of poverty." The overwhelming majority of the slum dwellers are of the lower class and live at the poverty level. The culture of the slum has a number of characteristics and may vary only in degree and detail from one slum to another, from one ethnic group to another and from city to city. Every individual in the slum is influenced to a different degree by the general
slum culture.

Life in the slum is typically gregarious and largely centered in the immediate area where are found friends, shops and possible credit. There is little privacy, and noise and confusion seldom abate; life, however, has a certain spontaneity and behaviour is unrestrained. Throughout the slum there is the generalized suspicion of the "outside world," which includes governments and politicians, welfare groups and the upper and middle classes. Slum dwellers often fail to adequately utilize public and private agencies such as the health department, schools and even the police. Very often these agencies are feared as possible dangerous sources of interference in everyday living.

Unemployment, underemployment and low wages are the rule in the slums. There is a constant struggle for economic survival. Work patterns are likely to be irregular, and the lack of steady employment often contributes to unstable family patterns. There is almost a complete absence of savings or even of the desire to save, and there is little ability to plan for the future. Food reserves are often non-existent, personal possessions are frequently pawned and local money lenders constantly visited. Any treatment of the slum solely as a product of poverty, however, is far too simple. "Poverty" is both an absolute and relative term. In an absolute sense it means the lack of resources for specific needs; in a relative sense it refers to the extent of these resources in comparison to what other individuals in the society might seem to have.

The social aberration among the poor of the slums as well as their apathy is a product of their being the poorest rather than of their being "poor," and their alienation, apathy and withdrawal from the general
society appear to be maximized under urban slum conditions. In rural areas the relative effects of poverty are counterbalanced by stronger traditions and group ties. In areas of extensive urbanization and industrialization, where traditional and primary group ties are weakening, the lack of power and status among the poor, particularly those in the slums, is much greater.

Commenting on the attitude of society at large towards the slum dwellers, Clinard says:

A slum also has an image in the eyes of the larger urban community; there is a societal reaction to the slum dweller. The non-slum dwellers often associate the physical appearance and difficult living conditions of the slum with the belief in the "natural inferiority" of those who live in it. It is a common belief that since a slum is inferior to the rest of the city, those people who live in the slum must also be inferior to the rest of the people of the city. This reaction has important consequences in the social isolation of slum dwellers and their exclusion from participation in urban society. The slum dwellers lack an effective means of communication with the "outside world" because of their apathy, lack of experience in communicating with outsiders, and their own powerlessness to make their voices heard. Thus the common denominator of the slum is its submerged aspect and its detachment from the city as a whole. ...The local politician often becomes the "ambassador to the outside world" and one who often tries to manipulate it for his own benefit. 18

In any community there is a distinct relationship between its physical characteristics and its culture in that a deterioration in the physical environment produces a correspondingly negative effect in its culture. The government's failure to understand the culture and function of the slum has led to official policies of neglect. The result has been the physical decay and the cultural stagnation of these communities. Consequently, once a migrant moves into the slum, he is assimilated into the general slum culture and cannot escape it to become an urbanite. It is the contention of this study that if the physical environment of the slum can be revitalized, then the slum can emerge as a dynamic force with its
own identity within the general culture of the city. The slum can thus function as a zone of transition between the cultures of the city and the village.

The Process of Acculturation. Acculturation is the taking on of culture. It is an evolutionary process, if we understand by that term a patterned and irreversible movement from one mode of existence to another. Every individual has to learn new roles from time to time as his status, activities, interests and the expectations others have of him change. The learning of new roles of the sort not envisaged in one's native heritage, and therefore, not patterned, calls for acquiring new modes of thinking, feeling and experiencing. To say that the slum can be made to function as a sociological and cultural zone of transition, is to say that it is a place where acculturation CAN occur: the migrant arrives from the rural hinterland to the city with the wrong kit of "cultural baggage" and will pass through it to enter the city as a new urbanite - only if the process is successful - with the right skills, habits, attitudes and values for coping with and eventually finding a secure place in the urban social order. This hypothesis hinges on the assumption that the stagnant physical environment of the slum can be revitalized. The process of revitalization will be discussed in later chapters. The purpose of this chapter is only to show that the slum has a potential for providing the necessary ingredients for the acculturative process and how this acculturative process works.

The Role of Mediating Groups in the Transitional Stages. The individual is made to fit and is able to live successfully in society through participating in the life of a group.19 As he moves from early childhood
towards adulthood and the end of moral and economic dependency he learns the roles appropriate to his changing age, status and destined life activity. In the course of doing so he becomes *encultured*, that is, he takes on the culture of the community into which he was born and in which, it is taken for granted, he will remain. Social pressures to learn to do the "right" things and develop the "right" understanding of what they mean makes itself felt through the actual real group in which he participates. *Acculturation*, on the other hand, is the giving up of an old culture and the taking on of a new one.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to go into the detail about the types of mediating groups. However, it is essential that we understand that the mediating group is no less significant as the single most important agency of acculturation for the adult who has migrated to the city than it is for the child during the process of enculturation in the village of his birth. Moreover, in both cases it assumes a somewhat different character at successive stages of the process: the ideal movement is from small intimate family-type groups towards larger, impersonal and interest-based associations.

A functional mediating group within the slum can serve to bring the newly arrived migrant directly into the orbit of urban life. The advantage in such a situation is that there is still enough looseness in the institutional linkage these formations provide between the slum and the city proper to permit the individual some freedom to maneuver in terms of role playing and moral commitments. The group cannot function without becoming in some measure a part of the institutional fabric of the city, whether this be the result of urban institutions "reaching in" to the
slum as in the case of sports clubs, mutual aid societies etc., or of "reaching out" by an indigenous slum group formation such as neighbourhood improvement associations.21

The Role of Meliorative Institutions and Agencies. A modernizing society develops formally established institutions necessary for social control and for the realization of welfare objectives, in the broad sense of the term, as the need becomes apparent and the means necessary to meet it become available. Typically, the earlier ones are the product of private philanthropic enterprise rather than government. Schools, dispensaries, hospitals, asylums, monastries, meeting halls and places of worship are the more obvious examples. Welfare institutions began, and to a considerable extent still remain, in what we have become accustomed to call the private sector. Control institutions like law courts, the police and the military have been in the public sector. Both welfare and control institutions are formally meliorative. Moreover, both have a socializing and acculturating mission. We have to determine their effect on the slum and see how their role in the acculturative process compares with that of the mediating groups discussed earlier. The question is extremely hard to answer because government policy and the government's will and ability to carry out its policy is such a large factor and varies so greatly from situation to situation. However, it is possible to make some tentative observations.

The migrant in the urban environment discovers that the relatively bureaucratic non-discriminatory administration of justice and enforcement of law can be just as onerous as the partisan-politicized mode he fled from in the village: there are more laws to break and less chances of
pleading extenuating circumstances or bringing pressure to bear for leniency. At the same time the valued amenities of urban life such as education, material comfort and medical care are tantalizingly near, although just about impossible to reach and use.

The slum creates a visible need for bureaucratically organized, meliorative institutions and agencies because of the concentration of people with social and cultural needs. However, the physical characteristics of the slum—typically either a jumble of older tenements or squatters' huts along narrow pedestrian paths, without even the most elementary facilities and utilities—make it extremely difficult for such agencies to do anything for the inhabitants. Individuals are not easy to locate because of the high density and, very often, because they do not want to be located. Government officials appear to them as hostile outsiders. The result has been that the government has neglected these communities and there are no legitimate private organizations to help the people.

One may conclude here that the sheer concentration of people's needs, which favors rationalized, meliorative intervention, is largely neutralized by the slum's characteristic disorder and its suspicious attitude towards the outsiders and the government officials. If bureaucratic procedure is frustrated it will seem unlikely that meliorative institutions can play a very significant acculturative role. However, this is a tentative conclusion. In reality the outcome may depend on the nature and attitude of the government. A government bent on total improvement may find the social, cultural and physical disorder of the slum to be a distinct advantage if it had a program with mass appeal and
the necessary framework to carry it out. The content of its work with people would first include the encouragement of local community participation and self-assistance organization and then, only in the later stages, the provision of welfare services and agencies. The important point is that a situation which is extremely difficult for an ordinary welfare bureaucracy to deal with effectively in a developing country like India, can be highly favorable ground to cultivate from the standpoint of establishing institutions with grass roots anchorage.23

Patterns of Individual Response to Acculturative Change. Mediating groups and meliorative institutions are positively acculturative if they work. They can pull and push the migrant through the slum thus providing him with a zone of transition. In the ideal slum the new migrant would settle in, be "processed" over a period of time and then finally emerge "finished" into the urban environment. However, this is a simplified description of an ideal pattern. Actual patterns are much more complex in any given situation. The acculturative mechanisms they are likely to embody may vary not only in form, reflecting the need to adapt to local circumstances, but also in functional adequacy: in some slums most people might successfully graduate and speedily move out of the slum "onwards and upwards" into the city proper, while in others they might not. The former pattern makes for a healthy and hopeful climate by providing models for those still struggling, and making room for newcomers. In other circumstances, as is the case in Indian cities today, there is relatively no movement up and out of the slum while there is still a relatively rapid rate of in-migration. In such situations new slums spring up and the older ones stagnate; the effect on the residents is
MIGRANT IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT - PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION
likely to be the growth of disillusionment and frustration such as anger, apathy and total withdrawal from the rest of urban society.

If the slum environment can be revitalized and the acculturative process be successful then the migrant can be expected to learn, firstly, a new and different discipline of interpersonal relations: how to accept relatively impersonal authority, how to relate to another person as a source of convenience and how to socialize with neighbors or work mates who are virtual strangers. Secondly, he would learn a new and different kind of self-discipline. This means building into the self distinctively urban standards of conduct and the values and attitudes that validate them. The new urbanite would thus become time conscious and learn to value reliability; he would become money-conscious and value thrift; and, in becoming self-conscious, he would value individualism and ethical universalism. Thirdly, he would learn a marketable skill, some sort of "know-how" - even common labor involves "knowing how to work" - that makes it economically as well as psychologically possible to sever his ties with the village. Finally, he would take on a new identity. (Schematic 3).

IV SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is seen that the Indian city is relatively "westernized" while its hinterland remains traditional and precapitalistic. This situation gives rise to the condition of dual social structures and cultures. The villager's need for sustenance, security, services and urban amenities has pushed him and pulled him to the city where he tends to settle either as a squatter in the slum shanty towns that ring the city or in the older more established slum communities.
Unless the process of urbanization can be reversed, and unless there are real and immediate alternatives for the millions of migrants and the new born in the slums, it cannot be said that urban settlement, even if it is anarchic, should not exist. Obviously there must be urban settlements. People must live somewhere - except for those that are literally prepared to live out in the open and on the streets. Thus the basic conclusion of this chapter is that it is the uncontrolled and distorted nature of the urban slum settlements that is the main problem for India, and not the existence of the slums themselves. In spite of their many physical, social and cultural deficiencies, slums have performed their primary function of providing cheap shelter and fostering group associations for the lowest income groups in the urban society. For the economically deprived rural migrants they have provided the first base in the city at the lowest possible prices. Yet from the government's point of view, uncontrolled urban settlement is a very serious phenomenon even when there are no serious or immediate consequences for the inhabitants. This type of a haphazard development points out the limitations in the existing government machinery for planning, and reduces the proportion of urban physical growth that can be effectively influenced by the government - that part which is carried out legally within a technical and institutional framework to accommodate a situation of slow social and economic change.

That these settlements are necessary and are bound to persist as long as no reasonable alternatives are available for those whom they serve, is undeniable. The physical planning and development problems these settlements create for their inhabitants and the city, and which
are due to extreme overcrowding, can have serious social, political and economic consequences - both physical disorder and disease undoubtedly contribute to city overheads and reduced productivity. The many reasons for the existence of these settlements make it inevitable that they will continue to exist in an economically impoverished country like India, for as long as the poor remain poor. Government policies of neglect, on the other hand, have contributed towards the physical and cultural stagnation of these communities. It is the contention of this thesis that the slums should not be eradicated but should be made livable.

A theme basic to the analysis that ought to be reiterated here is: under conditions of rapid modernization and urbanization, slums are functional, and in this sense normal. This does not mean that slums are desirable any more than the fact that human mortality is functional and normal makes it desirable; it does mean that the absence of slums indicates either that little or no urbanization is going on, or else there is a totalitarian regime in power - perhaps both.

The positive feature of the Indian slums is their culture and their potential to serve as a cultural bridge between the urban centers and the traditional rural hinterland. I believe that if the slum environment can be revitalized then these communities can function as sociological, ecological and cultural zones of transition. If the acculturative process works, mediating groups and associations will spontaneously take root and form a rough evolutionary series of acculturative stages. Efforts at meliorative intervention by formal institutions of government and of private agencies close to the government may or may not show some success in affecting the process depending on how effective they are in mobilizing
participation. The individual can be expected to respond to the acculturative challenge by learning new ways of thinking, feeling and behaving. This will permit the migrant to be gradually assimilated into the urban environment and culture so that he can be encouraged to leave the slum and make way for newcomers.

Beyond that, however, there is the larger question of how the acculturative process will affect the character of the nation. Urbanization is not a one-way street. Traditional society is slowly but surely being destroyed by the Westernized city, but in enacting its role as the destroyer it is itself being transformed. It cannot continue with its face fixed gazing towards the West; it is under pressure to look within, even look to the rear to find its own identity. The search for these clues to change must continue in the slum, for it must be there, that the culture and institutional forms of the future can be expected to take shape.
CHAPTER II. THE MIGRANT IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT


3 Delhi Development Authority, Master Plan for Delhi, 1959, p. 72.


5 Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, The Problems of Housing in India, 1957, p. 16.

6 Moore, p. 223.

7 S. M. Mamoria, Population and Family Planning in India, 1963, p. 158.

8 William and Paul Paddock, Hungry Nations, 1964, p. 119.

9 Ibid., p. 120.


11 Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, op. cit., p. 15.


13 Ibid., p. 28.

14 Bose, p. 60.


20 Kenneth Little, West African Urbanization, 1965, p. 64.


22 Powdermaker, p. 120.
CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF PREVAILING CONCEPTS OF SLUM MANAGEMENT

I  INTRODUCTION.

Over the years many groups of rural migrants have lived in the slums; few have left while the vast majority have stayed on. The slums of Indian cities have not only persisted for many years but have grown in size and new slums are being constantly formed. It was observed in the preceding chapters that their formation is a self-perpetuating process: they are either replenished from within or established through migration from outside the city. Several traditional approaches have been developed and applied to deal with this problem. Some policy makers have advocated the policy of destroying the slums, tearing them down physically, erasing their houses and shacks. Others believe that the provision of welfare services to the inhabitants of the slums is the ideal way to bring about changes and solve the problem. Still others stress the importance of providing greater economic opportunities to the slum dwellers.

The basic premise of the various approaches proposed so far by the decision makers has been to regard the slum primarily as a physical problem. The proponents of these approaches assume that by providing a new physical environment for the slum dwellers, the problems confronting the slums will automatically disappear. Although these various approaches appear on the surface to be sound, and have been applied in many cities over the years, they have serious limitations as solutions either alone or together, to the problems of the slum. The basic shortcoming of these
approaches has been their failure to consider the important positive aspects of slum life. There seems to be surprisingly little understanding of the culture of the slum and the process of acculturation within it. Furthermore, authorities fail to realize that even the most physically decayed slums do indeed provide the economically impoverished rural migrants with the only shelter that they can afford in the city. The preceding chapter has illustrated the role of the Indian slum in the urban environment. This chapter analyses the various traditional approaches undertaken by the government and other agencies towards the solution of the slum problem and indicates their deficiencies. It will be shown that in spite of these approaches through the years, Indian slums have generally continued to resist efforts to change them.

II THE GOVERNMENT POLICY ON PUBLIC HOUSING

The first chapter indicated that although urbanization is not occurring at an unusually fast pace the total population figures of urban India are still extremely high. Within the urban areas natural increase is taking place at the rate of 1.5-2.0 per cent per year. This on top of the 108.8 million 1971 urban population means approximately 80 million births during the next 25 years at a time when the death rate is declining. Migration from the rural areas is expected to add millions more. Besides the sheer magnitude of the urban population, there is the additional problem of low incomes for the vast majority of this urban population.

The present Government of India public housing provision falls mainly under four schemes. Maximum funds have been allocated for the Industrial Housing Scheme where the maximum allowable rent is Rs.36 per
month and the income limitation is set at Rs. 4,200 per year. An equivalent amount of money has been set aside for the Low Income Scheme where the maximum allowable rent has been set at Rs. 27 per month and the allowable annual income of the tenant is fixed at Rs. 6,000. The Slum Clearance and Economically Weaker Section Housing Scheme has had less investment but serves families with a maximum annual income of Rs. 3,000 with maximum allowable monthly rent of Rs. 25. Finally, the Middle Income Housing Scheme which is essentially on a loan basis, serves people in the annual income range of Rs. 6,000-15,000.

Expenditures on housing have increased in each Five Year Plan from an initial of Rs. 33.5 crores ($23.9 million) in the First Plan to a proposed Rs. 250 crores ($178.5 million) in the Fourth Plan. However, the percentage of the total Plan fund has remained a relatively constant 1.7 per cent. The Government of India's policy has consisted of providing housing for government employees and some social housing schemes, the latter consisting of a variety of programs designed to make housing available to people of low and middle incomes by a combination of loans and grants.

The total funds available for the different schemes are allotted to the various State Governments by the Planning Commission for each Plan period. The fund is given to the States for a particular project and the Central Government exercises detailed control in implementing the individual project. The State Government, for example, cannot transfer funds allocated for one sanctioned project, even under the same scheme, without the explicit approval of the Central authority.

60 per cent of the households in urban India earn less than Rs. 2,000 ($286) per year. 25 per cent of the households earn less than Rs. 1,000
annually. If it can be assumed that households at these income levels cannot afford more than 15 per cent of their income for rent, then monthly rentals of not more than Rs. 10 ($1.50) should be considered for them. This low rent paying capacity precludes these families from utilizing the present Government of India schemes regardless of the amount of subsidy provided or the attractiveness of the project. Against the background of a massive urban population and the extremely low incomes it is not surprising that the public housing programs have been totally inadequate in dealing with the problem.

The various programs rely on subsidies of between 60-70 per cent of the rent for each housing unit. The problem of massive subsidies required to rehouse slum families was graphically illustrated in a paper by Stanislaw Wellisz.² Using figures on the average income of a slum family, he concluded that the subsidy required to rehouse one slum family would amount to Rs.680 per year for a 60 year period. This means a total subsidy of $700 million to rehouse the slum families living in Calcutta. Even more interesting is Wellisz's conclusion about who actually pays for this subsidy. He points out that because of indirect taxes the burden falls largely on the poorest families. Over one-half of the subsidy for this type of housing comes from families with monthly incomes of less than Rs.150 ($20). In short, the poorest families are called upon to bear the burden of housing those fortunate few who live in the public housing projects.

Accepting the maximum allowable annual income as the ceiling of the income group served and establishing a floor by assuming that a family can afford 15 per cent of its annual income as rent, it is possible to
distribute the percentage of funds sanctioned for housing among the income distribution of urban households. When this curve is compared to the one of income distribution of urban households (see Graph I), it can be seen that the bulk of public investment is made to benefit the upper 25 per cent of the income groups of the country. For most of the lower 75 per cent of urban households there is insignificant benefit. Naturally there are isolated examples where families with an annual income of less than Rs.2,000 are housed in some of the public housing projects, but these are really exceptions. It should be noted here that even though the full investment of housing funds is assigned to the population with incomes between Rs.2,000-15,000 it still falls far short of the total need. However, this is incidental to the main point of the graph which is to underscore the need for a new housing program that will be directed towards the lowest income groups in urban India.

There is a need for complete rethinking, leading to a reorganization of the government's role in housing. More emphasis is required on establishing procedures of public or private financing so that families with steady incomes can secure housing outside the government programs. There is a need to improve the designs and construction techniques, to conserve scarce materials, rewrite building codes, introduce a constructive tax policy, establish viable savings institutions, and increase the density of new residential areas within the urban centers. All these factors, as vital as they are, do not provide a solution for the families in the slums. There can be no solution for this group until there is a realistic understanding of the problem factors of population, per capita income and the lack of government resources.
1961 Percentage Income Distribution among Urban Households

Estimated Percentage Distribution of Social Housing Investment Serving Income Groups.

The Public Sector Housing Gap


Graph 1
There have been numerous obstacles that have impeded progress in dealing with the problems of the slums in urban India. They include the enormous extent of the problem, the gap between shelter cost and national finance limitations, lack of savings, absence of a well established building industry, lack of control over land values, land speculation, and the transfer of the public housing units to private owners. Problems of finance are particularly difficult because of insufficient capital for housing, lack of mortgages and co-operative savings programs.

Many experts and decision makers think that the obvious remedy for the slums is their physical destruction. However, it is obvious from the conclusions of the previous chapter that this would solve nothing and would, in fact, lead to similar conditions on the ruins of the old slums. Proponents of the physical destruction of slums argue that they plan to build new and suitable housing facilities to replace the older settlements. The logic of such a program and its feasibility need careful examination because of four main difficulties: the immensity of the physical problems in terms of limited government resources, the likelihood of increasing urbanization, the fact that the majority of the problems of the slum cannot be attributed to physical conditions alone, and finally, the fact that the destruction of the present housing stock in the slums will also involve the destruction of the positive human associations that already exist in the area.

The Report of the Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance, by the Government of India, estimated that as many as 60% of the people in the large Indian cities live in physically poor conditions that can be classified as
slums and, in addition, 1.5 million houses in Indian cities are unfit for human habitation without substantial improvements. The backlog of the demand for urban housing has been estimated at nearly 5 million. At the present rate of urban growth, total slum clearance would require 115 years and expenditures equal to at least two national Five Year Plans. Taking only the estimated increase in population for the five years ending 1966, the cost of providing housing for this increase in population, at the present conservative figure of Rs. 2,500 per unit, would amount to Rs. 2,880 crores ($5.76 billion). If the cost of land were also to be included, a total figure of Rs. 3,500 crores would not be disputed. In relation to these figures, the total housing development outlay for the Third Five Year Plan was only Rs. 1,000 crores - an amount which was only one-half the allotment for all social services. Furthermore, the contemplated housing would consist of only one or two room units of simple design. It is important to note here that housing of the type the Western trained observers consider representative of good and decent living would be available to only a small fraction of the people who must live in the cities of India.

Little help towards achieving adequate low cost housing can be expected from the private investors who provided nearly all the low cost slum housing prior to World War II. The private investor formerly received a fairly good return on his investment even with the low rents. The reasons for this were the low labour and construction costs. In most cases, however, the buildings were of an extremely sub-standard nature, being largely devoid of the necessary facilities.

Today, very few, if any of the private investors are interested in
providing housing for the low income groups. The low rent paying capacity of the slum dwellers and the migrants means that the private investor cannot expect a reasonable return on his investment—he is, therefore, unwilling to make the investment. The private rental of an average one room tenement is Rs.26 ($3.75) per month; for two rooms Rs.41 ($5.75), a sum that is beyond the means of the migrant and the slum dwellers. The total income of more than 50% of the urban households does not exceed Rs. 100 ($14) per month, and in only 10% of the households is the income greater than Rs.300 per month. Park points out that, in Calcutta, an investment of approximately Rs.8,400 ($1200) per tenement unit, with a 5% annual return, would require approximately Rs.350 ($50) rent per annum. In comparison it should be pointed out that the average monthly rent of the slum dwellers in Calcutta is only Rs.14($2), while in Delhi the monthly average is Rs.7 ($1). It is quite obvious from these figures that the private investor cannot be expected to accept such a low return on his investment.

It is difficult to believe that foreign exchange would be made available in sufficient sums to rebuild the Indian cities since large amounts of any available money are allocated by the government for the development of hydroelectric power, steel mills, fertilizer plants, factories and military defenses. Large amounts of foreign exchange would have to be diverted for the importation of building supplies such as corrugated iron sheets and cast iron pipes, cement, and other construction materials.

Because of increasing urbanization and in spite of new housing programs, the housing situations in Indian cities has in actual fact been getting worse rather than better. It has been observed that although the
percentage of urban growth in recent years has not been rapid, it has still resulted in great increases in the number of new urbanites. This fact, together with the limited government resources, and the poverty of the migrants and the slum dwellers, means that neither public nor private resources have been able to cope with the housing problem. In 1951, the total urban population of 61.9 million occupied 10.3 million houses and the number of households was 12.8 million. It was estimated in 1957 that by 1961, when there would be 78 million urban residents, the total deficit in housing would be about 8.9 million. Even with the construction of 3 million new dwelling units, there would be a deficiency of approximately 5.96 million housing units. This estimate has turned out to be substantially correct, for, in 1961 the urban housing shortage was twice as great as it had been ten years earlier. The shortage of 5.5 million urban dwellings was again estimated as likely to increase rather than decrease, so that the planners are now faced with a deficit of approximately 12-16 million units. These are some of the problems confronting the Indian planners in meeting immediate housing needs, and, with the large scale predicted migration to the cities, the problems of furnishing adequate housing in slum areas becomes increasingly imperative.

The Third Five Year Plan of the Government of India pointed out that the two major problems in implementing slum clearance and relocation programs were the slum dwellers' inability to pay even subsidized rents and their reluctance to be relocated from areas selected for slum clearance programs. The inhabitants' dissatisfaction arises, first, from such economic dislocation costs as higher transportation expenses, from inadequacies of most urban transportation systems, and the loss of some
marginal employment opportunities that can be found in the slum. Secondly relocation programs have grave consequences in the disruption of community relationships and group ties among the slum dwellers. When they are rehoused in a manner that fails to take these criteria into account, the resulting disruptions can have severe social and cultural consequences. The slum dweller will usually attempt to flee from a public rehousing scheme and attempt to find "familiar" accommodation in some other slum in the city.\footnote{12}

Housing projects are built because of the necessity of providing shelter for people who would otherwise not have adequate shelter, but the authorities who build them always have the additional hope that the construction of these projects will also improve the general life style and living conditions. However, in Indian cities, the move to such housing projects can have tremendous implications. It means moving from small houses to apartment buildings, from wooden or mud construction to masonry, from squatters' rights to tenancy, from shifting day by day to planned administration.

Charles Abrams says that all prevailing ideas of wholesale slum clearance must be abandoned and that new ideas be developed to solve the shelter problem. "The provision of bare essentials may have to be the world's sad but only reasonable alternative. Once we understand the enormity of the problem, however, there may be ways of dealing with it. It is only when hope is given up and eyes are closed to reality that the crisis becomes inevitable."\footnote{13} Problems of relocation and the lack of resources do not mean the slums of Indian cities must exist forever in their present form. Rather, it is suggested that the chances for their
complete elimination are indeed remote. Commenting on the plans being developed for Calcutta through the Calcutta Metropolitan Organization (CMPO), Bose points out that "for the same gross expenditures that might rehouse 7000 of the slum inhabitants, it is estimated that the present bustees can be made more habitable for at least 70,000 people." In addition to this, properly organized, motivated and guided, the people in the bustees can make substantial improvements in the physical conditions of their environment. Physical improvements in slums can consist of repairing houses, both inside and outside, paving lanes and open drains and providing better water supply, sanitary facilities and electricity in the communities. Abrams says that "without a program that acknowledges the inevitability of the slums, costly permanent and unimprovable slum formations will be the product."

Abrams has also suggested that a realistic plan for the improvements in slum housing must proceed in two stages. The first would minimize slum clearance and allow for dense occupancy and increased reliance on self-help through savings and mortgage mechanisms, improved local production of building materials, and better suburban transportation to bring workers into the city, thus somewhat relieving the housing pressures. The second stage, to be reached in the distant future, would involve improving the general standard of living and economic development. In the first stage, slums would have to be accepted as a transitional phase of urban industrial change in the face of unavoidable mass rural to urban migration. The slums could then be guided in their development. Cheap land in less densely populated parts of the city could be acquired and planned in such a way that the houses could be improved and expanded over the years. As
Abrams says, a "planned slum is better than an unplanned slum when it consists of separate shelters that are individually owned."16

IV THE CONCEPT OF PROVIDING WELFARE SERVICES AND GREATER ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SLUM DWELLERS

Despite the enormity of their slum problems, most Indian cities today have continued to rely mainly upon social welfare centers to bring about changes and improvements among the masses in the slums by providing services of various types. Social welfare services give the slum dwellers the feeling something is being done for them and make both the government and the decision makers more secure about their efforts to improve life for the poor. Closer inspection, however, raises serious questions both about the philosophy behind them and their ability to solve complex urban problems on a broader and more permanent basis.

Theoretically, the provision of such services is supposed to change the slum by exposing the slum dwellers to a different set of norms and values. Typically, centers such as rooms or separate buildings might be provided in the neighbourhood where services like sewing, handicrafts, and literacy classes as well as occasional cultural activities are offered. The area served by such centers is seldom carefully defined. Space and fund limitations, however, make it impossible for such centers to serve more than a fraction of the residents in what is often a very large area. The staff usually consists of a few professional social workers and a number of volunteers, most of whom do not live in the area they serve. These volunteers, and even some of the professional workers, are usually from a higher social class with more economic advantages, and are almost
without exception much better educated than the typical resident of the area. The policy boards of the decision makers generally consist of people who reside outside the area, although there is sometimes token participation by the residents of the area. Clinard gives this example to illustrate the inadequacy of welfare centers as a solution for the Indian slum problem:

Two centers served an area of textile workers' chawls housing some 200,000 persons. One had a creche for 50 children, another for 100, both groups being neat and clean and supervised by experienced teachers. The area, however, must have at least 25,000 children under the age of seven who were not in school. Nearby was the only recreational center in the area, consisting of one rather long and large room and four smaller ones. The daily attendance was from 200-600 persons, the women participating in a sewing group of 30, the men playing on two ping-pong tables and using two wrestling platforms. This attendance is a small percentage of the 200,000 people in the area and most of them come from areas immediately adjacent to the center.¹⁷

Very often staff members, particularly the volunteers, are interested in "doing something for the underprivileged." Such an approach often tends to create dependence among the people on the center and its staff rather than to develop a desire on their own part to work out solutions to their own problems. While accepting the services from the center, the residents often resent having to depend upon others or they develop an exploitative attitude, seeking free services and even supplies of food from as many sources as possible and often, in the case of the latter, selling them. This practice is particularly common in the larger Indian cities. The staffs of the welfare centers hope to change the way of life of the slum dwellers through the limited training they can provide and through examples and exhortations. Gans has suggested that the welfare center people are "missionaries," in that they want the residents of the area to adopt their own behaviour and values.¹⁸ Because of the middle and
upper class origins and the professional training of most members of the welfare center staffs, it is difficult for them to share the perspectives of the people they work with. Too often this type of "welfare work" appears to involve a particular channel through which the wealthier people, particularly women, are able to achieve a special status or even political prestige. There is also a tendency among these people to attribute the behaviour and the way of life of the slum dweller to economic deprivation, poor housing, and the absence of individual initiative.

In general, welfare programs involve individuals, consequently, the effect on the total community may be negligible. Some welfare center staffs are aware of this problem and try to organize clean up campaigns, usually with the help of outside youth volunteers, to help improve sanitation. These campaigns are seldom successful as improvements usually do not last long. Such efforts generally fail to adequately involve groups of local residents in self-help efforts. Unless a group approach is made, the effects of such programs have no permanence. Because of the peculiar organization of the center, credit for any accomplishment often goes to the staff, whereas failures are attributed to the people's apathy.

Another unfortunate element with the social-welfare centers is their connection, either direct or indirect, with political parties. The result is that people of opposing political beliefs may not be prepared to use the center and its fortunes may fluctuate with political change. It is, therefore, unrealistic to hope that conventionally oriented centers can successfully create an impact on the large-scale problems of the slums. This statement does not imply that centers should be abolished, but rather, their approach should be re-examined and reinvigorated with new and better
techniques to stimulate self-help, full neighbourhood participation, and indigenous leadership among the residents.

Many of the Indian decision makers believe that by providing increased economic opportunities to the slum dwellers they will move out of the slum. There is widespread belief that as each group rises on the economic scale it becomes acculturated to the general values of the larger society and many of its members will move out of the slum. There is no question that measures to bring about improved economic conditions will be of great value to the slum dwellers. These include adequate wages, guaranteed minimum wages, accessible and inexpensive credit, programs to train and retrain youths and adults, improved social security and public assistance.¹⁹

The fact that the slum has continued to exist to socialize and acculturate new migrants, however, has often escaped the attention of those who take this approach, as has the fact that the many problems of the slum cannot be attributed entirely to economic deprivation. All these programs are important but there seems to be too much emphasis on providing greater economic opportunities. The assumption that most people will automatically grasp such opportunities is indeed questionable. The per capita costs of such programs, even with government support, are likely to be disproportionately high for the results achieved in any given area. At most, with the limited government resources, a relatively small proportion of people can be reached, and meanwhile there are continued additions to the areas through natural increase and rural to urban migration. Unless the slum way of life is significantly altered, there is likely to be limited participation and a high drop-out rate for such programs. The
basic problem is not the acquisition of skills by a few but affecting changes in the way of life of the majority of the slum dwellers.

It is also questionable whether or not the so-called social-psychological aspects of urban poverty -- apathy, powerlessness, lack of planning, and hostility to outside agencies -- can be directly attributed to poverty alone. A given level of income does not necessarily produce certain consequences in psychological attitudes. In fact, subgroups among the urban poor may display reactions quite different from the psychological aspects of poverty. For example, very low income families may have high levels of aspiration; leaders with high levels of motivation may be found among the poor; lower middle class families with high aspirations may actually have lower incomes than do many poor groups receiving economic aid and other benefits; and, influential intellectual leaders in India often receive very low incomes. Despite rural improvement programs, one can assume continued large scale migration to cities and the slums. This migration means that job training of slum dwellers will present a constant problem but will itself not materially alter the slum as a social and cultural system.

V SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

The basic premise of the preceding chapter was that if the processes that produce autonomous slum settlements are essentially normal processes of urban growth then it follows that autonomous urban settlements are both the product of and the vehicle for activities which are essential in the process of urbanization. It will be useful to once again identify the functions these settlements perform for their inhabitants. These are
naturally the functions of any dwelling environment. The dwelling is an address - it gives an individual or a family a place in society, and therefore, an identity. The dwelling provides location - however long or short the period of residence - and without a location the dwelling cannot exist. But if the dwelling cannot be occupied for the minimum period required or, if there is no tenure, it is useless as a dwelling. And of course, the dwelling must provide a minimum degree of shelter. The demands for residential location in the city for low income groups vary greatly with the social and economic situation of the inhabitant: those who cannot afford to commute long distances, and those who are economically impoverished and must spend every free hour looking for a job, must live near their sources of employment. It therefore follows that the very poor or unskilled or casually employed with very low and insecure incomes, must be free to change their residence at very short notice in order to follow jobs -- the construction laborer's next job may be on the other side of the city. The decision makers have failed to realize that these groups need accommodation at very low cost and within walking distance of their sources of employment and livelihood and they must have the freedom to give up their habitat at very short notice.

As was indicated in the previous chapter, the inner-city tenements and the slums of the very poor, and the peripheral squatter settlements do, in fact, perform the principal functions demanded of them by their inhabitants. So, in spite of their many drawbacks, they can act as forward-moving vehicles of social and cultural change. On the other hand, many publicly financed housing projects, in spite of their improved physical conditions, act in the opposite direction. By dislocating the low
income groups from their settlements - by divorcing them from their opportuni­
ties and by loading the wage earners with a mortgage, the conventional
projects act more often as barriers rather than as vehicles for social
improvement.

The problem here is not the physical aspect of the settlement. It
is the settler and his community. What is important is the relationship
between the inhabitant and his habitat. The word "environment" is used in
its literal sense of "surroundings" - a concept that has no meaning with­
out reference to that which is surrounded. The values assumed, therefore,
are not the conventional values based on qualitative material standards.
A materially "poor" house may be better than a materially "good" one (i.e.
one built according to high material standards) in a given situation. For
instance; the same tenement court with one room dwellings may be adequate
for the very poor young couple, recently arrived from a village to seek
their livelihood in the city, but extremely demoralizing for a larger
family that has been residing in the city for some time.

Autonomous urban slum settlement is the product of the difference
between the nature of the popular demand for dwellings and those supplied
by the institutional society. The focus of this problem - the loss of
institutional control over the urban settlements and its consequences - is
primarily institutional and only secondly a by-product of poverty. I
argue that the values and the priorities of the decision makers have not
been compatible with the needs of the majority of the urban society, i.e.
the low income groups. Policy objectives and the institutional framework
for the fulfillment of these values and priorities are too often geared to
only one sector of the urban society (the relatively wealthy minority) and
are economically and culturally unacceptable to the remainder who comprise four-fifths of the urban population. It is argued that the loss of control over urban settlements — as distinct from the deficit of standard modern housing units — is the consequence of institutional maladjustments which, of course, are partly due to erroneous beliefs and social attitudes of the decision makers. But while the housing unit deficit is only indirectly an institutional problem, the extremely bad physical condition of the environment in which the poor of the Indian cities live is certainly made worse by institutional demands and failures. Guided very often by erroneous notions of slum clearance and the prohibition of any form of building not considered to be "modern" enough for the Indian city, official policies have frequently contributed directly to the worsening of the housing conditions and to the direct encouragement of squatting and haphazard development for the masses.

The institutional control of urban settlement must depend upon the encouragement and support of popular initiative through the government servicing of local resources. It is economically impractical for the government to insist on development procedures and policies based on the experiences of Western countries with their developed economies. The costs of such development are far greater than the people can afford while State subsidies on a sufficient scale are out of the question. The basic needs and essential functions of a shelter for the rural migrants in urban areas are served much more successfully by the more traditional and organic forms of autonomous settlement which follow traditional procedures with regards to building techniques and physical development. The conclusion seems to be inescapable: if governments are to control urban
settlement and development, procedures and policies must be based on the nature of local demand. Alternatively, it is impossible to obtain the contribution of the mass of the people on whose collective resources the development of the Indian cities rests. It should be stressed that government, especially since it does not possess or control the resources needed for environmental development should not attempt to substitute for local direction action - but should support it - in ways that bring it into the institutional framework of the country.
CHAPTER III. ANALYSIS OF PREVAILING CONCEPTS OF SLUM MANAGEMENT


CHAPTER IV
THE URBAN SLUM: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

I INTRODUCTION

Local authorities in urban slum areas have been unable to provide even the basic facilities for the vast majority of their inhabitants. Accommodations are limited, residential areas are congested, there are great health hazards, and there is a high percentage of urban illiteracy. Recreational facilities are minimal or completely lacking, and poverty and unemployment haunt the people. Municipal governments and voluntary organizations, always limited in funds and competent personnel, are unable to cope with the problems that confront them in the face of rapid and chaotic growth of the slums.

The country faces the task of bringing about tremendous basic changes in the economy through rapid industrialization, increased agricultural production, and restrictions on population growth; while simultaneously providing greater economic opportunities, increased housing, and physical amenities for the urbanites. Considering India's limited economic resources such vast and basic changes cannot be brought about in a short time. In the meantime and certainly for many years to come the people of the slums must have substantially improved living conditions.

It has been observed from the preceding chapter that the reasons for the poor performance of Indian planners in their treatment of the urban slum has been their reliance on three apparently reasonable but as yet unworkable assumptions which, to a greater or lesser extent, have been
imported from the concepts and housing programs of the Western countries. They are:

(i) Slums must be cleared.

(ii) The individual housing unit is the basic variable in any housing program.

(iii) The government must subsidize the low-cost housing program.

These assumptions are reflected in a strongly stated editorial in the Journal of the Indian Institute of Town Planners.

The basic standards in housing and planning are arrived at not only from consideration of cost but also from consideration of creating the desirable sociological and physical environment necessary for the healthy growth of individuals and the community. Such standards have been established by many committees and technical missions. The Environmental Hygiene Committee recommended a two room house as the minimum for a family. The U. N. Technical Mission on Housing, the later Seminar and Conference on Housing and Town Planning, and other reports published by national and international agencies concerned with housing and town planning all recommended the two room house with adequate sanitary and other facilities as the barest minimum if the normal aspirations of healthy living are to be achieved.

These standards cannot be lowered, whatever be the community, whatever be the economic situation in the country. Substandard housing is but a step towards slums. Deliberate substandard housing will defeat the very purpose of housing as it will lead to the creation of future slums. The basic standard must be adhered to at all costs.

The opposing position is stated by Charles Abrams who suggests that for a country with limited economic resources:

... all prevailing ideas of wholesale slum clearance and the building of costly housing must be abandoned and that some fresh thinking must be brought to bear on the shelter program. The provision of the bare essentials may have to be the world's sad but only reasonable alternative. Once we understand the enormity of the problem, however, there may be ways of dealing with it. It is only when hope is given up and eyes are closed to reality that the crisis becomes inevitable.

It is the contention of this thesis that any decision on a housing policy that does not take into consideration the limited resources of the
country and bases its assumptions solely on the individual housing unit, would in effect, condemn millions of urban slum dwellers of this and a subsequent generation to continued misery and would undoubtedly delay the entire development program of the country. A solution must therefore be found, one that is likely to result in substantial changes not for a few but for the millions of slum dwellers, not only for the future but more important, for the immediate present. Any such plan must be realistic in terms of the enormity of the problems, the density and the rapid growth of the urban population, and the limited financial resources available.

II. PRESUPPOSITIONS FOR REVITALIZING THE BUSTEE ENVIRONMENT.

In this chapter, the objective will be to bridge the philosophical gap between the position taken by the Indian planners and that of Charles Abrams by suggesting that it is possible to obtain the rapid and dramatic improvement in the standard of living of the urban slum dwellers as sought by the socially concerned while at the same time recognizing the tight constraints imposed by the economists. The hypothesis hinges on a breakthrough created by no longer thinking of the housing problem in terms of the individual lives. Recognizing the substantial evidence that under no circumstances can all the slums be eradicated, it becomes obvious that if a solution is to be found it must be based on an entirely new set of assumptions. These are:

(i) The encouragement and stimulation of local community participation.

(ii) The total community living environment is the critical variable—not the individual housing unit.
(iii) The existing housing stock, even in the slums, must be preserved.
(iv) Minimum adequate standards of living for the slum residents must be commensurate with the available economic resources.

So enormous are the problems of the slums, so limited the resources, and so urgent the time factor that some immediate solution has to be found to deal with the situation. With rapidly increasing urbanization, government and welfare agencies alone cannot be expected to meet the social and physical needs of the slums. The cost of any comprehensive program for slum clearance, improved living conditions, and the provision of additional civic facilities will require resources far greater than the government can hope to raise. It is apparent that large scale slum clearance or improvement programs are beyond the capacity of the government at the present time. (Schematic 4).

It is proposed, therefore, to design a realistic approach to the problem; to attempt changes largely through the resources most readily available — the labor of the many community dwellers themselves and the limited financial resources of the government. In other words to stimulate local community participation and provide financial assistance for self-assisting programs to solve the problems of the slum and enable the residents to develop a sense of civic consciousness.

The concept of community participation is based on the nature of slum life and the problems it presents. First, it is assumed that social change can be accomplished most effectively where people live, that is, in the lanes, bustees and alleys of the cities, and secondly, that such social change can best be achieved by working with groups of people rather than with individuals. Most urban slum families, particularly the
PRESUPPOSITIONS FOR REVITALIZING THE BLIGHTED ENVIRONMENT

ENCOURAGEMENT AND STIMULATION OF LOCAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

TOTAL COMMUNITY LIVING ENVIRONMENT IS THE CRITICAL VARIABLE, NOT THE INDIVIDUAL HOUSING UNIT

EXISTING HOUSING STOCK MUST BE PRESERVED

MINIMUM ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING MUST BE COMPENSATED WITH THE AVAILABLE ECONOMIC RESOURCES

SCHEMATIC 4
women and children, live most of their daily lives in the limited area of their neighbourhood. If social change in the attitudes of the people can be encouraged within these areas then a certain continuity in patterns of thought can be established. Slum life is largely a product of group practices, so that any change must come from within the group. The people's desire for change must precede any development program and permanent change will only occur when the community realizes the need for change and develops the capacity for making changes.

The growth of the Indian city has produced a complexity of social relationships which are alien to the rural migrant. Urbanism as a way of life tends to be characterized by extensive conflicts of norms and values, by increased mobility of the people, by emphasis on material goods and individualism, and by marked decline in effective communication between the government and the people. Clinard points out that these characteristics are generally products firstly of size, which as the number of inhabitants increases beyond a certain limit brings about changes in people's relationships and in the nature of the community; secondly, the great heterogeneity of the city is in part a product of the migration of many people of diverse backgrounds and origins. As a result of this heterogeneity there are few common norms and values and individuals are confronted with conflicting standards of behaviour. Rural migrants accustomed to certain rules and patterns may become skeptical of the validity of urban controls and standards. In general, the move to the city opens up a new way of life called "urbanism" which is quite distinct from that of the more traditional village life.

A particular characteristic of the rapidly expanding urban areas
has been the ever increasing institutionalization of society and the
individualization of the people. Institutionalization can be seen in
the scope of governmental and non-governmental services in the city, all
of which have been the inevitable results of the presence of large
numbers of people concentrated in particular areas of the city. Govern­
ments have grown larger, there are more specialists to take care of the
varied services while the participation of the individual in the decision
making process has decreased. Often the lines of communication between
the city officials and the people are non-existent; consequently, they
cease to feel personally involved and have no control over their community
environment. Thus, both the rural migrants and the older residents
become bewildered by the impersonality of the city and the local
authorities.

It is the contention here that some way needs to be found by which
the newly arrived rural migrants living in the slums can develop a sense
of unity and community within the structure of the city. The solution
lies in an approach to community participation and self-assistance. Paul
Ylvisaker points out that "the urban social order cannot be perfected by
clever manipulation, no matter how well trained or by eager philanthro­
pists working from above and from the outside. The toughest problem is
that of generating indigenous leadership and the spirit of self-assist­
ance." The goal is to speed up the process of social and cultural change
within the slum communities and at the same time to affect large numbers
of people.

Urban community participation offers two fundamental ideals: the
development of effective community feeling within an urban context and
the development of a concept of self-assistance, citizen participation and individual initiative in seeking community changes. In other words, this approach lies directly with the slum dwellers; it is essential that their apathy and indifference be overcome so that they can be made aware of their own human resources.

The ingredients of a community participation program are the people, the government and voluntary resources available to stimulate self-assistance, and the community organizers necessary to encourage indigenous leadership and to translate their problems in such a way that they can be adequately interpreted by the governmental agencies. In this sense, community participation is a collective initiative of the people living in the same community. It also involves the support of their efforts through services rendered to them by a higher level of government. It involves democratic action, stressing citizen participation, self-assistance, and self-determination through group action in meeting the problems posed by the urban environment and an alien way of life.

It is essential that people become involved in responsible action directed towards solving mutual problems. Such participation is a process through which citizens can have a say in the government decisions affecting their lives and their environment. Obviously this approach is based on the assumption that the community has the capacity to deal with its own problems. We must accept the premise that even in the most helpless slums and among the most apathetic residents their latent skills can be harnessed to alter and improve their environment.

The four main objectives of an urban community participation program applicable to the slum environment are development of community feeling,
encouragement of self-assistance, development of indigenous leadership, and co-operation between the people and the government in the use of essential services. The first requires the creation of effective community relationships for the purpose of bringing into urban life some of the organization that unites people in the villages and the larger family units of the rural areas. Such territorial units would tend to induce neighborliness, to decrease the isolation of urban living, and to make possible the development of progressive community action. The establishment of effective community relationships is important since the ties that bind people together in the villages often weaken or disappear in the urban context. Ethnic, regional, tribal, caste and even family ties often become less meaningful and in most cases no new ties develop to replace the older ones. People may live in close physical proximity and yet not constitute a community. Asoka Mehta points out that "while" family ties and caste loyalties have proved remarkably resistant to urban influences and have partially compensated against the anonymity and indifference of the urban environment, it will be useful to seek leverages of change in the solidarity of small neighbourhood groups and groups with linguistic affinities - social cohesions that appear to be significant."

The second goal is the stimulation of self-assistance and active citizen participation in urban affairs among the slum residents. As a form of social and economic development, such a program must use self-help with technical assistance from the outside to implement it. As many of the needs are only vaguely felt and as the conditions of the slum are often accepted, the objective should be to help people realize their needs in ways that will result in the attainment of desired goals. Permanent
improvement in slum living conditions cannot be achieved by a largely apathetic collection of individuals; the people must desire change and be prepared to exercise their own initiative in planning and carrying out projects and programs to meet their own needs.

It is a common assumption that the slum residents will move up the social scale merely by receiving economic and educational opportunities from outside sources of power. Yet it is this very dependence on others that leads to apathy, further dependence and failure to develop necessary economic and educational skills. This dependence over a period of time becomes embedded and institutionalized in the habits, traditions and organizations in the slum.

Thirdly, without some sense of community feeling in a heterogenous area it is difficult to promote ideas of self-assistance. On the other hand, improvement of the community environment itself, comes through recognition of the need for change and citizen co-operation in such activities as building community washrooms, latrines, repairing houses, paving lanes, keeping their environment clean, maintaining schools and community services and dealing with deviant behavior. The people themselves need to be involved in the identification of their needs, the selection of priorities and the carrying out of various activities. To successfully bring about change, potential indigenous leadership in local areas needs to be identified and encouraged. Such leadership can then carry direct responsibility for initiating change within the community.

Finally, the nature of slum life makes it difficult for people to improve their patterns of life and their surrounding environment without the aid of governmental agencies. It is obvious that the community effort
would require some sort of financial and technical assistance in programs such as sanitation, public health, education and recreation. A program of self-assistance alone cannot provide a satisfactory substitute for these essential services. It can, however, by creating a functional relationship with the local authorities not only help to fill the gap in many essential services but also make more meaningful the proper use of these services by the public. "Urban community participation is, therefore, concerned not only with stimulating citizen participation and self-assisting schemes but in helping to mobilize public voluntary services in association with the people's own efforts."\(^{10}\) Charles Abrams has suggested that there are many possibilities for such an approach to slum housing particularly when the migrant comes from a rural background where things have been traditionally done on a voluntary assistance basis.\(^{11}\)

The emphasis on most research and experimentation with the problems of low cost housing has been with the individual housing unit. In the warm climate of India, where living is largely done in the outside public spaces of the neighbourhood, the stress on the individual housing unit as a critical variable is misplaced. Since the public spaces are largely an extension of the individual house the total community environment should be the critical variable.

I suggest that there is a housing threshold: a point along the income distribution curve below which it is not feasible to provide standard housing, either publicly or privately, on a massive scale commensurate with the needs at any reasonable set of minimum standards. The housing threshold may fluctuate among the various cities, but at some point, the mass of low income people to be served, the costs of housing in any form,
the administrative mechanism required, and the shortage of permanent building materials available, all combine to establish the lower limit below which standard housing cannot be made available to the low income people on a widespread basis.

If the concept of a housing threshold is to be recognized in the development of a total program for shelter, it will be possible to maximize the amount of return from the investment of a housing rupee by concentrating on environmental improvement programs for the low income groups and establishing mechanisms such as savings institutions, housing co-operatives, self-help housing programs for those who can be assisted at a reasonable cost to cross the housing threshold. Subsidized housing programs, more the equivalent of public housing now being built in many of the economically advanced countries, becomes practical only for those people who are higher up on the income distribution curve but not yet prepared to command standard housing in the private market.

The real problem, therefore, is not the individual housing unit no matter how humble, but the uncontrolled human wastes, the polluted stagnant waters which do not drain away, the inadequate water supply, the dark unlit and unpaved lanes, the litter and the filth, the lack of community services, the lack of open spaces, and the social and legal problems involved with squatting. The total community living environment is the critical variable and any housing program below the housing threshold should essentially be a total community development program and not just a series of unrelated individual housing projects.

As long as Indian cities are faced with rapidly increasing demand for shelter, coming on top of a very large existing housing deficit, it
must be recognized that priority must be given to *expanding the total housing supply*. This means undertaking slum clearance programs only when there is a clear and important reuse of the land required. It must be resolved that no slum clearance should be undertaken when the only purpose is to replace slum housing with standard housing. Such projects do not add housing units to the total supply, yet take substantial amount of public resources, both financial and administrative, which could be otherwise used to provide much needed environmental improvements for the neighbourhoods so as to benefit the majority of slum dwellers. A program aimed at providing housing for the future migrants to the city is discussed later in this chapter.

There is constant debate about what standards should be applied in housing projects for the low income groups. The debate centers on the individual or minimum housing unit and the conclusions reached generally result in recommending standards far too high to permit a program at a scale massive enough to meet the basic needs of a very high population. There will never be a program capable of solving the housing problem if it is constrained by standards meant only for the individual housing unit. This is not to say that standards for housing, which in fact, represent reasonable goals by which to measure the effectiveness of a given housing program should not be developed. Such standards should only be used, however, after careful consideration of the means available for achieving them.

The test of any proposed solution to the low income shelter program will be whether or not it is capable of massive application to meet the basic needs of the majority of the low income groups. There is little value in investing substantial public resources in any program that
benefits only a fractional percentage of people below the housing threshold. As has been pointed out in earlier chapters such a solution only serves to call on other low income groups to pay, through indirect taxes, for the benefits given to the fortunate few. Such an approach is bound to fail even before it begins and the more housing units that are built under such a program the more unfair it becomes. It is proposed that any shelter program for the low income migrants should be commensurate with the available economic resources.

III REVITALIZING THE BUSTEE ENVIRONMENT: TOWARDS A NEW ORGANIC PATTERN.

On the basis of the four assumptions that have been discussed, this concept envisages a positive action for achieving better living conditions for the majority of the urban slum dwellers and the broader and more specific goal of integrating these communities with the city proper. Its aim is to energise and revitalize the bustee environment by injecting into it such elements that are necessary for its proper functioning as a viable community within the city. The process ultimately involves the whole pattern of population distribution and the functional organization of these communities within a well planned and co-ordinated layout of the city. Such a concept should endeavour to shape the community structure so that all human activities may take place in environments conducive to their proper functioning and in harmony with all other activities. It is thus, not merely a physical operation, but a major social, cultural and economic one, involving the people, their ways of life and encompassing the aspirations of the community. It is much more comprehensive than
slum clearance and implies the correction of the mistakes of the past and focuses attention on the revitalizing of the physically and socially deteriorated areas.

To evolve a well integrated new community pattern that would fit into the changed living conditions of the new age and promote genuine democratic growth is vital in planning for a new environment. Such a broad aim cannot be realized merely through the provision of shelter. Shelter represents only one of many community functions. Full considerations of an "organic community" as an indispensable framework has to precede any housing development. Without it even new housing may degenerate rapidly into blighted areas and become burdensome wastes. Without a basic medium of cohesion of common civic interest and loyalty, the prospects of improved social contacts, which originally made urban life desirable now make it hazardous. The social initiative of the people and their own life has to flourish at a local level, viz., the neighbourhood or residential area and gradually reach out into the wider region, viz. the city or metropolis. Thus this concept holds the main hope of a compromise between the basic human needs and the material requirements of the present age.

The concept envisages a complete urban complex, which is the entire city or metropolis, comprising a number of relatively self-contained communities, which have at the lowest tier a "housing cluster." This corresponds to the traditional "mohalla," and which, in fact, is found in its most rudimentary form in almost all Indian cities and towns. The traditional "mohallas" were housing clusters which were often grouped around a street, small alley or some sort of an open court, and though
deficient in many basic community facilities, served to propagate a local fraternity. It is proposed that the basis of any planning policy should be to try and achieve the goals of ideal "mohallas" within the bustees. These "mohallas" comprising 150-200 families each, can once again form the basic smallest unit thus promoting the characteristics of intimate personal family contacts. Mohallas grouped together around some focal point such as a small primary school or some convenience shops and some sort of open space can form, what may be called, a "residential unit" containing a population of between 3,500-5,000. A group of these units will ultimately form a complete neighbourhood with a high school, a community hall and adequate neighbourhood shopping as the focii. In this cellular pattern, the neighbourhood area would form the "planning module" and would generally represent the size of the now existing bustee. It would be a self contained community that is bounded by streets but not pierced by them. (Schematics 5 and 6).

It is the purpose of this chapter to explore a program for the improvement of the environment of the bustee. As has already been stated, the salient feature of this hypothesis is that bustees cannot and should not be cleared in the near foreseeable future and, therefore, very substantial improvements in the standard of living of the bustee dwellers must be achieved within the confines of the existing bustees and within the financial constraints set by the economists by utilizing the concept of community participation.

The goal of such a program is the revitalizing of the blighted neighbourhoods where slum conditions prevail. These areas can be converted into healthy neighbourhoods by judicious planning, i.e. by
Housing Cluster and "Mohalla"

'SMohalla'
TOTAL POPULATION 1,000 - 1,500

Housing Cluster
TOTAL POPULATION 180 - 220
TYPICAL 'MOHALLA'

TRINAN SCHOOL OR
CONVENEDION SHOP OR
OPEN SPACE OR
COMMUNITY FACILITIES

--- RESIDENTIAL UNIT ---
TOTAL POPULATION: 3,000 - 5,000

--- NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT ---
TOTAL POPULATION: 81,000 - 90,000

RESIDENTIAL & NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS

SCHEMATIC 6
providing essential services, by regulating the density of the area, by removing dilapidated structures that are hazardous and cannot be revived, by reorganizing street and lane patterns, by providing more open spaces, parks and playgrounds, by removing incompatible land uses which have a blighting effect on the appropriate uses on land and the inhabitants. Once such a goal has been achieved, it will be the responsibility of the local municipal authorities to provide protection to these communities against undesirable elements such as squatting on open land and the infiltration of incompatible and conflicting land uses.

The Process of Change

Once the problem areas have been identified in the city, certain comprehensive policy decisions have to be made as to the nature of the measures to be taken for the revitalization of these areas. These will have to be influenced by the enormity of problems, financial, physical, and human. One of the basic assumptions has been that there will be no mass scale demolition of structures in these areas. Instead, it is hoped that systematic weeding out of noxious industries and incompatible trades will reduce congestion to some extent. Each year a large number of houses either collapse or are demolished by the municipal authorities on the basis that they are unsafe for human habitation. These structures should not be allowed to be rebuilt by their owners, but instead, the land should be acquired for community facilities. The Delhi Municipal Authorities recommend a density of no more than 250 people per acre in these neighbourhoods. For a population in each neighbourhood arrived at on the basis of such a recommendation every effort should be made to provide schools, open spaces, health centers and other facilities on the basis of local
community participation.

Realizing that if space and density standards for new communities are adopted, it would be extremely difficult to open up the existing built-up areas without involving a large scale dislocation of the population, it is proposed to lower the space standards for community facilities. Playgrounds will have to be smaller, and so too will local parks and other open spaces.

At present, traffic conditions are deplorable and the right of way streets are inadequate to cope with the traffic generated by high residential density and intense commercial and small scale industrial uses. It is proposed to work out a system of traffic streets and pedestrian ways resulting only in the minimum demolition of buildings.

Non-conforming land uses have to be controlled and incompatible industries gradually weeded out from the residential areas. It is recognized, however, that this process must be largely governed by the fact that there should be minimum amount of dislocation of production and the industries should not be put to undue hardship. Such industries should be shifted from their present location in the heart of the residential areas to industrial areas earmarked in the Master Plans for the cities.

Since the government is financially incapable of making improvements in the physical environment available to the slum dweller, it is imperative to secure the willing consent, co-operation, and participation of the bustee dwellers themselves, to the maximum extent possible, in the implementation of the program of bustee improvement. It has been pointed out that community participation is the only effective and viable alternative available to achieve through individual response and collective
responsibility of the bustee dwellers, the most effective use and maintenance of the physical improvements installed. The concept of Bustee Improvement recognizes that bustees cannot be cleared in the near foreseeable future, but very substantial improvements can be made at very reasonable cost. The following are the physical, educational, recreational and cultural improvements proposed:

Concerted efforts must be made to encourage the bustee dwellers to formulate a self-assistance scheme to improve the physical condition of their individual housing units. Self-assisting efforts can be extremely successful because of the simple design and construction of the structures—most of the tenements are constructed of mud and brick. A start can be made by repairing the exterior of the homes by filling in bricks and rubble that have fallen out and replastering the walls with mud after which they can be whitewashed. It is proposed that this procedure will give the residents an inexpensive start towards more substantial improvements that can be made with governmental aid in terms of construction materials. Such a program that utilizes local co-operative labor on the one hand and governmental financial assistance on the other, can considerably improve the physical appearance of the neighbourhood and instill in the residents a sense of pride and civic consciousness.

It is essential to provide an adequate water system for the supply of clean and safe water for the daily needs of the bustee residents. It is proposed that wherever possible, tube wells should be used for this purpose and the typical system should include tube wells, pump houses, chlorination reservoirs and the necessary distribution system. The local government should be responsible for providing all the necessary equipment
and materials while the local residents should be encouraged to provide the required labor.

Minimum adequate standards will have to be adopted for community water taps and baths. These standards must be commensurate with the available resources. A reasonable standard can be the provision of one water tap for every 100 persons and two baths for 100 persons, located in such a way so as to be convenient for all residents. The design of the fixtures should be extremely simple so as to minimize their maintenance. The strong traditional background of the residents suggests that complete privacy be afforded in the community baths. It is assumed that bath taps will also be used for the supply of water, thus the effective water tap standard will be one water point per 33 persons.

Perhaps the greatest threat to the health of the residents of the bustees is the complete lack of proper sanitary facilities. It is proposed that the municipal governments should immediately undertake the construction of reasonable sanitary sewer systems including the necessary sewers and other appurtenances. The local authorities can once again employ the labor of the local residents.

It is proposed that a standard be established of at least four water closets per 100 people to provide for the basic needs of the community. It should be pointed out here that this would only be a tentative standard and could vary from one community to another; it should, however, provide reasonable basis for further estimation if and when the resources of the local government permit an expansion of the system. These facilities should be located so as to provide maximum accessibility to the residents.

Inadequate or often non-existent storm drainage facilities in the
bustees have resulted in perpetually stagnant open drains that are chronically unsanitary and are of constant concern to the local health authorities. The situation is especially critical during the monsoons when the drains overflow and result in the flooding of the neighbourhood. It is suggested that these deficiencies could be corrected to a large extent if the local government would provide the necessary material resources for an adequate storm drainage system with all the necessary inlets. There is no doubt that the local residents could be encouraged to provide the required labor.

Narrow winding lanes and alleys, either unpaved or in extremely poor condition characterize most bustees and constitute a major problem during the monsoons when they are often completely washed out. These conditions have existed for years with the result that the residents have been forced to accept them for what they are. It is proposed that the residents be encouraged to organize a self-assistance program and be provided with the necessary resources to pave and repair the lanes and alleys in their neighbourhood. These lanes serve an important function not only for transportation within the community but also form an extension of the individual house and are the basis of outdoor community living. It is essential, therefore, that they be paved and constantly maintained by the community.

Bustees in the Indian cities have always had consistently poor street lighting systems. Because of the outdoor community living characteristic of bustee life it is important to provide an adequate street lighting system for the safety and convenience of the residents. It is proposed that the city provide street lighting at regular intervals and
at all important lane intersections within the bustee.

Various other physical improvements to the bustee environment can be carried out by the residents on a self-assisting basis, these include the provision of dust bins, the making and installation of name plates for houses and street numbers to give the residents a sense of identity, clearing space for recreational activities, construction of reading rooms, and the erection of bulletin boards. Some of these programs will be discussed later.

It is essential that improvements be made in the environmental sanitation practices of the community. It is a complex and difficult task to change the old sanitation practices of the people who have been accustomed to living in poor and unsanitary conditions. They have learned to accept these conditions and for them it is now a way of life. It is hoped that community participation in the various programs directed at the improvement of the bustee environment will serve to encourage the general standards of cleanliness of the community. The city must compliment this by providing a regular and efficient garbage collection service. Residents should be encouraged to organize voluntary clean-up campaigns to remove accumulated refuse and debris. Environmental sanitation practices can also be changed when an attitude of censure can be developed against the transgressors within the community.

It is proposed that bustee dwellers be encouraged to participate in and carry out community programs in the field of education which would include adult literacy classes, schools for young children, libraries, reading rooms, birth control programs and organized discussion groups dealing with the problems of the community and its relationship with the
local government and other communities. Some of these programs are discussed below:

Illiteracy is a widespread phenomenon in the bustees and is particularly high among the women. It is proposed that voluntary groups be organized within the community to encourage more adults to learn how to read and write. Part-time teachers can be engaged with the local government paying for this service along with all the other expenses like pencils, books, notebooks, and blackboards. Classes can be organized in lanes and courtyards within the community so as to encourage maximum adult participation.

Because of the overcrowded conditions in the bustees it has not always been possible for local city authorities to provide adequate pre-school and primary school facilities for the children of the bustee dwellers. Even when facilities are available, the education of bustee children has presented difficulties as parents see little advantage in seeing their children, particularly the girls, going to schools. They question the value of educating their children when they would rather have them work and gain some financial assistance for the family.

In the absence of adequate schools, it is proposed that the local authorities provide the material resources for setting up the schools in these communities. The city should recruit the teachers from the community and also provide the initial expenses for setting up the schools. The residents should be encouraged to build the facilities through community participation. These schools can furnish the necessary training in literacy and elementary subject matter and afford the children an alternative to replace their idleness.
Since few bustee dwellers are able to read, the local authorities have not felt the need to provide library facilities for them. The few that can read cannot afford the luxury of purchasing books or even the daily newspaper and the few children that do go to school are not provided with any facilities where they may read or study. It is proposed that several reading rooms can be provided either by building simple shelters on vacant spaces or the city could rent a vacant building from the community for this purpose. The city should also provide the necessary furniture while the residents can subscribe for newspapers and magazines. Mobile libraries can be set up by the city and regularly service these communities. The reading rooms should be equipped with radios and television provided for by the local government. Residents can also be encouraged to participate in discussion groups on appropriate subjects depending on community interests.

Recreational and cultural facilities in the city are, for the most part, located away from areas where bustee dwellers reside. These facilities are, therefore, used by only a small percentage of the city's population most of whom are in the higher income group and who live near these facilities. Parks, playgrounds and community centers need to be provided by the local authorities and community organized recreational and cultural programs need to be encouraged. Community organized recreational and cultural activities represent means of developing, sustaining and increasing the social organization of the people of the area. It is hope that such programs will also enable the people to get acquainted with each other through common participation and help bridge the differences among them based on religion, region and caste. Indigenous singing
groups can be encouraged to perform for the community and cultural programs of music, dance and drama can also be arranged. Most bustees are inhabited by heterogenous groups from different regions and each group has its own unique cultural background. Cultural programs involving these diverse groups can afford opportunities for "cultural transfer" between them and also enhance the social life of the community at large.

A salient feature of this concept is that wherever bustees are situated on private land the landowners' interest should be purchased by a combination of bonds and cash, so that the land will become an urban land bank for the future development of the city. As clearance of the bustees becomes financially possible or when important new uses must be sited within the city, land will be available, and the profits from the reuse of the land will accrue to the community.

It is not proposed to disturb the rights of the bustee tenants who will then pay ground rents to the government. The basis of any compensation to the landowners will depend obviously on various factors. It is proposed that the compensation be set at a certain percentage of the annual rent received by the landlords. It is expected that they will not object since this capital will fetch them a far better return than what they are receiving at the present.

IV URBAN VILLAGE: A SHELTER PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE MIGRANTS.

In the face of increased rural to urban migration, if uncontrolled slum formation is to be prevented in the future, it will be necessary to devise a program to provide adequate cheap shelter for the migrants. Such a program cannot look to large government subsidies to meet its
requirements but must rely on the people themselves to pay for their own shelter. This means that housing of the type now being built by the migrants must form the essential ingredient in any mass housing program. The funds available from the government should be allocated to providing an urban environment where the migrants can be allowed to put up their traditional dwelling and thereby be gradually introduced to an urban way of life. Such a program calls for the acquisition of large land areas to provide project sites and the installation of the essential services and community facilities necessary for a decent and healthy life.

It is proposed that this low-cost shelter program be a logical extension of the Bustee Improvement Programs that have already been discussed for the existing slum areas. The same kinds of services and facilities will be provided at the same standards. In addition, there would be an over-all development plan for each area which would lay out the communities in relation to the proposed Master Plan of the city. These areas would then be equivalent to the improved bustees with perhaps better community facilities and far superior to the slum accommodations which are presently the only alternative for the migrants.

The ultimate Indian megalopolis is conceived as possessing thousands of relatively autonomous communities representing scores of sub-cultures which are, nevertheless, only way stations on the road to a cosmopolitan urban culture. Therefore, the "urban village" is seen as a locale for education, a place where the tasks of subsistence are met; and attention is continually drawn to the world of technology and new social roles that exist outside the community itself.

The concept of community participation and self-assistance or the
"learning by doing" process, for developing a new community is the most reasonable technique in a very poor country. India will not have the capital required for a formula that would provide housing for the immigrants when and where it is needed. These migrants from rural areas must create their own facilities, and build up their own skills in reshaping their physical environment. The role of "planning" in this framework is not far different from that of a teacher who recognizes that his students are learning more from each other than from formal presentations. The special skill of the planner is in presenting development tasks to the community in an order and scale that would not be too overwhelming. When the task is too great to be handled by self-organization employing local contributions of capital and labor, a planning and development agency must be ready to intervene and find some means of assistance.

The Process of Acquiring Land

Land is almost never available to a new immigrant community in sufficient quantity and contiguity. In present practice, the respective families fit into the city as best they can and later attempt to form a religious center or a club as a focus of their sub-culture. Therefore, planners must have a land acquisition policy that would encourage the assembly of land in blocks large enough to accommodate a community. The difficulty with legal procedures is that they proceed much too slowly to allow a metropolis to double its area in the course of a decade and keep on redoubling it in subsequent decades. Planners are coming to recognize that these difficulties can be overcome by the profit motive, but the process must be institutionalized so that the outcomes are socially useful as well as individually profitable. No such institution has been
encountered in the documentation on India, but some variants on what has been done elsewhere in the world (particularly Israel and Japan) appear to be feasible.

Once the boundaries of a proposed urban village on the fringes of the city have been surveyed a "land trust" corporation should be automatically declared. Each present owner will get a share of the stock proportional to the amount of developable land he contributes. The land trust will install the aqueduct, storm sewers, and street alignments using local labor at going rates, thus many farmers gain extra income as workers. When the land is occupied the trust pays the original agriculturists at a value halfway between agricultural land and urban land less the development costs. The land trust then reassigns the land to immigrant families in convenient lot sizes on long term leases. The lot size and the length of the lease will depend on the size of the family and the recommendations of the "panchayat" or the new community government. Both government and the leasors become the new stockholders. As the land is further developed with gutters, sewers, paving, water supply, electricity, and street lighting installed, the increased value of the land accrues to the community. As long as the land trust owes money to the State, the State will have a director on hand to review the procedures. If the land is later converted to metropolitan core, again the profits can be distributed, this time among the old leasors and the new community members. Since the very first urban villages to be formed are most likely to benefit from further transformation a generation or so later, much less risk is entailed in the acquisition of experience that would enable the land trusts to fill the desired function. The important feature about this procedure is that
leases and contracts can have terms set so that urban development is not held back, and windfall profits are averaged out so that large numbers of people can make modest gains.

**Developing the Urban Village**

The basic assumption of the concept for an urban village is that these areas will provide temporary accommodation. It has often been said that there is nothing so permanent as temporary housing. The difficulty of moving people—particularly low-income people—from their homes is well known. However, the concept of "temporary" as used in this program is somewhat different in that it assumes occupancy of up to 15-20 years. All houses will be built on a self-assisting basis employing traditional materials and techniques. The government will provide the financing for the materials and the financial arrangements will be such that the units are completely amortized at the end of the time period when it is proposed to replace these structures either for new housing projects or for some other use as determined by the Master Plan. This program is based on the assumption of an on-going development program building upwards of 40,000 units per year. This will insure a constant supply of relocation housing always within a short distance of the existing housing, which might be eliminated for other higher economic uses.

Basic to the concept, and underlying the need for housing of this type to be temporary, is the assumption of the continuous growth of the city. The sites selected for temporary housing areas will be on lands at the fringes of the city, which in 15-20 years will be required for permanent construction of industry or other types of housing. The necessary roads and utilities can be installed in advance, as already discussed and
then converted to permanent uses later on. The residents of the urban village can then be relocated to a similar facility a short distance away. The city can thus expand in a logical and economical pattern - the urban land required for permanent construction coming into the market in a systematic and organized process in the locations required by the over-all development plan.

If temporary occupancy of land on the urban fringe by low-cost housing, followed by the use of the land for permanent urban construction, can be made to work, many problems of the city related to the growth dynamics can be solved. At the moment, the fringe of the city is rapidly proliferating into a new ring of slums that threaten to choke the city's future growth. In the absence of enforceable police powers and in the face of the overwhelming need for shelter space, the city stands powerless to control this growth. Low-income housing projects can only be successful in areas where land costs are low enough to permit such projects. By introducing the idea of temporary use of urban fringe land both problems are solved. The development, which is going on regardless, becomes controlled and the location is close enough to be attractive.

Another advantage of the concept of low-cost temporary housing is the opportunity of building at higher standards later on. The great shortage of funds and the pressures of the problem have combined to produce so-called minimum standards for permanent housing that are so low that they may well produce future slums. Housing of the type which is built today with a life expectancy of at least sixty years, sets the form of the future city in brick and concrete. It is not unreasonable to expect that the Indian city of the twenty-first century can be a vastly better place
to live: birth control can become effective, alternative places of rural-urban migration developed; the national economy greatly strengthened; and new construction technology become available. To postpone as much as possible the commitment of large areas of urban space to forms of development that may prove totally unsatisfactory in the future seems logical and appropriate at this stage in India's development.

The land acquired under such a program would form an urban land bank of great value in assisting the eventual renewal of the city in the years ahead. The best that can be done today may be unacceptable in the future, but if temporary housing communities are built and the land brought under public control, the renewability of the city is assured, and eventual permanent construction can be in tune with the conditions of the future.

The obvious difficulty with this approach to temporary housing and the organized expansion of the city is the demonstrated reluctance of the government to take the necessary actions required to relocate families. This problem, in the end, must be faced if progress of any sort is to be made. Development progress throughout history has never been painless. The less resources available the more painful the transition of development has been for the people. There is no substitute for the rigorous pursuit of the development program. No plan, no matter how promising, will ever implement itself. The final test of progress will be whether or not the difficult decisions are made that will permit an aggressive management of the program.
V SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

There is a substantial body of literature that has been developed over the years on the general subject of "Who are the slum dwellers?" Yet, the results of these studies have not been successfully translated into the design of the housing projects. The present slum clearance programs have been criticized in this report for their lack of adaptability of the real needs of the slum dwellers. The low-cost temporary urban settlement concept of the Urban Village offers an opportunity to correct some of these failings.

The types of shelter proposed here represents a general continuation of the traditional forms of housing to which the migrants are accustomed. The bustee hut with its confined physical space defines one level of social space in the slum area - it sets the pattern of neighboring. Even in cases where there are distinct religious differences, the proximity of living areas seems to stimulate integration. This close proximity is not possible in the design of four-story walk-up structures built by the government to replace slum housing.

The one-story structure is also generally preferred by the bustee residents. It represents the traditional and familiar form of housing and has the practical advantage of immediate access to the open areas where so much of the bustee dwellers' time is spent in both work and leisure. The fact that the structures proposed for the Urban Village will be traditional and, therefore, provide a very flexible arrangement for interior space, is another substantial advantage over the permanent housing projects. Bustee dwellers, because of their low incomes and marginal standards of living, need to make the maximum use of their living space.
Permanent apartments allow no adjustment to the very wide range of family sizes and incomes of the slum dwellers. The proposed temporary shelters, however, would have complete flexibility, they would permit the development of workshops, home industries, schools, and sanitary animal shelters within the project areas. They will permit a family to acquire as much space as their income can permit. This flexibility is possible because of the nature of the traditional structures to be provided and the basic fact that the management of the area will be in the hands of the community "panchayat" thereby minimizing the number of rules and regulations that accompany government projects.

The process whereby a particular Urban Village becomes developed and occupied requires careful planning. At present, the new migrant to the city comes alone and leaves his family in the village until he is settled. He goes to friends, usually from the same village, in a particular bustee and stays with them. It is quite possible that these new migrants might not be immediately attracted to the Urban Village. The very long term bustee residents who have lived more than 20 years in a particular bustee may also be reluctant to move to a new location. It seems that in the beginning the people most likely to be attracted to the new areas are the more recent residents of the bustee - those that have been in the city from one-ten years and are somewhat settled but still have not established permanent attachments to the bustee where they are located.

In the beginning it might be necessary to attract people to the new areas by extensive publicity and by taking groups of potential families out to the sites to see the areas for themselves. An organized effort to do this will be necessary on the part of the government organization
responsible for the project. Once the social character of the particular settlement is established it will tend to be self-perpetuating, as new migrants will then come to stay with those residents already in the project area. Once again, the flexibility of the physical plan of the Urban Villages makes accommodations of these future residents much easier than would be the case with permanent structures.

This study was undertaken with the view to understanding the enormity of the problems of the urban slum and its inhabitants. Rural-urban migration is leading to the formation of new bustees every day and it is imperative that immediate action be undertaken to alleviate the living conditions in these communities. The concepts that have been proposed in this report may appear humble, but for the residents of the bustees lacking in every basic necessity these proposals can mean the difference between disease and healthy living. Indian decision makers must face the harsh economic realities and abandon Western concepts of providing sterile public housing projects that benefit only a fraction of the slum population; instead they must realize that the only hope is the provision of the environmental improvements for the many. Among the many professionals in the field the futility of past low-cost housing projects for the slum dwellers is well documented. In a country with limited resources, environmental improvement programs along with social, cultural and recreational opportunities offer the only reasonable alternative.
CHAPTER IV. THE URBAN SLUM: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE


5. Philip M. Hauser, Urbanisation in Asia and the Far East, 1957, p. 60.


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