

**URBANIZATION, MIGRATION AND HOUSING:
A CASE STUDY FOR INDIA**

by

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**We accept this thesis as conforming
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ABSTRACT

India is currently experiencing a rapid increase in population growth and in the urbanization process leading to industrialization. This is resulting in an overcrowding of urban areas with attendant problems of illiteracy, unemployment, inadequate community facilities and services and deplorable housing conditions. The present unsatisfactory urban housing situation is due to: the comparatively small investment in housing by private enterprise; the failure of the public housing programs to cope with the complex problems of housing; the national policy of giving priority to the investment in capital assets; and the inadequacies of urban-regional planning and administration. India is facing the critical problem of housing those rural immigrants in the urban areas who can not even afford to pay an economic rent, who do not want to spend money on housing, and who are not easily assimilated into the urban environment. The hypothesis of the study is that rural immigrants to urban areas in India have specific economic, physical and cultural needs which must be considered to help India solve its urban housing problem.

The study was undertaken because it is felt that housing rural immigrants to urban areas is one of the

most critical problems facing India, and that there is need for an approach which will achieve a balanced social and economic development program.

Consideration is given to the various concepts involved and terms such as 'Housing', 'rural immigrant', 'economic absorption', 'cultural integration' and 'adjustment' are defined. Urban problems associated with the housing problem are reviewed, and the economic, socio-cultural, psychological and physical problems of the rural immigrant in the urban areas, are analyzed. India's past and present policies regarding housing, urban land, and socio-economic goals are also reviewed.

It is observed that the housing problem is only a "symptom" of a complex of inter-related urban problems which, if resolved, would contribute to the solution of the housing problem. The rural immigrant requires adequate economic absorption, socio-psychological adjustment, and adequate shelter and community facilities in the urban environment.

To meet the needs of the rural immigrants it is recommended that adult programs in education, work-cum-orientation, paid apprenticeships and technical and vocational training be expanded. It is recommended: that small scale units of production and other labour intensive projects be utilized together with large scale

units of production that family migration and community life be encouraged; and that community services and facilities be considerably expanded in scope and volume. It is further recommended that these facilities and services be provided as emergency measures in existing slums in order to motivate immigrants towards self-improvement. It is considered that the Government should take measures to encourage the provision of more housing by private sources and non-profit organizations using self-help and mutual-help methods. It is recommended that the Government should adopt the principle of neighbourhood planning within an Urban-Regional physical planning program administered through a proposed Ministry of Urban-Regional Planning and Development at the National and Provincial levels.

It is concluded that the approach to the problem of housing rural immigrants in the urban areas can not be a departmentalized one; rather a simultaneous attack on all inter-related urban problems, using a comprehensive approach is imperative. Only thus can India hope to solve its problem of housing rural immigrants in the urban areas.

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CHAPTER I

NATIONAL PLANNING AND HOUSING

SITUATION IN INDIA

A DEFINITION OF 'HOUSING' WITH RESPECT TO INDIA'S HOUSING PROBLEMS

A committee of experts on the public health aspect of housing convened by the World Health Organization in 1961 defined "shelter" as "an enclosed environment (in which man finds) protection against the elements," (is) "safe and secure from hostile forces and can function with greater vigour, more efficiency, with increased comfort and satisfaction, and in which he can safeguard his possessions, and be assured of privacy for himself and his family".¹ The Committee referred to "housing" in its present day concept in terms of the "residential environment", "neighbourhood", "micro district", and the "physical structure that mankind uses for shelter and the environs of that structure including all necessary

¹World Health Organisation, Expert Committee on the Public Health Aspects of Housing (First Report, Technical Report Series No. 225, Geneva: WHO, 1961), p. 6.

services, facilities equipment and devices needed or desired for the physical and mental health and the social wellbeing of the family and individual".²

The International Labour Conference at its forty-fifth session at Geneva in 1961 adopted a Recommendation on Workers' Housing which establishes that the objective of national policy is "to promote, within the framework of general housing policy, the construction of housing and related community facilities with a view to ensuring that adequate and decent housing accommodations and a suitable living environment are made available to all workers and their families."³

The Conference recommended that Workers' housing should in so far as practicable and taking into account available public and private transport facilities, be within easy reach of places of employment, and in close proximity to community facilities, such as schools, shopping centres, , and should be so sited as to form attractive and well-laid-out neighbourhoods, including open spaces."⁴

²Ibid., p.7.

³International Labour Organization, Record of Proceedings: International Labour Conference, Forty-fifth Session, 1961 (Recommendation No. 115, Geneva: International Labour Office, 1962), paras 2 and 41.

⁴International Labour Organization, op. cit., para 45.

On the basis of the definition of "housing" as provided by the committee of experts on the public health aspect of housing convened by the World Health Organization and the recommendation of the International Labour Conference, as stated above, it seems logical to conclude that:

- 1) The meaning of Housing is not necessarily restricted to "shelter" or to the "physical structure that the mankind uses for shelter" or to the "housing accommodation", including all "household facilities".
- 2) By Housing is meant at least both the "physical structure" that mankind uses for shelter together with the environs of that structure.
- 3) The environs of the structure includes all necessary services, facilities, equipment and devices needed or desired for the physical and mental health and the social wellbeing of the family and the individual.

It is through these various facilities, services and utilities, that the individual and his family is linked to the community, and the community to the region in which it progresses and develops. Housing thus constitutes the "physical environment" in which the family, the society's basic unit, must develop. For the satisfactory development of the family an environment including more than simply the "physical environment" based on social and economic needs, is required.

The very relationship between the "shelter" and its "environment", involves relationships of far reaching social consequences between: (a) numbers of population, (b) density of settlement, (c) heterogeneity or homogeneity of inhabitants and group life, and (d) the needs of individuals and those of the community, depending upon people's behaviour, welfare and attitudes under different environmental conditions. The physical life of a dwelling and the physical environment of a community have a great many social ramifications. Further, the physical and mental health of the family and of the individual are both directly and indirectly related to the space standards and dwelling types necessary to satisfy various family requirements. In addition, the community facilities; aesthetics of housing design; exterior space in a housing development influencing light, air, play space, "amenity", and privacy also contribute towards the same.

The study of "Housing" also involves the problem of determining an economic rationale for one of the most difficult decisions facing low per capita income countries, including India, in their development programs and policies: the relative allocation of resources to investment in housing (including community facilities). The peculiar difficulty in allocation of resources to housing arises from a number of factors including the dual position of housing

as both a capital and a consumption good. Traditionally, the construction of housing and community facilities has been considered a necessary but "unproductive" adjunct of industrialization and urbanisation. A housing policy designed to optimize a country's general economic growth is a departure from past policies and practices and from traditional views. Thus housing becomes an instrument of economic growth policies or a tool for securing broader national goals.

In summary then, by "Housing", for the purposes of this paper, thus is meant a "balanced social-physical environment" in which the family, the society's basic unit, must develop. From the family's perspective, however, housing is not "shelter" or "household facilities" alone, but comprises a number of facilities, utilities, services (physical and social) which affect the environment of the shelter and which link the individual and his family to the community and the community to the region in which it grows and progresses. Also, Housing has been considered as a productive capital investment and also a consumption good of far reaching social and economic consequences for the community. Henceforth, this meaning shall be used with respect to India's housing problems.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

The Republic of India, also known as Bharat, is well segregated from the rest of Asia by mountains and the sea, which gives the country geographical unity. Bounded by the Himalayas in the north, the country stretches southwards and, at the Tropic of Cancer, tapers off into the Indian Ocean between the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. Lying entirely in the northern hemisphere, the mainland extends between latitudes $8^{\circ}4'28''$ and $37^{\circ}17'53''$ north and longitudes $68^{\circ}7'33''$ and $97^{\circ}24'7''$ east, measuring about 2,000 miles from north to south and about 1,850 miles from east to west and covers an area of 1,261,411 square miles. It has a land frontier 9,425 miles long and a coastline of 3,535 miles.⁵

According to the 1961 census, India's population was approximately 439 million, comprising 226 million males and 212 million females.⁶ This vast population is distributed over 15 States (also known as Provinces) and 8 Union Territories (See map, page 7). The climate varies considerably from the extreme cold of the Himalayan region,

⁵Government of India, India - A Reference Annual (New Delhi: Publication Division, 1962). p.1.

⁶Census of India 1961 (Final population Totals, Paper No. 1 of 1962, New Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1962), p.v.

POLITICAL MAP OF INDIA

(Sikkim and Bhutan States are attached
to India by special treaties)

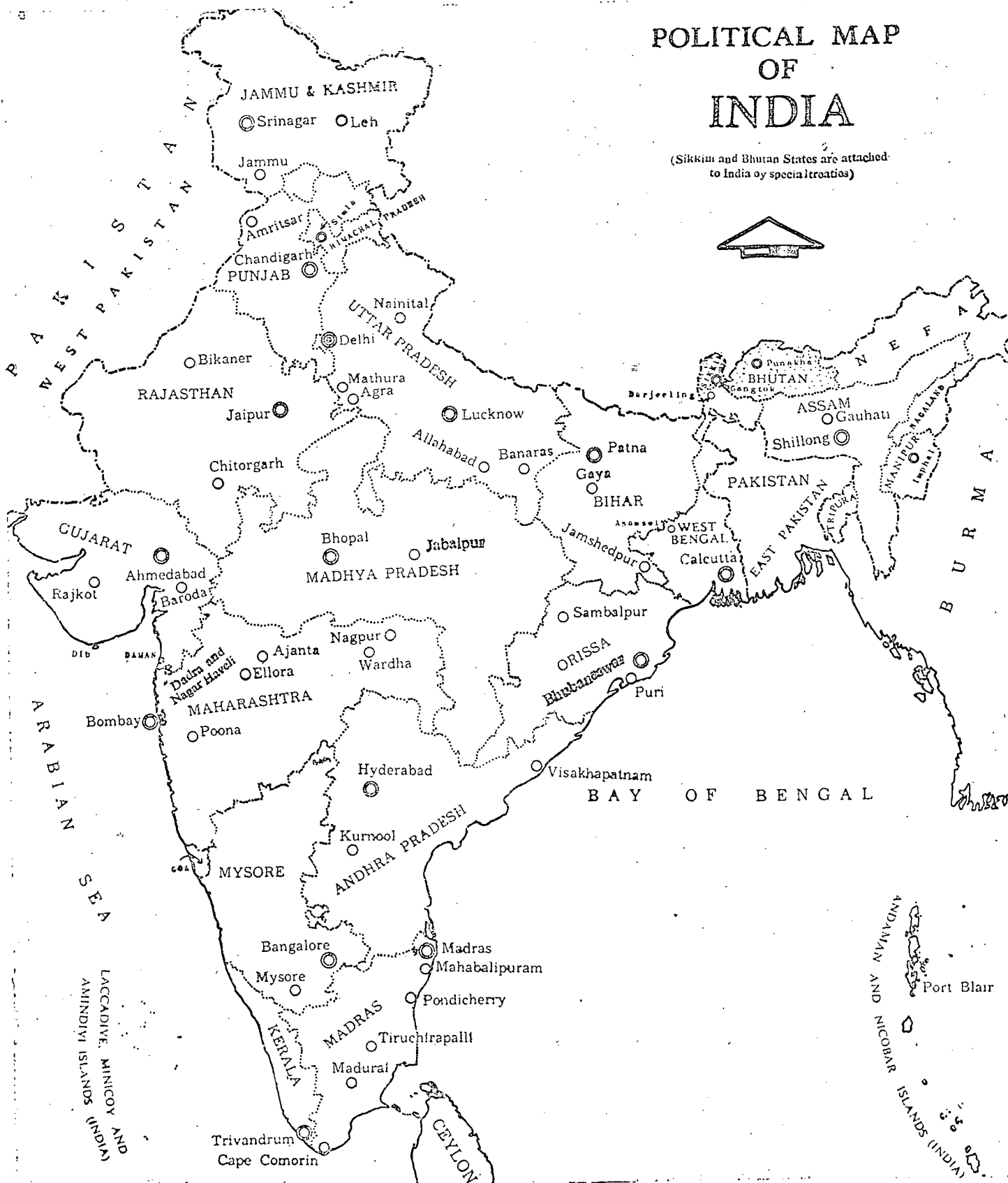


FIGURE I

POLITICAL MAP OF INDIA

(SOURCE: INDIA - A REFERENCE ANNUAL 1962)

to the scorching heat of the plains in the summer, and from a rainfall of 500 inches in the Assam hills, to the dry arid climate of the Jaisalmer in Rajasthan where not even four inches of rain is recorded during the year.

The sex ratio varies considerably in the various parts of India. The number of females per 1,000 males was recorded as low as 616 in Andaman and Nicobars Islands and as high as 1,022 in Kerala. On an average the number of females per thousand males in 1961 was 940. The density of population also varies throughout India. In the Census of 1961, the lowest density (20 persons per square mile) was recorded in Andaman Nicobar Islands whereas the highest (4,614 persons per square mile) was recorded in Delhi. According to western standards Indians have a very low life expectancy. It was estimated in 1961 that the expectation of life at birth for male and female is 41.68 and 42.06 years respectively. The latest (1961) census also shows that the boys and girls in the age group of 5 to 14 years dominate the age structure of Indian population being 24.8 percent of total population. This age group is followed by the young men and women in the age group of 15 to 24 years and 25 to 34 years amounting to 17.4 and 15.6 percentage of the total population. The elderly persons in the age group of 55 and up are only 8.3 percentage of total population.

India is a secular state. Hindus comprise 84.99 percent of the total population with the balance consisting of Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Jain, Buddhist, Zoroastrians, etc. Article 343 of the Constitution provides that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in the Devnagari script and the form of numerals for official purposes shall be the international form of Indian numerals. English will, however, continue to be the official language for a period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution in 1950.⁷

PLANNING IN BRITISH INDIA

The concept and scope of planning has changed considerably in India since she became independent in 1947. Since then, planning has become an executive function of government at all levels. Prior to 1947, the country was divided into British Provinces and Princely States. The states were many; and their administration was carried on by independent rulers. The government of India was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, currency, and foreign relations for these states. The

⁷ The Government have recently decided that after 1965, when Hindi becomes the principal official language of the Union, English will continue as the subsidiary official language for as long as may be necessary.

provinces functioned independently and separately. The Governor of the provinces was responsible to the Viceroy, the representative of the Crown. Each of these political units carried on development schemes without any relation to the other units. The Public Works Department played a major role in all the development. The coordination between the various provinces and the states was inadequate and the disputes were many. The disparity and imbalance of regional development was an inevitable result of the complex administrative and political structure. Most of the development schemes carried on by the central government were based on the needs of the then government. The idea of 'planning for the nation' was beyond the imagination of the administrators due to various administrative and political difficulties and apathy on the part of the rulers. Thus it was but natural that the then government of India followed a policy of laissez faire which continued until 1947.

Before India achieved her independence the public efforts in the field of Housing were limited to the preventive measure against slum conditions and promotion of public health regulations, and were entirely a provincial and state matter. Subsidised housing schemes were unknown and loans for housing schemes were few except in the cantonment (military settlements) areas of a few

cities, which were usually occupied by the non-Indian population.

Land tenure varied from state to state and province to province. Absentee land-lordism was prevalent in all the provinces and the states. Within the provinces and the states the 'Zamindari' system existed. By this system, groups of villages and towns were owned by a single 'Zamindar' who would pay the taxes to the government and collect his own taxes from all the tenants. In most of the smaller states, all the land was owned by the rulers. Only a very small percentage of tenants owned their lands either in the provinces or the states. The inheritance rights varied in general from patriarchy to the extreme matriarchy in the state of Travancore-Cochin. In the Province of Assam and the State of Travancore-Cochin there was control over subdivision of gardens and estates while in other provinces and states there was no control either with respect to the size or to the type of land holdings.

MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL PLANNING IN INDIA

While laissez faire offers "individual responsibility, individual initiative, flexibility and quickness of decision, planning extends systematic coordination, rational application of scientific and technical achievements, a balance between supply and demand guaranteeing a decent standard of living."⁸ In his pioneering work, 'Planned Economy for India' (1934), M. Visvesvaraya advocated the necessity for planning and also drew up a ten-year programme of planned economic development for the whole of India. In 1938, a National Planning Committee was set up by the Indian National Congress to inquire into the possibilities of planned economic development in India and to suggest practicable schemes for this purpose. The Committee issued a questionnaire and, at the end of World War II, produced a series of studies on the subject edited by Prof. K.T. Shah. In June 1941, a number of Reconstruction Committees were set up by the Government of India to deal with various aspects of post-war reconstruction, and a Department of Planning and Development was created in July 1944. The Central Government's various departments made separate plans, prominent among

⁸E.A. Gutkind, Creative Demobilisation - Principles of National Planning (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1943), p. 16.

these were Dr. Howard's Post War Forest Policy, B.P. Adarkar's Post War Development of Indian Fisheries, Dr. Gregory's Post War Trade Policy and Localisation of Industries etc. The Provincial Governments were also instructed in the same year to prepare their plans for post-war development. The results were few and isolated ones such as Rs. 600 crores (6 billion) plan for development of Bombay's countryside.

Among the non-official plans formulated during World War II were: (i) the Bombay Plan, drafted by a group of economists and industrialists, mostly from Bombay; (ii) the People's Plan, drafted by M.N. Roy on behalf of the Post-War Reconstruction Committee of the Indian Federation of Labour; and (iii) the Gandhian Plan drafted by S.N. Agarwal.

The Bombay Plan advocated intense industrialization of India and aimed at doubling the per capita income in 15 years after making allowances for an increase in the population at the rate of 5 million per annum. It was proposed that the Plan be implemented by a supreme economic council working alongside with a 'National Planning Committee' with the sanction and under the aegis of the Government of India.⁹ The People's plan emphasized

⁹ Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Others, Bombay Plan for India's Economic Development (New York: International Secretariat of Pacific Relations, 1944), pp. 9-14.

a scheme of labour welfare and the standardisation of the working conditions. The plan envisaged satisfaction of basic needs, clothing, food, and shelter, within ten years.¹⁰ Mahatma Gandhi (Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi), who is known as 'The Father of the Nation' in India, always advocated the preservation of the social life and cottage industries of the rural areas. In 1945, 'The Gandhian Plan',¹¹ brought into bold relief a code of Gandhian economics as applicable to India.

All these plans remained without any relation to the work done by the Government of India as they were all unofficial. After independence, the National Planning Commission was set up by the Government of India in March 1950 to prepare a Plan for the most effective and balanced utilization of the country's resources. In July 1950, the Commission was called upon to prepare a six-year plan for the economic development of the country, which was later incorporated in the Colombo

¹⁰ M.N. Roy, People's Plan (Bombay: Indian Federation of Labour, 1944), pp. 1-16.

¹¹ S.N. Agarwal, The Gandhian Plan (Bombay: Indian National Congress, 1945).

Plan. In July 1951, the Planning Commission issued a draft outline of the First Five Year Plan covering the period April 1951 to March 1956. In December 1952, the final version of India's First Five Year Plan was submitted to and adopted by the Parliament. Since then India has completed two Five Year Plans and at present the Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966) is operating in India.

The central objective of public policy and of national endeavour in India since Independence has been the promotion of rapid and balanced economic development. National public policy also states that the planning must accelerate the institutional changes needed to make the economy more dynamic and more progressive in terms of social as well as of economic goals. Development has been considered as a continuous process, touching all aspects of community life which must be viewed comprehensively. Economic planning thus extends itself into extra-economic spheres such as educational, social and cultural areas. One of the main objectives of planning since Independence has been to initiate a process of development for raising living standards and to open out to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life.¹²

¹²India - A Reference Annual, op.cit., p. 175

The First Five Year Plan (1951-52 to 1955-56), through its emphasis on agriculture, irrigation, power and transport, aimed at creating the base for more rapid economic and industrial advance in the future. It also initiated some of the basic policies by way of social change and institutional reforms, which were further developed during the Second Plan. The Second Plan (1956-57 to 1960-61) not only carried these policies a step further, but laid emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries.¹³

The immediate aim of the Third Plan (1960-61 to 1963-66) is: (i) to secure an increase in national income of over 5 per cent per annum, and at the same time to ensure a pattern of investment so as to sustain this rate of growth during subsequent Plan periods; (ii) to achieve self-sufficiency in food supply and increase agricultural production to meet the requirements of industry and exports; (iii) to expand basic industries such as steel, chemicals, fuel, power and to establish a machine building capacity, so that the requirements of further industrialization can be met within a period of ten years or so mainly from the country's own resources; (iv) to utilise to the fullest possible extent

¹³Ibid., p. 176.

the manpower resources of the country and to ensure a substantial expansion in employment opportunities;

(v) to establish progressively greater equality of opportunity and to bring about reduction in disparities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.¹⁴

INDIA'S CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

The independence of India in 1947 was followed by the administrative integration of the former princely states. By January 26th, 1950, all the former princely states had either been integrated in a separate bigger state or merged with the provinces resulting in a smaller number of the component units of the Union. This event was followed by the abolition of Zamindari and the merger of Zamindari areas with the provinces. The integration of states, thus, opened the eyes of the legislators to the necessity of administrative unity and cooperation for successful planning. Section 3, of the Constitution of India empowers Parliament to alter and adjust the state boundaries after ascertaining the views of the State Legislatures. The objective of this Section

¹⁴Government of India - Planning Commission, Third Five Year Plan (New Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1961) p. 48.

was essentially to permit adjustment of the administrative boundaries of the states to further the goals of economic development and planning.

India has a federal type of government based on parliamentary democracy. The Union Executive consists of the President, Vice-President and the Council of Ministers (also known as Cabinet) with the Prime Minister at its head. The Legislature of the Union, which is called "Parliament", consists of the President and the two Houses known as the Council of States (Rajya Sabha or Upper House) and the House of the People (Lok Sabha or Lower House). The Union Judiciary is known as the Supreme Court of India and consists of a Chief Justice and other Judges appointed by the President. The system of Government in the states as embodied in Part VI of the Constitution, closely resembles that of the Union. The State Executive consists of the Governor and a Council of Ministers (Provincial Cabinet) with a Chief Minister at its head. For every state there is a Legislature which consists of the Governor and the two Houses (except in a few provinces which have only one House - the Legislative Assembly i.e., Lower House). There is a High Court in each State which stands at the head of the State's judicial administration. Every Union territory is administered by the President acting, to such

extent as he thinks fit, through an administrator.

The head of the Indian Union is the President. All executive authority of the Union, including the supreme command of the Defence Forces, formally vests in the President and all executive actions of the Government are taken in his name. In the exercise of his functions, the President is aided and advised by a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at its head. The Council of Ministers, as at present constituted, comprises (i) Ministers who are members of the Cabinet, (ii) Ministers of State who are not members of the Cabinet but hold Cabinet rank and (iii) Deputy Ministers. The Cabinet finally determines and lays down the policy of the Government. In order to regulate the allocation of Government business and its convenient transaction, Rules of Business have been framed under Article 77(3) of the Constitution. The allocation is made by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister by specifying the items of business allotted to each Minister and by assigning a Ministry or a part of a Ministry or more than one Ministry to the charge of a Minister. The Minister is sometimes assisted by a Deputy Minister, who performs such functions as may be assigned to him. A Secretary to Government is the administrative Head of a Ministry and the principal advisor of the Minister.

The Governor is the head in each State. All executive actions of the State are taken in his name. In the exercise of his functions, the Governor is aided and advised by a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head. The Council works on the principle of collective ministerial responsibility and is accountable to the Legislative Assembly of the State. The principal unit of administration in a State is the district under a Collector and District Magistrate. As Collector, he is responsible to the Commissioner who heads a Division or to the Board of Revenue (depending upon the practice obtaining in a particular State), and through that agency to the Government. Co-ordination for purposes of development programmes at State Headquarters is achieved through an inter-departmental Committee of Secretaries in charge of various development departments with the Chief Secretary or the Secretary in charge of planning as the chairman. Generally, the functions of co-ordination for planning and for the implementation of programmes in the districts are combined in a single officer commonly described as the Development Commissioner. As a rule, a Committee of the State Cabinet under the Chief Minister provides overall guidance and direction. State Planning Boards which include leading non-officials have also been constituted in most of the States. Local self-governing

institutions are broadly classified into two categories - urban and rural. In the big cities they are known as Corporations, and in medium and small towns as Municipal Committees or Boards. The pattern of local government in rural areas has recently been changed and a three-tier structure, popularly known as 'Panchayati Raj', is being introduced in the various States.

Part IV of the Constitution lays down the Directive Principles of State Policy. These "Directives", though not enforceable through courts of law, are regarded as fundamental in the governance of the country. These lay down that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life. These Directives further require the State to direct its policy in such a manner as to secure the right of all men and women to an adequate means of livelihood, equal pay for equal work, and, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, to make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in the event of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement. The State is also required to secure for workers humane conditions of work, a decent standard of life, and to provide the

opportunities for the full enjoyment of their leisure time for their greater social and cultural development.¹⁵

In the economic sphere, the State is to direct its policy in a manner as to secure the distribution of ownership and control of the material resources of the community to subserve the common good and to ensure that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to common detriment. The State is also enjoined to guard against the abuse of workers' health and strength and to protect childhood and youth from being forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength, against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.¹⁶

INDIA'S NATIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION

It was imperative for Parliament to work towards solving India's socio-economic problems in line with the "Directives" of the Constitution. To translate the directives into programmes of planned action, a Statutory Planning Commission was set up by the Government of India.

¹⁵India - A Reference Annual, op. cit., p. 34

¹⁶India - A Reference Annual, loc. cit.

The principal duties of the National Planning Commission are:

1. To make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country, including technical personnel, and to investigate the possibilities of augmenting such of these resources as are found to be deficient in relation to the nation's requirements.
2. To formulate a plan for the most effective and balanced utilization of the country's resources.
3. To define the stages in which the plan should be carried out, and to propose the allocation of resources for the due completion of each stage on a determination of priorities.
4. To indicate the factors which are tending to retard economic development, and to determine the conditions which, in view of the current social and political situation, should be established for the successful execution of the plan.
5. To determine the nature of the machinery which would be necessary for securing the successful implementation of each stage of the plan in all its aspects.
6. To appraise from time to time the progress achieved in the execution of each stage of the plan and to recommend the adjustments of policy and measures that such appraisal might show to be necessary.
7. To make such interim or ancillary recommendations as might be appropriate on a consideration of the prevailing economic conditions, current policies, measures, and development programmes, or on an examination of such specific problems as may be referred to it for advice by central or state government, or for facilitating the discharge of the duties assigned to it.¹⁷

¹⁷D.R. Gadgil, Planning and Economic Policy in India (Poona: Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1962), p.90.

The National Planning Commission was to prepare a Plan for the development of India and to advise the Cabinet in the implementation of such a Plan. As a safeguard against the National Planning Commission becoming a super-cabinet, it was to serve in an advisory capacity to the Cabinet. All the members of the Commission are appointed while some of them are ex-officio. The ministers of Planning, Finance and Industries are ex-officio members. The other ministries nominate their own representatives to advise the Commission in its deliberations. At least a third of the members are nominated from among the members of the Parliament by the President. Also the President has powers to nominate anybody to the membership of the Commission. The Chairman is elected by the members from among themselves or outside. The vice-chairman who is the chief executive of the Commission, is nominated by the President under the advice of the Prime Minister. The Commission has a technical staff of its own functioning under the executive direction of the Vice-Chairman and derives its funds from the Ministry of Planning. It is responsible to the Cabinet and the appointed members hold office for a period of five years or until their services are terminated by the President of the Republic.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING POLICY AND PROGRAMS

The responsibility of Government and public bodies to provide adequate accommodation for their employees was recognised in India even before Independence. The Government of Bombay pioneered in this direction in 1921 by establishing a Development Department. The effort, which was discontinued after 15,000 tenements were built, was resumed in 1949 and a special Housing Board was set up for building houses for industrial workers and other low income groups, developing land and assisting in the production and distribution of building materials. Improvement Trusts in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Kanpur also undertook public housing schemes. Municipalities have also been engaged in building houses not only for their essential staff, but occasionally for low income groups in general. The Municipalities and Improvement Trusts, however, operate under severe limitations, particularly in the matter of finance.

The activities of the Central Government till 1950 were confined largely to providing houses for their employees, particularly in the essential services. The influx of displaced persons from Pakistan provided the Union Government an opportunity to undertake for the first time a large scale housing programme for persons other than

their own employees. A similar extension of State activity was made in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Punjab.

Since May 1952, when a separate portfolio was created in the Union Government, organized efforts are being made on a governmental basis to set up housing activities in general and in particular to provide suitable financial assistance for construction of houses for individuals, by housing cooperative societies, industrial employers, planters, local bodies, etc., through the introduction of various housing schemes. Corresponding to the Housing Wing in the Union Ministry of Works Housing and Supply, the State Governments have established separate departments (or Wings) for promoting housing activities. Statutory Housing Boards have been established in a few provinces, and a non-statutory Housing Board has been set up in one province.

HOUSING POLICY AND PROGRESS UNDER THE PLANS

The period of the First Five Year Plan was devoted to the formulation of policy regarding the initial stages in the evolution of a national housing program. Two Urban Housing Schemes - the Subsidized Industrial Housing Scheme and the Low Income Group Housing Scheme - envisaging an expenditure of Rs. 385 million were initiated for

the construction of .12 million dwelling units. This effort was supplemented by housing programmes for certain sections of the population such as displaced persons, government servants, etc., launched by the Central and State Governments and by local authorities. It has been estimated that the public authorities provided about .742 million houses during the First Plan period.

During the Second Five Year Plan period six more schemes were promulgated viz, the Plantation Labour Housing Scheme, the Slum Clearance Scheme, the Village Housing Projects Scheme, the Middle Income Group Housing Scheme, the Rental Housing Scheme for State Government Employees, and the Land Acquisition and Development Schemes. Government sources provided funds to the extent of Rs. 840 million during the Second Plan period for all these public housing schemes including the two schemes carried forward from the First Plan. Rs. 172 million from the Life Insurance Corporation were also channelized into housing (under the Middle Income Group Housing and Rental Housing Schemes). Substantial housing programmes of their own were also undertaken outside these schemes by the Union, State and Local Governments. The total outlay on public housing during the Second Plan was of the order of Rs. 2.5 billion and .5 million houses were constructed. In the private sector, an investment

of the order of Rs. 10 billion is estimated to have gone into housing and other private construction.

The Third Five Year Plan envisages a provision of Rs. 1.42 billion from the Government sources, for town planning and urban development programmes and the public housing schemes of the Union and State Governments. A further contribution of about Rs. .6 billion is expected to be made by the Life Insurance Corporation for Housing Programmes during the same period. In recognition of the inadequacy of the funds thus available the Plan also recommends the establishment of a Central Housing Board with suitable statutory powers to raise additional funds from private sources and to channel them into the field of housing.

The important housing schemes for the Third Plan period are:

1. Land Acquisition and Development
2. Housing of Industrial Workers
3. Housing of Dock Workers
4. Housing for Low Income Groups
5. Plantation Labour Housing
6. Middle Income Group Housing
7. Rental Housing for State Government Employees
8. Slum Clearance and Improvement

**URBAN PLANNING AND LAND POLICY AS ADOPTED
BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FOR THE THIRD
FIVE YEAR PLAN PERIOD**

The Third Five Year Plan of the Government of India recognizes Urbanization as an important aspect of the process of economic and social developments in India. The Plan also recognizes the close connection between Urbanization and many other social, economic and cultural problems, faced by India in recent time. The Plan states that out of all the aspects connected with Urbanization, in the long run, the most decisive are the patterns of economic development and the general approach to industrial location. The broad objective stated in the Third Five Year Plan, for the Urban Planning and the Land Policy is "to secure balanced development between large, medium-sized and small industries, and between rural and urban areas, and the main ingredients of developmental policy are the following:

- (i) As far as possible, new industries should be established away from large and congested cities.
- (ii) In the planning of large industries, the concept of the region should be adopted. In each case, planning should extend beyond the immediate environs to a larger area for whose development the new industry would serve as a major focal point.
- (iii) In community development projects or other areas within a district, the rural and urban components of development should

be knit into a composite plan based in each case on schemes for strengthening economic inter-dependence between towns and the surrounding rural areas.

- (iv) Within each rural area the effort should be to secure a diversified occupational pattern in place of the present extreme dependence on agriculture."¹⁸

RURAL HOUSING AND PLANNING POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FOR THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN PERIOD

The Plan states "Improvement in housing conditions in the villages has a manifold significance. It raises the level of living, provides greater opportunities for work and is a vital element in the transformation of rural life. Yet, because of the magnitude of the problem and its inherent difficulties the task of improving housing conditions in the villages has to be viewed, not as an isolated objective, but as a part of the larger scheme of rural development. Consequently, rural housing is intrinsically a part of community development and village planning."¹⁹ The village housing scheme was introduced during the Second Five Year Plan period in 1957, and had been carried over to the

¹⁸Third Five Year Plan, op. cit., p. 689

¹⁹Third Five Year Plan, op. cit., pp. 693-94

Third Five Year Plan period. The significance, objectives and programme for rural housing for the Third Five Year Plan period are the following:

"The specific programme for rural housing as such is intended to supplement the resources of the community development at the level of the block and the village by way of assistance in the form of technical advice, demonstration, provision of improved designs and layouts, better use of local materials and, to a limited extent, provision of finance. Its essential object is to help create healthy environmental conditions for all sections of the village population and for balanced development of rural life as a whole."²⁰

HOUSING SITUATION IN INDIA

The population of India, according to the 1961 census, was 436.42 million, and the increase during 1951-61 occurred at an average annual rate of about 2.5 per cent. The urban population has been increasing at a higher rate of about 4 per cent per annum, primarily owing to rapid industrialization and large investment in urban areas. The increased employment opportunities thus created in the towns have accelerated migration from rural areas to urban areas. The shortage of housing in urban areas in 1961 was estimated to be about 5 mil-

²⁰Ibid., p. 694

lion units ²¹ (approximately double what it was in 1951). It was also assessed that 4 million houses will need to be constructed in the Third Five Year Plan period (1961-1966) merely to arrest further deterioration of the already grave housing situation. It seems that the problem of catching up with the deficiency of housing together with the requirements due to the increased growth of population will continue to present serious problem for many years to come. The position in rural areas is still worse, because the condition of most of the housing in the 558,000 villages in India is so sub-standard that they should be either rebuilt completely or improved substantially.

A large portion of India's population lives and exists in overcrowded living conditions. These conditions in India may be well imagined by some National Sample Survey (7th round) figures as shown in Tables I and II.²²

²¹This is without reference to the deterioration of existing houses and without reckoning about one million of slum dwellings.

²²Catherine Bauer Wurster, "Urban Living Conditions, Overhead Costs and the Development Pattern", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 280, citing National Building Organisation, Monograph on the Housing Situation in India, 1959.

TABLE I

FAMILIES LIVING IN ONE ROOM OR LESS

Rural	34%
Urban	44%
Four Biggest Cities	67%
Calcutta	79%

TABLE II

HOUSEHOLDS WITH PER CAPITA FLOOR AREA
OF LESS THAN 50 SQUARE FEET

Rural	14%
Urban	21%
Four Biggest Cities	33%
Calcutta	70%

These tables were taken from: National Building Organization, Monograph on the Housing Situation in India 1959.

The Report of the Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance, appointed by the Government of India in 1958 states "On the basis of previous reports and what other limited data are available, it is estimated that the slum population constitute from 10 per cent to as high as 60 per cent of the total population in the large Indian cities. Were these slums to be judged by Western standards the percentage would undoubtedly be greater. A conservative estimate would place urban slum dwellings which are totally unfit for human occupation at about 1.15 million."²³ In the sample survey carried out by the State Statistical Bureau of the Government of West Bengal in 1956, it was estimated that nearly 600,000 people lived in slums in the City of Calcutta alone.²⁴ For Delhi, the Draft Master Plan of Delhi states "The enormity of the problem can be well imagined by the fact that roughly one-eighth of the total population of urban-Delhi, i.e., approximately 2lakhs (.2 million), live in such jhuggis and bastis (local name for slum areas)".²⁵

²³ Report of the Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance, (New Delhi: Government of India, July 18, 1958), p. 5.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 5.

²⁵ Delhi Development Authority; Draft Master Plan for Delhi (Volume II, Appendices and Drawings, New Delhi: DDA, 1959), p. 107.

Urban slum dwellers reside in 'kattras', lanes, 'chawls', 'bastees', 'ahatas', and 'cheris'. Kattras are small, single-room tenements, normally constructed in rows, within a courtyard or enclosure and with a single entrance. Lanes are narrow, winding, and often damp, with densely populated houses on either side. Multistoried buildings, called 'chawls' in cities like Bombay, house numerous families, with many persons (often more than one family) normally residing in one room and using common latrines and drinking and washing facilities. 'Bustees' are located in quite open areas of the City, or outwards from the center, usually on unauthorized sites. They are generally thick clusters of small, dilapidated mud huts, often with roofs or sides made of scraps of wood, gunny sacks, metal, or other waste materials. In some cities, such as Kanpur, bustees are built within a compound or enclosed walls and are called 'ahatas'. In the southern cities of India slums usually consist of rather neat mud or thatched huts similar to village huts. In Madras they are called 'cheris'.

Typically in slum areas the streets, lanes (gullies), and drains - which are open - are filthy, and people sleep as many as six to twelve in a room or shack. The Indian slums, however, are more than the aggregate of the physical surroundings: they are

also a way of life. Disease rates, poor health, and infant mortality are high, and there is little adequate knowledge of health and sanitation, nutrition, or child care. Illiteracy is exceedingly high, cultural and recreational activities are usually lacking, except as provided by such commercial enterprises as the cinema, or gambling, and most slum dwellers feel apathetic or even antagonistic to local authorities, whom they often blame for their plight. Seldom do slum dwellers cooperate with civic authorities to improve either the local area or the city as a whole, and they generally lack community consciousness.

In 1951, only 128 towns with a population of 50,000 and over, 60 towns with a population between 30,000 and 50,000 and 210 towns with smaller populations had protected water supply. It was estimated that only 6.15 per cent of the total population in 1951 was served by protected water supply and only 3 per cent enjoyed the amenity of sewerage system. The National Water Supply and Sanitation Programme, launched in 1954 continues during the Third Five Year Plan period. Most of the 369 urban water supply schemes, 100 urban drainage schemes are expected to be completed by 1966. In spite of these efforts, the widespread lack of communal facilities, particularly of piped water in the home and adequate sewage disposal in the community exists.

On the basis of the 'Analysis of the Present Land Use Structure of Selected Towns in India', L.R.

Vagale states:

"Indian towns are grossly deficient in parks, playgrounds and other open spaces for recreational purposes. Out of the 14 towns studied, only 1 town has more than 10 per cent of the developed area devoted to parks and playgrounds; 8 towns have less than 5 per cent, and 4 towns have less than 2.5 per cent of the developed area committed to recreational uses."²⁶

A brief account of the housing situation in Calcutta is appropriate to give an idea of the grave housing situation in large urban centres in India. In 1951, it was estimated that in the city proper, over three million people compete for a livelihood, in an area of only 32.32 square miles, and with average density of about 90,000 persons per square mile. There were over 300,000 people living on the pavements and side walks of the city, with no homes at all. The water supply, for many years inadequate for normal needs, has been strained far beyond capacity, and as a consequence outbreaks of diseases familiar in Calcutta - cholera, smallpox, plague, etc., have occurred regularly. Suburban railway service has deteriorated,

²⁶ L.R. Vagale, "Analysis of the Present Land Use Structure of Selected Towns in India", Ekistias, XVI (November, 1963), p. 276.

and limited funds for maintenance and excessive use have led to a decline in the efficiency of tramways and buses.

Only 5 per cent of city's families live in separate flats, and only 2 per cent of the city's families live in complete houses. Thus only 7 per cent of the families live in exclusive dwellings. Most families live in rented quarters. As for space, 17 per cent of the families have no living room at all, and 30 per cent have less than one third of a room for their use. 4 per cent possess one-half of a room, 33 per cent one room, and only 16 per cent have more than one room. It is estimated that at least 77 per cent of the people in Calcutta live in over-crowded rooms, that is to say with more than two persons per room based on 40 square foot minimum needed for every person.

As for amenities, 30 per cent of Calcutta's families have no water tap of their own. (The custom in these cases is to use the public taps on the street). Sixty per cent share water taps with others, 9 per cent have one tap for themselves, and only 1 per cent have more than a single water tap. Ten per cent of the families have one or more latrines for their own use, but 12 per cent have no latrine at all. Forty-nine per cent of multi-member families have no separate bathing facilities, and Calcutta average for no baths is higher,

61 per cent. (Again, the taps on the streets are used for bathing). Cooking is done by 36 per cent of Calcutta's multi-member families in the living room, whereas 30 per cent of these have only a "cooking corner"; 34 per cent have separate kitchens. The Calcutta's average reveals that 78 per cent of all families have no really useable kitchen. Forty-five per cent have no electricity, and 40 per cent have "some" electricity.

To pick out a few of the worst aspects of Calcutta's household's living conditions:²⁷

30 per cent have no water tap attached to their residences

12 per cent have no latrine

61 per cent have no bathroom

78 per cent have no separate kitchen

45 per cent have no electric connection

About a quarter of the population of the city live a single life without their families, and they form more than half of the households. Most of these single people are male, married, and migrants. Many of them

²⁷ Richard L. Park, "The Urban Challenge to Local and State Government: West Bengal, with Special Attention to Calcutta, "India's Urban Future", Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p.386.

are illiterate, unskilled workers, with about 87 per cent of them earning less than Rs. 100 per month (an average of Rs. 74 per month). It will also be noted that this large group of migrant men results in a disproportionately small percentage of women in Calcutta. In 1957-58, the city's population consisted of about 35 per cent women and 65 per cent men.

SUMMARY

Before 1947, the then Government of India followed a policy of *laissez faire*. Since India became independent in 1947, planning has become an executive function of Government at all levels. The Directive Principles of State Policy is an important part of the constitution of India. These "Directives" covering all aspects of life are regarded as "fundamental in the governance of the country". To translate these directives into programs of planned action - to solve the socio-economic problems of India - a statutory National Planning Commission was set up by the Government of India in 1950. Since 1951, India has completed two Five Year Plans and the Third Five Year Plan (1961 - 1966) is in operation.

The over-all goal of Indian society and the

Indian nation is human welfare, welfare being considered in the broadest sense to include not only material goods but also human dignity and cultural values. The achievement of cultural and spiritual welfare is recognized to be dependent on a minimal level of physical welfare which, in turn, depends upon productive capacity. It appears to be implicit in Indian planning that social and cultural goals cannot adequately be achieved without the necessary physical base in the production of food, housing, clothing, and cultural materials. In the realm of political and cultural values, India is committed to a fundamentally democratic, and to some extent socialist, pattern of society - "socialistic pattern of society".

Since May 1952, when a separate portfolio was created in the Union Government, organized efforts have been made on a governmental basis to set up housing activities in general and in particular to provide suitable financial assistance for construction of houses. The period of the First Five Year Plan was devoted to the formulation of the initial stages in the evolution of a national housing program and two Urban Housing Schemes were initiated. During the Second Five Year Plan period six more schemes were promulgated. For the first time Schemes related to Village Housing Projects and Land Acquisition and Development were intro-

duced. The Third Five Year Plan recognizes the close relationship between industrialization - urbanization and Housing shortage and needs in the urban areas. This Plan recommends decentralization of industries and integration of the rural housing program with the community development program in rural areas.

In spite of the organized efforts at all the Government levels, the shortage of urban housing is getting worse mainly due to the accelerated migration from rural areas to urban areas; the high rate of the natural increase of population; little or no investment in housing for the low income group by the private sector due to the lack of incentive and economic return; municipalities and the improvement trusts could not care for the low income group housing due to lack of funds and efficient organization. Up till the Third Five Year Plan period, the efforts of the Government of India had been mainly to eliminate the shortage of housing with very little effort to improve the existing deteriorated housing situation. The present housing situation in the urban areas is grave and is characterised by congestion, overcrowding, lack of the essential communal services, privacy, etc. The slums in the urban areas and the shanty towns at the periphery of the big cities and the urban sprawl along the major routes are

the extreme illustration of housing situation.

ASSUMPTIONS

Estimates of India's population growth, based on the fuller studies on the basis of the detailed data obtained in the 1961 census, are not available. The Third Five Year Plan sets out the estimates of the population growth in the following words: "on the basis of the present tentative estimates for 1971 and 1976, over the period 1961-76, the total increase in population may be of the order of 187 million".²⁸ Further, to emphasize the great volume of increase the Third Five Year Plan states: "The significance of population in relation to economic development may be judged from the results of the 1961 census. The increase in India's population between 1951-61 (about 77 million) has been nearly as large as the increase (about 82 million) in the last two preceding decades".²⁹ Pitamber Pant on

²⁸Third Five Year Plan, op. cit., p. 22

²⁹Ibid., p. 22.

the assumption of fertility declining in India linearly by 50 per cent between 1966-81 estimates India's population will be about 620 million in 1981, the annual increase being at the rate of 2.1 per cent at the beginning of the period and 1.4 per cent by the end.³⁰ It is assumed that for the next two decades, the population of India is going to increase substantially.

One of the principal aims of the Third Five Year Plan is "to expand basic industries such as steel, chemical industries, fuel and power and to establish machine building capacity, so that the requirements of further industrialization can be met within a period of ten years or so mainly from the country's own resources;"³¹ With the increased availability of basic metals and the more locally produced machine tools, a rapid spurt of development is hoped for and is entirely possible. This spurt may be accentuated if vigorous foreign-exchange restrictions accelerate local production of the desired commodities. This may result in a more rapid rate of industrialization, but

³⁰ Pitamber Pant, "Urbanization and Long-Range Strategy", "India's Urban Future", Roy Turner, editor (California: University of California Press, 1962), p. 184, citing: A.J. COLE and E.M. Hoover. Population Growth and Economic Development in Low Income Countries (Princeton University Press, 1958), Appendix A, Table A2.

³¹ Third Five Year Plan, op. cit., p. 48.

at least it may be assumed that the scale and volume of Industrialization in India will be the same as in the last decade - between 1951-61.

Kingsley Davis on the basis of his estimates of net rural to urban migration states "It should be noted that if any of our projections prove true, the big period of internal migration in India is yet to come. The quarter century between 1975 and 2000 will see two to three times the amount of such movement in 1950 - 1975."³² Considering India's policy of large scale industrialization and Kingsley Davis' conclusions it is assumed that India is going to experience a large scale urbanisation at least at the same rate as experienced between 1951-1961 and that this trend is not going to get reversed.

The authors of the Third Five Year Plan while stating the "Objectives of Planned Development" recognize the importance of maintenance of world peace in the following words "In the larger context of the world, the realization of this objective (to provide the masses of Indian people the opportunity to lead a good life) for India, as for other countries, is intimately tied

³²Kingsley Davis, "Urbanization in India: Past and Future", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 22.

up with, and dependent on the maintenance of world peace".³³ Since independence (1947), India's foreign policy had been based on co-existence with neighbour countries and non-alignment with power blocks (communist and non-communist). Considering the importance of world peace recognized by the Third Five Year Plan, the "foreign policy" of India and with faith and confidence in the effectiveness of United Nations, it is assumed here that world peace shall continue and India will not become involved in any major war.

The architects of the Third Five Year Plan found it "essential that the burdens of development during the Third Plan should be equitably distributed and, each stage, the economic, fiscal and other policies adopted should bring about improvements in the welfare and living standards of the bulk of the people."³⁴ "Housing and Urban and Rural Planning" have been accepted in India as an important part of the developmental programs and policies at federal and state levels, and the allocation of funds under this heading for the Third Five Year Plan period has been much more than previous plans. With this increase in the allocation of funds being made available, it is assumed that more

³³Third Five Year Plan, op. cit., p. 1

³⁴Ibid., p. 49.

funds will be allotted in future for housing and urban and Rural Planning and Welfare activities in India.

STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESIS

India's population is increasing at a fast rate, and its urban population is multiplying at even faster rates. The new demand for housing and urban services created by this growth aggravates the problem of inadequate supply of housing and communal facilities in the urban areas. Asoka Mehta states:

Two tremendous forces have been unleashed in India today: a relatively rapid rate of population growth and an increasingly rapid rate of urbanization. If these forces are allowed to operate unchecked, the results assuredly will be explosive. The population of India can reach by the year 2000 the figure of a billion, with a third of that number crowding into urban areas. A five-fold increase in the urban population in as many decades would pose a challenge unmatched before. These populations changes can result in the migration of 85 million people from rural areas to urban areas. Even allowing for the dislocations caused by the war and the partition of the country, between 1941-1951 rural to urban migration involved some nine million people. Such vast currents of migrants can in time bloat the major cities into metropolises of fantastic size, such as Calcutta with a population of 66 million. The social implications of such urban agglomerations are staggering.³⁵

³⁵ Asoka Mehta, "The Future of Indian Cities; National Issues and Goals", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press 1962), pp. 413-14.

This degree of urbanization means high costs of overhead, viz. capital costs of urban amenities, housing, etc., also high social costs in terms of social-dislocation and adjustment. However, during this critical period of India's industrialization, more funds are to be directed, from the limited financial resources available, towards industrial development. The urban social overhead expenditure must, therefore be kept as low as possible. To minimize the social overhead expenditure it is essential to pay more attention to the problems of rural migrants to urban areas. Due to the great social, cultural and educational differences in the urban and rural way of living, a rural migrant finds himself lost in urban environment. Social, cultural and educational deficiencies and lack of technical "know how" compels the immigrant to accept lowest paid jobs in cities. These deficiencies of immigrants to cities, create barriers which often are insurmountable and tend to wall up the newcomer in the various ghettos, slums and shanty towns which have become characteristic of large cities in India. The author's contention therefore is:

"that rural immigrants to urban areas in India have specific economic, physical and cultural needs which must be considered to help India solve its urban housing problem".

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE HOUSING SITUATION IN INDIA

THE HOUSING SITUATION AND ITS ALLIED PROBLEMS

A house is the most fundamental of all the physical social structures. It is there where the future citizen is born and brought up; where in fact most of his life-time is spent. Further, the socio-physical environment, the Community, influences the citizen's behavior, welfare and attitudes. Yet, unfortunately, everywhere in the world, millions of families have extremely poor housing, or no housing at all.

Housing, having both social and physical objects, can not be regarded as an isolated or departmentalized field of study, but only as an integrated part, and product, of the physical, economic, cultural and political life of a Society. The unwanted and grave Housing situation in the urban areas is closely interrelated with social problems and, for this reason, the solution of

the housing problem depends, to a great extent, on the solution of the allied social and economic problems of the inhabitants.

The urban housing problem faced by India today is twofold; there is a serious shortage of housing, and the character of existing accommodation and communal facilities is unsatisfactory. This shortage has been, to some extent, due to the continuous increase in population since 1921. However, the major contributing factors have been: the heavy shift of population from the rural to the urban areas; the haphazard growth of towns due to inadequate state or municipal control over building activity; and the comparative inability of private enterprise to keep pace with the growing demand due to the ever-increasing price and shortage of land and of building materials. The organised efforts of the Government of India since 1950 have not been able to cope with the complex problem of Housing due to the paucity of funds, and various other handicaps.

INDIA'S POPULATION GROWTH AND THE HOUSING SHORTAGE

The growth of India's population since 1921, has been fast and substantial. It has been estimated that it shall increase by about 43 per cent by 1976.¹ This shows that the growth of the urban population by the "natural increase" itself is expected to be substantial. This natural growth will aggravate the existing complex problem of housing in the urban areas.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that the Government's effort to combat the population explosion, in the form of the Family Planning Program, which was introduced during the First Five Year Plan period, is still continuing without much success -- a fact that has been recognized by the Government itself: as may be clear from the following: "The (Family Planning) programme, however, is a most difficult one to carry out and raises problems of great complexity. Sustained and intensive efforts are required over a fairly long period before family planning can become a popular movement and a part of the accepted attitudes of the people generally".²

¹Supra. p. 43.

²Government of India, Third Five Year Plan (New Delhi: Manager of Publication, 1961), p. 46.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SHORTAGE OF HOUSING
IN URBAN AREAS AND THE URBAN POPULATION GROWTH

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 nation. In principle, all population growth is composed of two components: a) "Reproductive change" or "Natural increase", i.e., the excess of births over deaths, and b) Net migration -- which includes migration from within and without the country. In the case of India, however, there is no major international influx, and the migration component within India remains entirely due to net internal migrations. In the words of Bogue and Zachariah, "Rural-to-urban migration is by far the major component of urbanization and is the chief mechanism by which all of the world's great urbanization trends have been accomplished".³ That the future trends shall be in the same direction has been indicated by Kingsley Davis⁴ and presented in the Table number III.

³Donald J. Bogue and K.C. Zachariah, "Urbanization and Migration in India", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 28.

⁴Kingsley Davis, "Urbanization in India: Past and Future", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 22.

TABLE III
PROJECTED ESTIMATES OF CITYWARD
MIGRATIONS IN INDIA

Years	Net Migrants (millions)	
	Into places 20,000-plus	Into places 1,000,000-plus
1950-1960	13.4	11.5
1960-1970	17.6	17.8
1970-1980	32.4	31.6
1980-1990	44.9	44.7
1990-2000	58.2	49.2
1950-1975	47.3	45.2
1975-2000	119.3	109.7
1950-2000	166.6	154.9

Kingsley Davis's projection is based on the analysis of the information and projected data provided by the following sources: United Nations, The Future of World Population (New York: United Nations, 1958), p. 74; United Nations later publication, The Population of Asia and the Far East (New York, 1959), pp. 100-102; Ansley Coale and Edgar M. Hoover, Population Growth and Economic Development in Low Income Countries, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958).

For the purposes of this thesis, the accuracy of the projected figures of the urban population growth is not as important as the general future trends indicated by these projections, namely that there shall be more migration towards places with population less than 100,000 plus.

INDIA'S POLICY OF DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRIES AND THE FUTURE URBAN GROWTH PATTERN

An identifiable pattern of urban development is emerging in India due to its rapid rate of development. So far, the general trend has been centralization of industries (and allied commercial activities) in a few large cities. Consequently, these large cities are becoming larger, and the social physical gap between them and the medium-size towns is getting wider and wider. The reason for this concentration of industries in the already-developed cities seems to be as follows: Big urban centers have comparatively better and more efficient community services like transportation and communication; medical, educational, cultural and housing facilities; banking and other supporting commercial enterprises; etc. They also provide a ready market for the finished goods. Instead of bearing the burden of

fresh infra-structure and external economies, therefore, the private sector always looks towards the developed urban centers as the ideal location in which to establish new plants. India's official policy is that "new industries should be established away from large and congested cities".⁵ This statement of policy requires interpretation. Does it mean village-based-industrialization of India or establishing industries in medium sized cities and towns? Does it imply reversal of the trend of urbanization? On this issue, Sachin Chaudhuri comments: "The dispersal of industries that is being thought of, and that may be feasible, will also favour concentration rather than bring industries to the villages. Planned development of industry, however, may avoid the much greater concentration in a few places which would be inevitable in the absence of this limited but deliberate program of dispersal. It should be noted that dispersal in this context means a more desirable pattern of growth, not the reversal of the trend toward concentration; decentralization, in this sense, does not attempt to reverse or slacken the pace of migration".⁶ This asser-

⁵Supra. p. 43.

⁶Sachin Chaudhuri, "Centralization and the Alternative forms of Decentralization; A Key Issue." India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 220.

tion seems reasonable; nonetheless, it does not rule out the possibility of locating the "labour intensive" and "Small scale industrial" processes in villages. It may be expected that medium sized towns having a population of 10,000 persons and over will have to receive the maximum number of immigrants, as was mentioned earlier.

LACK OF URBAN PLANNING

Since Independence, urban areas in India have been experiencing rapid change. These changes are manifold. Cities are growing in area and population, and at the same time they are acquiring a new character due to the impact of Western technology, rapid rate of industrialization and associated changes. Indian cities are currently experiencing increased economic activity in response to the over-all influences of independence, overseas trade, and the planned development programs under the Five Year Plans. The degree of these influences varies in different cities. In general these influences are manifested in individual cities by the construction of factories and increased commercial activity, by the expansion of governmental functions in the national and the state capitals. These changes in the function of the cities have resulted in the construction

of new housing at the city's edge, in the growth of distribution centres within and outside the present boundaries of the cities, and in the rapid expansion of motor-bus service and other transportation facilities into the surrounding countryside.⁷ On the basis of these observations, Richard A. Ellifson states: "It seems reasonable to suppose that a larger urban periphery implies a larger hinterland and that the city's increased activity is effecting a regional transformation".⁸ Or, in other words, urban planning should necessarily be carried out on a regional scale.

That such an important consideration should escape investigation in the earlier attempts at planning in India may seem queer but, nevertheless, it remains a sad fact to which many a new town bears painful testimony. Not merely that. A sense of comprehensive planning seems lacking even on the town scale. In this connection, the towns of Faridabad, Nilokheri, Bhuli and Kalyani may be quoted as examples. Faridabad and Nilokheri, approximately 18 and 80 miles from New Delhi respectively, were constructed, after the end of the second world war, mainly to accommodate refugees.

⁷ Richard A. Ellifson, "City-Hinterland Relationships in India", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p.94.

⁸ Ibid.

Apparently, adequate attention was paid to the planning of these towns. Problems, however, arose when the towns were completed, as no industries were established to give employment to the people who were supposed to have been adequately 'housed'. Similarly, in the Dhanbad coal-mines area, new houses for miners in Bhuli township remained vacant for considerable period because they were too far away from the miners' place of work. The new township of Kalyani about 40 miles from Calcutta was to face similar problems of creating employment near the town and of cheap and efficient transport to Calcutta.⁹

At this stage it is necessary to examine the structure and resources of the governmental apparatus which had undertaken and which is responsible for these tasks of planning. The main forms of local government in the urban areas are municipal committees (in towns and in some cities) and municipal corporations (in larger cities). In the municipal committees, all authority is vested in the elected council and its committees. The municipal corporation's functions are generally wider and their powers of taxation larger than those of the municipal committees.¹⁰

⁹P.R. Nayak, "The Challenge of Urban Growth to Indian Local Government", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 326.

¹⁰Nayak, op. cit., p. 364.

Urban administration has become today an extremely arduous task; and the part-time duty rendered by elected councillors is perhaps unequal to that task. The observed tendency among the councillors is to say things that are politically popular, rather than intrinsically beneficial for the city. "It may affect slum clearance or the redevelopment of an area, for example, as either is likely to lead to the shifting and loss of valued voting strength. Tension and instability both contribute to create uncertainty of decision and to delay and aggravate problems that demand urgent attention".¹¹

There are certain other features which hinder in the sound functioning of a local government organization and may, therefore, be mentioned. Legislation for securing the long-term planning of urban growth at the regional scale is inadequate, where it exists. Moreover, the application of such existing laws has, in practice, been of negligible proportions due to the paucity of qualified planning personnel. Another difficulty has been the financial stringency which renders any plans that may be drawn up extremely difficult of fulfilment. The multiplicity of local government agencies is an age-old problem in the cities.

¹¹Ibid., p. 364.

With the emergence of planning as a pronounced feature of city governments a planning agency, working apart from the ordinary government of civic affairs, is a recent addition to the multiplicity of local government bodies. In Delhi, until about two years ago, there were eleven local bodies; three statutory boards controlling electricity, transport, and water supply and sewage disposal; and a Development Authority. After the formation of the Delhi Municipal Corporation, two years ago, there are still three local bodies and a Development Authority. Greater Bombay has now moved to a unified local government, but greater Calcutta still has a multiplicity of municipalities, an Improvement Trust, and separate public utility undertakings. Where the growth of cities makes artificial barriers of administrative control utterly unrealistic, the perpetuation of multiple agencies creates one more problem for the planner, the executor, and the administrator.¹²

The remedying of urban problems has been rendered difficult by the rate of urbanization and the paucity of resources. As new housing has not kept pace with the growth of population, and property values have been kept depressed through rent control, property taxes, which are the largest source of revenue, have not yielded a corresponding increase in revenue. Also, the examples of under-utilized local resources are not uncommon. Still another important factor should be mentioned: the process of plan preparation usually takes too long. Consequently, by the time these plans

¹²Nayak, op. cit., p. 365.

are ready for implementation, the city may have undergone considerable changes which may render the plans obsolete and impracticable.

APATHETIC ATTITUDE OF THE URBAN DWELLER
TOWARDS IMPROVEMENTS, AND LACK OF UNITY
AMONGST URBAN DWELLERS

India's heterogeneous character and haphazard growth of the urban community and low per capita income have made human relations in the cities largely anonymous, superficial, and transitory. There is a general attitude of helplessness or indifference to the defects and faults in municipal government, save when they affect an individual personally. Despite the deplorable physical conditions, the Indian urban dwellers in general and slum dwellers in particular do little themselves to correct the situation. In part, these situations are due to a general lack of unity and leadership among city dwellers. Here the importance of social organization as a means of integration of the people into an organized community need no emphasis.

URBANIZATION HAS PRECEDED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

It has been observed that India is still in a transitional phase proceeding towards a self-reliant economy. In the present phase of transition, undesirably, urbanization has gone ahead of economic development, thus creating a wide "development gap". It appears cities and towns have been "over-urbanized", i.e., urbanization has exceeded the capacity for economic development, resulting in a marked deficiency of urban facilities and services. The competing demand and available limited resources, thus, raises the problem of choice between provision of urban amenities to ensure tolerable living conditions for the mass of urban population, on the one hand, and a faster rate of growth of the economy, on the other, by channeling as large a part of the resources as possible to productive investment and creation of capital assets.¹³

The economic frustrations, low income and mental tensions of urban dwellers are closely associated with the present stage of urbanization, industrialization and economic development in India. These

¹³Chaudhuri, op. cit., p. 219.

vital economic aspects are intimately connected with the problems associated with unemployment, under-employment and mis-employment. In spite of deficiencies in the available employment, mis-employment and under-employment is not likely to reverse itself in the near future.¹⁴ In India, Shanti Tangri points out: "Corresponding to under-employment and seasonal or disguised unemployment in the village, there is considerable disguised unemployment and/or mis-employment in the cities, as reflected in the rapid growth of the low-productivity service sector in which unskilled, uneducated workers, and especially the transients, seek means to subsist".¹⁵

In the larger cities, Malenbaum points out, out of the unemployed 78.4 percent were literate, amongst which 5.1 percent had college education; about 46 percent of the total educated unemployed being concentrated in the four major cities in India, namely

¹⁴For a review of vital statistics and evaluation of this situation in India by the National Planning Commission see: Government of India, India, A Reference Annual, 1962 (New Delhi: Publication Division, 1962), pp. 164-65.

¹⁵Shanti Tangri, "Urbanization, Political Stability, and Economic Growth", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 199.

Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi.¹⁶

While the growth of Indian population is taking place, there is not a corresponding increase in the total national income and real per capita income. In 1961, for example, the per capita income in India was as low as approximately \$30.00 (Canadian). Food consumption is hardly above subsistence level, and yet 66 percent of the expenditure available for consumer goods is spent on food items. Only 1.1 percent of this low per capita income is spent on housing.¹⁷

Various economic factors have created difficulties in the provision of housing for immigrants to urban areas, who belong largely to the lower income group. Large sections of the people who migrate into towns and cities have their roots in the rural areas and, even though they live in the urban areas for practically the whole of their productive life, they never feel that they belong to the towns. The common tendency is to spend a minimum and to save the maximum of their incomes to be remitted to their villages. They do not mind the hardships of poor and inadequate housing condition and accommodation and urban facilities in towns.

¹⁶Wilfred Malenbaum, "Urban Unemployment in India", Pacific Affairs, XXX, No. 2 (June, 1957), pp. 138-40.

¹⁷India, A Reference Annual. op. cit., p. 167.

A very small percentage of their incomes, sometimes as low as 2 to 5 percent is spent on house rent. (In 1958, it was recorded as 7.3 in large cities, and 4.0 percent in all towns and cities, on an average). This constitutes an inadequate return on investment in housing and hence the supply of new houses has been severely cut out from the private sector for this class of people. High subsidies become necessary to bridge the gap between the economic rent and the rent which these groups are prepared to pay for new housing.¹⁸ In addition, most rural immigrants expect to find in the city not only a job, better housing and physical amenities, but also richer social and human experiences and access to national and universal culture, which further worsens the situation.

The predictable wave of urban growth has inescapable implications for investment policy, both public and private. The increased number of persons in urban areas means more households and jobs. The provision of employment opportunities requires the provision of working space and equipment. The extension of urban services mainly roads, utilities, and the improvement of existing facilities required by the added volume of use, as associ-

¹⁸United Nations. Housing in Relation to Regional Development in Asia and the Far East (Working Paper #25, New York: United Nations, 1958), p. 2.

ated with both residential and employment activities would also be substantial. Considering the present trends of urban population growth in India, Britton Harris on the basis of his rough "relatively conservative estimates" of the Five Year (1961-66) investment needed for urban areas finds an approximate total of Rs. 20 million required for investment not otherwise provided for in the Third Five Year Plan.¹⁹ Pitamber Pant, on the basis of his model of economic growth of India, finds the resources provided in the Plan for Housing sufficient. Pant also recognizes the need of considering the possibilities of stepping up the rate of investment in urban Housing, but finds serious limitations on grounds of political, fiscal and physical feasibility. Ultimately, Pant stresses the need for devising methods of low-cost urbanization.²⁰ Consumption of food, clothing, and other basic requirements is nearly as deficient as is the supply of housing. At the same time, there is an equally pressing need for accumulating a stock of capital equipment vital to the

¹⁹ Britton Harris, "Urban Centralization and Planned Development", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 265.

²⁰ Pitamber Pant, "Urbanization and the Long-Range Strategy of Economic Development", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 189-90.

future growth of productivity and national income.

LACK OF BUILDING INDUSTRY, BUILDING MATERIALS & SKILLED LABOR

The shortage of skilled labour, organised building industry and of building materials has long been recognized.²¹ The efforts of the Government of India to combat these shortages have met with little success so far. This may be either because of production deficiency, or because these materials are required elsewhere for productive activity like building factories, river valley projects and defence buildings, etc. There has been, in general, no shortage of manual labour in building industry, but technical personnel required for planning, designing and implementing large housing projects has been deplorably limited. All these factors have aggravated the housing problem in urban areas.

²¹ National Planning Commission (India), Memorandum on Housing, memographed, 1951, pp. 15-16.

SOCIO-POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Because of the present acute housing shortages, low incomes, high cost of living, insecurity of employment, and other similar factors in urban areas, immigration from the rural to the urban centers in India has remained restricted, primarily, to males. A large fraction of these male immigrant consists of married persons. Being deprived of essential community facilities and organized social life, therefore, they are very easily transformed into a demoralized, unhealthy, pitiful mass. They thus become susceptible to such social evils like drinking, gambling, racing, dope peddling, prostitution, etc.

Though there are no estimates of the total economic costs of social disorganization that arises due to the deficiencies or absence of proper housing, it is observed that, in the long run, the social and economic cost is very high. Delinquency, drunkenness, murder, theft, and robbery involve increased costs, including those for police and justice administration and for institutions for the detention and rehabilitation of convicts.

Another social factor requires special mention. In India, the 'Intellectual Class' (teachers, social workers, journalists, writers, etc.) does not enjoy a

very high economic existence and it therefore finds itself invariably located amidst a growing world of slums, worsening sanitary conditions, overcrowded community facilities, lowering living standards, unemployment-underemployment or mis-employment, conditions, etc. This creates in this group the mixed feelings of social injustice, inequality, mistrust of the Government, and the like. Being educated, their conscience revolts and they try to rouse public opinion against the deplorable environment around them. This apathetic attitude of the administration gives rise to feelings of impotence in the intellectuals and in order to overcome this they become 'Rebels', 'Outsiders', 'Angry Young Men' and what not. That the more aspiring, sentimental and less thoughtful type amongst them become unintended tools in the hands of political conjurers is a painful fact.

If the educated provide leadership, the transients around them provide raw material for mobs. The overall situation is thus ripe for any political manoeuvring by political agitators. This situation is encouraged by the city structure itself. High population densities, rapid means of communication and transportation, and other available urban facilities make political organization easier. (Part of the successes of

Communists in Kerala and Bengal, two of the most densely populated areas in India, may be due to this reason). Speakers and audiences tend to stimulate each other into states of irresponsibility and frenzy in situations of crowding and anonymity which are more easily achieved in cities than in rural areas. Political parties stand to gain from situations in which peaceful crowds can be turned into irresponsible mobs.

SUMMARY

The urban housing problem faced by India today is twofold: there is a severe shortage of housing; and the character of the existing accommodation and communal facilities is unsatisfactory. This shortage has been due to the following factors: the continuous increase in population since 1921 and the limited success of the family planning program; the rapid rate of urbanization; the comparatively small investment in housing by private enterprise due to the lack of a satisfactory return; ever-increasing cost, and shortage of land and of building materials; and the low per capita income and low standard of living of the people. Public housing has not been able to cope with the complex problem of Housing, mainly due to the paucity of funds, and the official national policy of investment in and creation of

capital assets.

The overcrowding and lack of housing at present is due to various cultural, economic and administrative reasons, important amongst which are: lack of planned development on a regional and comprehensive basis; the inefficiency, incompetence and lack of financial resources of local governments; the apathetic attitude of the urban dwellers; the concentration of industries in a few urban centers with no addition to and improvement of the urban facilities.

To cope with the present shortage and unsatisfactory condition of Housing, huge allocation of resources by both the private and public sector is required. Presumably, at the present stage of industrial and economic development in India, the allocation of this required resources is not feasible and this low-cost urbanization is essential.

In India, urbanization has preceded economic development and industrialization, resulting in a high degree of unemployment, under-employment and misemployment among both the educated and uneducated classes. This situation is causing frustration, tension and instability among the masses in general. The unsatisfactory situation of employment opportunities along with overcrowding, and lack of Housing is creating political

and cultural problems. Due to their peculiar cultural, economic and physical problems, the low income group needs special attention.

CHAPTER III

PROBLEMS OF RURAL IMMIGRANTS TO URBAN AREAS

DEFINITION OF RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

According to the 1951 National Census of India, a settlement with a population of 5,000 or more is characterised as urban. However, there appears in each census a long list of settlements which, although they have more than 5,000 inhabitants are still sufficiently agricultural in their pattern of livelihood and habitation to be called villages in the opinion of the census authorities. In other cases, communities of less than 5,000 which are said to possess "urban characteristics"¹ are classed as towns. This indistinction of the line of demarcation occurs not only in demographic, but in geographic delimitation of urban and rural areas as well. Many villages at the fringes of big urban centers in India are rural or urban only in the fact that the most recent legal demarcation of

¹The available information does not define these characteristics.

the municipal limits does or does not happen to include them.² Separate statistical grouping of urban centers as contrasted with rural areas becomes less efficient considering the following facts:

Even those economic activities which are normally considered to be urban activities--textile manufacture, metal work, construction, the manufacture of chemicals and fertilizer, electric machinery and supplies, cement, wholesale and retail trade, wearing apparel and food processing -- have large segments of their labor force in rural areas. Nor are activities normally classified as rural absent from even the largest cities. Even a metropolis such as Madras had 32 persons per thousand engaged in primary industries (cultivation and livestock tending) in 1951.³

Kingsley Davis comments that a significant aspect of urban and rural differences in India is that cities are the centers whence Western traits are diffused and social change begins.⁴ Various writers have tried to differentiate urban and rural areas in India on the basis of such factors as rate of fertility, literacy, sex-ratio, economic activities, etc. These

²Richard D. Lambert, "The Impact of Urban Society upon Village Life", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 117.

³Richard D. Lambert, op. cit., p. 118.

⁴Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 127.

attempts are, however, bound to fail for the reason that no single factor can encompass in toto the whole multitude of intricately inter-related behaviour-thinking patterns designated as 'rural' or 'urban'; for, as Crane observes: "The dichotomy is based on two different ways of life."⁵

URBAN VERSUS RURAL WAY OF LIVING

Social life in the countryside moves and develops in a rural environment just as social life in the urban area moves and develops in an urban environment. Desai observes the following as the most important criteria for distinguishing the rural from the urban environment in India: Occupational differences; environmental differences; differences in the size of the communities, in the density of population, in the homogeneity and heterogeneity of population, in the social mobility, in the direction of migration, in the social differentiation and stratification and in the system of social interaction.⁶

⁵Robert I. Crane, "Urbanism in India", America Journal of Sociology, Vol. LX, No.5, (March, 1955), p. 465.

⁶A.R. Desai, "Rural Urban Differences", Rural Sociology in India, (Bombay: The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 1959), pp. 11-12.

In the rural world the main pursuit is agriculture. In comparison to this, in the urban world, people are engaged principally in manufacturing, mechanical pursuits, trade, commerce, professions, governing, and other non-agricultural occupations. The predominance of nature over anthropo-social environment of the rural community, and a more direct relationship to nature are important characteristics of the rural environment. Greater isolation from nature and predominance of a man-made environment over nature marks the urban environment. The population size is usually smaller in rural than in urban communities. In principle, rurality and size of population and the area pattern of the community are inversely related. Conversely, urbanity and size of community are directly related. Generally, density and rurality are also inversely correlated: density tends to be greater in urban than in rural areas. Further, compared with urban populations, rural communities are more homogeneous in racial and cultural traits. Similarly, social differentiation and stratification in the rural areas is less than in the urban community. Also in the rural areas, there is a relative simplicity and sincerity of social relationships; even business

interactions are predominantly personal and more durable. In contrast, in the urban world, there are more numerous contacts; predominance of secondary contacts; predominance of impersonal casual and short-lived relations; greater complexity, manifoldness, superficiality and a formality of social relations.⁷

These latter differences have their roots in the differing rural and urban pattern of living.

CONDITION OF HOUSING AND RELATED PROBLEMS IN INDIA

The developed state of the rural economy in Western countries has meant that specialized goods and services available to city dwellers are also available to people in the rural areas. This is not true for the rural areas in India. Villages do not possess specialized goods and services because there is neither a commercial core nor an institutionalized place of business in each village such as one finds in the urban areas. The presence or absence of physical and social amenities is frequently an indicator of the sharp differ-

⁷P.A. Sorokin and C.C. Zimmerman, Principles of Urban-Rural Sociology (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1929), pp. 56-57.

ences between urban and rural India. Only to a very limited extent do electric-power lines, telephones, city bus service, and water and sewage line extend into the rural areas.

Results of the eleventh round of the National Sample Survey (August 1956 - January 1957) on housing conditions in rural and urban areas show that about 68 percent of households in the rural areas (and 69 percent in the urban areas) possessed not more than two rooms each. The percentage of households possessing one room only in rural areas varied between 25 and 42 in different parts of the country. The percentage of households with 3 or more persons per room in the rural areas varied between 16.5 and 38.3 in the different population zones in India. In the big cities about 28 percent of the households had to accommodate 3 or more persons per room. In the rural area about 30 percent of the households occupied floor space between 101 and 200 square feet, excluding open space. In the urban areas 26.6 percent of the households had this range of floor space. The percentage of households with per capita floor space up to 50 square feet was 48.1 in the rural and 46.6 in the urban areas.⁸ As far

⁸Government of India, India, A Reference Annual, 1962 (New Delhi: Publication Division, 1962), pp. 171-72.

as mere 'shelter' is concerned, rural areas provide 'shelter' to more people than urban areas do. It is the essential amenities and services in and around the 'shelter' which are absent or deficient in the rural areas.

About 69 percent of the rural households (71 percent of the rural population) had drinking water from wells, 5 percent from tubewells and only one percent had tap water. In the urban sector, 51 percent of the households (95 percent in the four big cities, 76 percent in the big towns and about 39 percent in small towns) had drinking water from municipal taps. About 34 percent of the urban population as a whole got their supply of drinking water from tanks and ponds.⁹

Further, the average distance from schools, post offices, etc., gradually decreases as the size of the village increases. Thus, in the twelfth round the average distance in miles from a primary school decreases from 1.9 for a village with a population up to 200 to 0.3 for a village with population 2,001 and above. Similarly, the average distance from a high school decreases from 13.1 miles to 5.8 miles; that from the hospital decreases from 9.8 miles to 7.1 miles; from post office from 4.8 miles to 0.6 miles; and the distance from telegraph office from

⁹India, A Reference Annual, 1962, op. cit., p. 172.

13.5 miles to 8.0 miles.¹⁰

The economic life of villagers is also poor. The excessive pressure on land, stagnation of village industries, lack of non-agricultural occupations and job opportunities are factors responsible for the underemployment, unemployment and the consequent poverty of the rural people. The Agricultural Labour Enquiries conducted by the Government of India in 1951 and 1957, to assess the impact of development schemes undertaken during the First and Second Five Year Plans, show some interesting results. The landless agricultural labour households in 1956-57 accounted for 57 percent of the total as against 50 percent in 1950-51. The proportion of attached and casual agricultural labour households was 10:90 in 1950-51. In 1956-57, attached labour households account for about 27 percent of the all-India total, the remainder being casual labour households. The increase was, to some extent, due to resumption of personal estates of self-cultivation by the erstwhile intermediary land lords like 'zamindars', 'jagirdars', 'talukdars', etc., in the different states. In spite of this self-cultivation by ex-intermediaries, the number of agricultural labourers during 1956-57 was 33 millions composed of

¹⁰Ibid., p. 173.

1.8 million men, 1.2 million women and 0.3 million children. The corresponding figures for 1950-51 were 35 million, consisting of 1.9 million men, 1.4 million women and 0.2 million children. Consequently, the number of unemployed persons increased. Casual adult male workers were employed, on an average, for wages for 200 days in 1950-51 and for 197 days during 1956-57. They were self employed for 75 days in 1950-51 and for 40 days in 1956-57. Further, casual adult male workers were unemployed for 128 days in 1956-57 as compared to 90 days in 1950-51. In spite of the fact that the cost of living has risen between 1950-57 and the average daily wage-rate of adult male workers decreased from 109 nP. (1 Canadian cent = 4.35 to 4.37 nP), in 1950-51 to 96 nP. in 1956-57, and the average daily wage-rate of adult women also fell from 68 nP. in 1950-51 to 59 nP. in 1956-57. Child labour received an average wage of 70 nP. in 1950-51 and 53 nP. in 1956-57. This resulted in the reduction of the average annual income of an agricultural labour household. The income fell from Rs. 447 (1 Canadian dollar = Rupees 4.35 to 4.37) in 1950-51 to Rs. 437 in 1956-57. The program of the Government of India of promoting cottage and small scale industries in rural areas has met with little success so far due

to an inefficiency of production and lack of market. The various sources of income of agricultural labour household were: cultivation of land, agricultural labour, non-agricultural labour and others. The income derived from the non-agricultural pursuits decreased from 11.9 percent to 7.99 percent of total incomes from all sources between 1951 and 1957. During the same period, the percentage for agricultural labour increased from 64.2 to 73.04 percent. Due to the increase in the cost of living, the average annual consumption expenditure of agricultural labour households increased from Rs. 461 in 1950-51 to Rs. 617 in 1956-57, and the expenditure on food remained as the biggest factor in expenditure accounting for 77.3 percent of the total income. This deficit between income and expenditure has been met from past savings (if any), sale of stocks, remittances received and loans. Of the total debt, about 46 percent was incurred for meeting the consumption expenditure.¹¹

Kinship, caste, and territorial affinities are the major determinants that shape the social structure of Indian village communities. An individual belongs to a family-nuclear, compound or joint; and the family

¹¹India, A Reference Annual 1962, op cit., pp. 242-44.

belongs to a lineage as well as to a large group of relatives having kin or affinal ties with it. Contrary to common belief, due to the impact of technological developments, capitalistic economy and education, the basic unit of social organization in the rural communities in India is not the large joint family, but the nuclear family and the smaller joint family in which only a part of those who should have constituted the ideal larger joint family live together. The interdependence of the members of the rural family and the dependence of its individual members on it, strengthens emotions of solidarity and cooperation among them. They develop more collectivist family consciousness and less individual emotions. The solidarity between this cluster of families expresses itself on ceremonial occasions and in times of stress and calamity. In the hour of need they must support each other, and mutual consultations among them in regard to all major decisions are regarded as desirable. The outlook of the people has been distinctly kin-oriented, and in an hour of need they almost instinctively look to their kin for sympathy and support. In recent years there has undoubtedly been a change from a kin-oriented outlook to an interest-oriented outlook, and a gradual breaking up of large effective kin groups

has been in evidence. However, even under conditions of semi-urbanization, caste and kin groups have continued to perform important functions of socialization and social control and socio-economic security.¹²

RURAL IMMIGRANTS IN URBAN AREAS

The urban population in India is made up of several layers of differentially "urbanized" persons. The upper-most layer of the urban population consists of urban "elite". The outlook of the urban elite in the large cities, (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi) differs from that of the rural elite and the elite in small towns. The urban elite in the large cities is Westernized, has a European or at least western-style education, often uses English as a language of communication, and is comparatively far removed in attitudes and style of life from the peasants and the mass of poorer urban workers. The elite in the rural areas and in smaller towns is less removed from the common people, it speaks one of the vernacular languages, and in its social views, attitudes and even in its ordinary daily

¹²S.C. Dube, "Rural India -- Glimpses of Social and Cultural Life", Rural Sociology in India, A.R. Desai, editor (Bombay: The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 1959), pp. 210-17.

behaviour patterns is closer to the masses. For sure, even in the rural areas and small towns differences in wealth and power between the elite and the common people exist, but the cultural and behavioral gap is usually narrower and in many instances absent.

Another group of people that exists within the confines of urban areas is comprised of persons who culturally -- i.e., in attitudes, values and behaviour -- are villagers and may accordingly be called "Urbanized villagers".

Some of them have come recently from a village, others may have resided in a city for some time, and still others may have been born there. Since these persons have still a village outlook, they often have not severed their ties with the village. Many of them return more or less regularly to their villages. Even though they were born in the city, some keep alive their interest in property in the village their parents came from and maintain close ties with the extended family, parts of which overcome the general economic outlook of villagers. They are employed as unskilled workers, and they form usually the most poorly paid sector of the population. They have unsteady and irregular employment, a large proportion of them is illiterate, and, in spite of the impact of the demonstration effect upon them, they have patterns of consumption which are little removed from those of villagers.¹³

¹³Bert F. Hoselitz, "The Role of Urbanization in Economic Development: Some International Comparisons" India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 172.

These "Urbanized-villagers" are those who face the problem of getting adjusted to the urban environment, and this group is the concern of this thesis.

In the urban areas there are several intermediate groups between these "Urbanized-villagers" and the sophisticated urban elites. These intermediate groups tend to narrow the gap somewhat between the extremes.

PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL IMMIGRANTS IN THE URBAN AREAS

Economic Problems

The socio-cultural differences in India between urban elites and rural masses are enormous. This, in turn, implies that the overcoming of this gulf for the newly-arrived rural immigrants in the cities is quite difficult. Various factors perpetuate the status quo and hinder the rural-to-urban cultural transformation. Lack of adequate housing is one of them, which, in itself, is directly associated with the lack of adequate economic absorption of the immigrants.

On the basis of available statistics, Bogue & Zachariah drew a number of inferences regarding the livelihood characteristics of the rural immigrant to urban areas in India, the most relevant of which are as follows:

(i) The immigrants are found predominantly in non-agricultural industries;

(ii) There is a substantial excess of immigrants in livelihood classes of production (non-agricultural), commerce, transport, professional services, and miscellaneous.

For the purpose of this thesis, the professional services category, consisting of lawyers, doctors, engineers, is irrelevant as the people of this group are not "urbanized-villagers".

(iii) A number of industries including Processing & Manufacture; Commerce; Transport; Storage and Communications; and Health, Education and Public Administration had more than 75 percent of its total labour force comprised of immigrants.¹⁴

In this connection, their observations of the economic conditions of the rural-immigrant labour are also worth mentioning: "In the Calcutta Industrial Region a disproportionately large share of migrants are working at low status, lower paying, unskilled-laborers' jobs and places where large quantities of labour are used on a mass scale".¹⁵ Further, "In any event, it is

¹⁴Donald J. Bogue & K.C. Zachariah, "Urbanization and Migration in India", India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 46-51.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 50.

clear that the migrants have poorer work status and less income on an average, than the non-migrants".¹⁶

Similarly, their speculative assertion of the situation of rural immigrants to the urban areas is:

It is quite possible, however, that the rural migrant to the large cities of India is forced to bear hardships and undergo suffering to a much greater extent than is generally appreciated. As population pressure mounts, it may be neither the villagers nor the city dwellers who bear the major burden of misery, but the displaced rural population that can neither be accommodated on the land (in rural areas) nor find an economic connection in the city.¹⁷

These immigrants to the large metropolis may possess in some cases a considerably higher average level of education attainment than the general population of the states from which they are drawn, but they tend to have a lower average level of educational attainment than the population of the place to which they migrate.

Notwithstanding the fact that these statements are based on the situation in Calcutta, they do represent the fact that comparatively illiterate persons are migrating from villages, and that these illiterate, unskilled, and inexperienced agriculturists are burdening

¹⁶Ibid., p. 51

¹⁷Ibid., p. 51

the labour market with larger quantities of manpower than that which can be absorbed. In this connection it may be mentioned that during the coming decade young men and women with some educational background are expected to migrate to the urban areas. Nevertheless, this minimal education, (i.e., the ability merely to read and write to a very limited extent one of the vernacular languages), will not be an adequate qualification to secure better jobs; better salary; better standard of living; and better housing, either by owning a house or by paying more rent. Methods of technology and distribution are rapidly changing due to industrialization in India. As a result of innovations, new scientific and technical discoveries, and progress in many areas of social reforms, productivity in agriculture, mining, manufacturing, management, and services has increased and is bound to improve in the future, and the potential for growth seems greater even than achievements up to now. This advance in "know-how" reduces the demand for unskilled labour while it tends to increase the need for skilled labour. The immigrant who is seeking a job is not aware of the monetized system of commerce and trade and is not accustomed to earning a living in a market oriented system of production establishments. These immigrants

do not possess the necessary education, mechanical skills, commitment to a specific type of work and money consciousness to become adjusted to the urban environment.

The obvious result due to these deficiencies is lack of employment for this group of immigrants. Consequently underemployment and misemployment occurs, causing a low standard of living and negation of satisfaction, inner security, well being, belongingness to the new environment and good health, both mental and physical.

The restrictive effect of unemployment on the cultural integration of the rural immigrant has been justly stressed by Bonne:

Unemployment has a disturbing influence on the capacity for integration. In the absence of provision for a secure though modest way of living which are offered by social system into which immigrant was born, his sense of security is disturbed by the prospect of being out of work without chance of redressing the position. If the immigrant succeeds in adjusting himself to this situation, it can become one of the strongest incentives of work and behaviour and to strive for a skilled job.¹⁸

On the other hand, among the contributing factors

¹⁸ Alfred Bonne, "Unemployment and Cultural Integration", in International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1956, p. 30.

that help rural immigrants become adjusted to the urban environment, the importance of the "economic absorption factor" has long been recognized. For example, the Havana Conference took it as axiomatic that "economic absorption" was the essential foundation for the long process of cultural integration; the term "economic absorption" being understood therein to mean the enrichment of the abilities of the immigrant by providing more training, education, "know-how", etc., to make him capable of getting introduced to new economic activities and occupations.¹⁹

Cultural Problems

If one analyses the problems urban life poses for rural immigrants, a few causes of failure seem to stand out, as have been pointed out by Weaver. The pertinent amongst these are: ignorance of housing conditions; the geographic complexity of the cities which may put insuperable distance between home and place of work; the large size of the cities and complex system of transportation and communication which immigrants find difficult to comprehend; lack of civic sense; and

¹⁹W.D. Borrie and others, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants: A survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO conference held in Havana (Paris: UNESCO, 1959), pp. 89-97.

abrupt severance of ties with the home community which deprives him from sympathy, and support from kins. In other instances, again, the immigrant is so alien to the urban community that he only knows those who migrated earlier from his own area and, as a result, is often dominated and exploited by them. These handicaps are frequently aggravated by ignorance about those institutions of urban communities which could help the immigrant or are specially designed to do this (e.g., Employment Exchange Office in India).²⁰

In India, the diversities of languages and dialects also create problems. Granting all success to the program of decentralization of Industries as planned and executed by the Government of India, the language problem would be solved to a sufficient extent but the problem of different dialects would still remain.

Still another factor needs mention. An immigrant from a rural area may not have to face overt hostility by the urbanites; nevertheless, because of his different modes, manners, mores and customs, he is easily socially differentiated. He is likely to be

²⁰George L.P. Weaver, "Adjusting Rural People to an Urban Environment", Social Problems of Development and Urbanization, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 40-41.

called a "DEHATI" (Villager with a derogatory connotation) by urbanites and thus gets his personality defined as belonging to the lowest strata of society. Again, an immigrant may have a vocabulary and pattern of speech which is well adjusted to the rural community, its work and human relationships, but is decidedly inadequate in dealing with his new employers, co-workers, and neighbours. "Education deficiencies, as well as lack of skills and "know-how" required for urban occupations, create barriers which often are insurmountable and tend to wall up the newcomer in the various ghettos, slums and shanty towns which have become characteristic of the large cities of Argentina, Brazil and Peru. These are -- incidentally -- still amongst key problems of cities in industrialized countries, such as Chicago, London, New York and Paris".²¹

Some associated psychological factors also deserve appreciation. The immigrants to urban areas are, in general, people who have already suffered from latent mental health disturbances due to low standard of living, poverty and unemployment in villages. These persons are more prone to endanger their already deficient mental equilibrium in their search for economic

²¹Weaver, op. cit., p. 41.

and cultural adjustment in the alien urban environment. They are in danger of exhausting themselves and thus contracting some disease through over-stress, or a mental breakdown which may hamper their progress. Consequently, they may be prone to remain isolated or become more so, and to escape into apathy and depression, if not into a paranoiac or aggressive behaviour.

The noxious influence of the individual's isolation and powerlessness in the modern society can also be hardly over-stressed. To counteract this, one feels the need for belongingness -- i.e., the feeling of being an integral part of the society through its representation by the immediate social environment, namely family, friends, community and other primary groups. Further, considering the psychopathological details of "loneliness" it has been stressed by Odegaard that such disturbed people do not take roots well in their community; they tend more than others to migrate, in search for belonging elsewhere. In their communities they are often the individuals who are "loners" and who are secluded from the general community. These individuals often contribute to discontent and disorganization in the community.²²

²²Abraham A. Weinberg, Migration and Belonging: (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961), p. 199, citing Odegaard O. "Emigration and Insanity", *Acta Psychiat. et Neur. Scand.*, Suppl. IV, 1932.

The need of migrants to defend themselves against uprootedness and to retain, or to obtain anew, a feeling of having roots, appears, as we already have mentioned, in their tendency to flock together, to live in proximity to former countrymen or of co-religionists, to continue talking their mother-tongue and to publish newspapers in it, to form immigrant associations, etc. These tendencies, when successful, may help the immigrant to retain his inner security and provide him with backing when he attempts to enter the new society and to fulfil appropriate institutional roles. The danger remains, however, that the immigrant lacking the necessary inner security and active adjustment faculties, and feeling attached to a segregated community of former compatriots, will belong to a ghetto or a secluded minority group, with all the dangers involved.²³

The urban Indian society is notably divided into groups whose behaviour patterns, customs, occupations, and even food practices vary. Consequently, the city population in India has long been distributed spatially in the form of "social islands", because of differences in religion; caste (even sub-caste); tribe, language; occupation; etc. These social characteristics had real meaning and developed such extensive exclusiveness that these group settlements often constituted "cities within cities". These "cities" of group settlements appear to have had a fairly stable population, giving residents greater opportunity to

²³ Abraham A. Weinberg, op. cit., p. 174.

know one another intimately. These were the "cities" where rural immigrants used to find their own villages, i.e., all needed aspects of the village life were present in those urban areas. This pattern of cities has vastly changed with the rapid industrialization, urbanization, and unprecedented spatial expansion of urban areas. Now, inhabitants of the local areas of the city tend to be mixed in caste, regional grouping, occupation, etc. Further, in the Public housing, and housing provided in company towns (e.g., Jamshedpur, Rourkela), and railway colonies, the accommodation has been provided according to the "economical classes". Each grade and wage level is assigned a specific section of township, creating an economic hierarchy of status differing from the traditional "caste-creed" groupings. As a result, families of different religions, castes, regions and linguistic backgrounds now find themselves living side-by-side. Although groups of persons may live in close proximity, or a large area may even be predominantly of a certain group, housing pressure has made it increasingly impossible for large numbers of persons with similar social characteristics to form an exclusive group settlement in any one particular area.

These changes have far reaching overall consequences both for the rural immigrants as well as for the cultural development of city-life itself. Not finding his village-like environment in these newer areas of the city and in new towns (where housing is being provided on the basis of "economic classes"), and consequently, not feeling at home in these newer places, especially in the crucial initial stages of adjustment, the rural immigrant looks towards the other parts of the city and finds, in the older parts, the desired "homely" environment -- as these are the places inhabited by persons with cultural backgrounds similar to his. Thus his successful attempt to find a familiar environment aggravates the undesirable slum situation in the cities, on the one hand, and impedes the urban socio-cultural progress, on the other.

Besides, in the present-day public housing in India, the accommodation provided for the low-income group workers is the "single-room tenements", which consists of one single room of 100-120 square feet, kitchen-cum-verandah of 96 square feet and separate or communal toilet facilities. Such one-room tenements, besides being unhealthy and unhygienic, are also against even the elementary notions about privacy and family life -- more especially this fact should be taken

into account since this low-income group has comparatively larger families with strong kinship ties.

THE PROBLEM OF OVERALL ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL IMMIGRANTS TO THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The adjustment of rural people to living in an urban environment involves a process of economic, social and cultural change. While stressing one or the other of the various problems associated with this process, a number of authors have used different words such as "integration", "assimilation", or "absorption" to refer to the same general problem. The nature of these problems can generally be clearly defined; there are, for example, problems associated with adjustment in employment, language, the re-establishment of primary group relationship, etc. Whether the emphasis is placed on economic, political or cultural factors, the main concept remains that the immigrants should be capable of becoming an invisible part of the general urban population. It may here be emphasized that the process of becoming an integral part of the urban population should not be understood to mean a complete absorption at all levels -- which would be neither possible nor desirable. What is required is a cultural reorienta-

tion which tends to provide this group with a harmonious relationship within the complex cultural matrix. This implies the persistence of some of the differences between immigrants and non-immigrants in certain social and cultural areas, and rests upon a belief in the importance of cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity.

The problems of economic absorption and socio-cultural adjustment are inter-related and constitute two aspects of the overall adjustment problem, which includes, in its scope, both the problems of the urban as well as the rural areas, as has been pointed out by Weaver:

It is almost commonplace that occupations in factories, mines, and offices require more and more skills and less and less purely manual labour, and the same is equally true for modern agriculture. The lack of skills of underemployed or unemployed rural workers thus constitutes a handicap whether he migrates to the city or decides to stay on the land. Skill acquisition is a prerequisite for success. Lack of requisite skills is an adjustment problem which exists in rural areas as much as in cities. Training programs are needed in both areas but none of these can be initiated by a socially responsible community without companion measures to raise living standards at least to a level sufficient to permit average wage earners and the self-employed a degree of satisfaction and well-being which alone can induce a voluntary permanent commitment to productive occupations and specific jobs In this regard also

there is little difference between the task of adjustment of rural migrants to city life and that of adjustments necessitated by the shift from subsistence farming to market-oriented agricultural production. The task of adjustment in cities and in farms is to provide individuals with "know-how" and social services to meet the requirements of life and livelihood in a more impersonal and less patriarchal society.²⁴

It is not possible to deal with the adjustment problems of rural areas in India here, as this is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, it is clear that a comprehensive approach to the overall adjustment problem is needed, which may require a simultaneous attack on related problems in rural and urban areas.

THE EFFECT OF OVERALL ADJUSTMENT ON HOUSING

Overall adjustment of the rural immigrants effects, and improves upon, the urban housing situation in two essential ways:

(a) By helping to provide an 'inner stability' and an elevated standard of life, it incites the immigrant to look for better housing; and

(b) Because the rural 'city-dweller' due to his increased income is now in a position to spend more

²⁴Weaver, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

in renting a house, it induces the private sector to invest in the building of new houses.

A brief explanation of these factors follows:

It has long been observed in India that the private sector is not interested in investment for building houses for the low income group. The burden of meeting the ever-increasing demand for housing in developing urban areas has, therefore, rested almost exclusively on the government, which, because, of its limited resources, has failed to fulfil the need. Consequently, there has been a continuing serious shortage of housing in the urban areas. The need for the private sector to participate in the housing programs is, therefore, imperative. The private sector would, however, not likely participate until it was convinced that now the 'city-dweller' is both willing and able to invest an appropriate amount from his salary in housing. On the other hand, the immigrant would likely refuse to do so till he starts receiving an adequate and regular source of income. While economic absorption would provide the required income, an overall adjustment program would further help to change his general outlook towards life, including housing conditions, and would impel him to allocate more money from his income for housing and its related services.

As has been pointed out else-where, the feelings of rootlessness and forlornness compel the rural immigrant to search for some village-like environment in the cities. He usually can find this environment in the older parts of the city; more specifically in slums and ghettos. His successful attempt to take "roots" in the alien urban world, therefore, adds to the deplorable slum situation. Further, because of his feelings of economic insecurity, he shows blindness towards the world-around-him; he lacks community consciousness; and he has little initiative and drive. Again, his loneliness coupled with his strong kinship feelings takes the form of spending a minimum on himself while saving and sending as much as he can back to his village. It is expected that by economic absorption and overall adjustment, these negative tendencies would be diminished and be ultimately replaced by their healthy counterparts.

SUMMARY

The difference between urban and rural India is based on two different ways of living; for example, there are differences in occupation, environment, size of community, population density, cultural homogeneity,

the system of social interaction, etc. These differences, in the socio-economic structure, are reflected in the differing urban or rural emotional sensibility, and psychological patterns. It may be mentioned in passing that, with the small joint family as the fundamental socio-economic institution, the outlook of the rural people is distinctly kin-oriented a fact which permeates all the various relationships entered into by the villager.

At present in rural India, specialized goods and services, and also physical amenities are either totally extinct or available only to a limited extent. Thus compared with urban standards, rural housing conditions are poor. However, these conditions do not seem alarming due to the fact that the rural people spend a great deal of their time out of doors.

The economic standard of the villagers in India is also quite low. Excessive pressure on land, stagnation of village industries, lack of non-agricultural occupations and job opportunities are all factors responsible for the prevalent high rate of underemployment, unemployment and poverty.

The socio-cultural gulf between the urban elite and the "urbanized villager" is very wide, and poses a number of problems for the recent migrants. The

various factors impeding the adjustment of rural immigrants to an urban environment are:

1. ECONOMIC:

Inadequate economic absorption, which is due to the lack of education and technical skill, lack of familiarity with the monetized system of commerce and trade; peculiarities of market-oriented system of production; non-commitment to a specific type of work; and to some extent linguistic difficulties, and lack of money consciousness.

2. SOCIO-CULTURAL:

As compared with a village, the city is too enormous in its size and too complex in its structure. Such being the case a recent rural immigrant would find it difficult to comprehend, and become quickly adjusted to the city-life. This is especially true if the rural immigrant lacks civic sense -- which, unfortunately happens to be the general case. Also, his different language (or dialect), vocabulary, and pattern of speech, and different social behaviour, all act as barriers to his smoother social relationships with the urbanites. Furthermore, he is usually

ignorant of those institutions of urban communities which could help the adjustment of the immigrant in the initial stages of his settlement.

3. PSYCHOLOGICAL:

In general, the person migrating to an urban area is one who has suffered some considerable socio-economic difficulties in his home-village. As such is the case he is liable to give way even under normal stresses of the alien urban environment. Besides, the abrupt severance of ties with the home community, which deprives him from sympathy, and support of his kin, inculcates in him a feeling of acute forlornness which may, consequently, be manifested in the form of some psychotic or neurotic behaviour.

4. PHYSICAL:

Inadequate housing situation in the urban areas, which disallows the essential family life to the immigrant.

The problem of adjusting rural people to an urban environment is an overall adjustment problem embracing all aspects of the life of the immigrant, viz.,

economic, socio-cultural, psychological, physical
and includes such factors as age, sex, race, etc.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPORTANCE OF HOUSING IN THE ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL IMMIGRANTS TO THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

India is currently experiencing a rapid increase in population growth and in the urbanization process leading to industrialization. This is resulting in an overcrowding of urban areas with attendant problems of illiteracy, unemployment, inadequate community facilities and services and deplorable housing conditions both in quantity and quality. The present unsatisfactory urban housing situation is due to: the comparatively small investment in housing by private enterprise; the failure of the public housing program to cope with the complex problems of housing; the national policy of giving priority to the investment in capital assets; the inadequacies of urban-regional planning and administration; the apathetic attitude of the urban dwellers towards housing situation and their lack of motivation towards self-improvement; the concentration of industries in a few urban centres; and rapid growth of population. The low-income group in general and the rural immigrants in this group particularly, due to their peculiar cultural, economic and

physical problems need special attention.

Thus the housing problem in India is in actuality only one result of a complex of underlying urban problems, which are interdependent and which, if resolved, would tend to contribute to the elimination of the housing problem itself. It was observed in Chapter III that the socio-cultural gulf between the urban elite and the 'urbanized villager' is very wide, and poses a number of problems for the rural immigrants in the urban areas. It was also observed that the immigrant's problems of economic absorption, socio-psychological adjustment, as well as his need for adequate residential accommodation along with community services and facilities are all interdependent. Also, it was indicated that the solutions of these basic problems would be helpful in housing the rural immigrants in the urban areas in India. It seems logical here to review these inter-related problems of the immigrant and to investigate possible alternative solutions and also the interdependence of the solutions to the immigrant's problems.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to review the immigrant's problems and make recommendations regarding possible alternative solutions under the following headings: economic absorption, socio-psychological, physical and general considerations.

ECONOMIC ABSORPTION: NEED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From previous discussion it seems clear, however, even without substantiation by exact and comprehensive data that for the majority of the immigrants who move to the city, the results are merely an exchange of one form of poverty, and underemployment in the rural area, for possibly more extreme poverty, overcrowding, illhealth and lack of employment in the urban areas in India. Under these conditions of marginal living, India is suffering a loss of human potential and productivity which it can ill afford to forgo.

Once the immigrant has arrived in the urban area, the first of the various governmental agencies concern should be to get him established as quickly as possible. Usually the immigrant arrives in the urban areas without income and without any particular skills, and he tends to remain at a marginal level of living for most of his life time. Far from contributing anything to the wealth of the community, he lives at the expense of it, and the cumulative effect of large numbers of such persons is to restrict the whole urban economy to a mere subsistence level. Under these conditions there is little likelihood of the local Governments finding the revenue to finance the community services

and housing necessary to keep pace with the growing population. The poor health, malnutrition and overcrowding resulting from this neglect of community services tend, in turn, to perpetuate the low level of productivity. A major objective of National policy should therefore be to break this self-perpetuating cycle of marginal subsistence and to turn each immigrant into a productive member of the community with the least possible delay. The person with an income from employment is a consumer of goods and services, and the demand for these stimulates new capital investment which in turn creates additional employment opportunities.

The immigrant to the city needs advice on the employment opportunities available, the qualifications required for them and, if he lacks these qualifications, he needs assistance in obtaining them. He lacks, in general, the minimum basic education necessary to take part fully in the economic life of the urban areas, or even to take specialized training. In such a case, he will need advice on literacy classes and opportunities for acquiring the required basic education. In this respect the situation of the illiterate adult rural immigrant is particularly difficult, and needs special attention. Consideration should be given to the establishment of special classes and programs for such

persons. These classes or skill acquisition programs should be available in the evenings, to allow persons who are working to attend.

Technical Unemployment Needs Special Attention

In the previous chapter it was observed that economic absorption is an important aspect of the overall adjustment process of the rural immigrants in the urban areas in India. In addition to this need for economic absorption the problems of unemployment, misemployment and underemployment among both the educated (persons having little knowledge to read and write one of the vernacular languages) and illiterate rural immigrants prevail in the urban areas. Within the general employment situation, the problem of technical unemployment needs special attention.

The rapid pace of industrialization during the last ten years in India has been accompanied by marked changes in the occupational structure of industry and commerce. Industry now employs 'educated' persons who would formerly have been absorbed in 'white collar' employment. Newer industries such as iron and steel, chemicals, petroleum refining, general and electrical engineering, rubber tires, aluminium, etc., are being developed relatively faster than older industries such

as cotton textiles, jute and tea. On the one hand the newer industries employ the advanced mechanized and automatic techniques of production, while on the other hand the older industries, with an eye on meeting competition in the international market, have introduced mechanised processes. The result of these changes in the techniques of production in the older and the newer industries in India is technological unemployment. This means there is a shortage of skilled labour and also there is a lack of jobs for unskilled labour. Keeping in mind the future prospects of industrialization and the needs for mechanization for efficiency and economy in production, the employment opportunities for unskilled labour are bound to decrease in India and this makes it essential to turn unskilled manual workers into skilled operators.

Increasing Employment Opportunities for Unskilled Rural Immigrants

The economic absorption problem of rural immigrants in the urban areas has two main aspects, Firstly, there is an immediate need for creating more employment for unskilled labour, at least for a short period of time. Secondly, it is imperative to turn relatively unskilled manual workers into skilled operators, effi-

cient supervisors and trained managerial staff.

When one considers the possibilities of increasing employment opportunities for unskilled immigrants in the urban areas in India, the prospects seem meagre but not impossible. "In less developed countries, the numbers engaged in trade (commerce) are large, in relation to the work they are required to handle, so that the effect of expansion in the trading sector is more to reduce underemployment than to produce additional work opportunities to entrants".¹ Similarly, "In industry, increase in investment and capacity does not lead to a proportionate growth of employment because new processes, specially in large-scale manufacture, have generally to be based on high productivity techniques which are mechanised and automatic".² The other main agencies which could employ immigrants are the Government offices and other public and semi-public offices. These agencies have their own limitations for employing illiterate immigrants due to their need for better trained managerial and supervisory staff for efficiency and economy.

¹Government of India, Third Five Year Plan (New Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1961), p. 157.

²Ibid., p. 157.

Nevertheless, from the overall development point of view of the nation "the importance of keeping economic planning within bounds which will facilitate the adaptation and application of traditional skills and productive methods in the new social and economic environment"³ seems imperative. What is required is that the immigrants should not be entirely thrown into the 'open' market, with its impersonal relations and possibilities of disorganization; rather he should be provided with some sort of security of employment. This does not mean overprotection. Overprotection in employment can kill the initiative which the immigrant must have if he is to become adjusted to his new environment.⁴

In so many industries it is imperative to adapt the advanced techniques (high degree of automation) and the scale and methods of production which will yield the largest economies. Keeping in view the present unemployment situation and its ramifications in India, this system of production has to be balanced by a deliberate effort in other fields to employ techniques which will

³W.D. Borrie and Others, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, (A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the Unesco Conference held in Havana, 1956, Paris: UNESCO, 1959), p. 104.

⁴S.N. Eisenstadt, 'Traditional and Modern Social Values and Economic Development', in Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, May 1956, pp. 150-52.

be more labour-intensive. These labour-intensive techniques are also bound to save capital resources of India, specially foreign exchange. For example, labour-intensive methods have wider application possibilities in the field of building construction, given the necessary organization and advanced planning. Also, it is necessary to re-examine the scope that exists in individual construction projects for the increasing utilization of manual labour.

It seems logical to mention here that techniques to be adopted, for the utilization of manual labour, can not be of a uniform nature for the whole of India. What techniques should be adopted have to be determined not only according to the types of activities to be carried out, but also by the economic and social characteristics of the regions in which they are undertaken. Under such circumstances it is recommended that an attack be made upon the employment problem within the regional context. Furthermore, unemployment problems in each province should, therefore, be analyzed by districts, and at each level - village, block or district - as much as possible should be tackled. Moreover, such an analysis of local employment problems should enable the authorities to focus attention on and to mobilize resources for dealing with specific employment aspects, e.g., unemployed skilled and skilled labour.

Also, it seems practical to recommend that the Government should encourage the development of small scale units of production along with large scale units of production. These small scale units of production, which mainly employ semi-skilled and unskilled labour, are now generally handicapped by the short supply of raw material, credit facilities, and the lack of processing facilities. A comprehensively planned effort should be made by the Government of India to mitigate these handicaps.

It is recommended, wherever possible, that the Government encourage the development of intensive market gardening and truck farming (farms of cash crops are located near the metropolitan centres and the cash crops are carried to the urban areas by truck) on land suitable for this purpose within or around the urban areas. This will require not only effective control over the use of land (this presupposes physical planning at the regional and local level) but active sponsorship of agriculture training programs and farm settlement schemes and assistance in establishing co-operatives for marketing.

Turning Unskilled Manual Workers into Skilled Operators

It is now widely believed that stabilization of the socio-economic life in the urban areas is the essential prerequisite for the creation of effective economic absorption. Successful stabilization means integration of the immigrants into the economic structure of the new urban environment. This can become possible only by successfully turning relatively unskilled manual workers into skilled operators by vocational training, in-plant training, management technique training programs, etc. But this is not an easy task in India, due to the scale of the problem and the lack of finances and training facilities.

The mobility of immigrants as well as their transient nature are serious obstacles to the development of skills, since workers rarely stay long enough on a job to acquire experience and qualifications in a given type of work, and the employers also hesitate to incur the cost of training in such cases. The average immigrant's lack of education makes training difficult. There is, moreover, a serious lack of training facilities both in schools and on the job in general and for illiterate and unskilled immigrants particularly. In spite of an increase since 1951 in the number of industrial training schools, in-plant training facili-

ties in general and management technique training facilities for educated youth⁵, vocational training has often not kept pace with industrial development either in quality or in quantity. Adequate systematic schemes of training generally exist only in government and government-aided schools, while well-organized apprenticeship systems are found only in a few large industrial undertakings. Economic necessity and the desire to earn higher wages often result in a breaking of apprenticeship contacts by the worker in order to engage in semi-skilled employment at the earliest opportunity. Moreover, a rural immigrant finds it difficult, if not impossible, to support himself and his family during the training period without any outside financial support. Unfortunately, such financial supports are totally absent.

To attack specifically the skill acquisition problem of rural immigrants it is imperative to design a program based on the principle of 'earn while you learn'. The training program also demands long term and short term measures. Short term measures for rapidly training or retraining adult workers to meet the needs of developing industries and changing economies and the general shortages

⁵For the details regarding the training facilities provided during the Second Five Year Plan and proposed schemes and programs for the Third Five Year Period, see, Third Five Year Plan, op. cit., pp. 260-61.

of skilled labour, have a particular urgency in India. Since 1954 the Government of India has planned several training schemes to meet the situation.

In India, following an investigation carried out by the Planning Commission in 1954, a training programme has been instituted to assist educated unemployed persons to enter industrial occupations or to set up in business for themselves. Under this scheme, 'Work-cum-orientation' centres have been set up which give six months practical training in five basic trades (light mechanics, wood-working, electrical house wiring, repair work on electrical appliances and building trades); lectures on general commercial subjects; and vocational counselling which aims primarily at persuading the educated unemployed to seek a means of livelihood other than clerical employment. The first of these special courses was started in Delhi in April 1957.⁶

Also, during the Second Five Year Plan Period an "apprenticeship training scheme" was introduced in India however without much success. "During the Second Plan, little progress has been registered under the apprenticeship training scheme, which has so far been carried out on a voluntary basis. It has now been decided to place the scheme on a compulsory footing and a Bill on the subject is proposed to be introduced in Parliament".⁷

In terms of long range measures, it is recommended that much higher priority be given to technical education

⁶United Nations Secretariat, International Survey of Programmes of Social Development (New York: United Nations, 1959), p. 56.

⁷Third Five Year Plan, op. cit., p. 260

and vocational training programs in the urban areas and also vocational training facilities should be expanded on a large scale in the rural areas simultaneously.

Secondly, it is recommended that the type of training given be more closely related to the present and future requirements of industry.

In terms of short range measures, it is recommended that the Government of India institute a scheme to educate illiterate and unskilled immigrants, similar in nature and scope to the "work-cum-orientation" scheme instituted for educated unemployed persons. Such a course should last for six to nine months (according to the trade) and the trainees should be paid an amount equal to the minimum wage. It is important that program of this nature should develop from its inception a reputation for efficiency and effectiveness. Participation in this project should be a source of pride and should provide a valuable experience in good work habits and in community service. The program should not become a dumping ground for those whom all other measures have proved ineffectual. To satisfy these conditions it is recommended that the program should begin on a limited scale and be administered by a staff of the highest calibre.

In order to make a training program of this nature as practical as possible, co-operation between the various

ministries of the government, between various levels of government and between employer's and worker's organization are essential. It is, therefore, recommended that an Advisory Committee, with representatives from the Ministries of Labour and Education as well as from prospective employers and workers organizations should be formed. The duties of this agency should be to guide the policies of the Government and to review the progress and the success of the program. It is, also, recommended that the existing equipment and building and staff of the Industrial Training Institutes should be used and that the program should be started immediately. Further, since this training program may not be enough to adjust the immigrant to a new job, what is required is a paid apprenticeship for a short period on a specific type of job, i.e., in-job apprenticeship. It is recommended that the Government co-ordinate the work-cum-orientation program with the apprenticeship program for those who can benefit from both.

The employment finding, job placement and counselling services in India are provided by the Employment Exchanges in the rural and urban areas; Employment Market Information Programs and the State Employment Directorates. Employment Exchanges also carry out services such as the Youth Employment Service and Youth Counselling

Services. During the Third Five Year Plan Period, the Government of India has an ambitious target to cover each district in India by these services. During the last ten years the record of the placement made by the Exchanges and State Employment Directorates has not been impressive, and while this is largely attributable to the condition of the employment market and the lack of the qualifications of the job seekers, the experience of other countries has demonstrated that even in these circumstances much waste can be avoided by a vigorous and imaginative employment service. It is understood that this matter is already receiving the attention of the Central and Provincial Governments, and it should be given every support.

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT:

NEED AND RECOMMENDATION

It is obvious from the experience of other countries, such as England and United States, that the conditions of rapid physical and social change which the urban areas in India are experiencing, cannot take place without certain social costs. With increasing urban growth and industrialization in India, new strains are imposed upon the traditional family structure and social

framework of the rural immigrant to the urban areas. The growth of a money economy confers increasing importance upon the monetary constituents of family living, which in turn means increasing dependence upon wage earning employment and in some cases income from self-employment operations. If this income should become inadequate or cease altogether, the urban family would be faced with a state of destitution more severe than that of the villager who is dependent on subsistence farming. Apart from the provision of the material base for living and economic absorption, there are also various problems of adjustment to new values and socio-cultural conditions which must be taken into account.

Family ties tend to be weakened by the mobility and physical separation of its members, while the desire for improved standards of living, a better education for one's children and the aspirations of various other kind accelerates the trend away from the extended family towards the small conjugal family of husband, wife and children. The extra emotional and economic load which the small family then has to carry, together with the changes in the status and role of father and mother, intensifies the chances of discord and family breakdown. The anonymity of the large urban areas provides freedom from the traditional social controls of clan, class,

caste and village. This freedom may be a necessary condition for the expression of individual personality and exercise of initiative, which are considered to be characteristics of the urbanites, but the reverse side of this situation is confusion of moral standards and such manifestations of social disorganization as family disintegration, mental illness, crime and delinquency.

The rural immigrant in the urban areas could be helped to function on his highest level in a comparatively shorter time, if there were a sufficient effort to shorten the cultural distance between him and the urbanites. This could be made possible through orientation, clarification, interpretation of the new socio-cultural urban environment, support and encouragement in the adjustment process. The immigrant needs help which must be extended very promptly and through the earliest contacts. His need grows from a feeble beginning, through many and sad misunderstandings, to sizeable proportions within a very short period after arrival in the urban areas.

If this need is not met, it may result in a protective shell of aggression, bitterness and hostility against and rejection of his urban environment. It may lead to hurting the emotions of the immigrant and may lead to his withdrawal into silent and negative suffering, cutting deep into the effectiveness and balance of

the sufferer and his family unit. It may eventually perpetuate itself in affecting, through cynical and destructive generalizations, his relatives and friends.

Entering a new cultural community requires quick and ready appreciation of innumerable matters wholly familiar to the person who has grown up in that environment. There are no formal methods provided for such learning. Even if he has a place to live, has a good job and has no language difficulties, he still may fail in grasping the significant differences and similarities between his traditional set of values, his traditional behaviour, and the accepted behaviour of the community into which he has entered. Consequently, in the process of cultural transition, the rural immigrant in the urban areas, needs help in connection with the adjustment of both his feelings and his values.

Apart from the above mentioned difficulties and needs of the rural immigrant in the urban environment, however, there are a number of complicating factors which make the situation of an immigrant more difficult. Although knowledge of the language and dialect of the urban areas itself is not the answer to his problem, it is a very important factor. One could hardly disagree that there is no frustration like the fear of not being able to make oneself understood when the necessity arises.

Further, the language difficulties coupled with illiteracy make the adjustment of the immigrant really difficult. Another factor is the immigrant's entirely new environment, which produces in him a tremendous feeling of insecurity. He is overwhelmed by the sense of strangeness and is utterly unable to analyze and dissect the strangeness itself in order to find channels and opportunities which would provide meaningful clarification for his immediate pressing purposes. This problem of the immigrant is unfortunately accompanied by his ignorance of the role which community services, and voluntary and government agencies play in the urban environment and of the many common resources they offer. Such being the case he needs help to create community life and community consciousness and to regain intimacy in his impersonal surroundings.

Social Welfare Services in India

A number of welfare services have been established to provide for casualties of the social changes taking place in India. Responsibility for these services is divided among a number of different authorities. The main authorities are: the Central and Provincial Ministries of Labour, Community Development and Health; and the Central and Provincial Social Welfare Boards. In addition to these agencies, some local Governments, such as the

Delhi Municipal Corporation, have started urban community development programs. Besides these government provided welfare services, there are a number of voluntary organizations active in the welfare field, although it must be admitted that the concept of voluntary social services is still very much in its infancy in India.

The main social welfare programs, which have been implemented by voluntary organizations with the assistance of the Central and State Governments are welfare extension projects undertaken by the Central and State Social Welfare Boards, programs relating to social defence, social and moral hygiene services and other welfare programs.

The programs taken by the Central and State Welfare Boards, also include preventive services such as mental hygiene services such as student and youth counselling, child guidance clinics and marriage counselling, etc. Also the activities for which the Central and State Boards are responsible are the establishment of urban community services centre, production units to assist women to supplement their incomes, and night shelters in urban areas. The production unit scheme also includes programs such as concentrated courses for women with the goal of attaining the minimum educational qualifications necessary for further vocational training and employment; and providing maternity and child health

services, crafts classes, social education for women and care of children. Also there is the Employee's State Insurance Scheme which has been progressively implemented in various centres in India. It includes medical care and treatment including hospitalization and midwifery services to the families of insured persons. This scheme is administered by the Ministry of Labour in collaboration with the Ministry of Health.

However, from the above discussion it is not to be understood that the social welfare agencies in India are adequately servicing large areas and extending their help to the majority of the population needing help. The facts are sadly otherwise, and may be made evident by the following remarks of Gadgil:

In respect of welfare or social security programmes in general, nothing much need to be said. The coverage of the existing social security programme is limited to a very small fraction of the population. It also happens that the sections benefited thereby are not the most disadvantaged. This not to say that normal development of this programme should not take place; it does, however, appear that in view of the cost to be incurred and of the large administrative problems, the normal social security approach cannot be pursued in the near future in India. The fact that the vast majority of the persons that require welfare and security measures are either self-employed, or employed in agriculture or small businesses of all kinds, and

include, to a large extent, even floating and casual labour, is also an important consideration.⁸

Evaluation of Existing Facilities, and Recommendations

It seems reasonable now to review the specific difficulties of an immigrant in using the existing social welfare facilities and services. Coming to an urban area, the first thing that an immigrant would naturally look for is at least a shelter. If he is fortunate enough to know someone of his region, caste or kin in the vicinity, he may find some help in getting temporary housing. On the other hand, if he does not know anybody, he finds himself in a hopeless situation. In this connection, it may be stated that governmental agencies in India provide a few "night shelters" in some urban areas. According to the information available in this regard, there are 42 such urban night shelters in the whole of India, administered by Central and State Social Welfare Boards. However, a detailed working procedure of these shelters is not available but it seems probable that a person can stay only during nights, for a limited number of nights with some nominal payment per night. One can easily imagine

⁸ D.R. Gadgil, Planning and Economic Policy in India (Poona: Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1962), p. 130.

the inadequacy of accommodation of this type as compared with its need. Consequently, an immigrant finds it very difficult to get a place in these shelters. Moreover, he does not find it easy to afford the rent unless he gets such a job where advance payment is made and this state of affairs is rather unusual. In most cases these so called nominal rents are quite high for an unemployed, poverty-stricken rural immigrant.

After obtaining a shelter, an immigrant tries to find a job. He looks forward to the Employment Exchange offices. The usual procedure is to fill up a form and then wait till the employment office finds some appropriate vacancy, in which case it sends a formal letter inviting the immigrant to call for an interview with some organisation. It is not very hard to imagine how an immigrant would support himself for the period between the time of his appearance before the employment officer and his first interview with some employer, leaving alone the duration of waiting time. At the time of interview he is, again, handicapped by his rural cultural traits. More often than not, he is bound to fail at the first interview. When this does happen, i.e., when he fails to get a job, the employment office goes on repeating its duty in a routine fashion, by repeatedly inviting him to call for interviews, taking no consideration at

any time as to whether the applicant gets the job or not, and if not why. Consequently, the immigrant feels despondent specially after several unsuccessful efforts of the employment office to find him a job. Also the feeling of being left alone when overwhelmed with strangeness may intensify the anxiety of an immigrant which may then severely handicap his chances for getting employment.

It may be suggested that an immigrant could bring his problems to the Employment Officer since the latter is a public servant. It is possible that the Employment Officer would not turn down such a request. However, there are other factors which should be considered at this point. First, the attitude of an immigrant toward public servants; the feeling which he brings with him from rural areas is one of distrust: A public servant is a white-collar officer and it is always better to remain at some distance from him. Second, the chances of possible help offered being effective are remote. In general, the employment officers are not equipped with sufficient knowledge of community resources; neither have they enough time to spend with the problems of the immigrant, nor are they trained to understand confused, emotionally upset "uncivilized" individuals; any fortunate visit of a daring immigrant with such an "Officer" is, therefore, likely to be of not much avail.

Besides, the division of welfare services into several authorities is so confusing that even an urbanite finds it often complex and difficult to understand where to seek help. Further, an immigrant has no previous experience with professional help of this kind. In villages the help is provided by the immigrant's kins. There is a need, therefore, of his being carefully introduced to his new environment. Moreover, due to the division of social welfare services between several authorities, a person seeking help has to run from one authority to another, because it often happens that the responsibility for part of his request for help is not "within the function of the agency". In fact one agency is not fully aware of the scope and limitations of the other agencies' functions. Such being the case, by the number of referrals and suggestions that may be made to him by persons not adequately informed regarding available services, an immigrant may easily get discouraged from any further effort to seek help. Also, the impersonal relations between the various governmental welfare agencies and an immigrant discourages the immigrant most from seeking help, and increases his feeling of insecurity.

From the previous discussion, it is evident that there is an urgent need for the following:

(1) An Orientation Course to instruct the immigrant about the general problems which he is likely to encounter in his new surroundings in the urban areas, and their appropriate solutions. This Course could also provide the general instructions regarding hygiene and sanitation;

(2) Adult Education Programs may be introduced to provide some minimal primary education for the immigrants, so as to prepare them better to cope with the urban environment;

(3) An Information Service to provide information regarding the services and facilities available in the community, and the procedures of deriving benefits from them;

(4) Individual Counselling and Case-work to create personal relations between the various welfare agencies and the immigrant. Also, it is essential to have some agency which could listen to the various problems of the immigrant, advise him accordingly and, to solve his problems more efficiently, could coordinate the activities of the welfare agencies.

It is also recommended that the Government should establish more "urban community centers" covering each ward of the urban areas. Besides, attempts should be made to get maximum coordination at all levels of the

government to organize the orientation courses, adult education services, individual counselling and case work services, etc. That such a need has been felt by the Government itself is evident from the following remarks of the authors of the Third Five Year Plan:

"A stage has been reached in the development of welfare services when, for the better utilization of the available resources and improvement in the quality of the services offered, it is essential that the various Government agencies concerned, both at the Centre and the States, should achieve a larger measure of coordination among themselves".⁹ Further, depending upon the necessity, wards in separation or in combination should be designated as neighbourhood. Each neighbourhood or the combination of neighbourhoods, depending upon the size in population and a real pattern, should have one urban community center. Buildings of the existing schools and their staff along with equipment could be used for this purpose. The Provincial Welfare Boards could be made solely responsible for coordinating the activities of the various agencies. It is also suggested that the administration of the Employee's State Insurance Scheme should be transferred from the Ministry of Labour to the

⁹Third Five Year Plan, op. cit., p. 77.

Central and State Social Welfare Boards. For the efficiency and effectiveness of the social welfare programs in India, Central and Provincial Boards should remain the only agencies responsible for the coordination of the programs. Thus with this administrative change, it is expected that a foundation for a comprehensive and well integrated social welfare program administration could be laid.

To make the social assistance program successful it is imperative to have social workers. A social worker is aware of the importance of the psychological satisfaction to the individual who needs help and he is able to accept and understand his feelings. Since the difficulties of the immigrant are mainly in the area of his feelings, leaving the need of economic absorption alone, in conjunction with his cultural transition and need for coordinating the assistance of the various agencies, the social worker would be able to give effective help.

Keeping in mind the huge scale of the problem of housing in India and the relative shortage of trained social workers it is recommended that the training programs be expanded and also that concentrated courses in social work for persons working in Employment Exchange Offices, other voluntary organizations, and school teachers be initiated. The instruction in such course

should include instructions in communications, human relations, psychology and behaviour, community agencies and resources, home management and basic record keeping. The workers should also know the dialects of the various regions in India.

A Successful Family Planning Program is
Essential for Socio-Psychological Adjustment

Assuming successful economic absorption it could be expected that a rural immigrant will not have mental disturbances caused by unemployment. Nevertheless an immigrant would remain worried due to his low wages and low standard of living. This is a general problem facing India, but the bigger families of the low income group make the situation more difficult. With the success of India's economic development, through the Five Year Plans, it is expected that the socio-economic situation will improve in general, provided that the tremendous population growth can be brought under control. Thus it seems that the success of the family planning program is a key issue.

It is recommended that more effort with great determination should be made by all levels of the Government in India to make this program successful. In this field the help of the voluntary agencies such as religious

institutions should also be sought. Consideration should be given for establishing a factory, in the public sector, to manufacture contraceptives etc., on a mass scale. The prices of these products should be kept as low as can be afforded by the lowest income group in India. It would be advantageous and profitable in the long run to even supply contraceptives free to those who can not afford to buy them. One of the main reasons why the family planning scheme was not successful with the low income group in India is the high rate of illiteracy. Efforts are being made to educate the masses but the Government of India should use audiovisual techniques of mass education vigorously regarding the advantages of making family planning scheme successful for the masses and for the nation. It is recommended that the Films Division of the Government of India should produce more films on this subject and that it should be made compulsory by law to show these films along with each regular movie in commercial theatres. The All India Radio should devote a few minutes every day to this topic in their programs, especially for the villagers. Consideration should also be given to such methods as giving financial support to those families who do not produce more than a certain number of children. This may have a dual effect on the low income group. For those who are successful in family

planning will get a tangible reward and others will get incentives to make the scheme a success.

The Need for Encouraging the Formation
of Peer Groups and Community Feeling

In addition to the foregoing there remains the problem of the individual's feeling of isolation and his need for belonging to his peer groups and to the community. To overcome and to avoid such situations it is imperative to have both preventive measures as well as curative programs.

One could ask does family immigration assist or hinder cultural integration. In the majority of cases the male immigrant comes to the city leaving his family behind in the village. This is particularly due to the shortage of the housing accommodation and other economic reasons, but the question arises - is this desirable from the overall developmental point of view? The migration of the family certainly provides an incentive for the breadwinner to achieve economic success and may thus cut one important thread linking him to his area of origin. Thus it may be expected that no more will he remain a part of the mobile population and that he will try to take roots in the urban areas. But against this the family's presence would provide a nucleus in which the language,

habits and customs of the villages may be retained. This may be true for a short period of time but the obvious advantage of the family's environment would be his improved mental stability. Further, the migration of the family brings pressure for the immigration of a wider kinship group - whose entry may be considered undesirable due to the burden upon social services, and financial resources of the community and this may result in many group settlements. This family migration would not be a financial burden if all the members of the family could be converted into productive units of the socio-economic environment of the urban areas. The prerequisite of the families' migration is economic absorption and adequate housing for immigrants. It is highly recommended that the Government should take every care to provide the necessary facilities and to encourage the reunion of the family of the immigrants as soon as possible.

Improved Services and Facilities in the Residential Environment will Assist Family Development

It may be expected that the improvement in the convenience and amenity of family living will improve the psychological stability of the family by enabling family members to better react to each other. This concerns the provision of services and facilities at the

neighbourhood and a community level which can assist family life. The services and facilities should be adequate to satisfy the needs of the family growth from the union to death of the marriage partners and their children.

From a child's point of view, a stable family environment in which love and emotional warmth exists is considered a basic need for the child's emotional security. It is highly reasonable to expect that an improvement in the physical quality of the residential environment will effect a greater convenience and amenity of living and will enable family members to have more satisfying relationships with each other. By contrast, overcrowding may result in a lack of privacy for family members with a high frequency of inter-personal contact and the danger of provoking irritability of family members who seem to get in each others way. So, it may be generally assumed that the residential environment which is irritating or frustrating because of inadequacy or inconvenience will act as a negative influence on the quality of family life and the family's psychological stability.

Due to the nuclear nature of the families in the urban areas, in general, the choice of relationships for a child within the family is limited, and the opportunities

outside the home for guidance and inter-personal contact become important. For the healthy personality development of children, the residential environment should provide social and recreational facilities outside the house also.

Further, to provide contact with a sufficient variety of people and experience for a child to constitute a normal range of experience, an environment with varied residential composition with broad limits as to size of family, income and social position is desirable. Also, for proper development of the mental health of the child there is the need for opportunities to express creativity, spontaneity, etc. For this, properly designed outdoor play spaces are required.

Similarly, for adolescents, considerations should be given to providing recreational facilities designed to accommodate varying physiques and temperments.

Regarding the psychological dissatisfaction attached to the role of a housewife, Margaret Mead observed:

If we consider the complaints about home-making, the chief complaint might be identified as isolation. Men have left the home, grandparents and maiden aunts and widowed cousins no longer live together in the same house - and the wife remains at home all alone. This boredom and loneliness of doing alone the jobs that were once done either in chattering groups of women or by

a whole family working together is one thread that runs through women's discontent.¹⁰

Though these feelings have been observed in connection with the American woman, the fact remains that it is also true with the rural immigrant's nuclear families in urban areas in India. It is also true in the Indian context that the quality of the residential setting may either enhance the housewife's role or intensify its dissatisfactions. These negative feelings should be avoided by making available nursery and child care facilities within the community. Such provision will provide the basis for either occasional or regular relief from the duties of child rearing and family care. Further, such assistance will save mothers from becoming irritated or resentful due to the constant demands of child rearing.

It is recommended that under the community centres program, every effort should be made to encourage establishment of such institutions as 'community baby sitting pool', nursery, etc. Such programs should be organized purely on a mutual self-help basis. In the initial stages of such undertakings guidance by a trained social worker would be of immense help. Moreover, in

¹⁰ Margaret Mead, "What American Woman Want", Fortune, XXXIV, No. 6, December 1946), p. 173.

each neighbourhood, community space should be made available by the Government, where housewives might jointly undertake to meet some of their domestic needs. Such community space should also have facilities to accommodate such activities as cooperative nursery and child care facilities or group home care activities such as laundry, sewing, dress making, etc. It could be speculated on the basis of experience from other countries that by taking some of these activities outside the individual residence, housewives would improve mental outlook. Besides offering opportunities for companionship and community feeling, such a change might help to generate new interest in these activities.

In spite of all these preventive measures, the need for the cure of the mentally disturbed immigrant still remains to be dealt with. It is recommended that consideration should be given to the provision of psychiatric outpatient services and other facilities to treat neurotics through the Urban Community Centres. At the very least, medical and nursing staff at these community centres should be sufficiently well informed about mental illness to be able to recognize symptoms, and to make referrals. Also, the principles of mental health should be emphasized in the community education program for adults. Much useful work could be accomplished

at comparatively little expense by the employment of professionally trained social workers with experience in psychiatric work at the community centres.

PHYSICAL PLANNING: NEED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem of housing the rural immigrants in the urban areas in India is mainly two fold: the lack of an adequate supply of housing units and the deplorable condition of the existing housing. Normally, an immigrant in the urban area finds accommodation according to one of the following basic categories:

(i) the virtually homeless people, the ones who are squatting in the cities without even a temporary roof over their heads. These people are living, and very often dying, right in the streets of major urban centres;

(ii) inhabitants of shacks - temporary houses known as 'jugis', etc., at the outskirts of the urban areas. The condition in these areas have become established without any plan, and without any support for the people, who have used temporary materials in temporary small constructions without any community facilities, water supply, sewerage facilities, etc., and quite often on land which is not owned by them;

(iii) inhabitants of old, decaying houses usually

in the oldest parts of the cities. These areas are extremely overcrowded with inadequate community facilities and are neglected by the public authorities since redevelopment would be an uneconomic proposition;

(iv) public housing - these are the houses constructed by various Government agencies. These are basically simply 'shelter' because they are devoid of the required community life due to the lack of basic community facilities such as schools, dispensaries, libraries, recreation facilities, etc. This is the result of the Government's regarding herself virtually as only a construction company whose only function is to produce houses, that is 'shelters'. Further, under these schemes no consideration has been given to the accommodation needs of the families. Single room shelters are used to house families of four to six members.

From the above mentioned facts it is clear that housing must be provided for those who cannot afford to pay even economic rent and who cannot own a house on their own. Also, on a large scale more and more houses must be provided along with improving the existing housing by providing community facilities, etc. For this purpose high subsidies by the Government are imperative. The Government recognizes the need for achieving balanced economic and social progress but at present priorities

are given to industrial development and economic overhead investments. The investments in the social overhead has been postponed to some indefinite time in the future. The social and economic overhead investments, as they are used here, refer to the whole range of public or quasi public capital improvements that structure the community. Social overhead includes community improvements such as schools, education, housing, institutional and welfare expenditures, etc. By economic overhead is meant those investments more directly geared to productive activities such as irrigation or power projects, provision of roads, utilities and communication facilities. In fact, social overhead investment is prerequisite for economic development as observed by United Nations Experts:

Housing, together with education and health, belongs to the category of 'social overhead' projects. They are considered basic to economic development. In this respect, they can be compared to the 'economic overhead' projects such as transport, communication and power, which are generally considered to be requisite for effective economic development. These overhead projects provide little or no yields in the short run and take a considerable time to realize any yields in financial terms. Their benefits, however, are derived from the more balanced development of economic activities which utilize them.¹¹

So, consideration should be given by the Government

¹¹United Nations, ECOSOC, Financing of Housing and Community Improvements, (New York: United Nations, 1955), p. 11.

of India to allocate more funds for social overhead expenditure. Along with public expenditure on housing the need for attracting the private sector to invest in housing is imperative. In this regard consideration should be given to exploring the following financial sources and methods of financing housing projects:

- (1) Borrowing by the State or Housing Boards¹² from the money market or by floating bonds.
- (2) Voluntary or compulsory contributions by employers for housing their employees.
- (3) Saving by house owners.
- (4) Self-help and mutual help.
- (5) A combination of two or more of the above sources.

In industries having low capital/labour ratios the cost of providing workers' housing becomes disproportionately high as compared to the total capital cost of establishing the industry and the Government is not generally prepared to compel industries to build houses for workers employed by them since it would reduce the employment potential of the available capital in economic overhead investment. However, the Government should make it compulsory for employers to house a certain percentage of their employees. This percentage should go up progres-

¹²Supra., p. 28.

sively along with the size of the total capital invested in the industry.

The experience from the other countries shows that borrowing from the money market is an effective method of raising funds. Consideration should be given by the Housing Boards to attract private investment in Housing by inducements such as tax rebates, income tax exemptions and other such measures.

General experience shows that many people are willing to save for housing if not for better housing, who would not make their savings available for other investments and that additional savings are achieved through house construction. The Housing Board should explore the possibilities of utilizing this type of saving.

Perhaps the most important economic justification for self-help, mutual-help housing is provided by an existing condition of irregular, seasonal and disguised unemployment. Low income families are characterised by a high propensity to consume additional income, their participation in self-help and mutual-help housing projects result in forced savings, thus redistributing income on a more permanent basis. Also, the success of such project will develop a community consciousness and sense of collective solutions for housing and other related

problems. Such programs need to be provided by the Government to provide the technical know how. This could be in the form of demonstrating a design of a prototype dwelling that could be built up from a number of prefabricated components with the aid of clear working plans and a detailed schedule of instructions and an instructor. Prefabrication seems to overcome three construction difficulties: quality control, construction time and technical supervision. The cost of construction shall go down due to the mass production of building components. It is recommended that consideration should be given by the Government to launch aided self-help and mutual-help housing programs in the urban areas. The prefabricated building components should be supplied on a long term hire purchase arrangement. Consideration should also be given to provide developed land with 'core houses'¹³ by the Government and the employers on the long term hire purchase system. More rooms could be added in the future by the owner when needed.

The Provision of Community Facilities as an Emergency Program for the Slum Areas in India

Apart from housing the homeless people there is an urgent need to check the further deterioration of existing

¹³A 'core house' means single room house with necessary toilet and community facilities.

housing by improving the sub-standard housing. It appears that vital relief can be given quickly through emergency programs that will provide in sub-standard areas the necessary water supply and sewage disposal facilities, access streets, electricity, play areas, schools, community centres for meeting and adult training, and clinics or dispensaries. The results may not be as dramatic as clearance and rebuilding. At best, annual new construction can house only a small percentage of those in serious need of better housing and those who are homeless, so what should the others do until their opportunity arrives - if it ever does? Further, the savings of scarce monetary and material resources under such a program can be substantial. Besides, most important of all is the importance of attacking the core problem of the lack of motivation toward self-improvement and community inertia which is consistently found among "floating population" who feel no sense of participation in the whole urban community. To attack this core problem the best way seems to be by urban community development.

The basic task of urban community development should be to stimulate, foster and establish common frontiers of association paving the way for community consciousness and integration on the basis of common concerns and shared projects. The community development

project should also identify and prepare natural leaders of the area, so as to enable them to take care of their day-to-day problems on a mutual aid and self-help basis. And it should inculcate pride and a sense of belonging to the place of their residence and it should pave the way for tackling of civic services on a decentralized basis.

It is worth noting, that urban community development through citizen participation in self-help programs is no substitute for profound changes which must be made in the standard of living, economic absorption, housing and other amenities of urban people in India. The program should be limited only to those areas and problems where there is the possibility of self-help. Also, such program presupposes help from Government and other voluntary agencies with respect to funds, technical assistance and organization guidance. Social and community workers can be of immense help.

In India, the urban community development approach to urban problems has already been initiated. A pilot project has been started in Delhi. The progress of the program is not available, however, the prospects seem encouraging as stated by B. Chatterjee, Director, Urban Community Development:

Experience gained so far is very encouraging and indicative of the fact if properly motivated, people even in most depressed localities have the necessary will and resource to tackle their

own problems with minimum external guidance and help. The Evaluation Report recently brought out indicates that some 400 natural leaders spread over 21 Vikas Mandals (Citizens' Development Councils) have been involved in the programme. According to the study 60% of these leaders had no previous experience in community work. Some 500 self-help projects with some financial assistance or "educational aid" have been undertaken and on an average some 59% adults in the area have become subscribing members.¹⁴

Consideration should be given by the Government to launch similar programs in other urban areas.

Planning Housing on the Neighbourhood Principle In India

If in Western countries neighbourhood planning brings to industrial man some humanizing elements, it has a special appeal for the people of India. Indian society is gregarious in nature and even the urban people lived in villages until recently. They haven't taken to city life very well, and living in planned neighbourhoods would be to their heart's desire. However, the neighbourhood will have to be very intimate, designed to facilitate the social habits of the people.¹⁵ The great drawback

¹⁴B. Chatterjee, "Community Development in Urban Areas - Special Needs and Characteristics" in The Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (March, 1962), p. 378.

¹⁵Albert Mayer, "The New Capital of the Punjab," in American Institute of Architects, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (October, 1950), p. 166-75.

of the neighbourhood unit is the formation of economic and social groups. The existence of the caste system, makes the potential use of the neighbourhood concept rather dangerous in India due to the possibility of group settlements creating group loyalties stronger than national feelings. New India is trying to get away from the tradition of caste and every effort should be made to avoid it. The other kind of grouping is the economic class, which curiously seems to be fostered by the Government. On grounds of economy, Government is building different types of houses according to the incomes of their employees and grouping the same type of houses together. It seems the planning of housing on the neighbourhood principle has its appeal to the Indian temperament and family institutions to which an immigrant is familiar.

Public housing should be planned on the neighbourhood basis for a mixture of social and economic groups in the same proportion as they are found in the population and which will also find its correlation in the mixture of housing types and densities. Such a housing development will provide an opportunity to an immigrant to live among the people of a similar background of his own and also to provide him with the opportunity of mixing with people of different socio-

economic backgrounds which will help him in getting adjusted to his new environment. Further, while planning public housing the Government should create housing environment on a sound community planning basis instead of creating simply shelters. Social planning should precede physical planning. The need for community facilities should be predetermined by proper surveys and adequate facilities should be provided for in each housing development.

Physical Planning is Essential for Improving the Housing Situation in India

It has been observed that the housing situation in India has deteriorated also because of the undue concentration of employment opportunities and population concentration in a few big cities. To check the further concentration of population in a few congested cities and to provide a balanced regional growth, the Government of India has adopted a policy that "As far as possible new industries should be established away from large and congested cities."¹⁶ This involves, first of all, planning the physical location and form of many different kinds of development - factories, houses, schools, hospitals and

¹⁶Third Five Year Plan, op. cit., p. 689.

roads to meet the new demands. It also involves the allocation of broad classes of use for the land at all levels such as national, regional and local. It means 'physical planning' which is primarily concerned with coordination by reconciling conflicting claims for available urban land, is essential. "The end product of this activity, the physical development plan, seeks to provide the physical framework within which many types of planned activity - economic development, education, social services, housing, transport, etc. - can be achieved without wasteful competition, misuse of land or the creation of undesirable environmental condition."¹⁷

Socio-economic planning and physical planning both are necessary and are essentially complementary. The economic and social objectives of the plan can be achieved only within the co-ordinating framework provided by the physical development plan.

At present in India, in general, physical planning is limited to the city scale. There are a few examples such as the Greater Delhi Plan, the Durga Pur Region Plan, the Rajasthan Canal Undertaking, and the Danda Karanya Resettlement scheme, etc., where physical planning has

¹⁷United Nations, Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, Report of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Housing and Development (New York: United Nations, 1962), p. 21.

been attempted on a regional scale. Also, almost in every case physical planning in India has been carried out as a rectifying measure to the urban problems. The same mistakes are bound to get repeated in the future if proper physical planning does not precede the decentralization of industries.

The real issue is that a very large amount of urban-regional-physical planning must be undertaken and accomplished within the very near future, so that the difficulties do not pile up excessively before India can make a full scale attack - if any at all - causing in the meantime even greater wastes, diseconomies, and extensions of the past mistakes of obsolete trends. Also the actual establishment of new industries should be preceded by proper physical development plan of the area.

The coordination of planning is necessary at all levels, even at the national level. It is essential for India to have a National Physical Plan to set out the broad framework within which urban and regional development plans can be coordinated. It is recommended that a new section of physical planning should be created within the existing National Planning Commission. The Planning Commission should always have a physical planner as a full fledged member to advise and guide the policies of the Commission.

"The most effective unit for physical planning is the region, because it provides a suitable frame of reference for the integration and balance of economic and social development projects of national significance and those based on local initiative."¹⁸ In this respect, during the Third Five Year Plan period, a meager start has been made by the Government of India by recognizing the need of preparing regional plans of urban areas and it has allocated some funds for preparing the plans for five industrial centres. This is definitely a beginning which must be appreciated. However, to have effective planning and some meaningful results, it is recommended that more funds should be made available for urban and regional planning.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Need for a Comprehensive Approach

It has been observed that the immigrants' problems and their alternative solutions are interdependent. It is not possible to tackle one problem at a time. To achieve any meaningful result, all problems should be approached and attacked simultaneously and this requires a comprehensive and integrated approach to the problems

¹⁸Ibid., p. 21

of housing and other related problems. For example, an adult education program is needed for the economic absorption as well as for socio-psychological adjustment; a community development program has been recommended for motivating 'self-improvement' feeling but it is also necessary for creating community consciousness and community life which in turn is so necessary for psychological adjustment. It seems imperative to integrate the various programs within one overall program.

The Urban Community Centre should be the centre of community activities, where an orientation course, adult education program, information services, cooperative nursery, child care facilities, medical and health services, and other community facilities such as sewing, dress making, etc., could be organized. The activities of the 'production unit scheme' for the woman should also be a part of the Community Centre. At this very centre the social worker should act as friend, helper, and co-ordinator of the activities of various other agencies providing social welfare services to the community.

More Efficient Planning and Policy Formulation
is Essential to Meet the Urgent Needs

One of the major defects in the planning process in India is that an unnecessarily long time is taken in preparing plans. By the time the plan is ready for action it is found redundant and in need of revisions. This is due to two main reasons: the rapid socio-economic changes in general; and the facts and figures of the survey for the plan becoming outdated. It is generally and rightly considered that planning without a reasonably rapid and comprehensive development time table is not a satisfactory process, because perhaps development is obviously the touch stone of realistic planning. So, in India to obtain real progress on all fronts, physical planning based on social and economic goals must leap forward at a tremendous scale of development. What is immediately needed is the provision of a framework and skeleton within which whatever development that may occur (whether public or private) can be organically fitted to avoid further haphazard development and deterioration; and expediting of the more massive and positive development measures required in order that the required major re-directions may take place.

To make any significant impact on the existing situation, rapid preliminary or interim planning will

have to be done, setting up broad and unrefined outlines and policies. It may well be preferable to deploy the very limited trained manpower available into a relatively large number of preliminary or interim urban-regional planning agencies than to do the full, exhaustive job in a relatively few places. Detailed exhaustive jobs may follow.

Creation of Effective Understanding and Public Opinion for Successful Urban-Regional Planning

Apart from the illiterate masses only a fraction of the sophisticated people of India have a grasp of the terminology of planning or any serious interest in it, and in addition the number to whom the dynamics of planning are clear is quite negligible. Another factor worth mentioning is the obsolete notion that planning is a one-shot effort and that an urban-regional plan is a static event, a single, elaborate blueprint once and for all. Also, there is no substantial weight of effective opinion behind urban-regional planning as there is behind economic planning. There is as yet no real awareness of the big social and economic stakes involved, or the urgency of the situation. In general, the implications of the over-all national population explosion are appreciated in terms of food shortage,

but not in terms of migration causing severe scarcity of urban accommodation.¹⁹

The Government of India should authorize a program or even a single staff person for the purposes of public education. Such programs are a must for urban areas. The completed urban-regional plans should be used as an example to make people understand the implications and ramifications of physical planning. Also, each planning office should have provision for a "Public Information" function and staff. What is needed immediately is a dispersal of the negativism and inertia, and a filling of this vacuum by understanding. Equally lacking and surely needed is the creation of an exciting and expectant atmosphere, so that people at all levels can experience some feeling of participation, some sense of the significance of the community and their place in it.

In addition to the few ministers and officials advocating and supporting planning there is a need for public participation. Perhaps India can learn from the experiences of the other countries where the gap between planners and the public has been filled by maintaining a

¹⁹ Albert Mayer, "National Implications of Urban-Regional Planning" India's Urban Future, Roy Turner, editor (Berkeley University of California Press, 1962), p. 343.

dynamic communications through Regional Planning Boards, etc. It is recommended that each planning organization should have an Advisory Board involving political leaders, officials, ministers, representatives of industries, trade, etc. The press, the All India Radio, and the periodicals all have an important role to play in the provision of background and interpretive materials for literate people. Films, lectures, tours, and mobile exhibits are vital as media for involving the people.

A Ministry of Housing and Urban-Regional Planning and Development is Essential in India

There is an urgent need for strength and determination, the unification of thinking on the part of the Government necessary to launch the complex efforts in the comparatively new field of urban-regional planning in India. Also, it is essential as observed by Mayer:

To follow them (these efforts) through with determination, continued and renewed observation and thinking, and, above all, to carry understanding and conviction - this new field (urban-regional planning) is of vital, pervasive importance and urgency to the polity, economy, efficiency, and social effectiveness of India.

This emerging and overdue urban-regional planning and development is invested with an immediacy and a pervasiveness which

require it to have the most powerful launching. It cannot continue to be a minuscule effort lodged in odd corners of the Health Ministry, and Home Ministry, the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, and the characteristically weak Ministries of local Self-Government in the States.²⁰

It is recommended that a Ministry of cabinet rank should be created in the Centre and in the States, with a strong and influential Minister and Secretary who have personal, vital interest and commitment to this field.

EVALUATION OF THE STUDY: LIMITATIONS AND NEED FOR FURTHER STUDY

The present study is mainly based upon library research and the main sources of material are second hand, such as public documents and publications of the learned societies. To some extent materials from periodicals have been used which were indirectly related to India. Above all, most of the information available were four to five years old and the reader should appreciate this limitation.

There are other limitations experienced by the author while completing this work, which should also be appreciated; further research and investigation should

²⁰Mayer, op. cit., p. 345.

be made to mitigate these limitations. One of the limitations of the study is that only the needs of the immigrant have been considered. Not enough is known about the immigrants' wants and this requires further study. Traditionally, the consumer was supposed to decide for himself how and where he would live. Now when planners are taking decisions on behalf of an immigrant in public housing there is need of real knowledge of his wants and also his reaction towards the existing housing. It has been recommended in the study to plan the public housing should be planned on the neighbourhood principle, but no investigation has been made as to the specific needs of community facilities in quantity and quality, the size and the areal pattern of the neighbourhood. This study does not answer decisively and conclusively such questions as; - How do we decide what kind of housing promotes adequate family life, or the exact nature of an integrated neighbourhood, and what makes a real community for the immigrant? It has been observed that heterogeneity in the neighbourhood is good for the mental and physical development of the family but this proposal needs further research regarding the economics of providing community facilities and services for different types of families in the same housing development. For the satisfactory home and

community for rural immigrants there is the need to know more about those factors which affect his life such as: the size and appearance of his house, for instance, the convenience of the shops, who his neighbours should be, and how far he should travel to work. Also social scientists should study the effects of particular factors in environment on the immigrant's behaviour, welfare, and attitudes. The various problems outlined in this study have not been carefully weighed as to their relative significance. Also the study has been done mainly by generalization of the problems and needs of the immigrant. Further consideration must be given to the needs and problems of the various members of the family. There is the need for the architect to investigate space standards (minimum and optimum), and the most appropriate designs to house the rural immigrant in the urban areas. He should also investigate the aesthetics of 'Large Scale Housing'.

India is passing through those stages of industrialization and urbanization through which other industrialized countries have already experienced. There is the need for evaluating the recommendations of this study in light of the experience of the other countries in comparable situations.

It has been observed that the transient nature and the mobility of the rural immigrant do hamper his adjustment, but why the immigrant moves needs further investigation. It is unknown to what extent geographic mobility is related to social and economic needs. And it is not known to what extent and under what conditions, the immigrant people moves primarily because of the way he wants to live, in terms of his physical and social environment.

The hypothesis of this thesis is that rural immigrants to urban areas in India have specific economic, physical and cultural needs which must be considered to help India solve its urban housing problem. The major purpose of this study was to investigate an approach which India must use to house rural immigrants in the urban areas. At this stage it is essential to review the assumptions and check the validity of the study and hypothesis.

The assumptions made were: that the population of India is going to increase substantially in the next two decades; that the scale and volume of industrialization in India will be similar to that experienced in the period between 1951-61; that India is going to experience a large scale urbanization at least at the same rate as experienced between 1951-61 and that this trend is not

going to be reversed; that world peace shall continue and India will not become involved in any major war; that more funds will be allocated in future for housing and urban and rural planning and welfare activities in India. These assumptions are still valid and they are not likely to become invalidated.

The hypothesis for this study is: "that rural immigrants to urban areas in India have specific economic, physical and cultural needs which must be considered to help India solve its urban housing problem". During the course of the study it was observed that the problem of housing rural immigrants in the urban areas is the result of a complex of underlying problems of the immigrant. These problems of the immigrant are economic, physical and cultural in nature. These problems are interdependent and, if resolved, would tend to contribute to the elimination of the housing problem itself. On the basis of the above stated observations and findings, it is considered that the hypothesis is still valid.

The major conclusion of the study is that the approach to the problem of housing rural immigrants in the urban areas can not be a departmentalized one, rather a simultaneous attack on all inter-related problems of the immigrant, using a comprehensive approach is imperative. The recommended approach embraces all aspects of

the rural immigrant's problems in the urban areas and the study is valid as long as these assumptions remain valid. The recommendations and approach would require modifications if any of the assumptions were to become invalidated.

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