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K.K. Venugopal

SLUMS OF OLD DELHI

Report of the Socio-Economic Survey
of the Slum Dwellers of Old Delhi City

Conducted

by

BHARAT SEVAK SAMAJ

DELHI PRADESH

WITH A FOREWORD

by

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

FOR REVIEW

1958

ATMA RAM & SONS

Booksellers, Publishers & Printers

Kashmiri Gate

DELHI-6

DILLI IN 1857



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“अपनी आँखों देखे बिना, तुम लोग कल्पना तक नहीं कर सकते, कि दुनियाँ में इन्सान के रहने के लिये ऐसे भी स्थान हो सकते हैं । इस बस्ती को देखने के बाद खाना पीना तक अच्छा नहीं लगता । इसे देखते ही जैसे उलटी आती है । वहाँ ऐसी गन्दगी थी कि उसका वर्णन करने के लिये मेरे पास शब्द तक नहीं हैं ।”

बापू

(दिल्ली की कुछ बस्तियों के बारे में
२३-१२-१९३३ की विद्यार्थियों की सभा में)

न त्वहं कामये राज्यम् न स्वर्गं नापुनर्भवम् ।
कामये दुःख-तप्तानाम् प्राणिनाम् आर्तिनाशनम् ॥

“MAY I BE BORN AGAIN, AND AGAIN, AND SUFFER THOUSANDS OF MISERIES SO THAT I MAY WORSHIP THE ONLY GOD THAT EXISTS, THE ONLY GOD I BELIEVE IN, THE SUM TOTAL OF ALL SOULS—AND ABOVE ALL, MY GOD THE WICKED, MY GOD THE MISERABLE, MY GOD THE POOR OF ALL RACES, OF ALL SPECIES, IS THE SPECIAL OBJECT OF MY WORSHIP.”

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

THIS SURVEY HAS BEEN FINANCED FROM THE GRANT
GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER, SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

FOREWORD

We have at last become conscious of slum areas. That is undoubtedly some gain though, by itself, it does not take us far. The consciousness of this problem has brought the realisation of its urgency and, at the same time, of its magnitude. Looking at these slums and the sub-human conditions in which men and women live there, we feel that immediate action must be taken to change all this. And then the vastness of the problem confronts us and we feel a little overwhelmed.

The problem is not merely of old slums but of the creation of new slums. It is obvious that we shall never solve it unless we stop completely the formation of new slums.

For the last few years I have been deeply interested in the slums of Delhi. Every time I have visited them, I return with a certain feeling of numbness and an urgent desire to have something done to remove these slums. Action is initiated, but progress is slow because of innumerable difficulties. Vested interests are always hard to dislodge and the law generally appears to favour them. But the real difficulty is the lack of accommodation for those who live in the slum areas at present. We have to provide housing for them before we can ask them to vacate. When we try to do this, those very people, whom we seek to benefit, raise difficulties and are reluctant to move. This is to some extent understandable, for their lives and work have revolved near that area and to take them far away means to uproot them from their work. Also, whatever new accommodation might be provided, is likely to have a higher rent, even though it might be subsidised. The present rents of the slums are very low and those who are used to paying that rent do not like the idea of paying more, even though they might thereby get amenities and healthy surroundings.

The more one has looked at this problem of the slums, the more it becomes something far bigger than the mere building of new houses. It is intimately connected with occupations and work and the general economy of that place. It has to face ingrained habits and a lack of desire as well as a lack of training to use better accommodation. Indeed, unless there is that training and co-operation, the better accommodation tends to revert to a slum condition.

For several years now a good deal of attention has been paid to the slums of Delhi. Also of course to those of other great cities like Calcutta, Bombay and others. But as I have been in touch more with the Delhi area, I write about this. The old Municipality was naturally concerned with it. So was the Improvement Trust and various other organisations here. When the Planning Authority was

started in Delhi, it had to face this problem. On the people's side, the Bharat Sevak Samaj took a special interest and devoted much time and labour to these slum areas of Delhi. Though some progress was made because of all these various activities, this is not striking. But in reality a great deal of hard work has gone into it and one impressive record of this work by the Bharat Sevak Samaj is the present volume on Slums of Old Delhi, containing a report of a socio-economic survey, in which the Bharat Sevak Samaj has had the co-operation of the Delhi School of Economics, the Delhi School of Social Work and the Town Planning Organisation. The Central Statistical Organisation has also helped in the presentation of statistical data. As a result of all this co-operative endeavour, we have now this very useful, impressive and rather distressing volume.

At any rate, this volume tells us about the existing conditions and the nature of the problem we have to face.

Meanwhile, the Delhi Planning Authority which consists of very eminent planners and experts from abroad as well as our own expert planners, is engaged in drawing up a plan for Greater Delhi. This is a long term plan and it is right that we should view these problems in long perspectives. Patch work remedies do not fit in with planning or with the solution of any problem. In drawing up that major plan, attention has inevitably to be given to the clearing of slum areas from Delhi and providing better alternative accommodation for those who live there. I hope that this work of planning will take shape soon so that the implementation of it might begin.

While alternative accommodation will necessarily have to be provided, something has to be done meanwhile to improve slum conditions. The argument that any improvement might lead to their perpetuation is not one that we can accept. Improving them means better water supply, lighting, latrines, drains and generally greater cleanliness. It is clear that this can only be achieved with the co-operation of the people concerned. This means that every attempt should be made to interest these people, to educate them and to rely upon their help. To some extent, the approach has to be on the lines of the Community Development Schemes in rural areas, though inevitably this will have to be adapted to the conditions existing in the city, which are very different.

I congratulate the Bharat Sevak Samaj of Delhi on this work and I should like to thank all those associated with it in producing this volume.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi,
May 12, 1958.

PREFACE

The slums of Delhi have been exercising our minds since the inception of the Samaj in 1952. Inspired and encouraged by the keen interest that the Prime Minister took in our work in the slums we adopted in 1955 slum improvement as the main plank of our activities in the city. Early efforts were directed towards arousing public interest and interesting the official agencies concerned in the cause of slum dwellers. Here again, we achieved gratifying success thanks to the Prime Minister's visit to the slums in April, 1956 which we had the privilege to arrange.

Meanwhile it was realised that a realistic approach to the problem could only be based on fresh assessment of the situation about which all sorts of notions prevailed. Accordingly we began collecting data about the slums through our zonal organisation. These preliminary surveys left us with a conviction that we needed in fact a comprehensive thorough-going investigation into both the physical aspects of the slum dwellings and the socio-economic status of the slum dwellers.

About this time the Town Planning Organisation was set up and Sri V.A. Philipos, Town Planning Officer of that organisation, contacted us with a view to appraise himself of our activities in the slums. Discussions with him of the subject bore the realisation of the immense importance of approaching the problem as an integral part of a comprehensive programme of city re-development and of basing the re-development on principles of town and country planning. Thanks to his initiative we further secured the co-operation of the Delhi School of Economics and the Delhi School of Social Work, the two institutions that are keenly interested in this problem. With their collaboration the Samaj enunciated their approach to the problem of slums in a note submitted to the Prime Minister in May, 1956 (see Appendix I), and decided to undertake the present survey with the objective of collecting the data required for framing a slum programme based on that approach. I take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation of the initiative taken by the Town Planning Organisation, by Sri Philipos in particular, in this matter.

In pursuance of the above decision a survey committee consisting of the following persons was set up in the Samaj.

1. Sri Brij Krishan Chandiwala, Convener, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Delhi Pradesh. Chairman
2. Sri M.S. Gore, Principal, Delhi School of Social Work.

3. Sri V.A. Philipos,* Town Planning Officer, Town Planning Organisation.

4. Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali,† Adviser, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Delhi Pradesh. (Now Mayor, Delhi Corporation.)

5. Sri N.K. Pant, Deputy Director, Greater Delhi Survey, Delhi School of Economics.

6. Sri P.B. Desai, Assistant Director, Greater Delhi Survey, Delhi School of Economics.
Hon. Secretary

The committee in its first two meetings discussed the problem of slums, approved the survey scheme prepared jointly by Sri Pant and Sri Desai, and formally placed the responsibility of conducting the survey up on them.

The survey has been a co-operative venture in which a great number of individuals participated. The responsibility of conducting the survey, including preparation of the questionnaire and sample frame, selection and training of field investigators, control and supervision of field work etc. rested, however, on Sri Pant and Sri Desai both of whom have, in spite of the pressure of work in their own organisation, willingly devoted the required time. They received valuable advice and assistance from Sri Sivasubramanian, Statistician, Delhi School of Economics, in the preparation of the family schedule, in designing the sample frame and in devising the tabulation scheme and from Sri M.S. Gore with whom they have discussed from time to time all the various problems connected with the survey.

Mechanical tabulation of the data collected in the family schedules has been handled by the Statistical Workshop of the Delhi School of Economics under the direction of Sri Sivasubramanian. I must place on record here our gratitude to Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, the then Director, Delhi School of Economics, and now Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, as also to Dr. B. N. Ganguli, the present Director of the School, for affording us this very valuable facility purely on a cost basis and for the School's co-operation that we have enjoyed all along in our activities in the slums.

The work of analysing the data and writing the report, both in its draft and the present, final form, has been done by Sri P. B. Desai. The draft report (containing the first six chapters) was prepared about four months back and circulated among the members of the survey committee. It was also forwarded to the Town Planning Organisation and to the Corporation Commissioner, Sri P. R. Nayak. A common meeting of the committee and representatives of the Town Planning Organisation was then arranged which was attended, besides the committee members, by

*Shri Philipos withdrew from the committee in June, 1956 on account of the great pressure of work in his office in connection with the preparation of Interim General Plan.

†Co-opted in June, 1956.

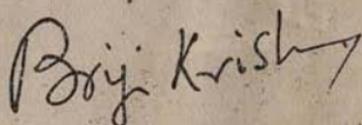
Sri P. R. Nayak, Sri Radha Raman M. P., Sri Srimanohar of the Town Planning Organisation and Prof. Hoselitz and Sri George of the Ford Foundation Team for Planning of the Greater Delhi Region. Opinions expressed at this meeting were clearly appreciative of the survey and indicated no major revision of the draft. In the light of the comments expressed at this meeting and later received from the members of the committee and other persons who had read the draft, the report has been finalised. In doing so a chapter giving summary and conclusions has been added.

On behalf of the committee, and on my own behalf, I should like to express our sincere thanks to all the above-mentioned gentlemen for their reading the draft and giving us many valuable comments thereon. I should like specially to mention our gratitude to Prof. Hoselitz who, on our request, was good enough to scrutinise the draft again and make suggestions on presentation of the data.

The Samaj is greatly indebted to the Delhi Municipal Committee for providing us with *katra* lists and its officers for the co-operation we received from them in course of the survey.

We are grateful to the Central Statistical Organisation for preparing pictorial presentation of the main statistical data of the survey in the form of large size exhibition charts and to the School of Town and Country Planning for preparing the charts that illustrate the data of chapters III to V of this report. Thanks are due to the members of the Bharat Sevak Samaj draftsman class who have prepared charts illustrating the data of the first chapter under the direction of Sri C. D. Sharma.

Our grateful thanks are due to the Pradesh Organiser, Miss Saini, to all the zonal organisers and members of the Samaj who have facilitated the survey work in their respective zones in all possible ways. We must further record our appreciation of the successful job that has been completed with great zeal and enthusiasm by Sri Rajeswar Prasad and his colleagues on the survey staff and the many field enumerators and interviewers, who spared neither perseverance nor persuasion in obtaining the required data. Thanks are finally due to Sri Y. V. Chandan for his careful handling of the typing work.



Convener

Bharat Sevak Samaj, Delhi Pradesh

27, A Theatre Communication Buildings,
Cannaught Place, New Delhi.
5th April, 1958.

ERRATTA

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66	20	Size—6 : Members	2566	2556
66	20	Size—8 : Families	819	189
76	25	Note below table—first line	(0-14)	(0-4)
101	37	VI	23	20
107	40	“2 to 3”	90·9	90·0
112	43	Total	528	529
126	51	Zone I—Regular	91,081	91,084
128	52	Zone III—Both	61,353	61,213
141	60	“Staying with Family”	112	119
143	61	“Uneducated”	95	85
162	73	“4”	122	121
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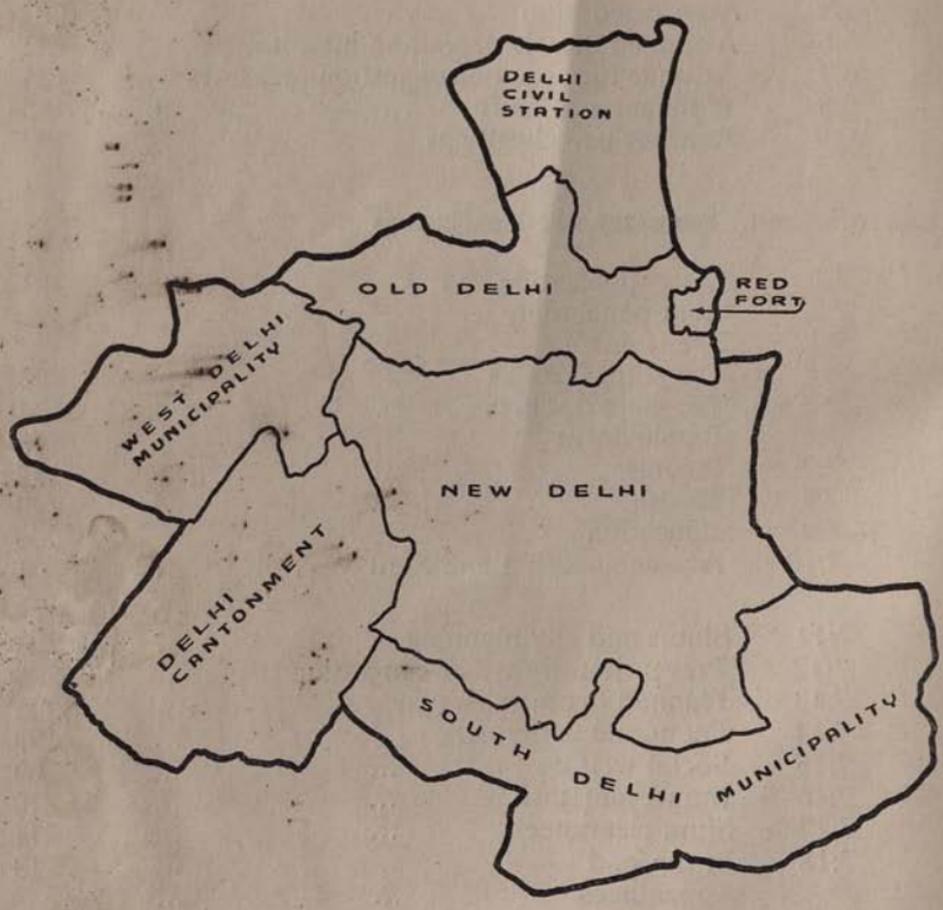
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DILLI OF TODAY



Scale—0.2" to a Mile

Slums of Old Delhi

I

1:1 DILLI

Dilli is an ancient city. Since the dawn of Indian history there prospered, for varying lengths of time and on different sites, within the area now occupied by the Old and the New and the South Delhi municipalities, as many as thirteen capital cities. The earliest of these was Indraprastha, founded by Pandavas some 3,500 years ago and the latest was Shahajehanabad, the present Old Delhi, founded by Shahajehan in 1648. Dilli can, therefore, be said to have witnessed in course of these 3,500 years at least 13 periods of growth and prosperity, each followed by subsequent decline and adversity. If it were possible to construct Dilli's population curve for this long historical period, it would surely have revealed at least 13 peaks above very probably a long-term rising trend for the period as a whole. We lack, however, the historical data for this purpose. A rather dependable indication is available only for the latest of these 13 cities, about which it is said that at the zenith of Aurangzeb's rule it accommodated a population of nearly twenty lakhs.*

*See Spear, Percival 'Twilight of the Moghuls', p. 194. This figure cannot be for the walled city alone; it evidently includes inhabitants of all its populous suburbs, then lying along the Kutub Road between Mehrauli and Shahajehanabad.

1:2 OLD DELHI

Today for the fourteenth time Dilli is the capital city and, while still on a rather steep upward trend, its population has almost reached the maximum of Aurangzeb's time. New Delhi, the seat of the Government of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India, is, in terms of population, the second largest part of Dilli. The largest part, Old Delhi, lies just in the North and accommodates more than three times the population in an area only a third of New Delhi. Besides these, Dilli may be taken to include Delhi Civil Station, Red Fort Notified Area Committee, South and West Delhi municipalities and the Delhi Cantonment. The problem of slums exists in all these places but its extent and character greatly differ. It exists in Old Delhi in admittedly the most acute and the most extensive form, the principal reason being that Old Delhi is really very old and has absorbed in course of the last few decades a tremendous number of people without making any significant addition to its living accommodation.

1:3 FACTORS OF POPULATION GROWTH

The 'Twilight of the Moghuls', a period of 150 years between the death of Aurangzeb and the deportment of Bahadur Shah, was for Dilli a period of continual decline. Its population declined progressively from the 20 lakhs peak of Aurangzeb's time to around 5 lakhs in the middle of eighteenth century* and to a lakh and half when in 1857 it ceased to be the capital. But very soon thereafter the upward trend asserted thanks to the new importance Dilli was achieving, on

*See Capt. Leopold Von Orlich's 'Travels in India', Vol. II, p. 4.

account of its geographic location, in the era of expanding commerce and of economic transition. In the network of railways, that was built up to envelope the whole country in course of the next 50 years, Dilli with its new direct links with Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, found itself to be the most important junction of the north and consequently the ensuing economic transition, which has operated with progressively increasing intensity through the past 100 years, meant a progressive increase in its importance as a commercial centre. To intensify this process of growth there came two important political events in the present century, namely, the shifting of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Dilli in 1912 and the partition of the country which resulted in a great influx, into Dilli, of refugees from West Pakistan in 1947.

1:4 EXTENT OF POPULATION GROWTH

For an indication of the extent of this population growth consider table 1 (p. 5) prepared on the basis of census figures which are available from 1881 onwards and some estimates for the earlier period. The table also includes an estimate for the present position; this is arrived at on the basis of enumeration conducted in 1956 by the Greater Delhi Survey of the Delhi School of Economics.

These figures tell a revealing story of population growth whose rate gathered great momentum in course of the last three census decades, which together recorded an astounding increase of 6.7 lakhs as against a much smaller rise of 0.9 lakh of the preceding five decades. The 1941-51 decade stands out as the most conspicuous, adding, as it did, nearly 4 lakhs of people.

order of one lakh. Total population then was 4 lakhs ; today for the same area it is 9·51 lakhs and so it may be said that in course of the last 20 years excess population has risen from 1 to $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs.

1:6 CONGESTION

Thus, in course of the last 45 years the Old Delhi City has in a sense absorbed a total of $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of people. This happened while its area remained practically unchanged and so the inevitable result was gross congestion of the city. Following Mr. Hume we may distinguish between two types of congestion, namely, (1) congestion of people in houses and (2) congestion of houses on land. Mr. Hume viewed the twin problems with gravity and we now face the same gravity in its most aggravated form.

Of the two types of congestion the former congestion, of people in houses, needs no elaboration ; apparently housing activity could not keep pace with the growth of population. The latter too is obvious. Extreme congestion of houses on land is very apparent in the walled city. Here, there is no open space ; not an inch for extension. And it has been so for a pretty long time ; as early as 1912 Col. Beadon, the then President of the Delhi Municipal Committee had observed that "the most pressing need of Delhi citizens is room, room to build, room to work, room to walk, room to drive." All through the following decades the situation kept on further deteriorating lending justification to the oft-repeated sigh of desperation that the lungs of the city have been completely choked.

Congestion of houses on land is of almost the same order in wards XIII and XIV and a major part of

ward XII. In the remaining wards—XV to XX, in spite of there being large open areas, this problem is acute excepting in cases like the Western Extension where the development has been planned and regulated. It may be added that open areas of these wards are littered with thick clusters of *kucha* houses, the so-called *bastis*, which taken by themselves reveal an equal degree of congestion of houses on land. The problem, therefore, exists in almost all the inhabited areas of the city.

1:7 INSANITATION

That congestion was by itself the cause of deterioration of sanitary conditions in the city is obvious enough. Congestion of houses on land meant narrowing of streets and lanes, making them dark and dingy and also lack of open spaces and, so, of fresh air. It acted probably as a hurdle in the way of expansion of basic amenities including drainage, water supply and lighting, providing thereby an excuse to, in any case, the indifferent and incompetent local bodies.

What appears definitely to have worsened the situation all the more is that the structures, that congested the limited area of land available and that in turn got congested with people, violated, as they still remain to do, all principles of sanitary housing. Bulk of them are of course old and antiquated ;* they have been out of repair for a long time and are now in a state of dilapidation. The comparatively newer ones were built on the

*It is well-known that law and order situation of the past times when the majority of the structures were built did not permit building for comfort at the cost of security ; security against depredations of the decoits, roving hoards of jats and even *thugs* and security of the womenfolk against the eyes of all males, excepting of the family. The security was sought by a sort of fortification provided by building the walls with only a single entrance and no windows.

same antiquated models of the old and lack likewise ventilation, drainage and all the rest of sanitary facilities. And it seems quite clear that the bulk of new housing, built for renting out by those in whose hands the ownership of land had come to be concentrated, was designed to provide bare shelter to as large a number as possible.

All this could happen obviously because, while there existed a municipality functioning continuously from as early as 1860's, there operated no control or regulation of housing activity. There were building bye-laws but they were grossly inadequate, were not effectively enforced, and were indeed very extensively violated.

The net result is what we see today, the degeneration of many parts of the city into slums of the worst kind.

1:8 EXTENT OF SLUMS

From the foregoing discussion it may even be inferred that the whole city is now a vast slum. True, the city is grossly congested all through but it would be rather sweeping to condemn the whole of it as slum. The degree of congestion, blight and insanitation differs from locality to locality and from structure to structure. Our task in ascertaining the actual extent of slums, therefore, involves our adopting a particular degree to which these characteristic features are present as a sort of demarcation line separating the slums from non-slum areas and structures. We need, in other words, a precise definition of 'slum'. Theoretically, there appears little difficulty in defining the word 'slum' but its application

in practice involves a laborious and time-consuming task of screening each area and each structure within that area.

Such a thorough-going physical survey of the entire city could be undertaken only by an expert, technically competent body. The Bharat Sevak Samaj has neither the resources nor the technical 'know-how' for conducting such a civil-engineering feat. Our approach has, under the circumstances, had to be 'pragmatic' or 'matter-of-fact' by nature. The assumption has, of course, been that it is possible to recognise the slum when one sees it. In our modest way we have attempted here to examine the available data, subject them to detailed scrutiny and spot-checking so as to arrive at a reasonably dependable up-to-date re-assessment of the situation. In doing so the working definition that we did keep before us was : "The term 'slum' should be applied to those parts of the city which may (on the face of it) be considered unfit for human habitation either because the structures therein are old; dilapidated, grossly congested and out of repairs ; or because it is impossible to preserve sanitation for want of sanitary facilities including ventilation, drainage, water supply etc. ; or because the sites, by themselves, are unhealthy."

When in April, 1956 we began considering this survey project two lists of slums were available : (1) the list of slum areas given in the Report, Vol. II, of the Delhi Improvement Trust Inquiry (the Birla) Committee of 1951 and (2) the list of 'katras' prepared by the Delhi Municipal Committee. The former included 87 areas lying within the first 15 wards of the Delhi Municipal Committee, with an aggregate population of about

62,000 persons. The Birla Committee Report further suggested that besides these 87 areas, "some new slums have been created in the Town Expansion Schemes of the Improvement Trust. The population of the slums may therefore be taken as one lac....." (Vol. II, p. 3). The basis on which these estimates were made—why precisely only these 87 areas were selected, is not clear from the report and so the estimates have not been used to provide the basis for our re-assessment.

We were left, thus, with only the 'list of *katras*' prepared by the Delhi Municipal Committee to start with. On examination this list, which contained a total of 685 entries including not only *katras* but houses and *bastis* as well, too was found to be unsatisfactory. *Prima facie*, it underestimated the extent of slums in Old Delhi. We, therefore, requested the committee to revise the list after a quick field survey through their staff. This the committee readily undertook and in July, 1956 a new revised list was made available to us. This new list contained 902 entries of *katras*, houses and *bastis*, giving their location and ownership but not population. We subjected this list to detailed scrutiny and all the places mentioned therein were visited with a view to ascertain that they conformed to the broad pragmatic definition, discussed above. As a result of this scrutiny the list was modified so as to bring up the total number of places to 1010; 38 places were deleted from the list either because they contained only non-residential structures or because the structures were rebuilt and could not any more be taken to be unfit for habitation, and 146 places, lying in the vicinity of those on the list, were added because they were found to be even in worse condition. Even after this scrutiny it could not be claimed that the list was

quite exhaustive and it was felt that a more thorough screening of the whole city was called for. It was, however, decided that the socio-economic inquiry need not be deferred on that account as it was felt that the scrutinised list could safely be taken to serve as basis for preparation of the survey universe.

While the socio-economic survey was well on way, the question of obtaining a more complete list was again taken up. The accumulating field experience was increasingly emphasising the need of such a list. As no body adequately equipped with expert technical staff was forthcoming to undertake this physical survey, the Samaj again felt impelled to take it up and try their best. It was felt that what at best they could do was to arrange a sort of rough and ready screening of all the localities of all the wards of the city and this was sought to be achieved by the convener undertaking an extensive tour through all the roads, streets and lanes of the city. The programme of the tour extended over a period of about two months. On each day the morning hours were spent by him in a specified locality, wherein in company of a few knowledgeable residents thereof, (including zonal organisers of the Samaj, local workers of political parties and of trade unions etc.,) he moved from *katra* to *katra* and house to house, seeing for himself the condition of structures, the degree of congestion, the available amenities etc. and noted down the localities, sub-localities and structures which *prima facie* were unfit for human habitation. On the completion of this tour the number of places, big and small, which merited the qualification of slum came to 1787, of which 999 were *katras*; 727, houses and 61, *bastis*. This tour has been followed up by collection of further information,

through a team of trained investigators, about the physical conditions of these places including age and type of structure, extent of accommodation and amenities available etc. This latter collection of data has revealed that the aggregate population of these 1787 places is nearly 2,25,000 persons.

1:9 LOCATION OF SLUMS

The slum problem is faced in all parts of the city but the distribution of the slums, and so the intensity of the problem, is obviously not uniform over the whole of its area. It is of interest, therefore, to have a comparative view of the situation as between the different parts of the city. For this purpose we may group the 20 wards of the Delhi Municipality into three zones as follows :

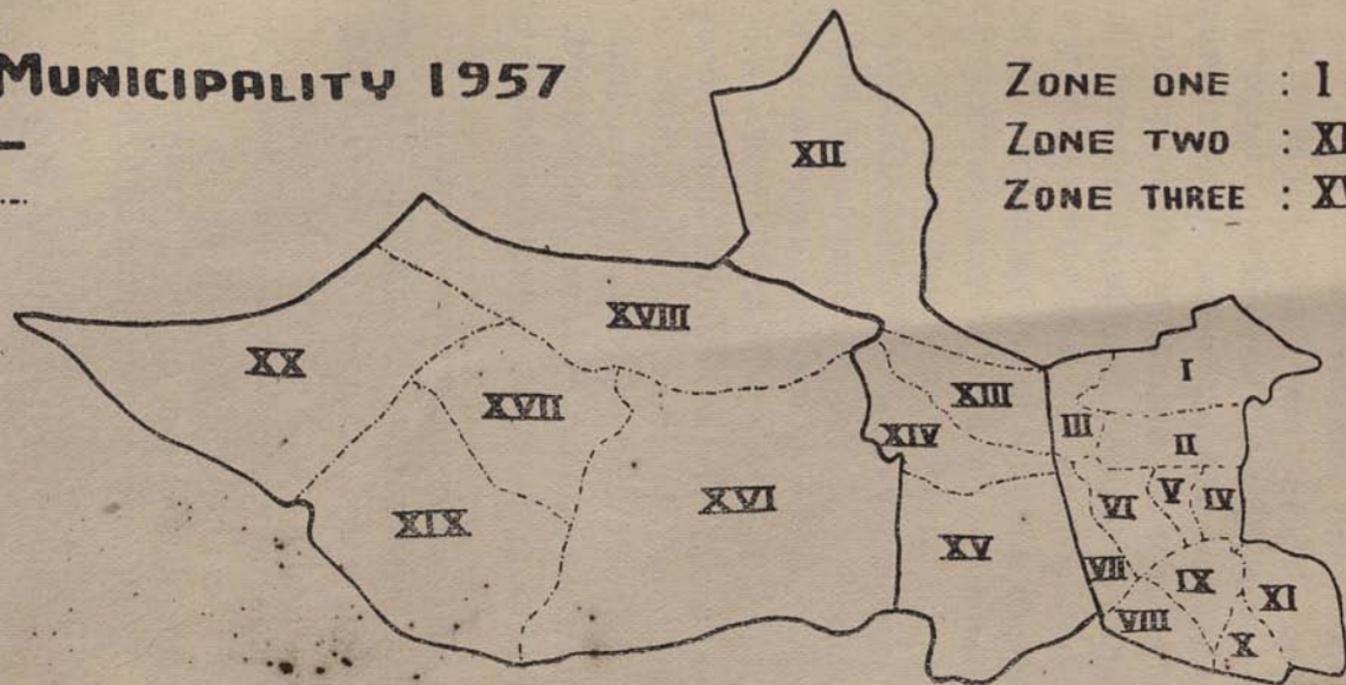
Zone I, includes wards I to XI representing the intramural Delhi, the walled city built by Shahajehan in 1648. It is enclosed by the city walls, bounded on one side by the river and enveloped by a steel band of railways and has been susceptible of little change in its internal features. There is practically no open space within the zone and, as Mr. Hume pointed out in 1936, "in the main any increase in population in the wards of intramural Delhi has had to find living space in the existing accommodation or by building on the roofs of the existing houses." This is indeed the oldest, the most thickly populated and, in area, the smallest zone. While the problem of general congestion is acute in all localities within this zone, the worst of slums are found in the vicinity of the city walls.

Zone II, includes wards XII to XV covering Subzi Mandi, Sadar Bazar and Paharganj areas, lying in the

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ZONE ———

WARD - - - - -



ZONE ONE : I - XI

ZONE TWO : XII - XV

ZONE THREE : XVI - XX

west of zone I and separated from it by the wall and railway lines. These areas developed as suburbs soon after the city was founded and grew to be populous and prospering trading centres in the times of Aurangzeb. With the decline of the Moghul empire they were rapidly deserted, the whole area resuming its rural character. The process of growth re-appeared in about the middle of 19th century and has since operated almost continuously (though for the first 70 years very gradually and thereafter with a great momentum) with the result that these areas are today only a little less thickly populated than the walled city. The principal causal factor of this population growth was the expansion of trades and industries, including the cotton textile mills, which came to be located here. The growth was spontaneous; there operated any control neither over the location of trades and industries nor over the layout of the residential areas. The growth was therefore extremely haphazard. In the result we find more than half the slums located in this zone.

Zone III, covers the remaining wards from XVI to XX situated further west of zone II. They represent comparatively recent extension of the Old Delhi City. Wards XVIII, XIX and XX cover the areas, that were included to constitute the West Notified Area Committee in 1943 and were in 1952 merged into the Delhi Municipality, after dissolution of that committee. Wards XVI and XVII were created some 30 to 40 years back. The Western Extension Scheme of ward XVI was launched as early as 1913, initially with the idea of rehabilitating the dispossessed proprietors of Jaisingpura and other surrounding villages situated on the land which had been acquired by the Imperial Delhi Committee for the new capital. However the development began much

later in the 1920's and continued till recently. Ward XVII developed rapidly only after 1947 with the location therein of major refugee colonies. The density of population of the area taken over from the W.N.A.C. is relatively much smaller and there are indeed extensive non-residential areas occupied by groves and gardens. Of these three wards, ward XX is now fast developing into an industrial area. All told, much of the development in this zone has been planned and regulated. The slums in this zone comprise mainly of the *bastis* most of them unauthorised, that have cropped up on open land.

As for the distribution of the slums among the three zones described above, consider the following figures of area and total population and slum population (both in terms of the number of families) for each of these zones.

Table 2 : Area and Population of the Zones of Old Delhi.

Zone	Area in Acres	%	Total population (No. of families)	%	Slum population (No. of families)	%	Slum population as % of Total
I	1507	23	73,268	37	10,680	22	15
II	1829	28	78,387	39	27,736	57	35
III	3213	49	47,268	24	10,091	21	18
Total	6549	100	1,98,923	100	48,507	100	24†

These figures do leave the impression that comparatively speaking the situation is the worst in zone II.

†This proportion is arrived at by taking the family as unit. The average slum family is indicated to be of a somewhat smaller size than the average household of the general population (see para 3:16). Allowing for this difference the proportion comes to a little less than 22%.

In an area measuring only a little more than a fourth of the total, it accommodates two-fifths of the total population and more than half of the slum population, which measures more than a third of its own total population. The problem of general congestion is a little more serious in zone I but the proportion of slum population is significantly smaller than that of zone III. Zone III, with less than quarter population, commands nearly half of the total area; but significantly the proportion of slum population in the total is larger than for zone I, which is explained by the fact that the open areas therein are littered with very large *bastis*.

II

1:10 CONDITION OF SLUMS*

Before we take up the main subject of this report, namely the socio-economic status of the slum dwellers, it should be useful in this introductory chapter to get a more detailed view, especially of the physical condition of the slums. For this purpose we will briefly narrate here the data that have been collected, subsequent to the convener's walking tour, about the 1787 places that were marked out by him as slums. The principal characteristics covered in this follow-up investigation are age, area, type and present condition of the structure; civic amenities; animal habitation and obnoxious trades; and also ownership.

In dealing with these data we must distinguish between the *katras* and houses, numbering 1726 in all,

*For a clearer idea of the physical condition of the slums consult also the illustrations appended at the end of this chapter.

on the one hand and the *bastis*, only 61 in all, on the other. The *katra* typically is a group, usually, of single-room tenements constructed, normally in rows, to capacity within a compound, or an enclosure, having a single common entrance. The houses, bracketed here with *katras*, are all large buildings, each with a number of rooms or even flats serving as independent family tenements. The difference between the *katra* and this slum-house is only in the internal layout of the tenements; there is practically no difference in the stuff they are made of, or in the internal and surrounding congestion, or in the availability of basic amenities. Both of them are located, by and large, in the heart of thickly populated parts of the city.

A *basti*, on the other hand, is located on quite open areas in the outer wards of the city (zone II and III). It can be described as a thick cluster of small *kucha* houses or huts built on open land, often in an unauthorised manner.

It should be added however that between the *basti*-hut and the *katra*-tenement there is only the difference of the building material used; the former is commonly a *kucha* mud and bamboo structure while the latter is often made of bricks and mortar. In both cases all possible extensions and improvisations are provided by using scrapped tin-sheets and gunny cloth. In the matter of internal facilities there again is hardly anything to choose between the two; in size neither the hut nor the tenement over-reaches an area of 150 sq. feet; typically neither can boast of more than one door and of any window. Both are equally ill-ventilated though it is of course true that air and light have somewhat greater chances of reaching and penetrating the hut.

1:11 OWNERSHIP

Practically all the *katra*-dwellers are tenants. With respect to about 4% of the tenements, however, the tenancy relates only to the land they are built on; the dwellers own the *amlas*, the structures, and are therefore called '*Amladars*'. The ownership of the 1726 *katras*, including both land and structures, is distributed as follows: 1138 or 66% of them are owned by private parties, including individuals and religious and other trusts; 456 or 26% are under the management of the Custodian of Evacuee Property; 122 or 7% are owned by the Delhi Improvement Trust and the property of the rest, about 1%, is vested in two other Government agencies, namely the Northern Railway and Delhi Municipal Committee.

In the case of *bastis*, the *amledars* predominate. It has been estimated that nearly 93% of all the *basti*-dwellings are occupied by *amledars*; 5.4%, by full tenants and the remaining 1.6%, by full owners. As to the ownership of land, out of the estimated aggregate of 385 acres of undeveloped land occupied by the 61 *bastis*, only about 43% belong to private parties. Property with respect to the remaining 57% of the land area is vested in a few government agencies. Among them, the Delhi Improvement Trust, claiming as much as 44% of all *basti* lands, is by far the largest holder. The share in the total of the Custodian is only about 7%. The rest 6% are owned by the Northern Railway and the Delhi Municipal Committee. What on the whole is striking is that quite a major proportion of the slums are, or are located on public property.

1:12 AGE

It is admittedly difficult to determine accurately the age of a slum *katra* or house. These structures can, from their very appearance, be condemned as old and outmoded. Even so, it is of interest to know how old they in fact are and accordingly the investigators were asked to enquire from the inhabitants (or from the owners thereof) as to the year of their erection and to indicate as nearly as possible the approximate age of each structure. The result of this inquiry can be summed up as follows :

Table 3 : Age of Katras

Age group (yrs.)	Zone I		Zone II		Zone III		All zones	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More than 100 ...	128	20.8	54	4.9	—	—	182	10.6
100 to 51 ...	367	59.6	352	32.2	6	37.5	725	42.0
50 to 26 ...	81	13.1	463	42.3	10	62.5	554	32.1
25 to 11 ...	23	3.7	128	11.7	—	—	151	8.7
10 to 6 ...	8	1.3	83	7.6	—	—	91	5.3
5 years or less ...	9	1.5	14	1.3	—	—	23	1.3
Total ...	616	100.0	1094	100.0	16	100.0	1726	100.0

As between the first and second zones, the concentration in the higher age-groups is much greater for the first; here the proportion of structures outliving a century is nearly 21%* as against the corresponding figure of 5% for the second zone. Those outliving half a century measure over 80% of the total in the first zone

*This high proportion of *katras* so old is not surprising. Within the walled city we have many buildings which are claimed to be as old as the city itself. The structures included here are found in fact to be former palatial residences of Moghul noblemen which in course of time, were turned into *Katra* slums.

but only about 37% in the second. The largest share of 42.3% in the second zone is claimed by the 26 to 50 years age-group which accounts for only 13.1% in the first zone.

Considering all zones together it will be seen that majority of structures are older than 50 years; for over 85% of them age is more than 25 years, which serves to indicate that the bulk of slum *katras* and houses have outlived their normal span of life and that they deserve, on this account alone, to be discarded so far as healthy and comfortable human habitation is concerned.

In the case of *bastis*, determination of 'age' is even more difficult. A *basti* does not come into being in its full and final form all at once. It passes through a period of growth, beginning with the formation of a small nucleus of a few huts which, over time, attracts new dwellers, and grows in size in terms both of area and population. We have therefore sought to obtain the approximate time of its foundation, *i.e.* of the emergence of nucleus. According to the period elapsing between foundation and now the 61 *bastis* of the three zones are distributed as follows :

Table 4 : Age of Bastis

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	All zones
Over 50 years ...	1	2	—	3
50 to 26 „ ...	1	12	1	14
25 to 11 „ ...	1	3	10	14
10 to 6 „ ...	1	20	8	29
5 years or less ...	—	1	—	1
Total ...	4	38	19	61

It is reported that in no case the time of foundation can be traced beyond the last about 75 years. Only 3, (one of zone I and two of zone II), out of 61, claim to have existed for a period longer than 50 years. At the other end, we have here one *basti* in the second zone which came into existence quite recently, i.e. within the last quinquennium. On the whole it can be said, that *bastis* constitute, comparatively speaking, a later development but it is true also that they attracted attention as slums much later than the *katras*.

1:13 AREA, DWELLINGS AND POPULATION

As far as possible we have tried to obtain accurate figures of area from the records, including layout plans available with the owners or the dwellers. But for the most part we had to rely on estimates made on the spot by actual measurement. All that is claimed about these estimates is that they are as good as any that a layman can make with the help of a measure tape.

The total area occupied by a *katra* is made up of (a) the built-up portion including that on which the tenements stand and the *pucca* inner courtyard, if any, and (b) the portion of open ground lying within its boundaries. According to our estimates the *katra* size, in terms of total land area covered, varies from a minimum of only about 50 to over 5,000 sq. yards ; while in terms of the number of tenements it ranges from 5 to over 75. Aggregating all the individual estimates we obtain an overall figure of 162 acres of land area covered by these 1726 *katras* having in all 22,273 dwelling units—the tenements, inhabited by 21,687 families.

For a comparative view of the situation in the three zones consider the following results relating the estimates of area to dwellings and population.

Table 5 : Zonewise distribution of Katras, Area and Population

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	All zones
1. No. of katras ...	616	1094	16	1726
2. Average land area per katra : sq. yds. ...	590	352	2070	453
3. Average built-up area per katra : sq. yds. ...	404	255	1711	322
4. 3 as % of 2 ...	68	72	83	71
5. Average No. of tenements per katra ...	13	12	63	13
6. Average built-up area (exclud- ing courtyard) per tenement : sq. feet ...	248	165	240	198
7. Average No. of families per katra ...	13	12	64	13
8. Average No. of persons per tenement ...	5.8	4.9	5.4	5.2

The situation apparently is at the worst in zone II ; here more than 70% of the *katra* area is covered by dwellings. For an average family of five persons, available built-up area comes to 165 sq. feet. But it must not be forgotten that actual extent of shelter, or what may be called 'living space', is much smaller than this ; actual shelter measures roughly not more than two-thirds of this so-called built-up area. Overall position of all the three zones taken together is just a little better, indicating as it does that built-up space available per person measures less than 40 sq. feet.

In case of the *bastis* it has not been possible to make distinction between built-up portion and open ground. *Bastis* are situated on open undeveloped, and in most cases uneven and rocky, land and their boundaries in many cases are not well-marked. Under the circum-

stances we have tried to estimate total area of land covered by each *basti*. Within many a *basti* there are however spots of varying dimensions, which for various reasons of physical unsuitability are not under use but it has not been possible in each individual case to make allowance for this fact in making the estimates. The estimate thus relates in each case to the total 'gross' area lying within the rough boundaries indicated by the dwellers at the time of our investigator's visit.

Variation in the size of *bastis* in terms of gross land area covered extends from a half to over 30 acres and in terms of dwellings from 50 to over 2000 huts. The aggregate area is estimated at 385 acres for all the 61 *bastis* with a total of 25,384 dwelling units (huts) inhabited by 26,820 families. The situation differs as between the zones as shown below :

Table 6 : Zonal Distribution of Area and Population of Bastis

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	All zones
1. No. of bastis	4	38	19	61
2. Average land area per basti sq. yds.	53,932	20,524	45,764	30,577
3. Average no. of dwelling units per basti	719	368	448	416
4. Average land area per dwelling : sq. feet	675	504	918	650
5. Average no. of families per basti	687	395	477	440
6. Average no. of persons per dwelling	4.0	3.4	5.8	4.2

On the face of it, 650 sq. feet is quite a respectable size for a dwelling unit. But, as even a casual observation reveals, the *basti*-hut is not, typically, a larger unit than the *katra*-tenement. What relatively abounds in the *basti* is undeveloped 'raw' land, quite a substantial proportion

of which is not only unsuitable for dwelling purposes but acts as a harbouring ground for squalor and filth of various kinds. Estimating on an overall basis, such area, not under any use of the *basti*-dwellers comes to between 35 to 40%.

Even so, it is possible to conclude that congestion both of dwellings on land and of persons within dwellings in the *bastis* is less acute than in the case of *katras*. The principal factors which make for slum conditions in the *bastis* are the unsuitability of these lands for purposes of human habitation, their undeveloped character and their entire lack of basic amenities.

1.14 CONDITION OF STRUCTURES

Typical *katra* tenement covers only the ground floor and consists of one room with only one door opening in the front on a sort of verandah which serves as a cooking place. Exceptionally it has a second floor containing an additional room of the same size as the one on the ground floor but without a sheltered verandah; this second floor serves in most cases as a separate and independent family dwelling. In many cases where it consists of ground floor only additional shelter is improvised in the form of a 'khokha', a sort of tin-sheet box placed on the top of the tenement.

These tenements may, on the basis of building material used, be classified in three broad categories viz. (i) *kucha* tenements using only such materials as mud, bamboo, tin-sheets, 'sirkis', (a type of thatching mat) and hay bundles; (ii) *pucca* ones having brick walls, pucca concrete flooring and a proper roof either of concrete or of earthen tiles or of tin or asbestos sheets; and

(iii) mixed ones which are found to be made up of both the above types of materials. The tenements in the three zones are distributed according to these 'structure-types' as follows :

Table 7 : Type of Tenements in Katras

		Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	All zones
No. of tenements	...	8,032	13,230	1,011	22,273
Pucca— % of total	...	46.3	59.6	91.2	56.2
Mixed	..	44.2	26.7	1.4	31.9
Kucha	..	9.5	13.7	7.4	11.9

Zonal variation is much less conspicuous in the proportion claimed by the *kucha* structures than in case of the other two categories. Mixed structures constitute nearly the same proportion as the *pucca* ones in zone I but in zone III their share is insignificant and the *pucca* ones preponderate to the extent of claiming more than nine-tenths of the total. On the whole only 12% of the structures are *kucha* ; more than half are *pucca* and a little less than a third are mixed ones.

With regard to the condition of structures, we have sought to ascertain in each case whether the *katra* (or the house) is in need of major repairs ; or whether it is on the whole in such a bad state that improvement of the situation warranted its demolition and reconstruction. The data collected on this point reveals that the condition of about one-tenth of the 1726 *katras*, purely from the physical point of view, is not intolerable and could be improved with minor repairs. The rest, distributed in the three zones as follows, required either major repairs or reconstruction.

Table 8 : Condition of Tenements

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	All zones
1. No. of <i>katras</i>	616	1094	16	1726
2. <i>Katras</i> in tolerable condition : per cent.	8	12	—	10
3. <i>Katras</i> needing major repairs : per cent.	42	43	81	43
4. <i>Katras</i> needing reconstruction : per cent	50	45	19	47

It will be seen that nearly a half of the *katras* deserve to be demolished. Repairs can save the situation significantly only in the third zone which has only 16 of 1726 *katras*. On the whole the situation can be described as hopeless.

We must refer here to two specific aspects of housing namely ventilation and drainage. With regard to the former we have sought to ascertain whether there was at all any provision in the structural make-up for ventilation ; and if so, whether it was adequate. The results of this inquiry indicate that 60% of the tenements have no such provision and for 29% of them the provision is inadequate. Only in case of 81% was it reported that ventilation was satisfactory.

In the matter of internal drainage too the situation is highly unsatisfactory. Not more than a third of *katras* are reported to be enjoying adequate provision of internal drains ; more than a fifth have no drains at all and for the remaining over 45% of them drains are inadequate. It should be added that servicing of the drains that exist suffers, almost without any exception, from gross neglect which turns them into veritable sources of constant insanitation and stink.

In the case of *bastis*, as noted earlier, the typical structure is a *kucha*-hut, with a single door, made out of mud, bamboo, stones and tin sheet etc. In some of the older *bastis*, like new Chandrawal and Bapanagar, we do however, find some *pucca* structures, at times having more than one floor ; the proportion of this *pucca* houses comes to about 10%. As to the condition of *basti*-huts it may be recalled that 93% of them are owned by the dwellers themselves. The resources of these dwellers are meagre and their huts in effect are all improvised dwellings. As such, they are much less immune, than the *katra* tenements, from the vagaries of weather, of storm and rain. They require rebuilding or at least major repairs after passage of every such adversity. The patching up here and there and replacement of some or other parts is almost a continuous process for a *basti*-hut.

The question of internal ventilation for such improvised dwellings does not, strictly speaking, arise ; all that can be said is that the situation in this matter is not any significantly better than in the case of *katras*.

Internal drainage is as much, if not more, a necessity for the *bastis* as for the *katras*. The position, however, is comparatively much more unsatisfactory. 31% of the *bastis* do not possess any drainage system. For 62% of them the provision is very inadequate. The proportion of *bastis* having adequate drainage comes to less than 7% as against the corresponding figure of about 33% in case of the *katras*.

1:15 BASIC AMENITIES

Lack of amenities is one of the main factors making for the slum conditions in these 1787 places. Here we

will examine the position with respect to the three most vital amenities viz. (a) water supply, (b) latrines, and (c) electricity.

(a) WATER SUPPLY

Almost the only source of water in these slums is the municipal water tap. This source is available only in 1135 or 66% of the *katras*. The rest 34% depend on sources lying outside the *katras*, invariably on the public hydrants which are, in many cases, situated at quite some distance. These 1135 *katras*, housing a total of 14,124 families, have in all 2885 taps from which to meet all their needs of water. But of these 1157 are private, 'separate' taps used exclusively by the same number of families. We are thus left with only 1628 'common' taps for 12,967 families ; we have, that is to say, 8 families or 40 persons per tap on the average. The situation differs as between the zones as follows :

Table 9 : Water Supply in Katras

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	All zones
1. No. of <i>katras</i> ...	616	1094	16	1726
2. <i>Katras</i> with no water facility : per cent of 1 ...	35	33	50	34
3. Total No. of families in <i>katras</i> with taps ...	5317	8226	581	14,124
4. Total No. of families with private taps ...	317	836	4	1,157
5. No. of common taps ...	646	950	32	1,628
6. No. of families per tap ...	8	8	18	8

Inadequacy of water supply appears thus to be of almost the same degree in the first two zones but in the third it is much greater.

While water is so scarce one may not expect the dwellers to enjoy the luxury of a bath-room. The need for a bath could be met, say on a common basis, but we have not been successful in tracing any common bath-room in any of these *katras* with water taps ; there exists no such common provision of bath. Only among the 1157 tenements having private water connections have we been able to enumerate 861 improvisations which may be referred to as bath-rooms of a sort.

The position with respect to water facility in the *bastis* appears definitely to be much worse. 16 out of the 61 *bastis* have no water taps at all within their boundaries. In the remaining 45 *bastis*, with an aggregate of 25,053 families, there are in all 185 water taps ; the average number of families comes to 134 per tap. The position in the zones may be indicated as follows :

Table 10 : Water Supply in Bastis

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	All zones
1. No. of bastis	4	38	19	61
2. No. of bastis having no water facility	1	12	3	16
3. No. of families in the bastis with taps	2622	13588	8843	25053
4. Total No. of taps	21	107	59	187
5. No. of families per tap	125	127	150	134

Acuteness of the shortage of water (filtered tap water in any case) is immeasurably great ; comparatively it is the least in the first zone but here too as many as 125 families or over 500 persons have on the average to depend on one tap. Their want of even drinking water cannot evidently be met from the available taps. The situation is relieved only a little by drawing upon other

sources like wells and hand-pumps, the total number of which comes to only 40. If we add these 40 to the above number of taps and recalculate the over-all average number of families per unit source, we yet get the high figure of 110 families.

(b) LATRINES

Latrine facility within the *katra* does not exist in 458 or 27% of the *katras*; their population, however measures about 33% of the total. The total number of latrines in the remaining lot of *katras* is 5715, of which 2091 are private 'separate' latrines belonging to the same number of families. Of the remaining 3624 only 450 are water borne; 3174 are of the dry variety. On the basis of the number of families using them we arrive at an estimated average of 4 families per one latrine. This, however, is to grossly understate the lack of this facility because those particularly of the dry variety are latrines only in name. In most cases there is no proper shelter over them and they hardly provide any privacy. This situation is the most keenly felt among the slum dwellers. It places their women-folk in an impossible position; they cannot think of easing themselves during the day and cultivate per force the habit of going out for it at night. What makes the situation much worse is the lack of urinals which can be used by them during the day. There are only 54 *katras* with some sort of a urinal each.

It may be added that the high proportion of the dry variety among the existing latrines is accounted for by absence of proper sewer connection. The proportion of *katras* in the total which have an easy access to the public sewer system is only 22% in the first and 29% in

the second zone. In the third 7 out of 16 *katras* are connected with sewers.

The position in this matter of latrine facility is not better for the *bastis* except for the fact that the *basti*-dwellers have an access to the surrounding open grounds for evacuation under the open sky. This great facility is indeed used to such a great extent that there is not a single *basti* whose approaches are not practically littered with human excreta. It is therefore sufficient here to mention only that for the aggregate of 26,820 families of the 61 *bastis* we have only 714 water borne and 1367 dry latrines. They are, it may be added, located within 43 of these *bastis* ; 18 have no latrines at all.

(c) ELECTRICITY

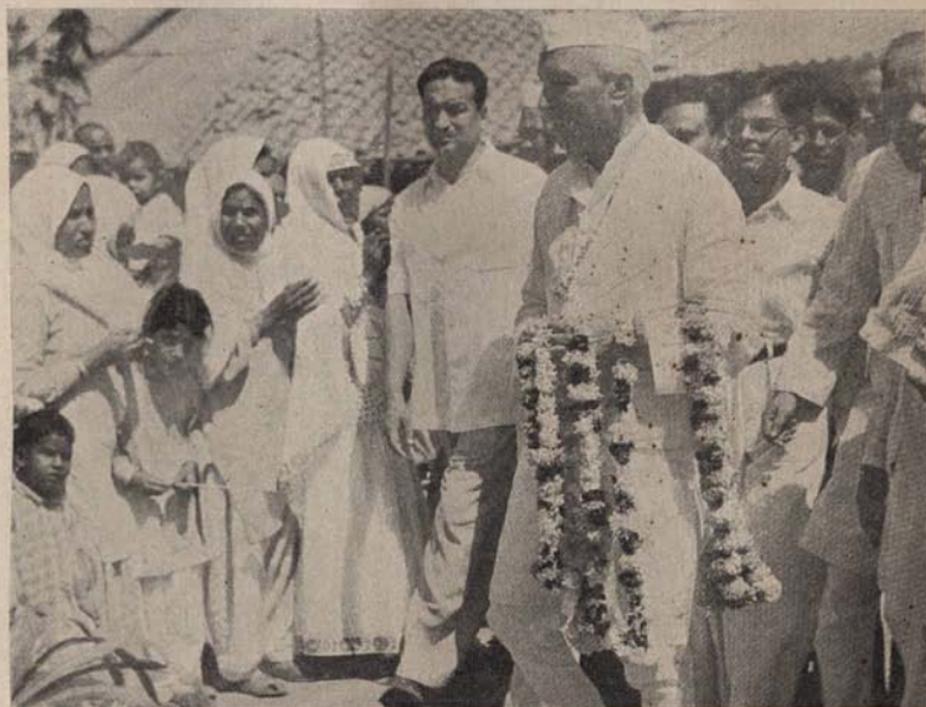
In 818 or 47% of the *katras* we have traced the link with electricity supply system. The total of electric points enumerated comes to only 3711; of which 3467 are in fact serving individual tenements. The proportion of families that enjoy the luxury of electric light is only about 14%. The remaining 244 points are providing public lighting within 104 *katras*. Public lighting (by electricity), which may be assumed to be a necessity for any *katra*, is not, thus, available in nearly 90% of the *katras* (excluding houses).

Only in 26 out of the 61 *bastis* we have been able to trace electricity connections. Here its use for private purposes is absolutely insignificant ; only about 0.9% of the total number of *basti* families are reported to be using electricity. So far as public lighting is concerned it obtains only in 16 *bastis*, with a population of 12,000 families and is provided by 85 points.

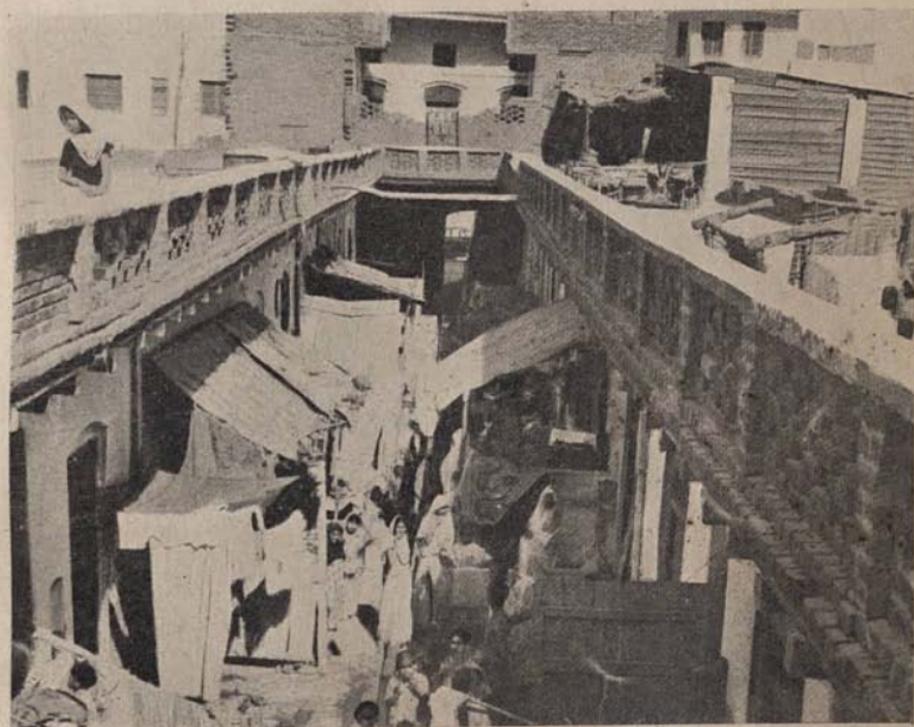
1:16 ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF INSANITATION

Besides congestion and lack of amenities discussed above, we may specifically mention two additional factors that appear to be aggravating the slum situation, namely (i) obnoxious trades and (ii) the practice of keeping animals within these slums. Obnoxious trades are those that fill the air with noise and/or pollute the atmosphere with smoke and stink. The specific trades that we have come across in the slums include a great variety of 'bhattis' (ovens, furnaces and the like) used by potters, dyers, dhobis, soap-makers, gram parchers, smiths, bakers etc.; tanning; presses of different kinds; tin-box makers; small repair works; tire resoling; electric wire making etc. The total number of *katras* and *bastis* where such trades are being operated comes to 129 and 31 respectively. The number of families carrying on these trades is about a thousand which measures about 2% of the slum population.

With respect to the other source of insanitation it may be stressed that the slum dwellers keep the animals predominantly for their professional use. A total of 2595 heads of animals are kept by 1256 families living in 347 *katras*; 39% of them are milch cattle including both the cows and buffaloes, with the latter preponderating; 30% are horses and 17% are bullocks. Only for 804 of these heads there is provision of separate shelter in some or other form of stables; the rest occupy whatever open ground that is available or, in the alternative, share the dwellings with their owners. It is estimated that roughly about 4% of the built-up dwelling area is occupied in this way by the animals. The population of these 347 *katras* wherein the cattle nuisance obtains is 6557 families i.e.



1. Prime Minister's visit to slums (Sarai Phoos).



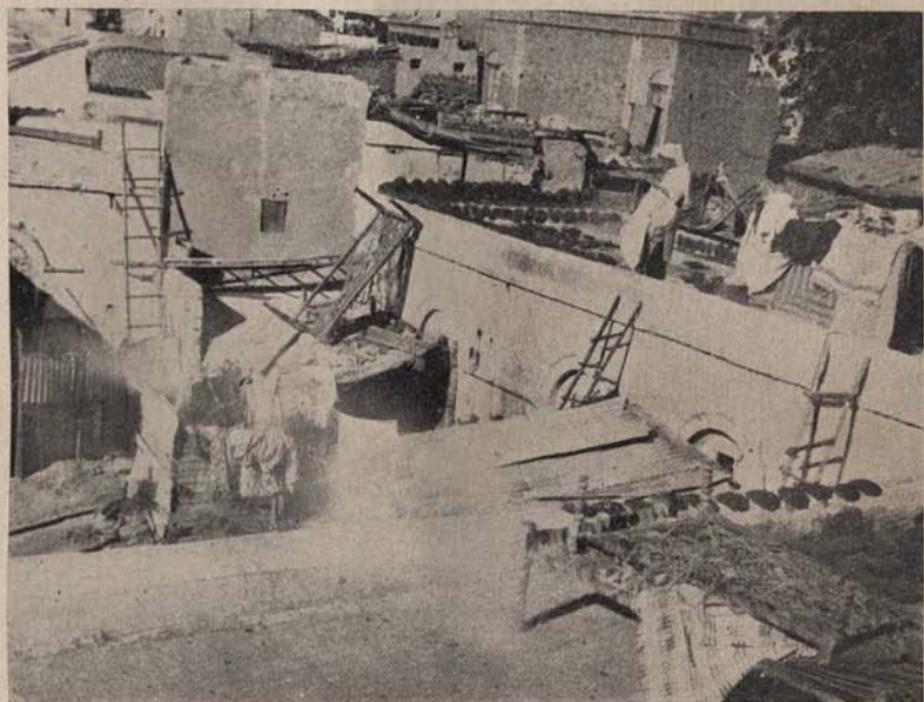
2. Inside of a Khatra (Subji Mandi).



3. *Inside of a Katra (Manekpura).*



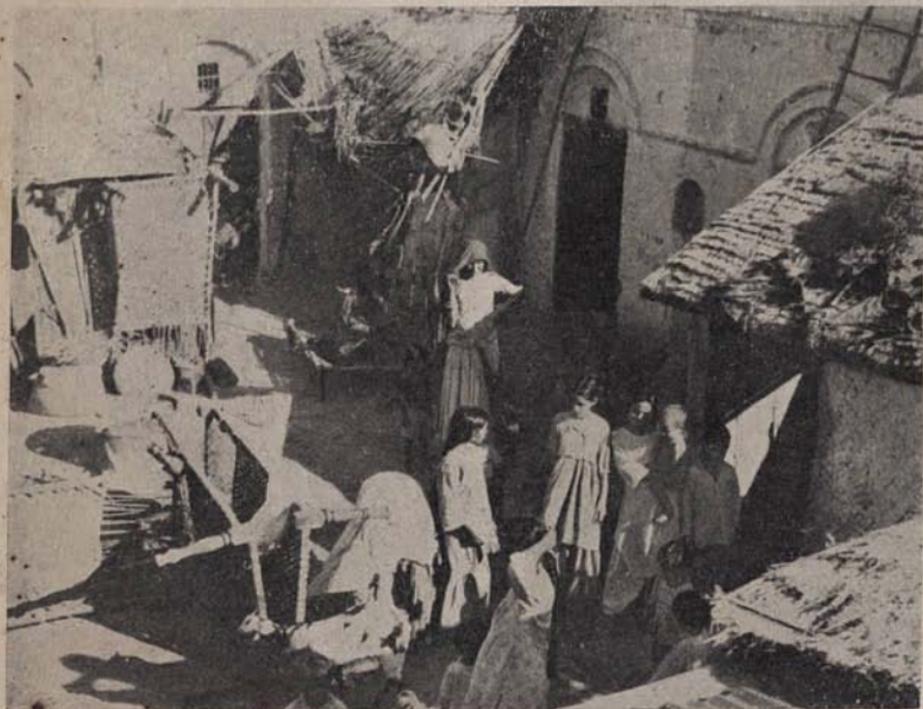
4. *Congestion of Tenements within a Katra.*



5. *Katra roof used for drying dung-cakes.*



6. *Improvised shelters on roofs.*



7. Congestion of Katra courtyard.



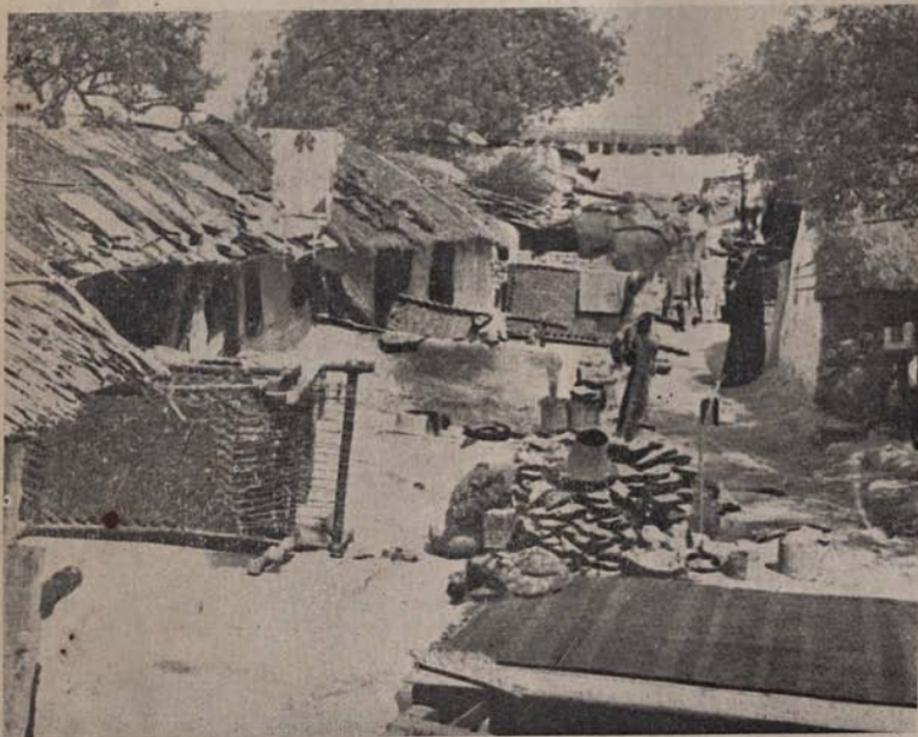
8. Dilapidation and squalor.



9. *Family-dwelling under the Mehrab of the City Wall.*



10. *Dilapidated hut of a Basti.*



11. *A part of Jamna Basti.*



12. *A Basti—Motinagar Pahari.*



13. *A Basti in Khai (Pit).*



14. *A Basti on Railway Lines*



15. *Family-dwellings on the Ganda Nala in Mori Gate.*



16. *Kitchens on the Pavement.*



17. *At the Municipal Tap outside a Katra.*



18. *Dhobi Ghat and Bhatti within a Katra.*



19. *Co-existence—Delhi Gate.*



20. *Co-existence—Ajmeri Gate.*

over 31% of the total *katra* population. In case of the *bastis* we have 3,827 animals (preponderantly milch cattle) kept by 818 families living in 47 *bastis* inhabited by a total of 24,306 families. On the whole, it appears that 60% of the slum dwellers (including both of *katras* and *bastis*) have to put up with insanitation that cattle-keeping within congested habitations invariably involves.

1:17 THE CHALLENGE

The foregoing description leaves no doubt at all as to the grim fact that we are face to face with a most pernicious evil of staggering dimensions. The dimensions of the problem or its pernicious character should not, however, induce any sense of diffidence. It has to be faced squarely and boldly. What is required is to accept it as a challenge and strive for a workable solution. The Delhi Pradesh Bharat Sevak Samaj has all along viewed the problem in this light and, after considerable thought and study, has come to hold that a practical solution is possible. For this, however, it is imperative that we discard the old methods followed by the Improvement Trusts, which, in any case, have proved utter failures and that, viewing the problem in its right perspective, we must adopt what may be called the "human approach".

The Socio-Economic Survey

I

2:1 THE RIGHT PERSPECTIVE

The two characteristic features of the slums are (i) congestion, blight and insanitation of the inhabitations and (ii) economic poverty and social impoverishment of the inhabitants. It is inescapable that these two, the ecological and the socio-economic, features are inseparable and that they should be taken in totality to define the slum problem.

As a matter of fact, they both have mutually a causal relationship which tends perpetually to cause deterioration of the situation. Their poverty and lack of social awareness were admittedly the compulsions that forced these victims of inexorable processes of growth of the city's economy to congregate within and around the spatially stagnant urban core, to congest the limited living space available, to put up with blight and to suffer insanitation. In turn the so-deteriorated ecology has had, and is having all its evil consequences leading in effect to further impoverishment, both social and economic.

So then, the problem before us is not merely that of the unhealthy urban ecology or of the city's plague spots; it is a much larger one concerning very vitally the socio-economic status of the human beings, condemned to

inhabit the plague spots. It is in short a human problem and must of necessity be treated as such.

2:2 THE HUMAN APPROACH

It is imperative that for the solution of this human problem we should adopt what has been termed as the Human Approach. Fortunately there now obtains quite a general agreement about this approach among the official and non-official agencies actively interested in this problem. Even so, it is possible that the approach may permit varying interpretations when specific programmes of action are taken on hand. It is necessary, therefore, to lay down specific principles on the basis of which such programmes can be worked out.

Considering this position, the Bharat Sewak Samaj, Delhi Pradesh, suggested the following as the minimum requirements of a slum programme in their note to the Prime Minister submitted for the consideration of the conference convened by him in May, 1956 (The note is appended to this report as Appendix I).

(1) The slum programme should be so framed and executed as to involve no harrassment, no coercion and no adverse effect on the socio-economic status of the slum dwellers.

(2) Both in formulation and implementation of the programme it should be considered necessary to obtain not merely goodwill but also active participation of the slum dwellers.

It must be emphasised that the above requirements were put forth only as safeguards. The approach in fact warrants that we should go much further and aim at

raising the socio-economic status of the slum dwellers simultaneously with ecological improvement. It makes it imperative that we evolve an integrated plan of action covering social education ; economic betterment ; public health and sanitation ; repairs, reconstruction and new construction of dwellings ; and development of new residential areas. Our action should deal with all the aspects of life lived in the slums.

2:3 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

To be realistic an overall integrated plan for eradication of the slum menace has to be based on reliable information about the different aspects of life in the slums which was found to be almost entirely lacking. We knew in a broad and general way that these people were very poor and that they suffered from many social handicaps. But we knew little of the nature and intensity of economic compulsions and social ties that kept them bound to the so-called plague spots. We knew little even of the extent of their needs in matters of housing, health and education etc. It was therefore felt necessary to undertake investigation of these aspects of slum living.

This investigation work was taken up towards the end of 1955, when a detailed questionnaire was prepared and forwarded to the zonal organisers of the Samaj for collection of data about the slums falling in the respective zones. However, beyond indicating the large magnitude of the work-load involved, these initial efforts did not prove satisfactory, evidently for want of technical guidance and trained investigators and very soon the need of reorganising the work on scientific lines was realised.

This re-organisation was achieved in April, 1956, when thanks to the initiative taken by an officer of the Health Ministry's Town Planning Organisation, it became possible to enlist the co-operation of the Delhi School of Economics and the Delhi School of Social Work, both of whom showed keen interest in this problem and had the requisite experience of survey work. A small Survey Committee, composed of the representatives of the Samaj and the above institutions and with the said Town Planning Officer as Convener, was set up to plan and organise the present socio-economic survey. This Committee approved the survey scheme and budget, prepared by the representatives of the School of Economics and formally resolved that they should also undertake the responsibility of day-to-day guidance and supervision of the survey work. The budget requirement of Rs. 10,000 was met from the generous grant received from the Prime Minister who has been taking very keen interest in the slum work of the Samaj.

The requisite technical assistance and finance having been obtained the survey was launched in May, 1956. The first month was spent in making preparations and training investigators. The field work was completed in course of the next six months from June to November, 1956. The data collected was then passed on to the Statistical Workshop of the School of Economics for processing and tabulation, which was completed in course of about five months. The final tables were thus ready towards the end of April, 1957 when analysis of data and drafting of the report was taken on hand.

2:4 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS SURVEYED

Since the survey had the set purpose of helping the formulation of slum programme, its scope has been limited to the aspects of slum living that required specific consideration in this context. Selection of these aspects was made in light particularly of programme of redistribution of the slum population needed for attainment of our ultimate objective of establishing a healthy ecology throughout the urban area. The chief elements of such a programme are (a) development of new residential areas and erection of dwellings therein, (b) re-development of the present slum areas involving demolition and reconstruction of dwellings and (c) removal of the required proportion of people from the latter to the former areas. The specific decisions involved in this programme may be stated as below :

- (1) The extent and location of new areas to be developed.
- (2) The type of dwellings to be constructed on the new and cleared sites.
- (3) The section of the slum population to be shifted.

(1) The requirement of new lands can be determined on the basis of data concerning the total slum population, its demographic characteristics, and its civic needs. Their location must obviously take into account the nature of economic and social relationships of the population to be shifted with the urban core, and within this, the relation between the particular areas they inhabit and their work-spots.

(2) It is generally agreed that the costs of construction need very careful consideration. We have to consider the size and composition of families in order to determine their minimum requirements. But we must necessarily consider also their economic condition, particularly their rent-paying capacity. The latter will indicate the maximum they can afford now, which most certainly will prove to be much too inadequate and so the question of subsidised construction inevitably arises. The only way in which the burden of subsidies can be minimised is to seek for means of raising their rent-paying capacity, of bettering their economic condition. For this purpose we need a rather detailed study of their present position and future prospects ; a study of the sources of income and employment, and of their aptitudes including literacy, educational status and technical qualification etc.

(3) The decision regarding shifting of people is admittedly crucial and at the same time a very complex one. We have in a sense to draw up a priority list of slum families to be shifted. In framing such a scale of priorities we have to consider the effects of shifting particularly on the individual economies of the families so affected. Here, in addition to the relationship of their residences to the work-spots we may also consider attitude of these people towards their present homes and the society they live in.

The aspects selected in light of the above considerations are : (i) Demographic characteristics of the slum population including age-sex composition, civil condition, family size and family relationships etc. (ii) Economic condition including their income, employment and conditions governing present sources of income and

employment; and also their attitudes towards them. (iii) Education and Health, particularly the present position and needs. (iv) Housing—the available living space and its inadequacy, and willingness or otherwise of leaving the present dwellings for better ones in new areas.

2:5 THE SURVEY SCHEME

This scheme has been prepared with a view to obtain data depicting the status of the entire slum population living within the boundaries of the Delhi Municipal Committee. For this purpose we have had no alternative to accepting the list of slums prepared by the Municipality as the basis. As noted earlier in para 1:8 (p. 10), after due scrutiny and spot-visits we modified the list so as to include as many as 1010 places. Among these, 771 are *katras*, 181 are houses and 58 are *bastis*.

Following the well-tried techniques of such socio-economic surveys, the present scheme accepts family as the unit of survey, uses the technique of random sampling and employs the interview method of inquiry. The survey work has accordingly been carried out in two stages: (i) complete enumeration or listing of the families living in these 1010 places needed for the construction of the universe of the survey, and (ii) detailed investigation of the sample families selected at random from the universe. It may be added that the sample fraction of 10% and the sample design described later, were adopted after a very fruitful discussion on the subject with Dr. Patnaik of the Central Statistical Organisation and Mr. Sivasubramanian of the Delhi School of Economics.

2:6 ENUMERATION

The field work in connection with enumeration was commenced in early June and was completed in about two months time, towards the end of July, 1956. Thirty-five enumerators participated in this work on purely voluntary basis. Daily assignment of an enumerator consisted of a series of municipal house numbers from the slum list together with the available details of their location. The enumerator had to trace out these numbers and then go around from tenement to tenement collecting the required information about all the families occupying them. This had to be recorded on a separate slip for each family.

The record on the slip included (i) verified address of the family (ii) name of the head of the family together with the name of his father or her husband (iii) his/her present occupation and (iv) total number separately of male and female members of the family.

The lowest educational qualification amongst these enumerators was matriculation ; most of them were, however, graduates. Majority of them have had experience of similar work in the Greater Delhi Survey of the Delhi School of Economics. Those of them who did not have this advantage received practical guidance in company of the experienced hands in matters of locating house numbers allotted to them and of explaining the objectives of the survey to the informants. Before putting the enumerators on the field a series of lectures and discussion meetings were arranged so that they all understood the objectives of the survey and the approach of the Samaj to the problem of slums. They were supplied with detailed

and specific instructions on how to conduct themselves and their work and were also taken round some typical slums.

Particular care was taken to so time the field work as to suit the convenience of the informants ; in many cases prior information had to be obtained on this point and then passed on to the enumerators. In actual practice the work was conducted, on week days, in the early hours of morning before the people left for their jobs and late in the evening after they returned ; on Sundays and holidays it continued from early morning till noon. It may be noted also that assistance of the local workers of the Samaj and interested slum dwellers, most of whom were readily available on the field, very much facilitated the smooth conduct of field work.

Scrutiny and spot-checking of the returns submitted by the enumerators were undertaken in order to ensure reliability and completeness of data collection. Thorough scrutiny of all slips returned operated simultaneously with the field work. In the initial stages it was done in the presence of the enumerators so that it became possible to indicate to them the errors of their recording. Spot-checking on a 10% basis of the work of each individual enumerator was commenced soon after the returns began coming in. Common error revealed by spot-checking was, with regard to the entry of occupation, the tendency being to use generalised terms such as business, service, labour etc., but this was remedied by holding individual discussions with enumerators. On the whole the operation can be considered satisfactory ; few left-outs were revealed and there was practically no case of refusal.

The overall result of counting came to 32,599 families with a population of 1,61,803 distributed over the three zones as follows :

Table 11 : Summary of Enumeration

Zone	No. of slums	No. of families	No. of persons
I	416	8,609	43,148
II	565	16,558	82,101
III	29	7,432	36,554
Total ...	1010	32,599	1,61,803

2:7 THE SAMPLE DESIGN

These 32,599 families, constituting the universe of the survey are very unevenly distributed over the 1010 slums. Measured in terms of families the size of slums varies greatly from a single family in several cases to beyond 1000 families in case of a few *bastis*. Considering this position the slums have been classified according to size in three principal categories or strata for the purpose of drawing samples as shown below :

Table 12 : Distribution of Slums by Size

Category	Size	No. of families	No. of slums	Total No. of families	Total No. of persons
I	Very small	1-4	55	166	1,048
II	Small Medium	5-19	566	6,461	34,831
		20-49	304	9,002	46,772
	Total ...	5-49	870	15,463	81,603
III	Large Very large	50-200	66	5,494	25,961
		200 and more	19	11,476	53,191
	Total ...	50 and more	85	16,970	79,152
G. Total ...			1010	32,599	1,61,803

The first category accounts for less than one per cent of the universe and could be safely ignored without affecting the representative character of the sample. Accordingly, no family from this category was included in the sample list.

The second accounts for half the slum population. Here the alternative was between (i) drawing a 10% sample from the whole lot of 15,463 families and (ii) selecting 10% of the 870 slums and then including all the families living in 87 slums selected from the list, the assumption being that for the purpose of the survey they could be treated as a homogeneous group. The latter has been adopted and has been found satisfactory and very convenient from the point of view of field-work operation.

The third is as much important as the second but here it was not possible to consider the 85 slums falling therein homogeneous in any sense. Most of them are *bastis*, each having its own individual origin and history, housing people belonging to a specified caste or occupation or in-migrant group. There was therefore no alternative to drawing a 10% sample from each of them separately.

For both these categories samples were drawn by using the tables of random numbers. Total number of families thus selected came to 3,226 distributed as between the two categories as below :

Table 13 : Sample Design

Category	No. of slums	No. of families	No. of samples
II	87 (10% of 870)	1,527	1,527
III	85	16,970	1,699 (10% of 16970)
Total ...	172		3,226

The size of the sample thus drawn is less than the required 10% by 34 families. Half the difference is accounted for by the elimination of the first category. The remaining was the result of the method adopted for the second category which evidently has given in effect a little weightage to slums of less than the average size of this category. The size of the difference (0.2%) is absolutely innocuous and so the list of 3,226 families has been adopted without hesitation as the sample list.

2:8 THE SCHEDULE

The investigators employed for interviewing the sample families were given printed schedules for the purpose of systematically recording the information collected from each family. The schedule together with the instructions issued to investigators is attached to this report as Appendix 2. It will be seen that the schedule is designed to cover all the aspects mentioned in para 2:4 above. It is divided in 9 blocks, containing 146 entries and 43 additional columns for coding purposes.

I *Identification*

In addition to information about location etc., this block is designed to include further information about head of family with respect to religion, caste, mother tongue and migratory status; and about the interviewer's visit with respect to the person interviewed, language used and time spent for interview.

II *Family Composition*

This is the basic block and records information separately for each member of the family with

respect to his or her age, sex and civil condition ; literacy, education, technical training if any ; and economic status.

III *Present Employment*

Records separately for each employed member of the family detailed data about their present employment including nature, duration, status, organisation etc. ; conditions of work separately for regular and casual employment ; income and expenditure at the work-spot ; and the attitude of the person in question towards his present job. In addition, nature, duration and income from subsidiary occupations, if any, are also included.

IV *Unemployment*

Records separately for each member of the family who having no job, is seeking one, the details about duration of unemployment ; last employment if any ; nature of job sought and income expected therefrom ; and willingness or otherwise of the person in question to accept job outside Delhi.

V *Employment History*

The nature, duration and earnings of previous employments are recorded here for employed members included in block III and also for unemployed members seeking job not for the first time included in block IV, with a view to obtain some information on the subject of occupational mobility among the slum dwellers.

VI *Education*

Attempt is here made to obtain details about all the children of school-going age (6-14 years) ;

for those studying about the class, institution, hours of study, expenses and financial aid received, if any ; and for those not studying, about the reasons preventing their study, nature of their work at home and the attitude of their guardians in the matter. In addition a direct question is asked as to the willingness or otherwise of the parents to move to a place affording better education facilities.

VII *Health*

This block is divided further into four parts as follows : A, refers to general health and disability, if any ; B, to illnesses, if any, suffered by members of the family in course of the previous year ; C, and D, respectively to births and deaths in the course of the preceding decade or of the period of their stay in this place in case of those families that moved into it latter.

VIII *Housing*

In addition to recording details regarding the period of stay, tenure, rent and accommodation etc., this block includes several direct questions aimed at eliciting the attitudes and opinions of the informants about the conditions in which they are living.

IX This is an additional block provided for the use of the investigator, particularly for recording his remarks about the response and his appraisal of the data collected.

2:9 OPERATION OF THE FIELD WORK

Schedule filling commenced in the second week of August and was completed towards the end of November,

1956. Compared to enumeration this was a much more technical, exacting and time-consuming job and so instead of voluntary help, investigators were recruited on part-time basis and were paid at a rate of annas 8 per schedule.

The minimum qualification considered for the recruitment of investigators was graduation ; those having previous experience were preferred. In all 40 investigators participated in this work.

In addition there were three whole-time salaried supervisors whose job it was to make day-to-day allotments of sample families to investigators, to receive the filled schedules, to scrutinise them and to carry on spot-checking. These supervisors were selected because of their experience of survey work in the Delhi School of Economics.

All the field investigators had to go through a course of training before receiving allotment of paid work. This training consisted of (i) a series of discussion meetings at which all technical terms used in the schedule were explained to them and instructions were given about the specific questions to be asked as also about the manner of asking them, and (ii) practice of filling trial schedules for slum families not included in the sample list. Each investigator filled, at least, seven such trial schedules which were duly scrutinised in his presence. It was thus attempted to ascertain that they had acquired thorough understanding of each column of the schedule as well as the required proficiency in using the codes provided for facilitating their work of recording the data.

Scrutiny operated simultaneously covering each and every filled schedule returned by the investigators. It revealed discrepancies and even blank columns. They were without delay shown to them and were corrected, where necessary, by their re-visiting the sample families in question for obtaining fresh data. It must be added that these discrepancies and blanks got very much reduced as the work proceeded.

Spot-checking too was simultaneous. It covered over 10% of the schedules selected at random from among those returned by each investigator. The supervisor on this duty visited the family in question, contacted the head of the family, inquired about the visit of the investigator and went over all the columns of schedule verifying the data entered by the said investigator. Findings of the spot-checking were not at all disturbing and in fact testified very convincingly to the effect that the investigators in general were working with great enthusiasm and confidence. It revealed that they encountered little difficulty in obtaining data for blocks of family composition, present employment, unemployment and education. Difficulties were faced mainly in case of employment history, of parts C and D of the block on health and of questions 11 to 14 of the block on housing conditions. These matters were thoroughly discussed with individual investigators so that no ambiguities persisted in their minds and so that they could tackle their samples with success. It will be seen that for dealing with the findings of both scrutiny and spot-checking the method adopted was one of holding discussions with individual investigators. Continuous individual attention to the progress of work of each investigator

was probably the only way of improving the quality of field work.

2:10 RESPONSE

Out of 3,226 families included in the sample list schedules have been filled for 3,135 of them. Only for 91 families it has not been possible to collect the required data. The reasons for this are indicated below :

Table 14 : Analysis of Non-response

No. of schedules not filled	Reasons
23	The families could not be traced.
22	The families had shifted from the place of enumeration.
17	The families had left Delhi.
13	The families were out of station at the time of repeated visits paid.
7	The families refused information.
4	Heads of the families not available inspite of repeated visits.
4	Deaths in case of single member families.
1	Jailed-single member family.
91	

The non-response comes to hardly 3%. Considering its small size no substitutes were selected to replace these families on the sample list.

The response can be considered highly satisfactory. But it was indeed as expected for there were factors operating at the time to help the success of this venture. Among these we may mention (i) the fact that the slum dwellers have nothing to hide ; (ii) the zeal and enthusiasm of the investigators ; (iii) the goodwill for the Bharat Sévak Samaj and for its Convenor, under whose leadership the Samaj has been striving their best for the cause of slum dwellers ; and (iv) the atmosphere of

expectancy and hope created by the Prime Minister's visit to slums in April, 1956 which was sustained by his prompt action in launching the slum improvement programme that operated with quite a tempo all through the period of this survey.

2:11 AN EXPERIENCE

It may not be out of place finally to mention that the operation of the field work on this scale has been a very useful experience from the point of view of constructive social work. It has been educative for the social workers and for the young investigators most of whom had for the first time seen the slums in all their nakedness. Soon after they started it became clear that they were not any more working for monetary remuneration ; the driving force was the feeling that they were doing some service where it was most needed. Several of these youngmen have developed in course of their work so keen and enduring an interest in this cause that they now form a nucleus for active social work in slums which the Samaj is undertaking.

The Survey attracted the attention even of public men, many of whom visited the slums which were being surveyed. They, it appears, have in the result found themselves keener than before to participate in the slum work. Same can be said of the government officials connected with the problem of slums. It is a feeling also that those occupying themselves with the preparation of the Master Plan for the Greater Delhi in the Health Ministry's Town Planning Organisation, too, came to recognise in this very period the imperative necessity of giving due consideration to this problem in their scheme for redevelopment of Old Delhi City.

As for the slum dwellers, they could not be expected to realise the need of such a survey but even so they gave their very willing co-operation in the survey work. Where the investigator was more patient and persevering they lent their mind and ears to understand what all this was about. In several places they went in fact a little further and insisted that social work should forthwith be started by the Samaj in an intensive manner in their own area, assuring at the same time that they were prepared to participate actively in any self-help programme launched by the Samaj. The Samaj in turn has lost no time in organising these enthusiasts into a team of workers and at the moment three such teams of slum dwellers are working, one each, in Manekpura, Sabzi-
mandi and Turkman Gate Area. It appears quite clear that the Survey has by itself given a lead to the social workers in organising and educating the slum dwellers and in developing local leadership from among them with a view to secure their active and whole-hearted participation in programmes of slum clearance and redevelopment of these areas. It may be concluded, therefore, that the spirit of service with which the Survey was organised by the Samaj has in this respect yielded adequate rewards, though apparently they are quite incidental.

III

The Slum Dwellers

3:1 INTRODUCTORY

In this chapter we will take the first step of acquiring acquaintance with the slum dwellers, seeking answers to such pertinent questions as to who they really are ; where do they come from ; what is their age-sex composition, their civil condition, their economic status and the extent of literacy and education among them etc. We will consider for this purpose firstly the data of block I of the schedule about the head of the family and then of block II for individual members of the family. With respect to presentation, it may be noted that the treatment followed in this and the subsequent chapters which give analysis of the data, figures are given separately for the zones only in cases of characteristics exhibiting marked differences as between these zones ; for all other characteristics only the overall figures for the slum population of the city as a whole are considered.

I

3:2 IN-MIGRATION

As shown in the first chapter the principal cause of the aggravation of the slum menace has been the rapid growth of population, which was more a consequence of 'in-migration' than of any change in the rate of natural increase. In view of this fact, the present population

may be classified into two broad categories—(i) original residents claiming Delhi to be their native place and (ii) in-migrants who have come from outside. Information for this purpose has been obtained in Col. 6 (e) of block I by posing the question as to whether the head of family belonged to Delhi, the fact to be determined by ascertaining whether or not at the time of his birth his parents were living in Delhi in a settled state.

The replies received to this query indicate that the in-migrants predominate the sample population to the extent of constituting three-fourths of the total. The zonal distribution is as follows :

Table 15 : Resident and In-migrant Families by Zones

Zone	Residents		In-migrants		Total
	No. of families	As % of total (Col. 6)	No. of families	As % of total (Col.6)	No. of families
1	2	3	4	5	6
I	336	39	524	61	860
II	328	21	1215	79	1543
III	133	28	599	82	732
Total	797	25	2338	75	3135

It is clear that more than half the in-migrants reside in zone II. Their proportion in the total slum population for the zone is 79%, which is significantly larger than the corresponding figure for zone I but is only a little smaller than the one for zone III. Evidently it has been easier for the bulk of the in-coming families to find accommodation in the extra-mural wards of the D. M. C. (Nos. 12 to 20).

The smaller proportion for the intra-mural Delhi (zone I) must be viewed in light of the fact that the

impact of the population growth set in here much earlier, causing relatively more acute congestion, particularly, of houses on land. So considered its absorption of in-migrant families to the extent of raising their proportion in the total to 61% is no meaner performance and the consequences arising therefrom are not in fact any less serious than for the other two zones. If, on the other hand, we consider the relative position from the point of view of a clearance programme involving shifting of people from the slums, the situation has to be considered more difficult for this zone than for the other two. For, indeed, shifting of in-migrants whose duration of stay must relatively be shorter should prove easier than the uprooting of the original residents from the places of their birth.

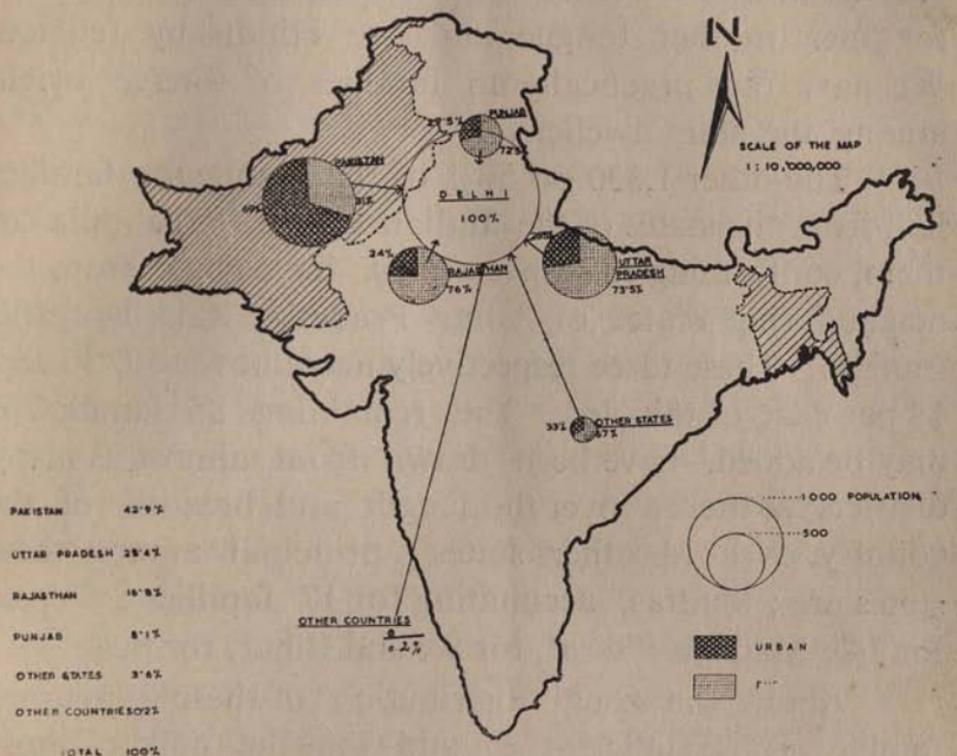
3:3 SOURCES OF MIGRATION

It is of interest to know where these 2,338 in-migrant families have come from. For this purpose the schedule records, in Col. 6 (i) of block I, the native place of the head of family. Here the native place is defined as the place where the parents of the head were living in a settled state at the time of his birth, which can also be called the place of his birth. The information recorded refers to the name of the place, district and state, and to its rural or urban character. For our purpose it is sufficient here to consider the state in which it is situated and its rural-urban character. The states are as they existed before the reorganisation of November, 1956. The rural and urban distinction takes into account only the size of population; places with a population of less than 5,000 are considered as having a rural, and those having larger populations as having an urban character. The position revealed by these data is summarised below:

Table 16 : Source of Migration

State	A				B				C		
	Rural				Urban				Both		
	No.	% to 5	% to 10	% to C	No.	% to 5	% to 10	% to C	No.	% to 5	% to 10
1 India — U.P. ...	488	50	—	73·5	176	50	—	26·5	664	50	—
2 „ — Rajasthan ...	298	31	—	76·0	94	26	—	24·0	392	30	—
3 „ — Punjab ...	137	14	—	72·5	52	15	—	27·5	189	14	—
4 „ — Other States ...	52	05	—	61·1	33	09	—	38·9	85	06	—
5 Total ...	975	100	75·8	73·3	355	100	33·7	26·7	1,330	100	56·9
6 Pakistan-West ...	311	—	—	—	691	—	—	—	1,002	—	—
7 „ -East ...	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
8 Total ...	311	—	24·2	31·0	692	—	65·8	69·0	1,003	—	42·9
9 Other countries ...	—	—	—	—	5	—	0·5	—	5	—	0·2
10 Grand Total ...	1,286	—	100·0	55·0	1,052	—	100·0	45·0	2,338	—	100·0

Chart 2. Percentage Distribution of In-migrants according to Source of Migration



1002 or nearly 43% of the entire lot of in-migrants came from West Pakistan; evidently all of them are refugees who have come in effect to further congest the already over-crowded slums of Delhi in 1947-48. It may be noted also that the proportion among the refugees of those coming from East Pakistan is entirely negligible.*

There are five families claiming native place in a foreign country. Three of them are from Nepal and the remaining two have come from Burma. About the latter an examination of the other data indicates that

*It may be mentioned that the proportion of the displaced persons among the slum dwellers is just a little higher than among the general population. Compared to 32% here, the corresponding percentage of displaced persons to the total population of Old Delhi was 31% according to 1951 census. (See District Census Hand Book Vol. 27, Pages 14-18).

these heads of family were born in Burma to Indian parents who had settled there ; both have given Hindi for their mother tongue and are Hindus by religion. We have thus practically no families of foreign origin among the slum dwellers.

The other 1,330 or 57% of the in-migrant families hail from the states of the Indian Union. The bulk of them, conforming to expectations, have come from the neighbouring states of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Punjab. These three respectively account for 50, 30 and 14 per cent of this lot. The remaining 85 families, it may be added, have been drawn from almost as many districts scattered over the length and breadth of the country, over 14 other states ; principal among these states are : Madras, accounting for 17 families ; Pepsu, for 14 ; Madhya Bharat, for 9 ; and Bihar, for 8.

About the zonal distribution of these in-migrant families it is sufficient to add that the bulk of those coming from Punjab and West Pakistan are found in zone II. Those coming from U. P. are distributed over the three zones broadly in the ratio of 2 : 3 : $\frac{1}{2}$ and those from Rajasthan have concentrated largely in zone III where the *bastis* predominate.

What appears to be a striking feature of the rural-urban composition of this in-migrant lot is that while among the refugees (those coming from West Pakistan) people with urban background predominate to the extent of constituting nearly two-thirds of their total, among those coming from the neighbouring states of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Punjab, it is the ex-rurals that constitute more than three-fourths of the corresponding total. The ratio of the rural-urban composition of the total of in-migrant families comes to 55 : 45 but if we

consider the overall position by taking the grand total of all the 3135 slum families, the addition of the 797 residents in the urban category modifies this ratio to 40 : 60.

3:4 MOTHER TONGUE

Spoken language is accepted as the indispensable means of communication ; for most of the slum dwellers it is indeed the only means. Apart from the fact that for sometime past it has been, as it yet very unfortunately remains to be, the cause of arousing passions among the public, it is admittedly a great social force binding people together and creating among them a feeling of common fellowship. It is very useful therefore to identify the slum dwellers also by the language they can best speak. Attempt accordingly was made to obtain information about the languages spoken at home by the slum dwellers in col. 6 (d) of block I. The investigators were, however, specifically asked to put a direct question as to what the mother tongue of the head was and not to cross-question the informant about the language professed as such, even if at the time of the interview he used a language other than the one so indicated. In practice, however, investigators faced no difficulty in obtaining the language spoken at home. We got the replies from all the 3,135 heads of families, which give the following results :

Table 17 : Mother Tongue

No.	Language	Residents	In-migrants	Total	%
1	Hindi or Hindustani	739	1,453	2,192	70.0
2	Punjabi	9	729	738	23.5
3	Urdu	45	71	116	3.7
4	Sindhi	—	48	48	1.5
5	Other Indian languages	4	35	39	1.2
6	Foreign languages	—	2	2	0.1
	Total ...	797	2,338	3,135	100.0

It may be stated, by way of explanation, that Hindi and Hindustani have been bracketed together for the sake of practical convenience, as it is admittedly difficult to make a clear distinction between them which, in any case, is one of the degree of purity or, say, of the immunity of the language from the influences of Urdu. It is worth remembering, however, that in the case of Delhi the influences of Urdu, which had enjoyed a very prosperous time here under the rule of the Moghuls, have endured with strength till almost this day to make it the natural home of Hindustani. And so it may be safely assumed that by and large the mother tongue of residents included in col. 1 of the above table is Hindustani as distinguished from the '*suddha*' Hindi.

As the above table shows Hindi, including Hindustani, clearly preponderates among the slum dwellers and is spoken by 70% of them. Punjabi is the next in importance but accounts for only 23.5% of the total. The only other language spoken by a sizable section of the slum dwellers is Urdu with 3.7% of the total.

Among the residents preponderance of Hindi is almost complete ; 739 or nearly 93% of the 797 resident families speak Hindi. Here Punjabi yields the second place to Urdu which is spoken in 45 or nearly 6% of the total number of resident families. Punjabi occupies the third place but is spoken in the homes of only 9 families.

Among the in-migrant families, Punjabi accounting for 31% of them is the second, preceded by Hindi with 61%, and followed in the third and fourth places respectively by Urdu and Sindhi with their 3% and 2%.

Included among the other Indian languages spoken by 35 families, are : Tamil with 17, Bengali with 4, Marathi with 4, Telugu with 2 and Malayalam also with 2 of these families. Mother tongue of the two families recorded against col. 6 for foreign languages is Gurkhali ; they are among the three families coming from Nepal as shown in the preceding paragraph, the remaining one of which has shown Hindi as their mother tongue.

If we consider the total of families speaking Punjabi, Urdu and Sindhi, the languages of West Pakistan, it will be seen that this total is smaller than the total number of families coming from West Pakistan as recorded in the preceding paragraph. This indicates that at least one hundred out of the said 1,002, evidently refugee families coming from West Pakistan, have indicated as their mother tongue a language other than the above three.

3:5 RELIGION AND CASTE

Religion and caste were the principal characteristics used for classifying population by the Reports of Censuses conducted under the British Rule. The first census of Independent India conducted in 1951 discarded the caste characteristic. As for religion, it may be argued that it is of little consequence in our secular state. Even so, the fact remains that religion and caste are yet very deep-rooted factors conditioning the social structure in India ; they are especially so for the poor and down-trodden masses. Religion and caste groups enjoy in fact positions that cannot at all be ignored. In any case, it is most common to identify a person by his religion and caste and we may do well to acquaint ourselves with the classification of the slum population by these two characteristics.

To take up religion first, consider the following table giving the required distribution of the sample families together with the corresponding percentages of the total. The table also includes the break-up in terms of percentages of the city's entire population, as revealed by the two censuses of 1951 and 1941, in order to facilitate comparison in light of the composition changes that have occurred in this decade.

Table 18 : Religious Composition

Religion	Sample families		Total population of the city	
	No.	%	1951%	1941%
Hindus	2,782	88.8	79.1	50.6
Sikhs	214	6.8	8.3	1.7
Muslims	122	3.9	10.1	45.0
Christians	14	0.4	0.5	0.8
Jains	3	0.1	1.9	1.8
Others	—	—	0.1	0.1
Total ...	3,135	100.0	100.0	100.0

It will be seen that the composition of Old Delhi's population recorded a drastic change in course of the decade. The city in fact changed its character in the short span of a few months following the Independence date of August, the 15th of 1947, from a mixed (Hindu-Muslim) to what may be called a preponderantly Hindu one. The cause, as is too well-known, was the Partition which caused large-scale movements of panic-stricken masses from India of Muslims, and to India of Hindus who came in very much larger number. The status of Muslims in the city's population as measured in terms of percentages of the total suffered on that account a decline from 45 to 10 while both Hindus and Sikhs improved their shares respectively from 51 to 79 and from 1.7 to 8.3.

The composition according to religion of the slum population is broadly of the same pattern as that of 1951 but with this difference that the preponderance of Hindus is significantly larger. As against this comparatively larger size of the Hindu lot among the slum dwellers we have the smaller shares of the other religions ; principal among them are Muslims and Sikhs.

Now with respect to caste we may consider only the Hindu families. There are indeed innumerable castes and sub-castes among the Hindus and this makes it difficult to adopt any pre-coding system for the purpose of systematic record. In the alternative the investigators were asked to put direct question as to which caste and sub-caste the head of family belonged to and were further requested not to cross-question him on the subject. Of the 2,782 Hindu families, 82 failed to indicate their specific caste and the matter was not pursued further. The 2,700 families for which replies have been received are distributed as follows :

Table 19 : Distribution of Hindus by Caste

Caste	No. of families	% of total
1 Rajputs	551	20.4
2 Chamars	385	14.3
3 Khattris	349	12.9
4 Arora	280	10.4
5 Brahmins	201	7.4
6 Baniyas	128	4.7
7 Julaha	67	2.5
8 Bhangi	60	2.2
9 Jats	51	1.9
10 Kahars	47	1.7
11 Dhobi	42	1.6
12 Kumhars	30	1.1
13 Naai	29	1.1
14 Other castes	480	17.8
Total	2,700	100.0

A perusal of the above table is sufficient to convince that slum dwelling is not at all limited to those on lower social strata among the Hindus. The higher ups—including Khattris, Aroras, Baniyas and even Brahmins, constitute, in the above composition, over 35% of the total. Rajpūts having an equal claim for inclusion among the high caste-Hindus top the above list with over 20% of the total. So it may be advanced that majority of the slum dwellers cannot be considered as subject to any social oppression and injustices within the Hindu society; their social status has not, it thus appears, been helpful in preventing their resorting to slum dwelling which presumably has been imposed upon them as a necessity by their economic status.

Among the lower-downs are included the backward classes shown in the above table in col. 11, 12 and 13, and the schedule castes shown in col. 2, 7, 8 and 10. The former category constitutes only 4% and the latter as much as 21% of the total. It may be mentioned here that compared to their share in the total population of the city as revealed by the 1951 census, the proportion of the schedule castes in the slum population is very much larger, the respective percentages figures being 9·5 and 20·7.

The combined proportion for these two categories must be taken to be larger than 25% as shown here in order to give weight also to the castes of these categories included in col. 14 of "other castes". Broadly speaking we can say therefore that between 25 to 38% of the Hindu slum dwellers belong to lower strata of the Hindu society.

II

3:6 SIZE OF FAMILY

Before we pass on to consider the sample population consisting of members constituting the 3,135 sample families, we may refer to two general features of the families themselves, namely the size of family and the structure of family relationships. Family size admittedly is important not only as revealing the congestion of people in the small and unhealthy slum tenements but also as indicating the minimum requirements of living space which a realistic programme of their rehabilitation in a non-slum neighbourhood should provide for. The data bearing on this point is available in block II of the schedule which records information separately for each individual member of the family.

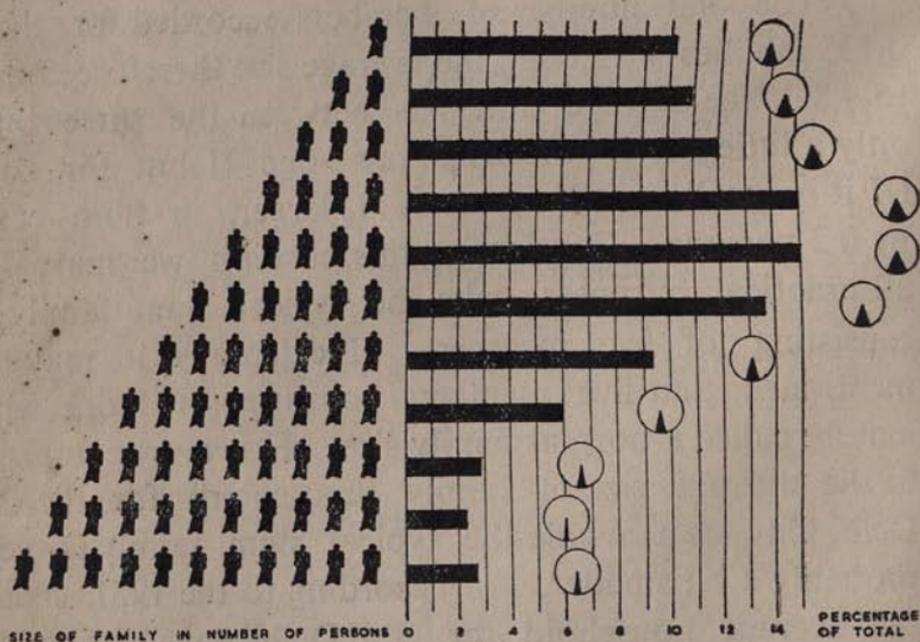
The total number of members recorded for these 3,135 families is 15,089 ; the average size therefore comes to 4.8. The average differs as between the three zones only a little ; it is the same for zone II but for zone III it is smaller and for zone I larger, in both cases by 0.2 persons. Considering this position we may, for all practical purposes, take the typical slum family as consisting of five members. Incidentally it may be mentioned that five members constitute in India what may be called a normal family size. However, compared to the average size of family (household) for the Old Delhi City as a whole the typical slum family is very probably a bit smaller, for according to the 1951 census the average household for Old Delhi consisted of 5.6 persons.

Consider the following table giving the detailed distribution of the 3,135 sample families according to size :

Table 20 : Size of Family

Size	Families		Members	
	No.	%	No.	%
1	320	10.2	320	2.1
2	343	10.9	686	4.6
3	376	12.0	1,128	7.5
4	469	15.0	1,876	12.4
5	471	15.0	2,355	15.6
6	426	13.6	2,566	16.9
7	295	9.4	2,065	13.7
8	819	6.0	1,512	10.0
9	91	2.9	819	5.4
10	72	2.3	720	4.8
11 or more	83	2.7	1,052	7.0
Total	3,135	100.0	15,089	100.0

Chart 3 : Percentage Distribution of Sample Families by Size



The above represents the overall picture; the pattern of distribution is broadly similar for all the three zones excepting for the fact that compared to the first

two, for zone III the proportions of both the smaller families consisting of 1 or 2 members each and the larger ones consisting of more than 10 members are smaller and so the concentration around the average is more marked.

It may be stated also that the largest family, included in the col. for "11 or more" members, consists of twenty-one persons. It is a joint family composed of four couples and their children—of the father and his three adult sons, all living in a sheltered space of about 150 sq. feet. Their actual need is evidently five times as much as this.

For an idea of the magnitude of living accommodation required for rehabilitation of the slum population, we may group these families further into three broad categories: (A) single member families; (B) families consisting of 2 to 5 members, the bulk of which are evidently natural or biological families composed of a couple and their progeny; and (C) families consisting of more than 5 members, most of which are joint families composed of more than one couple and their children. The percentage distribution of the sample families according to these three categories is: A=10%; B=53%; C=37%.

For estimating the requirement of accommodation we may tentatively accept the following standards for the above categories.

A. For this category it should be possible, and even desirable, to accommodate these single-member families (*i.e.* individuals) in dormitory type of dwellings. As suggested by the National Seminar on Slum Clearance

held at Bombay in May, 1957,* a dormitory room may be of 120 sq. feet in size and may accommodate two persons. Living room area per person accordingly comes to 60 sq. feet. To this we must add say 10 sq. feet per person for common provision of a kitchen, store, bath-room, latrine etc.†

B. For both B and C categories we need family dwellings. For the B category the basic minimum, suggested on the same lines as of the above mentioned Seminar, should consist of one room of 120 sq. feet, combined kitchen and verandah of 120 sq. feet and an additional 35 sq. feet of space for bathroom, lavatory etc. In all it comes to 275 sq. feet.

C. For this category—the large family, we must provide for at least an additional room, say, of 100 sq. feet. Total requirement per family thus comes to 375 sq. feet.

Applying the category-wise break-downs of the sample to the entire lot of 48,500 slum families of Old Delhi City we may calculate the total requirement of built-up area on the basis of above standards as follows :

Table 21 : Extent of Accommodation Required

Size category	% break-down	Corresponding break-down of 48,500 slum families	Space required per family Sq. feet	Total requirement Sq. feet
A	10	4,850	70	339,500
B	53	25,705	275	7,068,875
C	37	17,945	275	6,729,375
Total	100	48,500	—	14,137,750

*See Report pp. 18-19.

†A unit dormitory is taken to consist of 50 rooms for accommodating 100 persons, a kitchen, a dining-room, a pantry, 10 bath-rooms and 10 latrines.

For rehabilitation of the slum dwellers of Old Delhi City we need thus built-up area to the extent of over 14 million sq. feet or 157 thousand sq. yards or 325 acres. If we are to find this building space within a properly developed neighbourhood, the aggregate requirement of developed land would come to over 800 acres*. Taking built-up area to cover as high as 40% of the developed land, the gross density per an acre of developed land will then come to about 380 persons. This figure is higher than the highest point of density range, suggested by the Interim General Plan of the Health Ministry's Town Planning Organisation, by 40% and is much more than double the higher level of "the desirable density of development areas" suggested by the National Slum Seminar.

3:7 FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

The size of the family when compared to the limited living space available in a slum tenement suggests a condition of gross congestion of people within the tenement. The question may, therefore, arise as to the reasons, apart from their economic poverty, why the people tolerate such a condition. Is it because of the size of the biological family or because of the persisting tradition of the joint family system or because the families have had to accommodate in-migrating relations? Answer to this question may be sought at least partially in the composition of family in terms of

*It is not in the least implied here that a plot of 800 acres of land should be acquired and a 'slum colony' may be established. What is meant is only that if provision is made in developing the required number of neighbourhoods or satellite towns for accommodating some of the slum dwellers in each of them, this provision in the aggregate should be of the order of 800 acres.

relationships. We will refer for this purpose to col. 3 of block II which records separately for each member of the family his/her relationship to its head. The aggregate of 15,089 members are distributed accordingly as shown below :

Table 22 : Distribution of Members by Relationship

Relationship to head	No. of members	% of total*
Self	3,135	20·78
Wife	2,442	16·18
Husband	4	00·03
Sons	3,940	26·11
Daughters	2,781	18·43
Others	2,787	18·47

The first five relationships constitute the natural or biological family ; among others are included father, mother, brother, sister, daughter-in-law, paternal grand children and other relations found to exist in a joint family.

The general pattern of family relationships is practically the same for all the three zones so far, in any case, as the natural family is concerned. The only significant difference exists with respect to the 6th item of 'others' whose proportion for zone III is only 13% of the total as against 18 and 21 per cent for zones I and II respectively.

It will be seen that the heads of the families are most predominately males ; only four of them are women whose husbands are staying with them in the same families. The smaller proportion of wives suggests that quite a number of the heads of the families are living without wives ; this may be because of their existing

marital status or, in case generally of in-migrants, because they have not yet found it possible to call their families in.

The proportion of sons is considerably larger than that of daughters ; at least partially it must be because a number of daughters have on their marriage gone out of these families. Compared to the heads, the sons have a larger share in the total, which can be taken to indicate the potential increase in the number of families in course of the next generation. The ratio of sons to heads being 132 : 100 this increase cannot be expected to exceed 32%. It will in all probability be smaller ; 'how much smaller' will depend upon the proportion of sons failing to reach married state and upon the proportion who might accept to live within a joint family.

Break-downs of members in terms of relationships for the typical slum family of five members are :

Table 23 : Composition of the Average Family

Relationship	No. of members
Head	1.00
Wife	0.82
Son	1.32
Daughter	0.92
Natural family	4.06
Others	0.94
Total	5.00

It will be seen that the size of natural family is about 4 persons ; one out of five members of the typical family finds accommodation in the family tenement because of joint family system or because he had to be accommodated on account probably of other social ties—

of belonging to the same caste, same sub-caste or same native village. So, it appears that the slum dwellers had preferred suffering a little more congestion to being cold to social ties.

3:8 AGE-SEX COMPOSITION

We may now proceed to examine the main demographic characteristics of the sample slum population *i.e.* of the aggregate number of 15,089 members constituting the 3,135 sample families. First we will consider their age-sex composition in the present para. The next three paras will then be devoted to consideration of civil condition or marital status; literacy and education; and economic status.

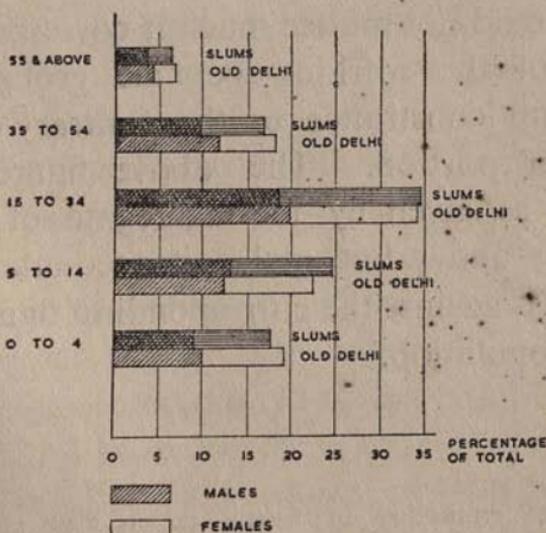
Age is recorded on the schedule in terms of the number of completed years for each member of the family. The investigators were instructed to do this preferably by asking the date of birth of each member. This has proved difficult, for many of the informants could not even recall the year of birth, not to speak of the exact date and month, and so we had to remain content with estimates. In order to get the nearest approximations, attempt was made in all cases to help the informant's recollection of the relevant time by drawing his attention to important and well-known historical events and dates. We have succeeded in thus obtaining the actual or estimated age of all the 15,089 members. For our purpose these data may be used for classifying the slum population only in broad age groups. The age groups chosen are (i) infants, (ii) children, (iii) adolescent and young persons, (iv) adults, and (v) old persons. The distribution, as it is, represents the prevailing

situation which can be meaningfully considered only in comparison with the corresponding overall position, say, of the whole population of Old Delhi, of which they form a part. For this purpose the only data available is that of the 1951 census and accordingly the following table gives two sets of figures (i) for the sample population of the present survey and (ii) for the whole Old Delhi population at the time of 1951 census.

Table 24 : Age and Sex Distribution

Age-group		Sample (% of total)			Census (% of total)		
Category	Yrs.	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Infants ...	(0-4)	9.2	8.5	17.7	10.0	9.0	19.0
Children ...	(5-15)	13.2	11.4	24.6	12.2	9.9	22.1
Young persons ...	(15-34)	18.5	16.2	34.7	19.4	14.5	33.9
Adults ...	(35-54)	9.7	7.0	16.7	11.8	6.5	18.3
Old persons ...	(55 or more)	3.7	2.6	6.3	4.3	2.4	6.7
Total ...		54.3	45.7	100.0	57.7	42.3	100.0

Chart 4 : Percentage Distribution of Sample Population by Sex and Age



It will be seen that compared to general population the slum population reveals a more uneven pattern of distribution. The proportions that attract attention are with respect to (i) the female section, (ii) the working-age male group, and (iii) the children's group.

Females among the slum dwellers constitute a higher proportion as compared to their share in the general population. Barring exceptions, the female section in any population is composed of non-earning dependents ; as will be shown later in this chapter this in any case is true of the slum dwellers we are here concerned with. It would appear therefore that the burden of maintenance on the working-age male group imposed by the female section is a little heavier for the slum population than it is in case of the general population of Delhi as a whole.

This would not matter much if correspondingly the proportion of the working-age male group is higher.* But this group constitutes on the contrary a comparatively smaller portion. The above figures reveal it clearly that as given by the aggregate of the shares of the young and adult males it accounts for 28·2% of the total as against the corresponding figure of 31·2% for general population.

*The higher proportion of female earners may prove a compensatory factor but in this case it is not sufficiently so. Please see para 3:13.

The proportion of children may be taken to indicate roughly the magnitude of the immediate needs of educational facilities. For the slum population this group accounts for nearly a fourth of the total. Taking this to represent the overall position facing the 2.25 lakhs of slum dwellers it may be estimated that there are nearly 56,000 children living in the slums whose education must be taken care of.

3:9 CIVIL CONDITION

Civil condition defines a person's status with respect to the social institution of marriage. It is significant as indicating his commitments or liabilities, imposed by married life, in the matter particularly of maintaining the so-related persons.

Categories adopted for classification of the population on the basis of civil condition are (i) a single person—one who did not marry at all, (ii) married person—one who is presently leading a married life, (iii) widowed—one who married in the past but whose spouse died subsequently, (iv) divorced person—one who married but has subsequently obtained a divorce either through a court of law or through a caste panchayat, (v) separated person—one who has broken the marriage bond without obtaining a regular divorce and does not, nor intends to, live with his/her spouse. In the sample population the last two categories accounted for a very small proportion of the total and have, for the sake of convenience, been combined to form the category of 'others' in the table presented below :

Table 25 : Age, Sex and Civil Condition

Age-group	Males				Females				Both				
	Single	Married	Widowed	Others	S	M	W	O	S	M	W	O	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
I	1,382	—	—	—	1,289	—	—	—	2,671	—	—	—	2,671
C	1,980	10	1	—	1,667	47	1	1	3,647	57	2	1	3,707
Y	1,010	1,729	46	2	252	2,157	33	11	1,262	3,886	79	13	5,240
A	46	1,266	152	5	2	860	185	4	48	2,126	337	9	2,520
O	12	373	170	2	4	123	265	2	16	496	435	4	951
Total ...	4,430	3,378	369	9	3,214	3,187	484	18	7,644	6,565	853	27	15,089
%	54.2	41.2	4.5	0.1	46.6	46.2	7.0	0.2	50.7	43.5	5.6	0.2	100.0

Age-groups : I—Infants (0-14) ; C—Children (5-14) ; Y—Young persons (15-34) ; A—Adults (35-54) ; O—Old persons (55 or more). Of the 27 persons in 'others', 5 are divorced and 22 are separated persons.

It will be seen that civil condition of a little more than half the population is 'single', more than four-fifths of whom are infants and children. There are, as against this, 60 children who have contracted marriage, which serves to indicate that the practice of child marriage, though infrequent, still persists in contravention of the long-standing Sharda Act. Single among the adults and old persons constitute a very small proportion; and among them a comparatively a much smaller proportion for the female section. Marriage takes place as a rule; slum dwelling involving lack of accommodation and privacy of family life does not, in any case, appear to have deterred any eligible slum dweller from marrying. On the other hand the innocuous proportion in the total of divorced and separated persons may well be taken to suggest that by and large married life in the slums is fairly stable; estrangements between partners-in-marriage cannot be expected to be any infrequent occurrence but it does not seem as a rule to lead to divorce and separation.

3:10 LITERACY

In studying population the levels of literacy and education are important as helping to evaluate cultural development. For us it is of even greater importance for thereby we may not only obtain some light on the allegation that the slum dwellers are illiterate and ignorant but may also obtain some indication of the problems to be faced in undertaking to arouse their social and civic consciousness. Accordingly we have obtained information about literacy and general as well as technical education for all the 15,089 members.

With respect to literacy we have taken as literate any person who could both read and write a language. The investigators were asked to put a direct question on this point but in many cases they have had to verify the answer by getting the person in question write something on the spot. On the basis of these answers the slum population is classified as follows :

Table 26 : Literacy

Age-group	Males		Females		Both		Total
	Lit.	Ill.	Lit.	Ill.	Lit.	Ill.	
Infants	—	1,382	—	1,289	—	2,671	2,671
Children	960	1,031	574	1,142	1,534	2,173	3,707
Youths	625	1,162	635	1,818	2,260	2,980	5,240
Adults	641	828	139	912	780	1,740	2,520
Old	177	380	27	367	204	747	951
Total	3,403	4,783	1,375	5,528	4,778	10,311	15,089
% of sex group total	42	58	20	80	32	68	100

Percentages of literate persons are 42 for males, 20 for females and 32 for both together. These do not compare very unfavourably with the corresponding figures of 38, 26 and 33 respectively in the case of the general population as revealed by the 1951 census. It is rather surprising, however, that compared to the latter, the slum population here records actually a higher proportion of literates for its male section. The literate females constitute, as could be expected, a considerably smaller proportion.

The above percentages are calculated for the aggregates of age-groups including infants and children. For

infants the question of literacy does not, strictly speaking, arise and they therefore are better left out of consideration. The children's group may be considered independently as consisting of persons who may yet be expected to acquire literacy if educational facilities are extended. Their problem is more of general education than of mere literacy ; what is required is a full scale programme of education. It is the remaining population composed of persons above the age of 14 years that deserve particular consideration ; raising the level of literacy among those people who have passed their 'education' age, calls for specific programmes over and above those of the now functioning educational system. Literacy percentages for this adult section of both the sample and general population are as follows :

Table 27 : Adult Literacy Percentages

Sex	Sample	General
Males ...	51	52
Females ...	20	36
Both ...	37	45

It will be seen that the literates among the adult women from slums are rarer than among the corresponding section of the general population. And, so, though there is practically little difference between the respective proportions of literate males in the two sets of population distribution, the level of literacy among adults of both sexes taken together appears considerably lower for the slum population.

Taking these break-downs of the sample population as representative of the position of the total slum

population of Old Delhi, it can be estimated that out of over 1,30,000 adults living in the slums, nearly 82,000 are illiterate, of whom 47,000 are women and 35,000 are men. We have here a large field for the enthusiasts of adult literacy campaigns. In any case we will have to reckon with this larger extent of illiteracy among the slum dwellers in planning social work programmes for arousing their civic consciousness; in doing so we will have to employ means not using any written words, such as for example audio-visual aids.

3:11 EDUCATION

Out of the 4,778 literate persons, 4,481 accounting for a little less than 30% of the sample population are reported to have received regular education by attending schools etc. For further details they are classified according to the standard of education attained into six categories; viz. (i) Pre-primary (completed); (ii) Primary; (iii) Middle or Secondary; (iv) Matric or Higher Secondary; (v) Intermediate; and (vi) Graduate and above. They are distributed over these categories as shown below:

Table 28 : Educational Status

Standard of Education	Males		Females		Both		Total
	Children (5-14)	Adults (15 & above)	Children	Adults	Children	Adults	
Pre-primary	535	312	315	119	850	431	1,281
Primary	346	927	187	351	533	1,278	1,811
Middle	42	610	40	174	82	784	866
Matric	—	324	—	72	—	396	396
Intermediate	—	60	—	11	—	71	71
Graduates and above	—	47	—	9	—	56	56
Total	923	2,280	542	736	1,465	3,016	4,481

Those who have completed only the pre-primary standard can, for all practical purposes, be included among the uneducated class. Excluding them we are left only with 3,200 persons, about 21 % of the total. If at the other end we consider those having received education upto matriculation and above, we have 523 persons constituting less than 3.5% of the total. Thus, while a fifth of the slum dwellers are reported to be educated, the level of their education cannot be considered any substantial.

It will be also seen that among women the educated ones form a very much smaller proportion than do the educated in the male section. In the adult population, for every educated female there are nearly three educated males. On the whole the position from the point of view of both literacy and education is highly unsatisfactory for the slum dwellers as a class and it is particularly so among them for the fair sex.

3:12 TECHNICAL TRAINING

Attempt was made, in addition, to obtain information regarding technical training received by members of the family. Barring exceptions, persons only from the educated section indicated above have been reported to have received such training for specific crafts and professions. In all 1,688 persons only are found to have been technically trained ; they form about 11% of the total 36% of the literates and 38% of the educated section of the sample population.

The information obtained refers to both the type and level of training ; to indicate the former the name of

craft, trade or profession was obtained and in case of the latter information was sought as to whether the person held any diploma, degree etc., from the institution he attended for training. According to these replies these 1,688 persons have been classified as under :

Table 29 : Technical Training and Qualification

Type	Holders of certificates or diplomas	Holders of degree	Others	Total
1. Textile, hosiery and tailoring ...	9	—	338	347
2. Construction and wood-work ...	3	—	262	265
3. Engineering ...	20	—	229	249
4. Printing and binding ...	3	—	44	47
5. Fine arts ...	—	—	20	20
6. Others ...	39	4	717	760
Total ...	74	4	1,610	1,688

The type of training is given in the above table separately only for those occupying the first five positions in the order of importance. They together account for 55% of the total number of trained persons. The remaining 45% are included in the category of 'others'; these include a great variety of trades and professions each constituting a small proportion and so are not separately mentioned.

As for the level of technical training received it will be seen that the degree holders are quite exceptional; there are only four, of which three hold educational qualifications and one, surprisingly enough, holds a degree in medicine. The holders of diplomas and certificates are only a few. The combined total of so

qualified persons is only 78, constituting between 4 to 5% of the total. The bulk of these persons profess to have acquired training not through undergoing any regular training course but in course of their employment either as apprentices or from their relations mostly in pursuit of hereditary occupations. These so-called trained people will most probably be found yet to be needing regular training. In any case technical training designed to improve their efficiency in the crafts and professions they are following is bound to yield dividends in shape of higher incomes and so in relieving poverty of the slum dwellers.

3:13 ECONOMIC STATUS

This refers to a person's position *vis-a-vis* the family in the matter of his economic dependence. Following the census procedure we have classified the members into three categories as follows :

(1) *Self-supporting* member is one who is in receipt of income, from work or otherwise, which in amount is at least sufficient to maintain his independent existence. If this income is higher, he will be in a position to contribute towards the maintenance of other family members or say, of the family as such.

(2) *Earning dependent* is a member who receives income, from work or otherwise, which is smaller than the amount he/she needs for his/her own independent maintenance. This member has to depend on the family for the balance he thus needs.

(3) *Dependent* is a member who does not receive any income whatever and has to depend on the family

entirely. The dependents include, apart from infants and children, also adult members who are engaged in household work as well as those who do not work at all on account of various reasons such as, for example, old age, illness, physical disability etc.

So classified into these three categories the distribution of the sample population and of the general population both in terms percentages of the respective totals, is as follows :

Table 30 : Economic Status

Economic Status	Sample population			General population (1951 census)		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Self-supporting	47.4	2.6	26.9	54.2	2.2	31.6
Earning dependent	2.9	1.8	2.4	4.1	1.0	2.7
Dependents	49.7	95.6	70.7	41.7	96.8	65.7
Total ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The respective proportions of self-supporting persons reveal that the slum population fares poorly as compared to the general population of which it constitutes a part. If the first two categories representing income recipients are taken together they constitute more than a third of the general population but much less than that in the case of its slum part. The load of maintaining dependents can therefore be said to be heavier on the earners from slums than it is for the corresponding section of the non-slum part of the population.

It may be added that the proportion of earners among women is relatively speaking larger for the slum

population. But the difference is not large enough to provide an indication that in the slums incomes of men are supplemented by earnings of women to a larger extent than in case of the non-slum population.

Finally we may briefly refer to the age composition of the earning members shown below :

Table 31 : Earners by Age and Sex

Age group	Males			Females			Both		
	All	Earners.	%	All	Earners.	%	All	Earners.	%
Infants (0-4)	1,382	—	—	1,289	—	—	2,671	—	—
Children (5-14)	1,991	68	3.4	1,716	26	1.5	3,707	94	2.5
Adolescents (15-24)	1,486	1,048	71.0	1,409	62	4.4	2,895	1,110	38.3
Youths (25-34)	1,301	1,267	97.4	1,044	80	7.7	2,345	1,347	57.4
Adults (35-54)	1,469	1,397	95.1	1,051	106	10.1	2,520	1,503	59.6
Old persons (55 and above)	557	334	60.0	394	28	7.1	951	362	38.1
Total ...	8,186	4,114	50.3	6,903	302	4.4	15,089	4,416	29.3

In considering these figures it must be remembered that earnings as a rule accrue to the slum dweller only through the sweat of his brow ; receipt of unearned income is quite a rare thing to come across in the slums. Notice now, the 94 or 2.5% of children who have been reported as earners, 33 of them, including 7 girls, are said to be self-supporting. This is no gratifying situation for it evidently means that at this tender age they have to face, for want of other sources of maintenance, the need to work and earn a living.

Early age at which the slum dwellers have generally to start earning is indicated clearly by the high proportion of earners in the adolescent group. In this group

71% of the males, 4·4% of the females and 38·3% of both taken together are reported as earners. They constitute more than a fourth of the total number of earners.

IV

Income and Employment

I

4:1 ECONOMIC STATUS AND INCOME

The principal, if not the sole, reason why the slum dwellers live in the slums is that they cannot afford to live in better places. We must go beyond this very simple reason and inquire specifically why they cannot afford it or what it is that prevents them from moving out to better places and at the same time keeps them unable to improve their present habitations. For an answer to this question a closer study of their economic status is clearly indicated ; and we may, therefore, concentrate our attention on the chief determinant of economic status, namely the level of their money income. Now, income accrues to the slum dweller only from work, from the employment he is able to obtain and so we must consider in detail the problems of employment facing the slum dwellers as a class. Accordingly the present chapter is devoted to the analysis of the data collected from the 3,531 sample families regarding their employed and unemployed members respectively in blocks III and IV of the schedule.

4:2 SIZE OF EMPLOYMENT

As noted earlier in para 2:13 out of the total of 15,083 members only 4,416 or 29·3% are earners. The same precisely is the number of employed members. 302 of them belong to the fair sex ; 334 are old men of

56 years or above ; 68 are boys below 15 years in age and the rest 3,712 belong to the male age-group of 15 to 54 years, the group from which the labour force is normally drawn. The total number of members of this group being 4,256, we are left with the 544 of them who are non-earning dependents. Of these, 161 are reported as seeking jobs and so are included in the category of 'unemployed' members ; 237 are students and as such are not available at present for employment and the remaining 146 are reported as not seeking jobs on account of various reasons such as illness, mental and physical disability etc. and may be treated for all practical purposes as unemployable.

The upper limit for the male working-age group is taken to be 54 in the above discussion. If we raise it to 64 the position improves but only a little as the following figures clearly indicate :

Table 32 : Employed Members of the Male Working-Age Group

Category of members in the group.	Male working-age group			
	15-54 years		15-64 years	
	No. of members	%	No.	%
Employed ...	3,712	87.2	3,956	86.2
Unemployed ...	161	3.8	165	3.6
Readily available labour force ...	3,873	91.0	4,121	89.8
Unemployable ...	146	3.4	230	5.0
Students ...	237	5.6	237	5.2
Group total ...	4,256	100.0	4,588	100.0
Group total as % of sample populations ...	28.2		30.4	

The raising of the upper age limit results thus in an addition to the group of 332 members, of whom 244 are

employed, 4 unemployed and 84 unemployables. The resulting change in the relative position of the four categories is the rise of the share, in the group total, of the so-called unemployables by 1·6 (as measured in terms of percentage of the total) at the cost of declines of 1·0, 0·2 and 0·4 in the shares of the employed, the unemployed and the student categories respectively. What is achieved by so extending the age-group is to make its contribution to what may be called the readily available labour force appear somewhat larger; for the extended group it comes to 26·8% as against 25·0% (of the slum population) for the 15-54 years group, or to 89·4% as against 84·3% of the total number of members in the labour force.

For ascertaining the overall magnitude of the readily available labour force we must add to this contribution of the male working-age group, members not belonging to this group who are presently employed as also those who are unemployed. These additions raise the total to 4,597 which is equal to 30·5% of the total sample population.* This proportion may indeed be

* The zonal distribution of the total number of members in the labour force is as follows :—

Zone	Sample population	Employed		Unemployed		Labour force	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I	4,264	1,382	32·5	66	1·5	1,448	34·0
II	7,450	2,097	28·2	83	1·1	2,180	29·3
III	3,375	937	27·8	32	0·9	969	28·7
ALL	15,089	4,416	29·3	181	1·2	4,597	30·5

It will be seen that labour force constitutes of the total population a smaller proportion in the extra-mural zones II and III than the intra-mural one which represents the old city. Among the former two the proportion is a little smaller for the III which was the latest to be populated.

viewed as too small ; efforts to enlarge its size are in any case welcome in view of the generally recognised need of raising the level of family income. The first target of such attempts should be the category of unemployables in the male working-age group among whom there is a section which by special efforts could be made economically active. The extent of enlargement so achieved is however strictly limited ; it cannot be in any case more than about 1.5% of the slum population. The other direction in which the attempts may succeed is the female section of the population whose present contribution is not very considerable. This too will require special measures designed to provide employment in work which can be carried on by them in their homes.

But before launching such measures it is incumbent to utilise the readily available labour force to the fullest possible extent by providing employment to those among them who are presently unemployed. Side by side efforts are needed also to improve the earnings of the presently employed members.

II

4:3 ASPECTS OF EMPLOYMENT STUDIED

We shall now proceed to examine the conditions under which the 4,416 employed members are working. The aspects of their employment to be studied are (i) the occupations followed, (ii) employment status or the capacity in which they are operating, (iii) types of business organisation for which they are working, (iv) security of employment and (v) whether the employment is regular or casual. We shall consider separately for the regularly and casually employed persons such other

specific aspects as the question of transport from residence to place of work, the working hours, the mode of payment of remuneration (in case of the employees), income received and expenditure incurred at the place of work. We shall seek to know also whether they are satisfied with their present occupations or would prefer to shift to some other occupation, in addition we shall try to ascertain the extent to which secondary sources of employment are used in order to supplement income derived from the principal occupation.

4:4 OCCUPATIONS

Occupation defines the specific function a person performs in the productive process of the society; it describes, in other words, his role in the particular sphere (or industry or livelihood class) of economic activity he participates in. For the purpose of recording it in the schedule the investigators were not supplied beforehand with any codes but were instructed to describe fully in words the occupation of each member of the family in question. For their guidance they were, however, provided with a list of possible occupations they were likely to come across in the slums; this list was prepared after consulting standard classifications used by the census and other authorities interested in the matter. In this connection it may be stated that the list of occupations given by the Indian Statistical Institute in their 'Classification of Industry and Occupation' has been of great help.

We have thus obtained description of occupation followed by all the 4,416 employed members. The detailed list of occupations together with the number of members engaged in each of them is appended to this report (see Appendix IV). The occupations

included therein are quite numerous and so we may mention here specifically a few of them occupying higher positions in the order of importance as follows :

Table 33 : Occupations

Occupations	No.	% of total
Unskilled labour	588	13.3
Petty shopkeepers	463	10.5
Hawkers	346	7.8
Textile workers (skilled)	293	6.6
Cobblers etc.	197	4.5
Tonga, thela drivers	186	4.2
Clerks	183	4.1
Sweepers	168	3.8
Masons-plumbers	156	3.5
Smelters, moulders, turners etc.	149	3.4
Peons	146	3.3
Mechanics, electricians, fitters etc.	140	3.2
Tailors, embroiders	127	2.9
Carpenters etc.	111	2.5
Dhobis	96	2.2
The rest	1067	24.2

The list requires no comments excepting that it substantiates the self-evident fact that the slum-dwellers are left with only petty trades, crafts and arts to ply their labour in. Petty indeed is the word that can be used uniformly to qualify the occupations followed by them. At the top of the list we have unskilled labour, followed immediately by petty shop-keepers and then by their kins, the hawkers. The bulk of the remaining are artisans, craftsmen and servants.

4:5 OCCUPATIONAL GROUPING

What we require for the purpose of the present analysis is, however, not such a detailed list but say, a small number of occupational categories. Accordingly we have classified the specific occupations reported in the schedules in seven categories, which are so chosen and designed as to indicate broadly the different spheres of economic activity in which the slum dwellers

are working. Two of these categories refer to the sphere of production-manufacturing and processing of all kinds; they distinguish the participants thereof on the basis of the skill required in the conduct of work. Of the others one each is devoted to the spheres of trade, transport, service and domestic or personal work. The last one-miscellaneous, is the residual category covering occupations not included under the above six. The content of each of these categories may be briefly described as follows :

I. *Skilled workers (production)* are those whose work requires of them not merely physical exertion but some skill as well, the skill being either hereditary or acquired through training and/or experience. Among them we have skilled labour working in factories, small-scale industries and handicrafts, and also other craftsmen and artisans.

II. *Unskilled workers (production)* are, by contrast, those whose work entails little more than physical labour. This is occupationally the most homogeneous group of employed members; it includes, besides unskilled factory labour, beldars, construction labour, stone-breakers etc. (but excludes those engaged in similar work in other spheres, say trade and transport).

III. *Trade* includes all those who are engaged in trade and commerce *viz.* wholesalers and retail shop-keepers, their assistants and helpers, store-keepers, hawkers and kabaries, agents, brokers etc.

IV. *Transport* refers to both passenger and goods and includes skilled and unskilled labour employed in rail and road transport; drivers, conductors, checkers etc.; drivers of all kinds of automobiles, tongas, carts and thelas; rickshaw and thela pullers etc.

V. *Service* applies to all employees of government, of other public institutions as well as of private organisations not covered above. In addition it includes professions such as teaching, law and medicine etc.

VI. *Domestic and Personal work* includes domestic servants of all kinds, waiters, bearers, ayas etc., as also barbers, washermen, sweepers, gardeners, rendering service to individuals or to households.

VII. *Miscellaneous* covers remaining occupations including those engaged in looking after cattle poultry, pigs etc. and such pursuits as of pandits and priests.

4:6 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

We may now distribute the 4,416 employed members over these seven categories for the three zones separately as follows :

Table 34 : Occupational Distribution in Zones

Category	Zones							
	I		II		III		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Skilled worker ...	466	33.7	851	40.6	382	40.8	1,699	38.5
II. Unskilled ...	61	4.4	213	10.2	239	25.5	513	11.6
III. Trade ...	257	18.6	475	22.6	152	16.2	884	20.0
IV. Transport ...	142	10.3	169	8.0	23	2.5	334	7.6
V. Service ...	168	12.2	227	10.8	89	9.4	484	11.0
VI. Domestic and personal work ...	247	17.9	102	4.9	41	4.4	390	8.8
VII. Miscellaneous ...	41	2.9	60	2.9	11	1.2	112	2.5
Total ...	1,382	100.0	2,097	100.0	937	100.0	4,416	100.0

Over half the total number of employed members are engaged in the sphere of production, here represented by the first two categories. A perusal of the detailed list will show that 60% of them are pursuing arts and crafts of a great variety and the remaining 40% are labouring in industries, big or small. About the comparative positions of the three zones it is significant that as we proceed from the I to III zone the combined proportion of these two categories in the respective zonal total rises from less than two-fifth for the I to a half for the II and to over two-third for the III zone. As between these two categories the proportion of unskilled workers exhibits a marked tendency to rise in the same direction ; their proportion in the total for the III zone consequently is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times and nearly 6 times the corresponding figures for zone II and I respectively.

The next position in the order of importance is occupied by Trade. Its proportion is higher for the II zone than for the other two and between them for the I. Arranged in order of importance for the aggregates of all zones, the remaining categories are (I) service accounting for 11% of the total ; (VI) domestic and personal work, for 8.8% and (IV) transport, for 7.6% ; for all these categories their proportions in the respective zonal totals exhibit a clear uniform tendency of decline as we move from the first to the third zone.

On the whole, comparison between the zonal patterns of distribution indicates it clearly that the employed members are a little more evenly spread over the different spheres of employment in zone I than in zones II and III. In the third zone their concentration on the principal sphere of production is very conspicuous.

4:7 EMPLOYMENT STATUS

This term refers to the capacity in which an employed person is participating in the economic activity; to the position he holds in relation to other co-participants in the process. It tells us whether he is (i) an employer or (ii) an employee or (iii) an independent worker or (iv) an unpaid family worker. Of these four categories only the last one requires explanation; an unpaid family worker is a person who participates, without drawing any remuneration for himself personally, in an economic enterprise operated by a member of his family for at least one-third of the full working time of that enterprise (irrespective of whether, to make up this minimum participation, he works regularly for a part of each day or on a third of the working days of each month or of a year). To so operate as an unpaid family worker the person in question must have in his family a member who is either an employer or an independent worker. The remuneration he does not draw personally is evidently claimed by this other member and goes usually to the family. He works not for himself individually but for his family. About the employer we may, by way of clarification, say that this category is taken to include also a person who, besides hiring others for his concern, may be engaging himself as well in the work of the same nature as his said employees are assigned.

So classified according to employment status, the 4,416 employed members in the different occupational categories are distributed as follows :

Table 35 : Employment Status

Occupation	Employment Status								Total
	Employer		Employee		I. Worker		U.P. Worker		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
I. Skilled worker	23	1.4	988	58.2	607	35.7	81	4.7	1,699
II. Unskilled worker	—	—	270	52.6	242	47.2	1	0.2	513
III. Trade	34	3.8	128	14.5	647	73.2	75	8.5	884
IV. Transport	2	0.6	120	36.0	208	62.3	4	1.1	334
V. Service	—	—	466	96.3	17	3.5	1	0.2	484
VI. Domestic & Personal work	1	0.3	151	38.7	152	39.0	86	22.0	390
VII. Miscellaneous	4	3.5	13	11.6	77	68.8	18	16.1	112
Total	64	1.4	2,136	48.4	1,950	44.2	266	6.0	4,416

The proportion of employers is negligible. That of unpaid family workers too is very small; these persons are evidently helping their family members who are operating as independent workers in pursuit mostly of hereditary arts and crafts. The specific occupations where such help from family members is obtained are those of cobblers, bakers, potters, smelters etc. of the first, retailers and hawkers of the third, and dhobis, sweepers and water-men of the fourth occupational category.

The other two categories—employees and independent workers, account for 92.6% of the total number of employed members. Employees predominate the service occupations and constitute a clear majority in case of both skilled and unskilled workers; while independent workers preponderate the trade, transport and miscellaneous occupations. They share equally the remain-

ing field of domestic and personal work. It can be said on the whole that these two share the aggregate of the employed members almost equally.

4:8 ORGANISATION

We are here concerned with the way in which the entity of an economic enterprise is constituted for the purpose of conducting, controlling and regulating the activity it pursues. As we saw above, there are among the employed members 1,950 independent workers and 64 employers ; they are evidently operating on their own account and at their own risk and cost and, as such, have to be included among private proprietors. There are, in addition, 266 unpaid family workers attached to them who have to be considered on that account as belonging to the same type of organisation, namely private proprietorship, mostly of individuals and, in exceptional cases, of partnerships.

Those in the employee group are working either for private proprietors or for other types of organisations, both private and public. Among private organisations, besides private proprietors, we have co-operatives, joint stock companies and societies etc., and among the public ones we have the Delhi State Administration, the Central Government, Municipal and other local bodies etc.

The 4,416 employed members are distributed over these different organisations as follows :

Table 36 : Type of Organisations Providing Employment

Organisation Type		Employment status	Members	% of total employed
1. Private :	Individual private proprietorship	(a) I. Worker, employer and U.P.F. worker	2,280	51.6
		(b) Employee	983	22.3
2. "	Partnership	"	151	3.4
3. "	J. Stock companies	"	415	9.4
4. "	Co-operatives	"	45	1.0
5. "	Other institutions	"	18	0.4
6.	Total ...	All	3,892	88.1
7. Public :	Central Govt.	Employee	293	6.6
8. "	State Govt.	"	88	2.0
9. "	Municipal and other local bodies	"	143	3.3
10.	Total ...	"	524	11.9
Both	All	All	4,416	100.0

If we consider the employment of the Old Delhi City as a whole the proportion, in the total, of those employed in the public sector, composed of the offices and agencies of the municipal and other local bodies, the state and the central government, can be estimated, on the basis of the 1951 census data*, to be more than one-third. In contrast, for the slum part of this total employment the corresponding share of the public sector, as revealed by the above figures, is only about 12%.

Another section of the employed slum dwellers measuring about 11% of the total is working with private institutions, including joint stock companies and co-operative societies, which too, as compared to private

*See Census of India, 1951 : District Census Hand-Book vol. 27 Economic Table III. pp. 43-72.

proprietors, may be considered as constituting a preferred sphere. Adding this to the above 14% we might say that less than a quarter of them are working with institutions (as distinct from private individuals) in whose case it might be a little easier to elicit sympathetic co-operation in the matter of improving the living conditions of their employees residing in the slums. To be specific these employers may be expected to yield with lesser difficulty, than would an individual private proprietor do, to a plea for providing quarters to their employees from the slums.

For the rest no such fond hope can be entertained. Quite a bulk of them are self-employed persons having no employers to seek help from in any matter whatsoever. And for the employees of private proprietors it is apparently futile to think of it. For them all, it remains to seek alleviation of the slum conditions through a programme prepared and executed by a governmental agency, be it the Municipality or the Corporation, the Competent Authority, the Delhi Development Authority or the Health Ministry itself.

4:9 SECURITY OF EMPLOYMENT

This question of security is indeed very pertinent but one cannot be too definite about it. What best we could do was to elicit the reaction of the informant in each case by posing a direct question as to whether in his opinion the employment under consideration was a secure one in the sense at least that no adverse change was expected to occur in the near future. The investigators were asked, in addition, to ascertain whether the nature of organisation or of the job promised the person

continuity and stability. On the basis of the replies received those with insecure employment are distributed as follows :

Table 37 : Insecure Employment

Occupation	Members in private sector	Members in public sector	Both	
			No.	% of total
I. Skilled worker ...	107	—	107	6.3
II. Unskilled worker ...	52	4	56	10.9
III. Trade ...	45	—	45	5.1
IV. Transport ...	23	1	24	7.2
V. Service ...	22	3	25	5.2
VI. Domestic work ...	20	2	25	6.4
VII. Miscellaneous ...	2	—	2	1.8
Total ...	274	10	284	6.4

10 or barely 2% of the 524 members employed in public sector reported that their jobs were insecure. In the private sector however the corresponding proportion is 274 out of 3,892 or 7%. Among the occupation groups the unskilled workers evidently fare the worst.

On the whole quite a substantial proportion of the employed members do seem to enjoy security of employment. If at any time the question of alternative jobs for these people arises, as a measure say of shifting them from their slum residence, the alternative jobs should be such as to ensure this sense of security which they are reported to be enjoying.

4:10 DURATION OF PRESENT EMPLOYMENT

Yet another query about the present employment was made with regard to its duration ; with respect,

that is, to the period for which each employed member has been continuously pursuing the occupation he is reported to be now following. This duration differs from member to member. From the replies received it is revealed that it varies from less than three months in case of members who, being fresh entrants to the labour force, have joined the occupations as their first employment (or of members who have recently changed over to them from some other occupations they were previously following) to over 40 years in case of an old man who has been pursuing it all along in his career of employment. For the present purpose it is not necessary to go over the varied durations in all their details; we may only group the 4,416 employed members on the basis of these differing durations broadly as follows:

Table 38 : Duration of Employment

Duration in months	Members	% of total
Less than 3	78	1.8
3-6	91	2.1
6-12	121	2.7
12-24	279	6.3
24-36	283	6.4
36-48	264	6.0
48-60	251	5.7
60-120	1,559	35.3
120 and over	1,490	33.7
Total	4,416	100.0

For the great bulk of the employed members, constituting nearly 70% of the total, the duration is longer than 5 years. It is more than 3 years for over 80% of them. The long duration for which they have been following their present jobs must evidently have infused in them a feeling of 'a settled state of affairs' or, say,

'of being at home with their respective jobs.' It should prove therefore quite difficult for them to change over to new jobs; and so in framing any scheme for their rehabilitation in a new place, possibilities of their continuing these jobs, or alternatively, of providing them in the new place the same occupations, will have to be kept in view.

As for the occupational distribution of the employed members, its pattern is revealed to differ somewhat between the members with the shorter durations and those with the longer ones as follows :

Table 39 : Duration and Occupational Distribution

Occupation	Duration			
	Less than 5 years		More than 10 years	
	Members	%	Members	%
I. Skilled worker ...	508	37.1	650	43.6
II. Unskilled worker ...	180	13.2	179	12.0
III. Trade ...	276	20.2	220	14.8
IV. Transport ...	95	6.9	115	7.7
V. Service ...	180	13.2	125	8.4
VI. Domestic & Personal work ...	93	6.8	177	11.9
VII. Miscellaneous ...	35	2.6	24	1.6
Total ...	1,367	100.0	1,490	100.0

We have here two patterns of occupational distribution : (a) for those who have taken up their present employment not very long ago, say within the past

quinquennium and (b) for those who have been holding their present jobs for more than a decade. Compared to the latter in the 'A' pattern proportions particularly of the trade (III) and service (V) and domestic and personal work (VI) are smaller. On the whole the 'A' pattern therefore appears to be a little more balanced than the 'B' in which the production categories occupy a position of clear dominance.

4:11 REGULAR AND CASUAL EMPLOYMENT

The distinction between regular and casual employment is quite important but it is rather difficult to be applied in practice, especially in case of self-employed labourers from the slums. A precise definition is, in any case, needed to make this distinction. For the purpose of this survey we have generally applied the criterion of continuity, or say of stable-availability, of work. The investigators were instructed accordingly to treat as regularly employed persons all those who in normal course are expected (or expect themselves) to be on the job on all the working days of the year (or, in case of seasonal trades, on all the working days of the relevant season). Those in whose case employment was discontinuous or intermittent and who were in practice required to move from place to place in search of work were to be treated as casually employed persons.

The results of this query indicate that only 254, or about 6% of the total number of employed members, are casually employed. Their distribution among the three zones is as follows :

Table 39 : Regular and Casual Employment

Zones		Regular		Casual	
		Members	%	Members	%
I	...	1,341	97.0	41	3.0
II	...	1,992	95.0	105	5.0
III	...	829	88.5	108	11.5
Total	...	4,162	94.2	254	5.8

It will be seen that the proportion of casually employed members is sizable only in case of zone III where the so-called bastis of in-migrant labour predominate the slum population. On the whole, casual employment constitutes only a small fraction of the total. It may be mentioned that as many as 202 of the 254 casually employed members are, by status, independent or self-employed workers. The remaining 52 are employees, most of them being 'badli' workers in factories.

If we consider the distribution of this casual employment according to the occupation group we have been using above, it is revealed that taken together the first two groups, namely the skilled and unskilled workers operating in the sphere of production, account for quite a bulk of them; they constitute respectively 46 and 40 per cent of the total. The rest, 25 members in all, are distributed among the other groups as follows: Trade—12; Miscellaneous—11; Service—7; Transport—5; and Domestic and Personal work—1. The principal among the specific occupations followed by these casual workers are unskilled labourers—usually as

'beldars', masons, carpenters, cobblers, potters, painters, tailors and hawkers, all taken together constituting over 75% of the total casual employment.

The fact that most of the employed members of the slum population enjoy regularity of employment further emphasises the difficulties involved in disturbing their present employment situation. Those who have been following their present secure and regular jobs for a long time will not be easily persuaded by any promise of a non-slum residential accommodation if it involved any difficulty in the way of maintaining the said jobs. For only the small casual fraction of the total slum employment it should evidently prove less difficult to move out of the slums. They might in fact be expected to do so readily if they are persuaded to believe that the chances of their switching over to regular employment are thereby improved.

4:12 FROM RESIDENCE TO WORK-SPOT

The tendency of people to congregate in and around their places of work is admittedly one of the important reasons for the creation of slums. In order, therefore, to examine the extent to which it is so in case of the slum population here under consideration a series of questions bearing on this aspect of employment were included in the schedule. These questions related to (i) the distance from home to the place of work, (ii) the means used for reaching the work-spot, (iii) the time involved and (iv) expenses incurred in that connection. The data obtained may be presented below separately for the regularly and casually employed members.

A. *Regularly Employed Members* : According to the distances separating their homes from their work-spots the 4,162 regularly employed members are distributed as follows :

Table 40 : Distance from Work-Spot for Regular Employment

Distance in miles	Members	% of total	Cumulative %
0	425	10.2	—
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$...	860	20.8	31.0
$\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$...	745	17.9	48.9
$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 ...	732	17.6	66.5
1 to 2 ...	601	14.4	80.9
2 to 3 ...	380	9.1	90.9
3 to 4 ...	206	4.9	94.9
4 to 5 ...	70	1.7	96.6
5 to 6 ...	56	1.3	97.9
6 or more ...	87	2.1	100.0
Total ...	4,162	100.0	

Over 10% of employed members live in their places of work or work where they live and so have no problem of transport to face. Over 70% of them live around the place of their work within a distance of less than 2 miles, which may, for all practical purposes, be taken to be a walking distance. Clearly only a small fraction of them live outside an easy reach of the work-spot. On the whole the above figures amply substantiate the view that nearness of the work-place is an important factor forcing them to live, where they are living today, in the slums.

Deducting from the total of employed members 425 of them, who have no distance to traverse in order to reach the work-spot, we are left with 3,737 members for whom the problem of transport arises. But as

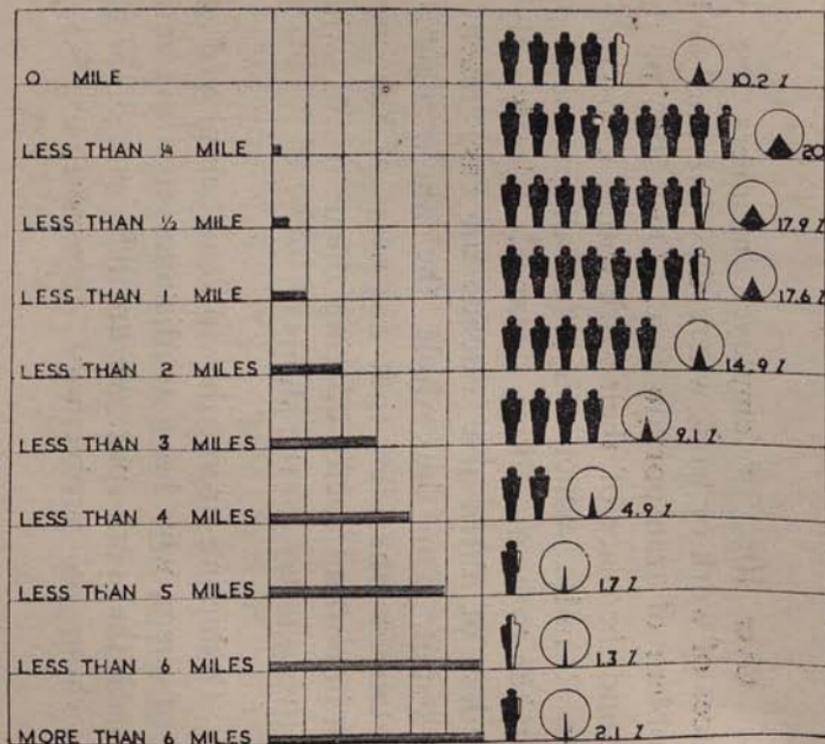
Chart 5

DISTRIBUTION OF REGULARLY EMPLOYED MEMBERS

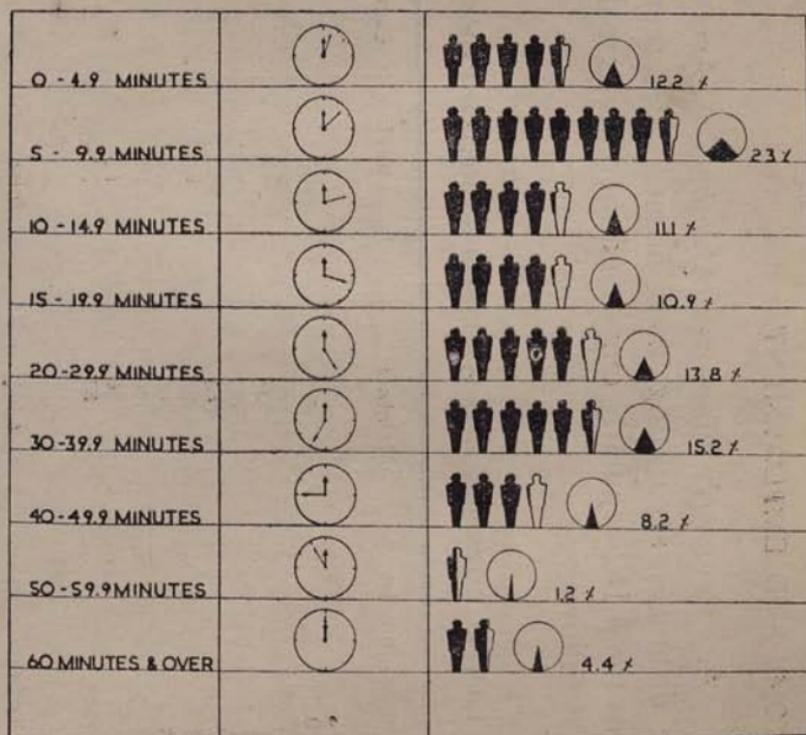
by

DISTANCE TO PLACE OF WORK

TIME TAKEN FOR TRIP TO WORK



REPRESENTS 50 PERSONS



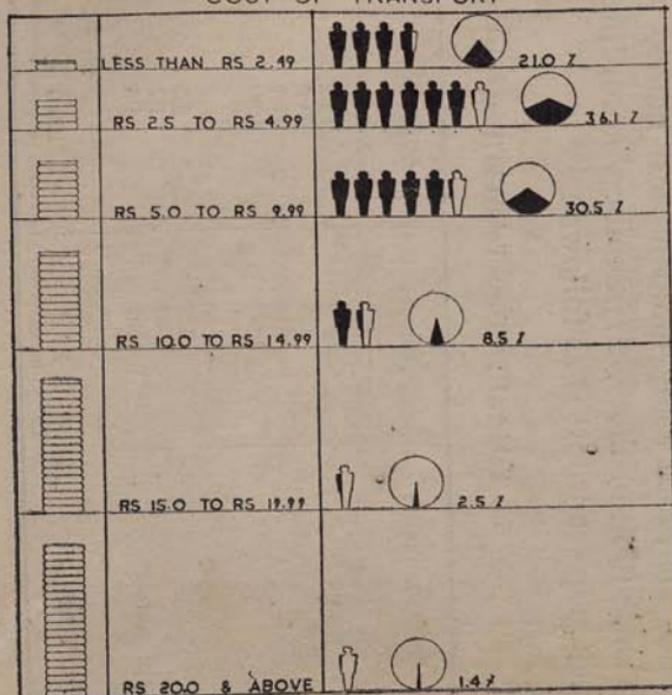
REPRESENTS 100 PERSONS

Chart 6

DISTRIBUTION OF REGULARLY EMPLOYED MEMBERS

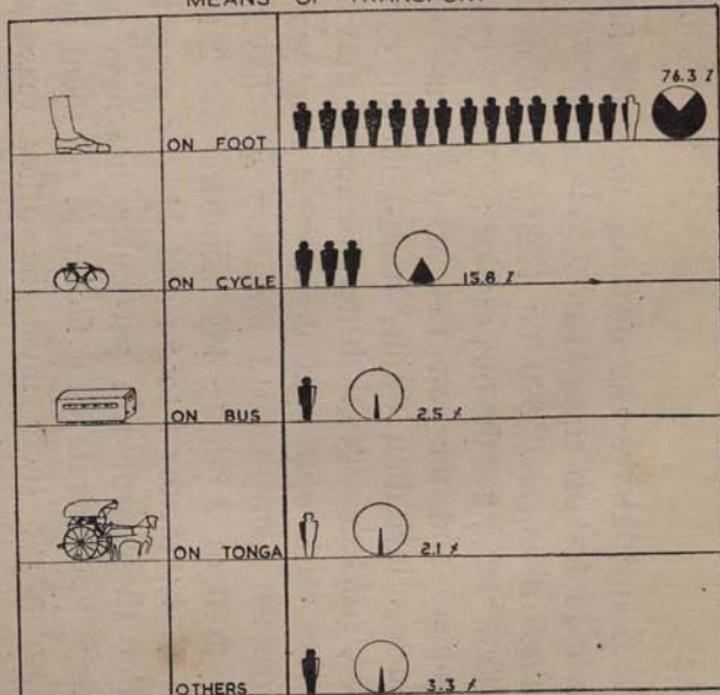
BY

COST OF TRANSPORT



REPRESENTS 50 PERSONS

MEANS OF TRANSPORT



REPRESENTS 200 PERSONS

indicated above the distance for the bulk of them are quite short and in fact 2,854 or 76·3% of them foot these distances. 590 or 15·8% of them cycle down; 92 or 2·5% use the bus service; 77 or 2·1% ride on the tongas and the rest 124 or 3·3% use various other means including trains, trams, motor cycles, auto-or cycle-rickshaws etc. It may be added that among those who walk upto and down from their work-spot there are as many as 313 members who have to do it for more than 2 miles; 197 members, for 2 to 3; 77, for 3 to 4; 18, for 4 to 5; and 21, for more than 5 miles. For these people in particular nearness to work-spot does not operate as a factor to tie them down to slum residences; there must be other reasons for their continuing to stay in slums, inspite of the apparent hardship involved in the imposed daily exercises, such as for example, family, social or caste ties.

The need to traverse these distances involves time and, for those using hired means, money as well. The distribution of the 3,737 members according to the time taken in transport is as follows :

Table 41 : Time Taken in Transport

Time in minutes	Members	% of total	Cumulative %
Less than 5	455	12·2	—
5-10	858	23·0	35·2
10-15	414	11·1	46·3
15-20	407	10·9	57·2
20-30	516	13·8	71·0
30-40	568	15·2	86·2
40-50	307	8·2	94·4
50-60	47	1·2	95·6
60 or more	165	4·4	100·0
Total	3,737	100·0	

For the majority, constituting over 70% of the total, the time involved in transport both ways, whether they foot the distances or use some other means, comes to less than an hour. This, for a city employment may not be considered very high. Time involved is clearly excessive for only the 165 members, constituting over 4% of the total, who have to spend clearly more than two hours to get to and back from the place of work; these are the people who cover comparatively longer distances by foot as indicated above.

With regard to expenses of transport we must consider only the 883 members who are reported to be using means other than their own feet. Of these, we have not been able to obtain expenses from 27 members. The figures reported by the remaining 856 members indicate that the total monthly expenditure on transport varies from a few annas in case of cycle users to Rs. 30 in two cases and to as high as Rs. 60 in one case. The latter figure is exceptional and it is the expenditure of an exceptional sort of slum dweller whose monthly income is about Rs. 500. Transport costs do not on the whole appear to be extraordinarily heavy as the following table serves to indicate :

Table 42 : Transport Expenses

Monthly expenditure on transport (In Rupees)	Members	% of total
Less than 2.50	180	21.0
2.50 to 5.00	309	36.1
5.00 to 10.00	261	30.5
10.00 to 15.00	72	8.4
15.00 to 20.00	21	2.5
20.00 or more	13	1.5

It will be seen that only for a sixth of those who have to pay for transport the monthly expenses come to more than Rs. 10 ; for a small fraction measuring 1.5% of the total the limit of Rs. 20 per month is crossed. Quite a majority of them spend less than Rs. 5. Taken by itself this item of expenditure does not appear to be heavy but in relation to their income it may be taken to constitute a burden. About this we shall have further to say while discussing income derived by the employed slum dwellers later in the chapter.

Besides getting the above factual information attempt was made to ascertain whether or not the employed members viewed their transport arrangement as convenient. The answers received indicate the position of the 3,737 members concerned as follows :

Table 43 : Means of Transport

Means	Members using the means	Members viewing it as inconvenient	
		Members	%
On foot ...	2,854	365	13.5
Cycle ...	590	94	15.9
Bus ...	92	35	38.0
Tonga ...	77	9	11.7
Others ...	124	26	21.0
Total ...	3,737	528	14.0

Among the means used it is notable that the bus service is reported to be inconvenient by a larger proportion of its users than in case of any of the other means. As many as 86.5% of those who walk down to their work-spots, and almost an equal proportion of those who

cycle down, are evidently satisfied with the respective arrangement. On the whole the transport arrangements have been viewed as satisfactory. In the total of 4,162 regularly employed members there are only 12·7% who are likely to view improvement of transport facility as a matter of some import.

B. Casually Employed Members: For most of the casual workers the work-spot is not any fixed place ; they in fact have to move from place to place in search of work. So, in their case it has been a little more difficult to obtain information about their transport problem. We attempted to ascertain the distance from their homes to only the 'usual' places of work. Where this was not available, the informants were questioned about the place where they actually worked for majority of days in the last month. The replies received may be presented in the same manner as in the case of regularly employed persons discussed above, as follows :

Table 44 : Distance from Work-Spot for Casual Employment

Distance in miles	Members	%	Cumulative %
0	15	5·9	—
Less than $\frac{1}{4}$...	12	4·7	10·6
$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$...	18	7·1	17·7
$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 ...	46	18·1	35·8
1 to 2 ...	80	31·5	67·3
2 to 3 ...	46	18·1	85·4
3 to 4 ...	17	6·7	92·1
4 to 5 ...	5	2·0	94·1
5 to 6 ...	3	1·2	95·3
6 or more ...	12	4·7	100·0
Total ...	254	100·0	

Compared to the corresponding distribution for the regular employment, in the above distribution for casual

employment the proportion of those with no distance is only about a half; of those with distances shorter than half a mile is less than a third. The above distribution, however, reveals a much larger degree of concentration in the middle ranges of distance *viz.* between a half to less than 3 miles and on the whole leads broadly to the same conclusion that for most of them the places of work are practically within an easy reach from their homes.

With respect to the means used, 197 or 77.5% of them reach their work-spots on foot. Of the remaining 57; 48 use cycle, 3 use the bus service and 6 use other means including motor-cycle in one case. With regard to cost incurred only 47 reported to be incurring expenditure; monthly expenditure among them varies from a few annas to between 15 to 20 rupees; only for eight persons, however, it is higher than Rs. 10. On the whole this may not be taken to present any problem; and as a matter of fact none of the casually employed members responded to the query as to whether he was satisfied with the transport arrangements in the negative.

4:13 WORKING HOURS—REGULAR EMPLOYMENT

An additional query was made in case of the 4,162 regularly employed members about the number of hours they worked daily. In this connection it must be remembered that working hours can be and usually are regulated in the case only of employees and successfully so among them for factory labour and those working in offices of the government and other public bodies. In case of the other categories of members, namely employers, self-employed persons and unpaid family workers, no such regulative measure is operative and as

a matter of fact we come across wide variations of working time in their case.

Of these 4,162 members, 7 have not responded to this query even after due persuasion. They however constitute a very small fraction of the total and we can safely proceed to consider the position on the basis of replies received from the 4,155 members. According to these replies they can be distributed as follows :

Table 45 : Working Hours for Regular Employment

Occupation	Working Hours								Total
	Less than 5		5—8		9—12		More than 12		
I. Skilled worker.	27	(1·8)	1,241	(78·4)	309	(19·5)	6	(0·3)	1,583
II. Unskilled worker.	—	—	331	(80·5)	79	(19·3)	1	(0·2)	411
III. Trade.	11	(1·2)	423	(48·5)	412	(47·3)	25	(3·0)	871
IV. Transport.	7	(2·1)	171	(52·5)	145	(44·5)	3	(0·9)	326
V. Service.	5	(1·1)	419	(88·2)	49	(10·3)	2	(0·4)	475
VI. Domestic and Personal work.	58	(14·9)	216	(55·5)	108	(27·8)	7	(1·8)	389
VII. Miscellaneous.	8	(8·0)	55	(55·0)	25	(25·0)	12	(12·0)	100
Total ...	116	(2·8)	2,856	(68·7)	1,127	(27·1)	56	(1·4)	4,155

(Figures in the brackets indicate percentages of the respective totals for occupation groups).

If, following the accepted practice, we take the normal working day to consist of eight hours, it will be seen that as many as 30% of the regularly employed members exceed this limit. There are quite a few among them whose exertions extend beyond 12 hours ; included among 56 such members there are 19 petty shop-keepers,

5 hawkers, 5 water-men, 4 bakers, 4 tonga-drivers, 2 jhalli-walas (unskilled labourers), 2 milk-men, a pandit, a perfume-maker, a dhobi, a sweeper, a conductor and a clerk.

With respect to the comparative position of the different occupation groups, it will be seen that the proportion of those having to cross the normal working time limit of 8 hours is more than a half at its highest for the trade group and only somewhat smaller than that for the transport group which follows next in order of importance. At the other end the service group records the lowest proportion at 10% and is preceded by the two production groups—skilled and unskilled workers, for both of which it constitutes about a fifth of the respective total. Having to work these long hours is thus common for all the occupation groups but it is evidently rampant in case of trade and transport groups.

4:14 WORKING DAYS—CASUAL EMPLOYMENT

In case of casually employed persons much more pertinent than the working hours of a day is the question of working days in a month. Accordingly attempt was made to get for each casually employed member the number of days he actually obtained full-day work in course of the calendar month preceding the date of inquiry. Since in most cases the availability of work varied from month to month according to season, attempt was further made to get the total number of days he worked in course of the preceding one full year. These queries were responded by 243 out of the 254 casually employed members, which for the present purpose is a fairly adequate response. These replies indicate the position as follows :

Number of working days of the 'preceding' month varies from 'nil' in case of 4 members to as much as practically all the days of the month (without a single off-day) for 5 members. The average comes to only 18 days. The number of days corresponds to this average for eight members ; it is smaller in case of 118 members and larger in case of 117 members. Alternatively the position may be presented as below :

Table 46 : Number of Days Worked in the Previous Month for Casual Employment

Days worked			Members	% of total
Less than 7	...	...	6	2.5
7-14	...	...	42	17.3
14-21	...	...	113	46.5
21 or more	...	...	82	33.7
Total	...	...	243	100.0

We have defined the month in which work is available for more than 3 weeks as a brisk season month and that in which it is available for less than a week as a slack one. Accordingly considered the 'previous month' was a slack one for only 2.5% of members but it was evidently brisk for over a third of them. Another 46.5% members were fortunate in obtaining work for more than 2 weeks. But on the whole it is clear that in the previous month more than a quarter of the man-days of this group as a whole were not utilised.

Consider now the following table giving in the same manner the distribution of these 243 members

according to the number of working days in the preceding year.

Table 47 : Number of Days Worked in the Previous Year

Days worked	Members	% of total
Less than 60	2	0.8
60 to 90	10	4.1
90 to 120	4	1.6
120 to 150	28	11.5
150 to 180	44	18.2
180 to 240	116	47.7
240 to 300	25	10.3
300 or more	14	5.8
Total	243	100.0

The consideration of the working days of the year does not leave any better impression. Only a fraction, of less than 6%, of these casual workers obtained work for nearly the full year. For the bulk of them work was available for less than 240 days in a year. The variation among them is from 34 days in one case to 310 in another; the average comes to 192.5 days with 115 members failing to reach, and 128 members surpassing, it. Monthly average for the preceding year comes thus to only 16 days which indicates that the 'previous month' giving the average of 18 days was in fact a little better than an average month. On the whole the situation is not at all satisfactory; the annual average indicates that work was available to the extent only of 62 to 64% (taking total number of working days in a year at 310 and 300 respectively) of what they needed and would have apparently been willing to do. It can alternatively be said that casually employed members as a class are thus under-employed to the extent of 36 to 38%.

4:15 SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

Upto now we were concerned with the principal employment *i. e.* the job which provided the main source of income to the employed member. Additional information was asked from each employed member as to whether he had any additional or supplementary source of employment and, so, of income. Under the circumstances in which they are living, it should be considered quite natural for a slum dweller to seek additional work which can bring him more income. Additional work that he could take up depended however on the time he could spare from his principal employment and on the availability of the work he could take up. Both these factors set a limit to the extent to which subsidiary sources are in actual practice utilised. From the replies received it is clear in any case that subsidiary employment has been undertaken by only a few of them. Out of the total of 4,416 employed members there are only 30 who have reported as having subsidiary employment, relating to which we have collected information about the occupation followed, duration thereof and income received therefrom.

It may be noted that among them there are 28 regularly and 2 casually employed members; 15 of them are, with respect to their principal employment, self-employed persons, 14 employees and 1 employer. The subsidiary occupations they are engaged in are given below together with their corresponding principal ones.

Table 48 : Subsidiary Occupations

Subsidiary occupation	Members	Principal occupation
1. Halwais ...	4	All hawkers
2. Mechanics ...	4	Rickshaw-owner
3. Milk-men ...	4	2 Drivers ; 1 Mechanic 1 Labourer
4. Weavers ...	2	1 Textile labourer ; 1 Shop-keeper
5. Tutors ...	2	1 Rickshaw-owner ; 1 Clerk
6. Vegetable-sellers ...	2	1 Shopkeeper ; 1 Labourer
7. Accountants ...	2	Rickshaw-owner
8. Tea-seller ...	1	Rickshaw-puller
9. Pandit ...	1	Panwari
10. Dancer ...	1	Peon
11. Tabla-player ...	1	Tailor
12. Toy-maker ...	1	Mason
13. News-boy ...	1	Clerk
14. Tailor ...	1	Metal-polisher
15. Cobbler ...	1	Halwai
16. Dalal ...	1	Prefumer
17. Dona-maker ...	1	Milk-man
18. Yarn-tester ...	1	Clerk
19. Labourer ...	1	Labourer

It will be seen that the number of subsidiary occupations are in excess of the main occupations by 2. The reason is that one person recorded as regularly employed in hiring out owned cycle-rickshaws to pullers is in fact having three subsidiary occupations namely as an accountant, a tutor and a mechanic, from which he earns a total monthly income of Rs. 140 as against his income of Rs. 70 per month derived from the principal employment.

The duration for which the subsidiary employment is being followed varies among them from a month in case of a hawker who has taken up a halwai's job as subsidiary occupation to as much as 240 months in two cases—a halwai, doing a cobbler's job as a side line and a mason who has been making toys in his spare time. It may be added that the duration is shorter

than that of their present principal employment in case of 15 members ; it is the same in case of 8 and longer in case the remaining 7 members.

For all these members incomes received from subsidiary occupations total up to Rs. 971. Their principal occupations fetch them Rs. 2,502. Thus, in the total incomes of Rs. 3,473, the subsidiary income constitutes a share of 33%. This is indeed very gratifying but the trouble is that it is so in case of only about 9.7% of the employed members.

4:16 MONTHLY EARNINGS

We shall now take up the most crucial aspect of their employment, namely earnings—what in money terms they obtain in return from their employment discussed above. We have, for the sake of convenience, followed the usual practice of calculating earnings per month. It should be mentioned however that earnings do not uniformly accrue on a monthly basis for all of them. Most of the casual workers receive it at the end of each day's work ; in their case we have recorded the monthly average of the total of daily earnings received in "the previous year" in block III col. 28 of the schedule. Among regularly employed persons accrual of earnings varies with employment status. Unpaid family workers do not receive any amount separately for themselves ; their work goes to increase the earnings of the family member in whose economic enterprise they participate. In case of both employers and independent workers (self-employed persons) the accrual may be regular, either on daily, weekly

or monthly basis etc., or intermittent according to the state of their business and the manner in which it is operated, and the amounts are known accurately only when accounts are settled. Among the regularly employed persons the accrual of earnings is in a sense certain and regular only for the employees. Among them, the period of payment varies somewhat. According to the information received (block II col. 18) out of 2,136 employees 1,809 or 84·7% of them are paid on a monthly basis while 218, 57 and 52 of them are paid respectively on daily, weekly and fortnightly basis. Our attempt, in any case, has been to obtain average monthly earnings of the previous year in case of all the regularly employed persons, irrespective of whether they are employers, self-employed persons or employees, and the relevant figures are recorded in block III col. 19.

Out of the total of 4,416 (of which 4,162 are regularly and 254 casually) employed members, 266, all belonging to the regularly employed group, are unpaid family workers, which means that we have to consider here only 4,150 members. The data obtained from them indicates that barring exceptions they are all distributed within a range of income which rises to about Rs. 300. The exceptions in whose case the income is Rs. 500 or more are only 5 constituting over 0·1% of the total recipients of income. The highest figure recorded is Rs. 1,000 for a factory-owner-cum-rent-collector having a family of seven members. Next to him we have a grain wholesale dealer earning an income of Rs. 800 for his family of 13 members but there are two full-time unpaid family workers helping him to earn this amount. Another grain wholesaler takes the third place in order of importance with an income

of Rs. 600 per month, he heads a family of six, one of whom helps him in the capacity of an unpaid family worker. Following him are two persons both netting, unaided, an income of Rs. 500 per month; one of them is a contractor having a family of 3 and the other is a horse-dealer having a family of only 2 members including himself.

Breaking up this into smaller income ranges we obtain the following distribution of these 4,150 income recipients.

Table 49 : Income Ranges

Income range (In rupees)	Regular		Casual		Both		Cumulative %
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1. Less than 24	207	5.3	49	19.3	256	6.1	—
2. 25 to 49	600	15.4	138	54.3	738	17.8	23.9
3. 50 to 74	1,187	30.5	41	16.1	1,228	29.6	53.5
4. 75 to 99	949	24.4	20	7.9	969	23.3	76.8
5. 100 to 124	433	11.1	2	0.8	435	10.5	87.3
6. 125 to 149	172	4.4	1	0.4	173	4.2	91.5
7. 150 to 199	211	5.4	—	—	211	5.1	96.6
8. 200 or more	137	3.5	3	1.2	140	3.4	100.0
Total ...	3,896	100.0	254	100.0	4,150	100.0	

Now, as noted earlier in para. 4:14; there are 28 regularly and 2 casually employed members who are in addition following subsidiary occupations. If we add these supplementary incomes to their incomes from the principal occupation and then redistribute them in the above income ranges there does not indeed occur any perceptible change in the pattern of distribution shown above. For one of the two casual workers the addition

of supplementary income, being very small in amount does not lift him up to any higher group; in the case of the other it results in his moving up from the first to the second group. For 9 out of the 28 regularly employed persons no elevation to higher income group occurs; the others move up but the net result is the reduction of the number of members for group 2, 3 and 4 respectively by one, one and ten; and addition of 4, 5, 2 and 1 member to the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th group respectively, with the result that percentage share in the total of the largest group (the 4th) is reduced by an innocuous figure of 0.3 and those of the 5th, 6th and 8th group are raised in each case by 0.1. On the whole the above pattern can therefore be taken to represent total earnings including incomes from subsidiary occupations of the few who follow them.

The difference in the matter of earnings between the regular and the casual group is apparent. Those in the latter group are concentrated in the lower ranges with a clear majority falling in the second of the eight groups, namely of Rs. 25 to 49. For three-fourths of them monthly income amounts to less than Rs. 50; only for a small fraction, measuring 2.3% of the total, it crosses the level of Rs. 100. In contrast the distribution of the regularly employed persons may be considered much less uneven; no single income range here claims a majority and the smallest proportion, claimed by 'Rs. 125-49' group among the uniform size ranges (1 to 6) measures 4.4%. In the combined distribution it will be seen, that those crossing the level of Rs. 100 constitute less than a fourth of the total; those crossing that of Rs. 75 fail to constitute a majority and in fact nearly a quarter of them have to rest content with less than Rs. 50 per month.

If we further consider the occupation groups, the pattern of distribution according to the income ranges adopted is revealed to differ among them as follows :

Table 50 : Income Ranges and Occupational Categories

Occupation	Members	% Distribution of members among the income ranges					Total	
		Less than Rs. 25	25-49	50-74	75-99	100 & more		
I. Skilled worker	1,618	5.5	15.2	31.0	27.4	20.9	100.0	
II. Unskilled worker	512	13.9	39.8	29.5	15.2	1.6	100.0	
III. Trade	810	3.7	17.5	36.6	16.2	26.0	100.0	
IV. Transport	330	1.2	13.1	33.3	23.6	28.8	100.0	
V. Service	483	1.4	4.6	16.4	26.7	50.9	100.0	
VI. Domestic	304	14.5	21.4	22.7	32.5	8.9	100.0	
VII. Miscellaneous	93	11.8	17.2	22.6	11.8	36.6	100.0	
Total	...	4,150	6.2	17.8	29.6	23.3	23.1	100.0

In case of only one of the 7 occupation groups—of service, the proportion in the total shows a progressive increase as we move up the income ranges; and a little more than half the members of this group are placed in the highest range. In contrast the pattern of distribution is the most unfavourable for the unskilled labourers; only 1.6% of them reach the highest range while 54% of them are left to subsist on less than Rs. 50. The proportion of those in the lowest range, of 'less than Rs. 25,' is higher for the domestic and personal workers than even the unskilled labourers but the former group is relatively less homogeneous and quite a substantial proportion of its members are placed in the range of Rs. 75-99. If we consider the two higher income ranges in combination, these groups are arranged in order of the magnitude of the respective proportions falling therein, as follows :

(1) Service—77·6%; (2) Transport—52·4%; (3) Miscellaneous—48·4%; (4) Skilled worker—43·3%; (5) Trade—42·2% (6) Domestic and Personal work—41·4%; and (7) Unskilled worker—16·8%. It will be seen that between them the middle groups—2 to 6, do not differ but at both the ends the difference is equally great. It conforms, in any case, to the common-place expectation that income from unskilled work compares poorly with that from service.

In order to further crystallize the view of the overall income status of the slum dwellers we might use the data obtained for calculating average monthly earnings per employed person as follows :

Table 51 : Average Monthly Earnings

Zone	Employment	Members*	Total monthly earnings (Rs.)	Average per member* (Rs.)
I	Regular ...	1,341	91,081	67·9
	Casual ...	41	1,829	44·6
	Both ...	1,382	92,913	67·2
II	Regular ...	1,992	1,60,425	80·5
	Casual ...	105	4,375	41·7
	Both ...	2,097	1,64,800	78·5
III	Regular ...	829	61,599	74·3
	Casual ...	108	4,398	40·7
	Both ...	937	65,997	70·4
All	Regular ...	4,162	3,13,108	75·2
	Casual ...	254	10,602	41·7
	Both ...	4,416	3,23,710	73·3

* The number of income recipients is smaller than that of the employed persons by 266, this being the number of unpaid family workers, all belonging to the category of regular employment. The average per recipient therefore is larger for zone I by Rs. 7·3 ; for II, by 4·4 ; for III, by Rs. 2·7 and for all taken together by Rs. 5·2.

The lowest average is recorded at Rs. 40·7 for casual workers of zone III and the highest at Rs. 80·5 for regularly employed persons of zone II. The zonal average varies for regular employment from Rs. 67·9 for the I zone to Rs. 80·5 for the II. The variation is comparatively much smaller for the casual employment. In the final analysis, we obtain quite an unimpressive figure of Rs. 73·3 as the overall average monthly earnings per employed person.

4:17 THE TAKE-HOME PAY

Earnings of employed members do not reach their homes in toto in case of quite a majority of them. As seen in para 4:11 above, as many as 930 of them have to pay for their transport from residence to work-spot. A much larger number—2,629 in all; spend some amount daily at their work-spot on making, say, their mid-day meals, usually carried from home, more palatable by purchasing an onion or two, some pickles and a lump of raw sugar, or on refreshments and recreation etc. Deducting total monthly amounts of these two expenditures we get what may be called 'the take-home pay' representing the amount of earnings left for the family. This may be calculated for the zones and in each of them separately for the regularly and casually employed persons as in table 52 (page 128).

930 or over 21% of employed persons spend at the average rate of about Rs. 4 per month on transport; 2,629 or nearly 60% of them incur at their work-spots an expenditure on the average of Rs. 7 per month. In the result the average monthly earnings per employed

Table 52 : Average Take-Home Pay

Zone	Employment	Transport Expenditure			Expenditure at Work-Spot			Take-Home Pay		
		Members	Amount Rs.	Average Rs.	Members	Amount Rs.	Average Rs.	Members	Amount Rs.	Average Rs.
I	Regular	169	701	4.15	733	5,011	6.84	1,341	85,372	63.70
	Casual	8	30	3.75	18	80	4.44	41	1,719	41.93
	Both	177	731	4.13	751	5,091	6.78	1,382	87,091	63.02
II	Regular	457	1,841	4.03	1,184	9,239	7.80	1,992	1,49,345	74.97
	Casual	8	31	3.87	59	189	3.20	105	4,155	39.57
	Both	465	1,872	4.01	1,243	9,428	7.38	2,097	1,53,500	73.20
III	Regular	257	978	3.81	547	3,302	6.04	829	57,319	69.14
	Casual	31	196	6.32	88	308	3.50	108	3,894	36.05
	Both	288	1,174	4.08	635	3,610	5.61	937	61,353	65.33
ALL	Regular	883	3,520	3.99	2,464	17,552	7.12	4,162	2,92,036	70.17
	Casual	47	257	5.47	165	577	3.50	254	9,768	38.46
	Both	930	3,777	4.06	2,629	18,129	6.90	4,416	3,01,804	68.34

person gets reduced by Rs. 5 to Rs. 68·3. The reduction differs in case of the zones taken individually as follows :

Table 53 : Relation of Take-Home Pay to Earnings

Zone	Average earnings Rs.	Take-home pay Rs.	Difference Rs.	Difference as % of average earnings
I	67·2	63·0	-4·2	6·25
II	78·5	73·2	-5·3	6·75
III	70·4	65·3	-5·1	7·10
All	73·3	68·3	-5·0	6·82

The reduction in amount is the largest for the second zone but because of the variation in earnings its burden, as measured in terms of the proportion it bears to earnings, appear to be heavier for the third than any of the other two zones. As for the average take-home pay, compared to the overall figure of Rs. 68·3, it is larger for the second by Rs. 4·9 and smaller for the first and the third zones by as much as Rs. 5·3 and Rs. 3·0 respectively.

4:18 FAMILY INCOME

Income on which a slum family depends is almost entirely derived from the earnings of its employed members. Family income is, therefore, the total of amounts brought in by its employed members as take-home pay discussed above. While the bulk of slum families can each boast only for a single employed member, the variation for the aggregate of 3,135 sample families extends from nil for 73 of them to as many as six employed members in case of 4 families as shown in Table 54 (p. 130).

Table 54 : Distribution of Families by Number of Employed Members

No. of employed members	Families							
	Zone I		Zone II		Zone III		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0	14	1.6	39	2.5	20	2.7	73	2.3
1	511	59.4	1,062	68.8	522	71.3	2,095	66.8
2	203	23.6	335	21.7	157	21.5	695	22.2
3	80	9.3	72	4.7	31	4.2	183	5.9
4	39	4.5	26	1.7	2	0.3	67	2.1
5	9	1.1	9	0.6	—	—	18	0.6
6	4	0.5	—	—	—	—	4	0.1
Total	860	100.0	1,543	100.0	732	100.0	3,135	100.0

It will be seen that in each of over two-third of the families there is only one employed member ; average monthly income per family in their case can therefore be taken to be the same as the 'take-home pay' average of Rs. 68.3. Among the rest those with 2 employed members predominate. Only for a fraction of one per cent of these families, the number of employed members per family is as big as 6, while 2.3% of them have as a matter of fact no family member at all to toil for their livelihood.

We may finally refer to the product of the two averages, namely the average number of employed members per family and the average take-home pay per employed member, as the average monthly income per family and may also obtain *per capita* monthly income by dividing the same by the average number of members per family as follows :

Table 55 : Family Income

Zone	Average number of employed members per family	Average take-home pay per employed member Rs.	Average family income Rs.	Average number of members per family	Per capita monthly income Rs.
I	1.61	63.02	101.5	4.96	20.5
II	1.36	73.20	99.6	4.83	20.6
III	1.28	65.33	83.6	4.61	18.1
All	1.41	68.34	96.4	4.81	20.0

Between the zones the average family income varies from Rs. 83.6 for III to Rs. 99.6 for II and to Rs. 101.5 for I. But because of the compensatory variation in the average size of family the extent of variation narrows down in case of *per capita* income. *Per capita* monthly income is practically the same for the first two zones and for the third it is smaller by Rs. 2.5. As the overall average indicates it may be concluded that slum dweller of Old Delhi City gets Rs. 20 per month on which to maintain his existence. This sum, it may be noted, is less than half the present *per capita* monthly income for the Old Delhi's population as a whole, as estimated on the basis of data collected by the Delhi School of Economics. To reach the level of income just sufficient to enable living on the standard of, say, a factory worker it will need to be raised by as much as nearly 20%.*

*According to the Deshpande Enquiry into Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in Delhi City, the *per capita* expenditure on family budget items *viz.* food, fuel and lighting, house rent, clothing and footwear, household requisites, and miscellaneous, was Rs. 16 in 1944-45. (See Report on an Enquiry into Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in Delhi City, Government of India 1946 p. 50). Adjusted for the rise in cost of living indices, the monthly expenditure per family of 3.8 members on the average should today come to Rs. 91; *i.e.* Rs. 24 *per capita*.

But the average admittedly is not enough for a realistic view of the situation. We must further consider the inequality of income obtaining within the aggregate of 3,135 sample families as also the variation among them in the matter of size. The table 56 (p. 133) accordingly presents them as distributed by size in the different income ranges.

On the basis of the working class family budget inquiry quoted above it can be estimated that to live on the obtaining working class level an average family of five members would need to earn an income of Rs. 120 per month. To facilitate comparison with this standard we have, in this table, separated out the families conforming to the average size as also those on the said income level of Rs. 120. From this it will be seen that there are only 13 five member families in whose case the income level rests at Rs. 120. Of the 468 families of this size as many as 361 or 77% are on lower levels of income and may therefore be considered to be worse off. Including families of other size categories there are in all 91 families on this income level; 40 of them are, fortunately, of a smaller size, including one consisting of a single member, but the remaining 38 do have to face the plight of having to feed larger numbers.

Similarly considered none (excepting the single member group) of the other size and income categories appear in any better situation. Even among the single member families 15% have an income of less than Rs. 25, a sum on which it is evidently difficult for a person to exist. On the whole income does appear to be rising with the size of family, but even so, its insufficiency as compared to the requirement of a working class

Table 56: Family Size and Family Income

Income Range (in Rs.)	Family Size																
	A=1 member			B=2 to 4 members			C=5 members			D=6 to 9 members			E=10 or more members			F=total	
	No.	% to 10	% to F	No.	% to 10	% to F	No.	% to 10	% to F	No.	% to 10	% to F	No.	% to 10	% to F	No.	% to 10
1. 0 to 24	48	15.1	36.4	53	4.4	40.1	10	2.1	7.6	21	2.1	15.9	—	—	—	132	4.2
2. 25 to 49	62	19.4	22.6	132	11.1	48.0	37	7.9	13.4	43	4.3	15.6	1	0.7	0.4	275	8.8
3. 50 to 74	84	26.3	11.5	345	29.0	47.3	124	26.5	17.0	172	17.1	23.6	4	2.6	0.6	729	23.2
4. 75 to 99	80	25.1	11.4	289	24.3	41.0	112	23.9	15.9	212	21.1	30.1	11	7.2	1.6	704	22.4
5. 100 to 119	23	7.2	6.3	119	10.0	32.9	78	16.7	21.6	134	13.3	37.0	8	5.3	2.2	362	11.6
6. 120	1	0.3	1.1	39	3.3	42.8	13	2.8	14.3	31	3.1	34.1	7	4.6	7.7	91	2.9
7. 121 to 149	7	2.2	2.9	81	6.8	33.1	29	6.2	11.8	102	10.2	41.6	26	17.1	10.6	245	7.8
8. 150 to 199	11	3.5	3.5	79	6.6	24.1	40	8.6	12.1	154	15.3	46.9	44	28.9	13.4	328	10.5
9. 200 or more	3	0.9	1.1	54	4.5	20.0	25	5.3	9.3	136	13.5	50.6	51	33.6	19.0	269	8.6
Total ...	319	100.0	10.2	1,191	100.0	38.0	468	100.0	14.9	1,005	100.0	32.1	152	100.0	4.8	3,135	100.0

Chart 8 : Percentage Distribution of Sample Families by Income Groups

INCOME GROUPS

LESS THAN, RS.25 - P.M.

RS.25 - RS.49 P.M.

RS.50 - RS.74 P.M.

RS.75 - RS.99 P.M.

RS.100 - RS.119 P.M.

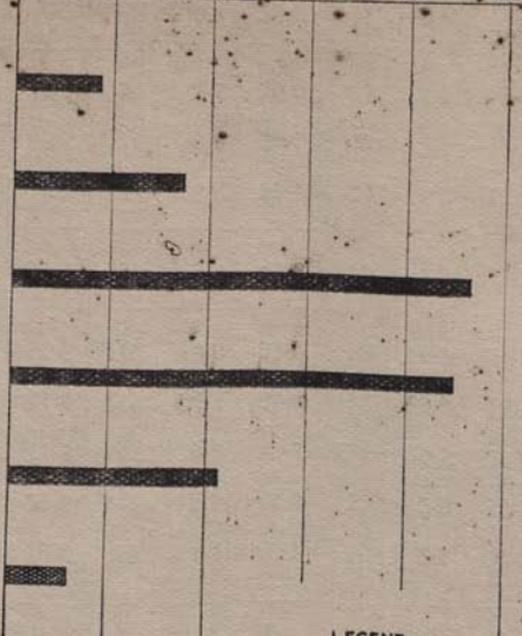
RS.120 - AVERAGE P.M.

RS.121 - RS.149 P.M.

RS.150 - RS.199 P.M.

RS.200 - OR MORE P.M.

0 5 10 15 20 25

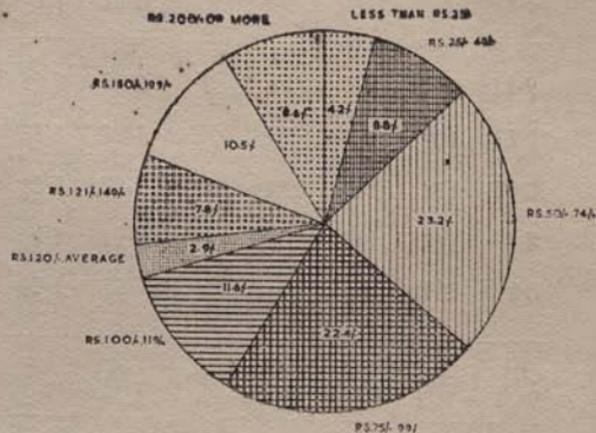


LEGEND

BELOW AVERAGE

AVERAGE

ABOVE AVERAGE



budget is retained as quite a general feature. And as the pattern of income distribution for the aggregate of sample families clearly suggests, for more than 70% of the slum dwellers economic poverty has to be considered more intense than even the industrial working class.

4:19 OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE

This discussion of the employment of the slum population may be concluded with a brief reference to the attitude of the employed members towards the occupations they are following. Attempt was made to elicit this information about each of them and the investigators were instructed to put a direct straightforward question as to whether he viewed his occupation as satisfactory. In case he did not, a further query was made regarding the specific occupation he would like to change over to.

The reply in response to the first question was in the affirmative in case of as many as 4,039 out of the 4,416 employed members. This indicates that on the whole slum dwellers appear to be contented with their respective jobs, which as seen above, do not afford them even the working class level of living. The reason may well be that they are in no position to see for themselves any better alternatives.

The remaining 377 or 8.5% of the members stated that they were not satisfied with their jobs; 318 of them are regularly employed and 59 are casually employed persons. In their respective groups they constitute 7.6 and 23.2 per cent of the total; this confirms the expectation that compared to the regular employment a

larger proportion of the casually employed persons are dissatisfied with their jobs.

As for the specific occupations followed by these persons consider the list given below which serves to indicate the number of persons dissatisfied with them as also the proportion they bear to the total number of employed members in each of them :

Table 57 : Attitude to Present Employment

Occupation	Total no. of employed members	No. of 'dissatisfied' employed members	% of 3 to 2
Unskilled workers	588	80	13.6
Skilled workers	635	71	11.2
Hawkers	346	52	15.2
Drivers of all vehicles	252	22	8.7
Shop-assistants	96	18	18.7
Clerks	183	18	9.8
Cobblers	197	17	8.6
Shop-keepers	367	13	3.5
Tailors	127	11	8.7
Masons	156	8	5.1
Sweepers	168	7	4.2
Mechanics	174	7	4.0
Trade—Brokers, Agents etc.	33	7	21.2
Dhobis	96	7	7.3
Peons	146	6	4.1
Domestic servants	58	6	10.3
Milkmen	26	4	15.4
Carpenters	111	3	2.7
Barbers	25	3	12.0
Teachers	30	3	10.0
Others	602	14	2.3
Total	4,416	377	8.5

The proportion of members not viewing their jobs as satisfactory is sizable for the trade occupations; among them it is significantly larger for agents and brokers, hawkers and shop-assistants, than for the shop-keepers. Between the two labour categories at the top it is

indeed larger for the unskilled group but not by a very large extent.

The second question proved a little difficult. Out of the 377 members viewing their employment unsatisfactory, 16 persons reported in fact that they were willing to continue in the same occupation but desired superior status and higher income. Three lower division clerks wanted to be upper division clerks, three upper division clerks aspired to be assistants, and yet another clerk cherished to be a supervisor. Five among these dissatisfied people are shop-keepers, three wanting to change over to other lines and two, to expand the scale of their business. A private nurse desires to join a government hospital. Two machine-men aspire promotion to the post of jobber and a constable, to that of a head constable.

Quite a number of those who desired change of occupation were not specific about the new ones they would like to take up. Eleven members showed willingness to join 'any other' job or business and thirty-one wanted to take up "any suitable government job." There are fifteen other members, following casual and insecure jobs, who aspired for 'any regular and permanent' job. The present occupations of these members are as follows :

- (i) *Those preferring any other job* : 4 unskilled labourers, 2 domestic servants, a dhobi, a tutor, a toy-maker, a munshi and a dalal.
- (ii) *Those preferring any suitable government service* : 6 unskilled labourers, 5 sweepers, 3 mechanics, 3 hawkers and 3 tonga-drivers,

2 masons and 2 clerks, a tailor and a toffee-maker, a car-driver, a car-painter and a carpenter, a compounder and a mid-wife.

- (iii) *Those preferring 'any regular and permanent' job*: 6 unskilled labourers, 2 cobblers, 2 hawkers, a motor driver, a compositor, a painter, a mason and a munshi.

There remain, thus, 304 employed members who have indicated specific jobs for which they are willing to leave their present ones. These preferred occupations are almost as varied as the ones they are now following but there are a few on which the preferences of these people following diverse occupations seem to converge, as the following list of preferred occupations serves to indicate.

Table 58 : Preferred Occupations

Preferred occupation	Members
Peon	112
Chowkidar	22
Clerk	8
Shop-keeper	74
Skilled labour	10
Manual labour	10
Farmer	11
Fitter, mechanic etc.	5
Salesman	5
Weaver	4
Motor-driver	4
Domestic servant	3
Other occupations	36
Total	304

The preferences appear largely to be guided by the promise of security and permanence of service occupations. 112 or 37% of these members desire to be peons.

In this connection it should be added that most of these members have further qualified their replies by saying that they would prefer to be attached to a government office.

The trade occupations follow next in order of importance and account for over 23% of the total. It may be stated, however, that quite a number of persons preferring to be shop-keepers are already operating in this very sphere as hawkers and shop-assistants.

A word may also be added about a rather surprising preference for agriculture. Among the eleven members aspiring to be farmers there are 7 stone-breakers, 3 textile labourers and a shop-keeper. The other data of their schedules indicate it clearly that they are all in-migrants who evidently have not yet completely severed their attachment to land. One might wish that it becomes possible for these people to change over to their preferred occupation, for by doing so they may well escape the wretchedness of slum life. This however would not make much difference in the matter of solving the slum problem that the city is facing because they constitute an insignificant proportion measuring barely 0.23% of the total slum employment.

III

4:20 UNEMPLOYMENT

As stated earlier in para 4:2 we have, in the sample population of 15,089, as many as 181 persons who are reported to be in search of a job. They belong to 167 sample families; two of these families have three unemployed members each and another twenty have two each, the rest having only one each. It may also be recapitulated that this total of 181 members is composed

of 171 males and 10 females. While all the females belong to the working-age group of 15—64 years, among the males there are two boys of age below 14 and four old men of more than 64 years. Thus the bulk of the unemployed members measuring over 91% belong to the working-age male group and constitute 3·6% thereof. This proportion appears quite small but, even so, the attempt should be to remove unemployment entirely and achieve thereby an addition, however small it may appear to be, to the earnings of the slum dwellers. The question, therefore, remains as to how best we can find employment for these unemployed members. We shall consider, in this connection, their employability on the basis of data we have collected with regard to their education, technical training, previous employment if any, the occupations they are seeking to take up and the income they expect.

4:21 DURATION AND SOURCE OF MAINTENANCE

We may first refer, however, to their present sources of living and the duration of unemployment through which they have had to maintain their existence. With respect to the latter, it may be stated that we have recorded the period preceding the date of enquiry for which the person in question considered himself unemployed. This period varies from member to member, depending in each case on the time either of his joining the 'labour force' or of his leaving the previous job, or of his moving into Delhi in search of employment.

At the lowest it is only two days in the case of a person who was previously a flush-fitter in private employment but who was thrown out of it on account of retrenchment and three days in case of previously

a farmer who came to Delhi, four days before the date of enquiry, in search of a job as milk-man. At the highest it is 108 months in case of a shop-keeper and a sweeper, and a widow of 50 years in age, who has been wanting all along this period to be a mid-wife. Between these two extremes these unemployed members are distributed as shown below :

Table 59 : Duration of Unemployment

Duration in months				Members
Less than 1	...	...	...	13
1—3	...	...	...	26
3—6	...	...	...	25
6—12	...	...	...	39
12—24	...	...	...	31
24—36	...	...	...	18
36—60	...	...	...	17
60 or above	...	...	...	12

It will be seen that for nearly three-fourth of the total the duration is less than two years. As against this it is longer than five years in case of as many as 12 or 6.6% of them. On the average the duration of unemployment comes to about 21 months.

With regard to the sources of their livelihood, the replies received may be classified as follows :

Table 60 : Sources of Livelihood of Unemployed Members

Means of livelihood				Members
Staying with family	...	...	...	112
Past savings	...	...	...	30
Help received from relatives	...	...	...	12
Borrowings	...	...	...	10
Charity	...	...	...	3
Help from friends	...	...	...	1
Unspecified sources	...	...	...	6
Total	...	...	...	181

It will be seen that in case of 119 out of 181 unemployed members it was stated that they were living with their families and further that it was not possible to estimate what their individual maintenance cost the respective families.

The remaining 62 were all heads of family, six of whom failed to specify the source of their maintenance. These six include the widow, referred to above, claiming the highest duration of unemployment, four young men of ages between 20 to 30 and an adult of 55. The main sources of their maintenance appear to be past savings, help from relatives and borrowing. In any case, the unemployed are a clear burden on the meagre incomes of their families. If their search for employment succeeds, not only will this burden be removed but they might also be able to contribute something to the incomes of the families they belong to, after meeting the costs of their own maintenance.

4:22. EDUCATION

As noted earlier in para 3:11, the general level of education among the slum dwellers is extremely poor. Among the 4,415 employed members of the sample population we have only 312 who are educated upto or a little more than the matriculation level. In case of the small unemployed section the position may indeed be considered a little better on the basis of the data presented below :

Table 61 : Education of the Unemployed

Level of Education	Members		
	Male	Female	Both
Primary	32	1	33
Middle or Secondary	27	—	27
Matric or Higher Secondary	27	3	30
Intermediate	4	—	4
Graduate or above	1	1	2
Uneducated	91	5	96
	80	5	95
Total	171	10	181

There are two graduates—one male and the other female, among the unemployed. Those who have attained matric or higher standard constitute nearly 20% of the total as against the corresponding proportion of 7% of the very much larger group of employed members. It must not be forgotten, however, that under reference here is only the general education and that the 'educated unemployed' may in fact present comparatively a more difficult problem. At best we may hope that it may prove relatively easier to impart technical training to these educated but unemployed persons.

In the matter of the obtaining level of technical training the position is no less disappointing. There are only 8 members who are reported to be holding certificates or diplomas of training. Two of them are so qualified in the field of engineering, two for teaching and one each for building construction and textile manufacture. There are however, 31 other members who claim to have acquired technical training though

they do not possess any certificate. Nine of them are trained in engineering, seven in hosiery and textile manufacture, three in 'fine arts' including music, embroidery and needle-work etc., and one each in building construction (draftsmanship) and printing-press work. About the level of technical skill acquired through this training it is not possible to apply any measure. Generally speaking it can be said to be extremely inadequate. It is, on the whole, quite clear that employability of the slum dwellers can be improved only through an extensive thorough-going programme of technical training covering both these so-called trained members and others who are found to possess the required aptitude and show the inclination to receive such training.

4:23 PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

106 out of the 181 unemployed members are reported to be seeking employment 'not for the first time'. They were all previously employed; some of them even more than once. Information obtained about their last employment refers to employment status and reasons for leaving it, about occupation and earnings.

By employment status in the last employment 68 of these members were employees, 5 were employers and 24 were self-employed persons or independent workers. The remaining nine were working as unpaid family workers, five of whom ceased to work as such on account of the family members, they were attached to, ceasing to operate the economic enterprises they were participating in, while the remaining four began seeking paid jobs.

The reasons for the present unemployment of the other three 'employment status' categories were revealed to be as follows :

Table 62 : Reasons for Unemployment

Reason	Employees	Employers	Independent workers	All
1. Retirement ...	2	—	—	2
2. Retrenchment ...	21	—	—	21
3. Discharge ...	18	—	—	18
4. Abolition of office or loss of business ...	8	3	11	22
5. Work unsuitable ...	3	1	1	5
6. Left for better employment ...	—	—	2	2
7. Illness or injury ...	8	1	4	13
8. Studies ...	—	—	1	1
9. Others ...	8	—	5	13
Total ...	68	5	24	97

It may be noted that 13 members recorded against col. 9 for 'others' have been so recorded because they failed to indicate the specific reason. About other members included in the table, it will be seen that the major reasons for their losing employment are loss of business, abolition of office, retrenchment and discharge. The proportion of those leaving jobs on grounds of health too is sizable. Only three persons are reported to have left the employment for bettering their prospects, including one person who left for studies.

The specific occupations followed by these 106 members in their last employment are so varied as to suggest that loss of employment is not limited to any specific occupation. Included among them we have sweepers and shop-keepers as well as beldars and teachers as the following distribution reveals.

Table 63 : Occupations in the Last Employment

Occupation				No. of unemployed members
Skilled worker	...	...	...	20
Unskilled worker	...	...	...	18
Sweepers	...	...	...	16
Shop-keepers	...	...	...	6
Mechanics	...	...	...	6
Tailors	...	...	...	5
Peons	...	...	...	5
Teachers	...	...	...	4
Weavers	...	...	...	4
Drivers	...	...	...	4
Hawkers	...	...	...	3
Shop-assistants	...	...	...	3
Clerks	...	...	...	3
Contractors	...	...	...	2
The rest	...	...	...	7
Total	...	...	...	106

The 'rest' include a halwai, a milk-man, a dhobi, a mason, a cobbler, a domestic servant and even a farmer. The last named farmer is the one in whose case the duration of unemployment is, as stated earlier, only three days. This member also claims to be educated upto matriculation. There are 6 more educated unemployed among these 106 members who in previous employment worked as a teacher, a steno-grapher, a time-keeper, an engineer, a mechanic and a sweeper.

Monthly earnings, that these people drew from the above occupations, varied among the 97 income recipients (all excepting the 9 unpaid family workers) from Rs. 10 only in case of a thela-driver to Rs. 350 in case of a shop-keeper. Their distribution in income ranges is as follows :

Table 64 : Income from Last Employment

Income range (In rupees)				No. of previously employed members
Less than 25	...	...	...	6
25—50	...	...	...	16
50—75	...	...	...	29
75—100	...	...	...	18
100—150	...	...	...	15
150 or more	...	...	...	13
Total	...	...	...	97

The average comes to Rs. 82 only. It may be noted also that for the 7 educated members included in the above income from last occupation varies from Rs. 20 to Rs. 180 only but the average in their case comes to as much as Rs. 120. Comparing this average of Rs. 82 with the average earnings of Rs. 73 per employed member (see para 4:16) one receives the impression that those who were forced out of employment were indeed better earners.

4:24 OCCUPATIONS SOUGHT AND INCOME EXPECTED

Occupations sought are numerous and quite varied. If we consider only those who were previously employed, it is revealed that 74 out of 106 of them are seeking to take up the same occupation as of their last employment. Of the remaining 32, three are willing to take up any other occupation except the one they followed previously. The remaining 29 are distributed as follows :

Table 65 : Occupations Sought

Occupation sought	Members	Previous occupation
Peon	15	3 Skilled labourers, 3 Beldars, 2 Mechanics, 2 Grocers, 1 Hawker, 1 Tailor, 1 Printer, 1 Contractor, and 1 Gold-smith.
Shop-assistant	2	1 Clerk and 1 Cycle-stand keeper
Textile worker	2	1 Porter and 1 Domestic-servant
Contractor	1	Tonga-driver
Weaver	1	Vegetable-seller
Domestic servant	1	Shoe-maker
Fitter	1	Time-keeper
Teacher	1	Tailor
Milk-seller	1	Farmer
Gardener	1	Beldar
Painter	1	Hawker
Chowkidar	1	Thela-driver
Motor mechanic	1	Welder

Among the 181 unemployed members we have 36 educated persons and 145 uneducated. The occupations sought by these two groups and averages of income expected are given below separately :

Table 66 : Income Expected

Occupation sought	No. of unemployed members				Income expected (Average)
	Educated	Un- educated	Both	%	Rs.
Peons	1	41	42	23·3	70
Clerks	18	1	19	10·5	120
Mechanics	5	1	6	3·3	100
Teachers	5	1	6	3·3	115
Shop-keepers	—	9	9	5·0	160
Sweepers	1	19	20	11·0	75
Unskilled worker	—	23	23	12·7	70
Skilled worker	1	22	23	12·7	85
Rest	5	28	33	18·2	80
Total	36	145	181	100·0	90

It will be seen that quite a concentration of these job-seekers is in the field of services*, where they desire to be either a peon, a clerk, a teacher, or a sweeper. On the whole it is clear that both the occupations sought and income expected therefrom are reasonable. The expectation is higher than the obtaining level of earnings among the employed slum dwellers. But it may be noted also that the proportion of educated too is larger for this, comparatively a small group.

The success of these people in getting the jobs they seek at the rate of earnings they expect would mean a considerable rise in the family incomes of the 167 families to which they belong, and would raise the average family income for the aggregate of the sample population by as much as Rs. 5. And Rs. 5 is a considerable sum at the level of income they enjoy.

* If on the basis of occupations sought we distribute the 181 unemployed members according to occupational categories adopted previously in para 4:5, the situation is revealed to be as follows :

Occupation	No.	%
I. Skilled worker	37	20.4
II. Unskilled worker	21	11.6
III. Trade	10	5.5
IV. Transport	3	1.7
V. Service	77	42.6
VI. Domestic	23	12.7
VII. Miscellaneous	10	5.5
Total	181	100.0

V

Education And Health

5:1 SOCIAL LIFE IN SLUMS

Admittedly social life in slums lacks everything that is desirable and smacks of many unhealthy elements. Social regeneration of the slum dwellers has therefore come, by itself, to be regarded as an imperative necessity but we must accept it also as an essential and integral part of a slum clearance or slum eradication programme. For designing measures of improving the social life of the slum dwellers we do not need any detailed investigation of the obtaining social milieu, which is quite well-known; what we do need is a reliable assessment of the social needs of these people. These needs are many and varied, of which the two most important, and basic, ones have been covered by the present survey—namely education and health. The data collected for the former is presented below in section I and those for the latter in section II of this chapter.

I

5:2 ASPECTS EXAMINED

For the purpose of the survey members of sample population of age between 6 and 14 years (both inclusive) have been taken to represent the 'education-age' group. Inquiry was made with respect to each such member as to whether he or she was studying; if so, further questions were asked regarding the class and institution which they

were attending, their hours of study, annual expenses incurred and financial help received, if any. Similar inquiry was made also about those of the other age groups who were reported to be studying. With respect to those of the 'education-age' who were not studying information was solicited with regard to the reason thereof, the type of work they were attending to at home, and willingness of the parents to educate them. Further, with a view to get an idea of the general attitude of these people toward the question of educating their children a specific question was asked as to whether they would like to move to a place with better educational facilities.

THE PRESENT POSITION

From the age-sex distribution of the sample population given earlier in para 2:8, it will be seen that children (members of the age group 5-14 years) constitute 24.6% of the total. Their number is 3,707. 570 of them are reported to be 5 years in age. We have therefore 3,137 members in all in the education-age group, which measures nearly 21% of the total slum population.

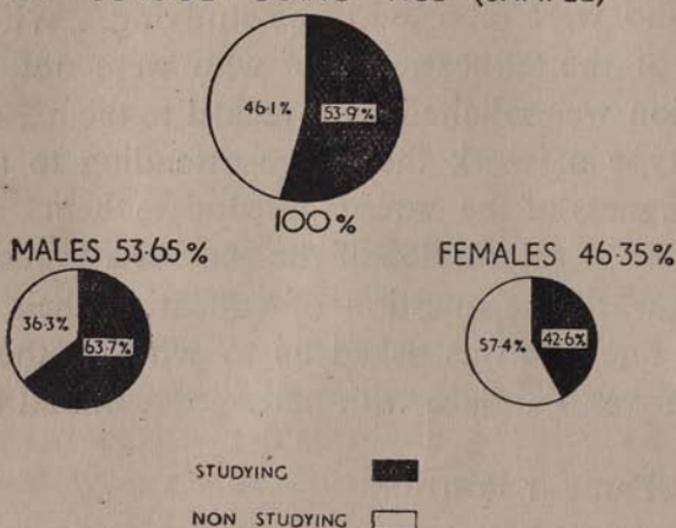
Of these 3,137, only 1,692 or nearly 54% are reported to be presently receiving education in schools and other educational institutions. They are distributed by sex as follows :

Table 67 : Members of the Education-Age Group

	Male		Female		Both	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Members studying ...	1,072	63.7	620	42.6	1,692	53.9
Members not studying ...	611	36.3	834	57.4	1,445	46.1
Both ...	1,683	100.0	1,454	100.0	3,137	100.0

Chart 8

TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS
OF SCHOOL-GOING AGE (SAMPLE)



The proportion among boys of those receiving education is larger than the corresponding figure for girls ; this serves to indicate that the tendency to discount female education persists strongly. On the whole the situation is rather disappointing ; nearly half the children of the slum dwellers are not attending schools. There cannot be two opinions about the desirability of educating them. Here we have a field where work can, and should, be taken up immediately. Presumably the government too is keen to extend educational facilities to all children of this age and it remains for the social workers to facilitate this extension.

The total number of student members of the sample population, including student members of other age groups, comes to 2,323 in all as shown on the next page.

Table 68 : Student Members

Age group	Male	Female	Both
1—4 years ...	6	3	9
5—14 years : 5 years ...	185	100	285
(Ed. age) 6—14 years ...	1,072	620	1,692
15—24 years ...	250	87	337
Total ...	1,513	810	2,323

The sex-ratio for this group of student members comes to 65:35. If we consider those among them who have surpassed the 'education-age', the proportion of females is smaller still. In this age group of 15-24 years the 250 boys constitute a proportion of 17% but for the girl students the corresponding proportion is only 6%. Beyond the age of 14 fewer girls are allowed to continue their education.

5:4 CLASS AND INSTITUTION

About the nature of education it is notable that by and large these members are receiving what may be called the general type of education which goes up from primary onwards to graduation. We have only 26 members, 16 belonging to the higher age group, of 15-24 years, and 10 to the education-age group, who are reported to be receiving technical or professional education. Two of them are girls learning the needle art including sewing, knitting and embroidery etc. Courses followed by the 24 boys include teaching, typing and tailoring, mechanics, drafts-manship and radio-repairs. The situation in this respect clearly indicates that there is a great scope for improvement. It should be possible for example to

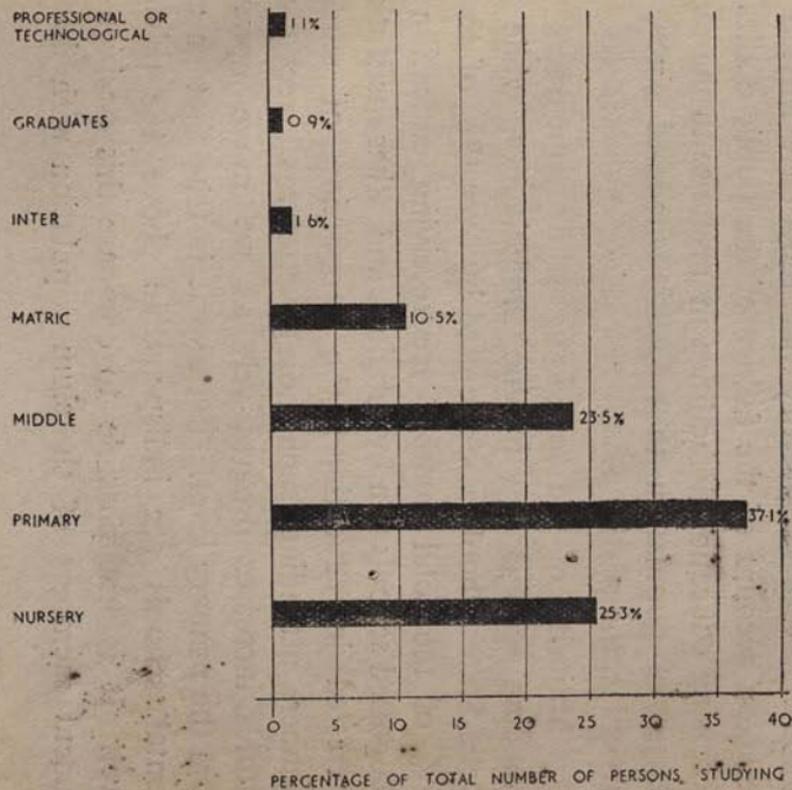
orientate the system of education so as to give emphasis to craft and technical training which may help to enhance their employability.

The query about institution was meant to indicate the agency providing the facility and accordingly information referred to whether the institution was run by the Government, the Municipality, by a religious trust etc., by University or by any private party ; and whether it was recognised or unrecognised. The classification followed for the level of education includes 6 categories for general education, viz., pre-primary, primary, middle or secondary, matric or higher secondary, intermediate and graduation. Besides technical education information was sought as to whether any member was studying 'fine arts' including music, dancing, drawing, painting etc., but the replies received indicate that there was not a single student of these fine arts in the sample population. By class and institution these 2,323 members are distributed as follows :

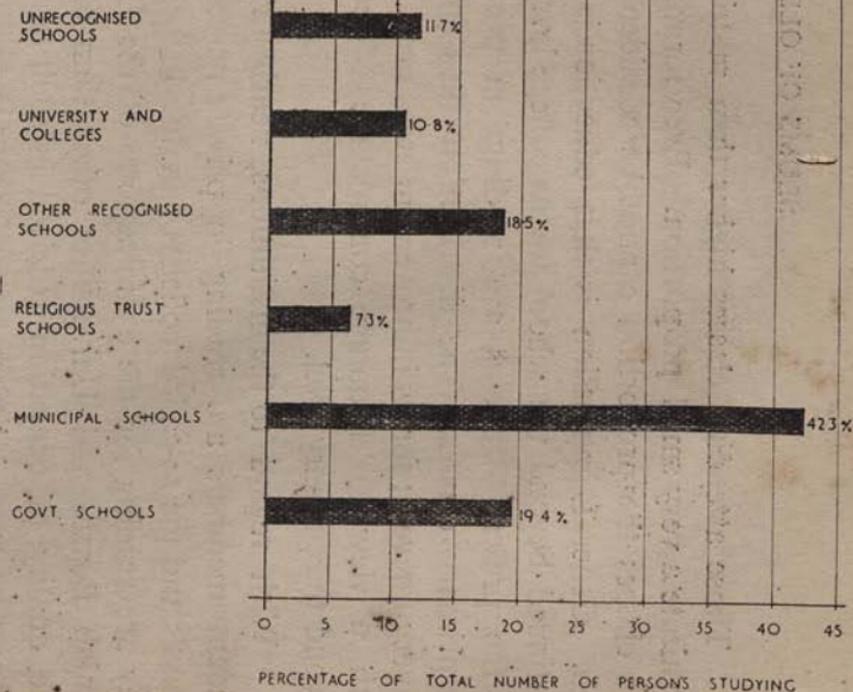
Table 69 : Class and Institution of Study

Class	Recognised institutions					Un-recognised institutions	Total	
	Government schools	Municipal schools	Religious trust schools	Other recog. schools	University & colleges		No.	%
Pre-primary ...	72	351	30	72	—	62	587	25·3
Primary ...	124	495	55	131	—	57	862	37·1
Middle or Secondary ...	189	119	68	136	—	34	546	23·5
Matric or Higher Secondary ...	62	18	16	68	—	80	244	10·5
Intermediate ...	—	—	—	12	11	15	38	1·6
Graduate ...	—	—	—	6	7	7	20	0·9
Technical or Professional	4	—	—	5	1	16	26	1·1
Total ...	451	983	169	430	19	271	2,323	100·0
% of Total ...	19·4	42·3	7·3	18·5	0·8	11·7	100·0	

Chart 9
Percentage Distribution of Student Members



STANDARD OF EDUCATION



TYPES OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED

Those attending classes higher than matriculation constitute a very small proportion. Even for matriculation classes the proportion cannot be considered quite high. General impression is that education is seldom continued beyond the school to the college level. Bulk of the present students are reading in primary or pre-primary classes. The distribution thus appears to be very uneven ; for its improvement steps need be taken with a view to encourage continuance of education beyond the primary level.

With regard to the institutions, nearly 12% of the student members are reading in private un-recognised schools and the so-called colleges ; in the higher classes they are reading for the examinations of the U.P. and Punjab Boards and Universities other than of Delhi. The quality of education received in such institutions cannot be very satisfactory but they have thrived in Delhi on account of the failure of the public bodies in increasing educational facilities in response to the rapid growth of population that Delhi witnessed since, in particular, the partition.

Majority of the remaining student members are attending schools run by the Municipality, while the 'Delhi State' schools also are used by over 19% of them. 25% of the total number are receiving education in recognised schools run by religious and other institutions interested in education ; the proportion of student members attending such non-governmental recognised schools increases progressively as we move upwards from the primary level. Even so it is true that governmental schools are indispensable above the primary level. It is not possible to compare this position of student members of the slum population with that of

students among the general population of the city as a whole ; but the general impression is that facilities provided by the public bodies (including the Municipality) in the slum areas are probably more inadequate. In the slums, especially, the government should extend educational facilities without counting on private religious and charitable institutions' help in the matter. So far as the university and colleges are concerned, they yet cater to the members of the middle and upper classes and it is not surprising that we have less than one per cent of these slum student members studying in these institutions. Special efforts are needed to encourage higher education among the slum dwellers but they will not succeed unless college education gets cheaper or financial assistance is forthcoming adequately. Efforts in the first stage have, in any case, to be directed towards extension of school education including primary, middle and high school levels.

5:5 HOURS OF STUDY

According to the number of hours they spend in the institution of study these 2,323 student members are distributed as follows :

Table 70 : Hours of Study

Class	Hours					Total
	3	4	5	6	More	
Pre-primary ...	42	192	299	54	—	587
Primary ...	14	121	433	279	15	862
Middle ...	8	18	304	196	20	546
Matric ...	9	15	88	122	10	244
Intermediate ...	7	4	19	8	—	38
Graduate ...	7	5	4	4	—	20
Technical & Professional ...	7	3	2	8	6	26
Total ...	94	358	1,149	671	51	2,323

If we assume that the environment of the place of study is better than that of the slum house, clearly the better it is for the student member the more hours he spends in that place. From the above it will be seen that nearly half the student members spend only 5 hours—the normal school time, at these places. Nearly 31% including 294 students of primary classes and 216 of middle schools, spend more than 5 hours. As against this nearly 20% of them spend less time. For these students the time may indeed be taken to be insufficient also from the point of view of imparting proper education. This shorter time is operative on account presumably of multiple shift system which helps to increase the number of students on roll. This may in turn be due to the shortage of appropriate building space for the schools. This is particularly so in the thickly populated slum areas. These difficulties are there but the need of extending educational facilities too is vital, and so when one considers the question of slum clearance in terms of shifting of the people away from their present residences the requirement of school space both in the decongested slum areas and in the new neighbourhoods should be kept in view.

5:6 DISTANCE FROM RESIDENCE

The question of distance is very important for especially the students of pre-primary, primary and middle classes. For these students schools should be as near their homes as possible, otherwise the problem of transport as well as of escort arises which may well deter many of the willing parents in the slums. Among the student members here under consideration the distance varies from nil to over six miles for a few exceptional

cases among them. It is less than 3 miles for 99% of them, within which distance they are distributed as follows :

Table 71 : Distance from Residence to School

(Distance in miles)

Class	Nil	Less than $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1	1 to 2	2-3	3 or more	Total
Pre-primary ...	20	329	165	63	9	1	—	587
Primary ...	29	464	239	100	16	6	8	862
Middle ...	8	185	203	115	27	4	4	546
Matric ...	1	88	73	58	15	6	3	244
Rest ...	5	14	13	16	15	13	8	84
Total ...	63	1,080	693	352	82	30	23	2,323
% of total ...	2.7	46.5	29.8	15.2	3.5	1.3	1.0	100.0

Out of 1,995 members studying in classes lower than matriculation, for 12 the distance is 3 miles or more ; for 23 it is more than 2 miles and for only 75 in all it is more than a mile. For the rest over 96% of them the distance is shorter than a mile. The situation thus is not so bad. But it must be remembered that this is revealed to be the position when we consider only those who have succeeded in getting admission to the schools. There are besides quite a number of children who are reported as not studying on account of lack of school facility in the locality. Here again we have an indication of the inadequacy of educational facilities, in extending which we should keep the question of distance from residence in mind.

5:7 EXPENSES

Educational expenses include, besides tuition fees, cost of books and stationery and of transport. We have

sought to obtain for each student member the total expenditure to be incurred by the family in the current academic year. In addition attempt was made to find out if any financial help, by way of scholarship, free-studentship etc., was received. In this respect the situation is not quite satisfactory for, among the 2,323 student members, only 280, measuring a little more than 10% thereof, are reported to be in receipt of such help. This help, it may be noted, is sufficient to cover all expenses only in case of 31 of them.

Annual expenses to be borne by the family varies obviously according to the class, institution and distance between home and the school. The extent of variation is as large as from nil in case of the above mentioned 31 members to Rs. 600 in case of a student of intermediate class who is the only son (and child) of a telli whose annual income is around Rs. 2,000 a year. Distributing these 2,323 student members according to expenditure ranges the position is revealed to be as follows :

Table 72 : Educational Expenses

Class	Annual expenses (Rs.)								Total
	Nil	Less than 5	5-10	10-20	20-30	30-50	50-100	100 or more	
Pre-primary ...	11	18	94	201	95	75	74	19	587
Primary ...	7	8	68	222	203	217	110	27	862
Middle ...	1	2	10	25	53	128	196	131	546
Matric ...	—	—	3	3	7	13	51	167	244
Inter ...	—	—	—	—	—	1	13	24	38
Graduate ...	—	—	—	—	9	1	2	8	20
Technical & Professional ...	12	—	2	—	—	—	2	10	26
Total ...	31	28	177	451	367	435	448	386	2,323
% ...	1.3	1.2	7.6	19.4	15.8	18.8	19.3	16.6	100.0

Average annual expenditure per student comes to Rs. 30 for both the primary and pre-primary classes, to Rs. 70 in the middle or secondary classes and to Rs. 140 in higher secondary ones. At the college level the average is Rs. 170 for both the intermediate and graduate classes. In case of the few who are receiving technical or professional education it may be noted that quite a large proportion of them are receiving it freely; for the remaining expenses are quite high with 10 of them spending more than Rs. 100 a year. The average for this group comes to Rs. 80. If we ignore these differences between classes and calculate an overall average for the lot of 2,323 student members as a whole we obtain a figure of Rs. 55. Rounding it up, it can be said that on an average a student from the slums has to spend Rs. 5 per month on his education.

Expenditure per family is obviously higher. These 2,323 student members belong to 1,277 families; 31 of them studying freely belong to 27 of these families so that we have 1,250 families who spend a part of their family income on educating their children. This annual family expenditure is revealed to vary from nil for the 27 families referred to above to as high as Rs. 1,060 for a family of 12 with an annual income of nearly Rs. 5,600; this amount is spent on 7 student members—2 of primary, 1 of middle, 2 of matric, 1 of intermediate and 1 of graduate class. There are four more families in whose case the expenses rise up to Rs. 1,000 a month. Adding up the amount of expenditure reported by these 1,250 families we obtain the figure of Rs. 1,28,679. The average annual expenditure on education comes to Rs. 103 per family. Average

per month comes to Rs. 8.58 which measures as much as 9% of the average monthly income of these slum families. That 9% on their level of income must be proving a real burden goes without saying.

5:8 CHILDREN NOT STUDYING

As stated earlier in para 5:3 there are in the sample population 1,445 children of the education-age (6-14 years) who are reported to be not studying at all. With respect to each of them our attempt has been to elicit from the informant the specific reason why they are not getting any education and the specific nature of work, if any, that they are engaged in. The response to this query has not been entirely satisfactory. In case of 351 of these children this information could not be obtained. The informant did not in fact show interest in this question of educating these children; this has been so more in case of girls than of boys.

From the replies received with respect to the 1,094 not studying members the reasons appear to be as follows :

Table 73 : Reasons for Not Studying

Reasons	No. of children	%
1. Can't afford	635	58.0
2. Helping the family in earning livelihood	70	6.4
3. Educational facilities not available in the locality	65	5.9
4. Does not want to study	122	11.2
5. Others	203	18.5
Total	1,094	100.0

It will be seen that proportion of those in whose case it was pleaded that they cannot afford it is quite

large. Those who are not willing to study at all form only a little more than a tenth part. On the whole it is clearly indicated that what prevents them from giving education to their children is their low income status and so we are left to conclude that extension of educational facilities will need to be accompanied by financial help. Education cannot be taken successfully to the slums unless it is heavily subsidised.

With regard to the nature of work these 'not studying' members are engaged in the position is revealed to be as follows :

Table 74 : Nature of Work Done by Not Studying Members

Nature of work	No. of members	%
Nil	685	62.7
Employed	70	6.4
Looking after children	99	9.0
Cooking	45	4.1
Other domestic work	195	17.8
Total	1,094	100.0

The great majority of children have no alternative work to do. Nothing excepting the low incomes of the families they belong to prevents them from receiving education. Their schooling will not only benefit them directly in raising their status but will in all probability rescue them from social vices which the enforced idleness is likely to foster.

In response to the direct question as to whether the parents are willing to educate them, the reply was in the affirmative in case of 660 or over 60% of them. Here

too willingness to educate boys was clearly more marked than in the case of girls. In case of another 34 of them the parents were indifferent, while parents of the remaining 400 were reported to be clearly unwilling to educate them. This proportion is not small and it does appear that educative propaganda too will be needed in order to persuade the parents to utilise the educational facilities as and when they are made available.

5:9 GENERAL ATTITUDE

From the above discussion it appears that the importance of education is not quite generally recognised among the slum dwellers ; many of them do not indeed seem to think about it at all. To ascertain whether this is so because of the lack or absence of proper educational facilities in the slums, a rather leading question was asked ; viz. "Would you like to move to a place where there are better facilities for the education of your children ?"

This question was put before all the 1,741 families, including families with student members as well as those with not-studying members of the education-age group. The reply was in the affirmative in case of 780 or 45% of them, and in the negative for 925 or 53% of them. The remaining 2% of the families did not give any specific answer. Here again we have an indication that mere provision of educational facilities would not be enough ; propaganda aimed at educating the parents themselves about the vital need of educating their children will have to be undertaken simultaneously.

II

5:10 GENERAL HEALTH

At the very outset it may be mentioned that our attempt has not been to have a thorough-going expert health survey. What has been attempted is to get the layman's view of the prevailing conditions. The investigators were trained only in eliciting information from the informants ; they had no medical training. Their job was to enquire about the opinion of the informant (in almost all the cases, the head of the family) concerning how each member of the family was faring ; whether his condition from the point of view of health was considered good, satisfactory or indifferent etc. Further inquiry was made with respect to illnesses suffered by the members of the family in course of the year preceding the date of inquiry. Under the circumstances the data presented below is of strictly limited utility.

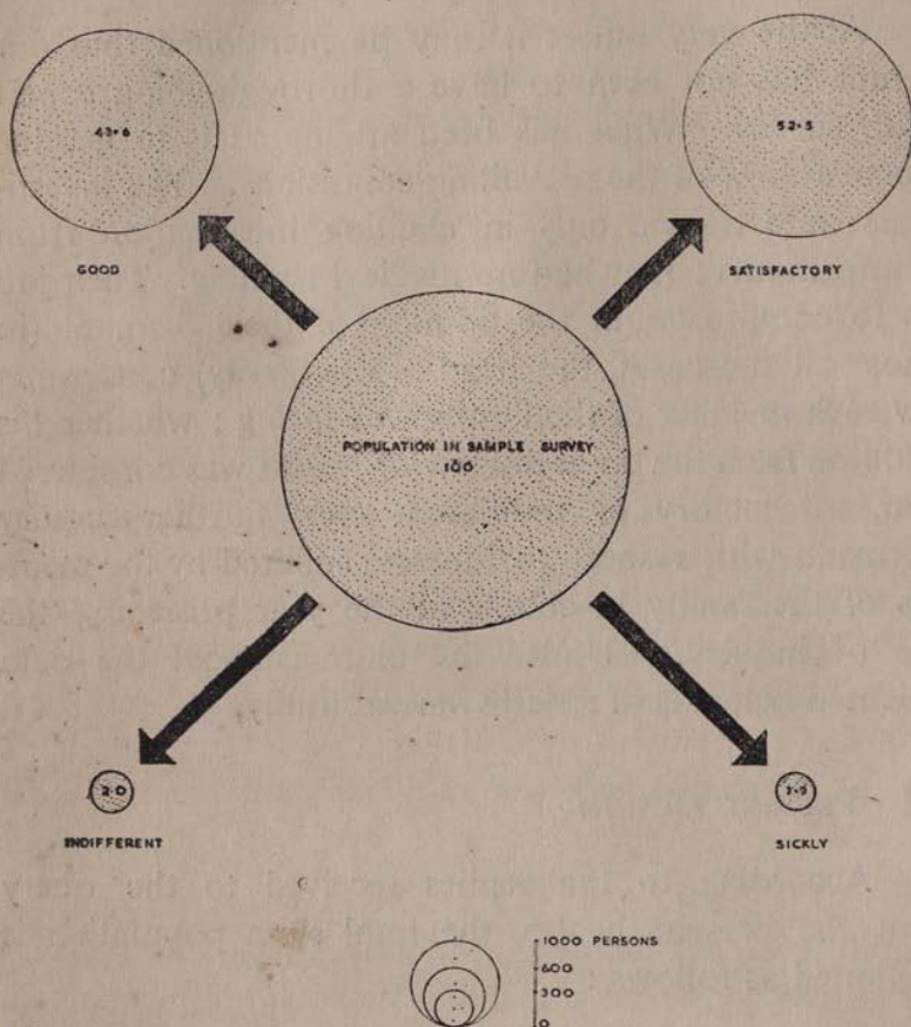
5:11 PRESENT HEALTH

According to the replies received to the query about the present health, the total slum population is distributed as follows :

Table 75 : Present Health Condition

Condition of health			Members	%
Good	...	...	6,578	43.6
Satisfactory	...	...	7,930	52.5
Indifferent	...	...	296	2.0
Sickly	...	...	285	1.9
Total			15,089	100.0

Chart 10
 Percentage Distribution of Sample Population
 according to State of Health



The proportion of persons with indifferent or sickly health is very small. As against this those who claimed to be in good health form quite a bulk and those with satisfactory health—having no specific complaint, constitute a clear majority. What at best can be said from these reported replies is that the slum dwellers have indeed a good opinion of their health. There is no indication here that their slum dwelling is having any adverse

effect on the general health conditions of the slum population. To ascertain this relationship we need, however, a thorough-going health survey conducted under expert medical direction and supervision.

5:12 DISABILITY

Further attempt was made to find out whether any member of the sample population suffered from any physical or mental disability. This information has not been available in case of 275 members ; in case of another group of 72 members 'old age' was reported to be the cause rendering them incapable of participating in work of any kind. 14,560 or 96·5% of the total sample population are reported to be suffering from no disability whatever. And so there remain only 182 members suffering from specific disabilities. The nature of these disabilities is revealed to be as follows :

Table 76 : Nature of Disability

Disability	Members
Blind of one eye	68
Blind	39
Lame	23
Crippled	11
Hard of hearing	14
Deaf and dumb	12
Mental disability	15
Total	182

The 68 members, who are blind of one eye, and 14 others who are hard of hearing cannot be considered entirely incapable of work ; and so we are left with only 100 out of 15,089 (measuring less than 0·7% thereof) in whose case the disability must be taken

to prevent them say from participating in any economically gainful activity and so keep them entirely dependent on their families.

5:13 ILLNESSES

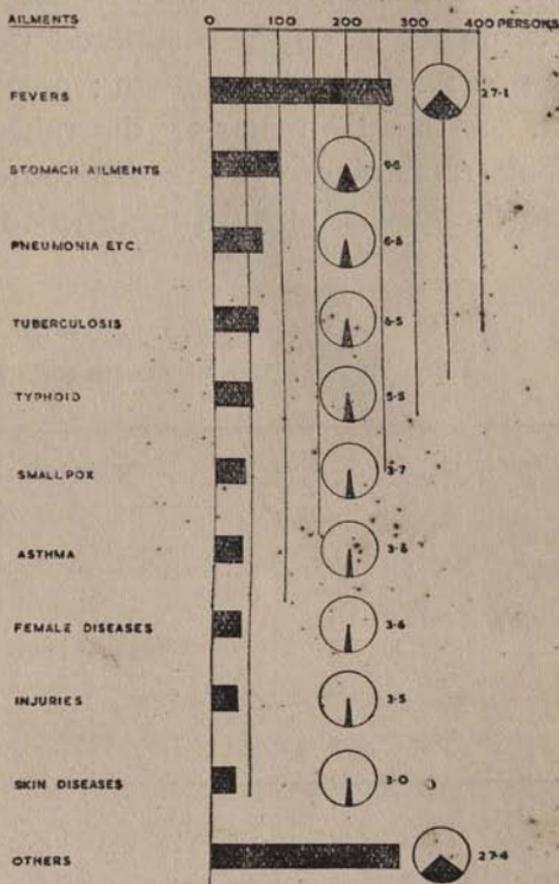
Information sought referred to the illnesses suffered by each member in course of the year preceding the date of enquiry. The replies received indicate that 972 members, about 6.4% of the total sample population, suffered illnesses in course of the preceding year. As for the nature of illnesses the investigators were instructed to record in words the specific disease as reported by the informant. The major diseases reported together with the number of members who suffered from them are given below :

Table 77 : Type of Illnesses

Illness	Members	As % of total population
Fevers (including malaria) ...	262	1.74
Pneumonia, bronchitis etc. ...	65	0.43
T.B. ...	68	0.45
Typhoid ...	53	0.35
Diseases of stomach—gastric troubles, diarrheea, dysentery etc. ...	91	0.60
Small-pox ...	37	0.25
Asthama ...	35	0.23
Skin diseases ...	29	0.22
Female diseases (including those accompanying confinement) ...	35	0.23
Injuries ...	33	0.15
Eye diseases ...	18	0.12
Rheumatism ...	14	0.09
Heart diseases ...	10	0.07
Syphillis ...	9	0.06
Cholera ...	5	0.03
Others ...	208	1.38
Total ...	972	6.44

Chart 11

Percentage Distribution of Patients according to Nature of Ailment



The duration for which these members suffered these illnesses varies among them from less than a week for 38 of them to more than six months for 271 ; in case of several members of the latter group the illnesses have been continuing for more than a year. These latter cases of long durations have been recorded in case of 46 out of the 68 members suffering from T. B. ; of 22 out of the 35 asthma patients, of 34 out of 74 the patients of

stomach troubles and of 33 members suffering from fevers of various kinds.

Of these 972 members, only 31 did not take any medical treatment ; 12 of these suffered from fevers ; 5 from small-pox ; 3 from rheumatism ; and 1 each from pneumonia, asthma, malaria, diarrheea, and skin disease. The remaining 941 are distributed as follows according to the type of medical treatment received.

Table 78 : Nature of Treatment

Treatment			Members	% of total
Allopathy	...	...	792	84.2
Ayurvedic	...	...	65	6.9
Homeopathic	...	...	41	4.4
Yunani	...	...	24	2.5
Nature-cure	...	...	11	1.2
Others	...	...	8	0.8
Total			941	100.0

It will be seen that by and large people prefer allopathic treatment. Next in importance is Ayurvedic but it is far behind the former, with only 7% of these members having used it. Homeopathy and Yunani types too have been used but by still smaller fractions of the patients. It may be mentioned that others representing 0.8% of the patients are all those who took medicine at home without going to any medical practitioner. The agencies which provided treatment to these people are as follows :

Table 79 : Agencies Providing Treatment

Agency	No. of patients treated	%
Govt. or municipal hospital or clinic ...	107	11.4
Govt. or municipal dispensary ...	161	17.2
Charitable hospital or clinic ...	23	2.4
Charitable dispensary etc. ...	37	3.9
Private hospitals or clinics ...	64	6.8
Private dispensaries ...	549	58.3
Total ...	941	100.0

Over 20% of the patients were treated in hospitals or clinics and 80% in dispensaries. More than 65% of the patients had to go to private practitioners. Charitable institutions and the Government ones served only 6.3% and 28.6% respectively. The comparatively small proportion of those who received treatment in the dispensaries and hospitals provided by Government indicates the gross inadequacy of the public health service on the curative side.

Finally, we must refer to the cost that these people have had to incur in obtaining this treatment. The replies received clearly show that some expenses have to be incurred irrespective of whether the patient is treated by a government or municipal agency or by a charitable one or by a private practitioner. Of these 941 patients who obtained treatment from the agencies noted above, only 114 reported having incurred no expenses. This agency was Government dispensary or hospital in case of 64 of them, charitable institutions in case of 19 of them and privately-run dispensaries and clinics in case of the remaining 31. At the other end we have got 116 of these patients whose expenses have

gone beyond Rs. 250 ; 36 of them had to spend these amounts while under treatment of a government agency and 3 other patients, of charitable institutions.*

This expenditure evidently places a burden on the family. These 827 persons in whose case expenditure had to be incurred belong to 703 of the 3,135 sample families. Annual expenditure incurred by these families varies among them from less than Rs. 5 in case of 15 of them to as large an amount as Rs. 2,800 in one case. There are as many as 14 families who gave their medical expenses of the preceding year to be Rs. 1,000 or more. Adding up the individual expenditures we get a total of Rs. 1,03,371 which gives an average of Rs. 147 per family per year or Rs. 12.25 per month.†

The above data though not quite sufficient for an expert and specific conclusion is indicative of the great un-met need of extending, improving and cheapening the medical facilities in the slum areas.

* There are in fact 11 among these 941 patients who are reported to have spent Rs. 1,000 or more. 5 of them are patients of T.B., 2 of Typhoid, 1 of Diabetes, 1 of Rheumatism, 1 of Gastric trouble and 1 of Mental disease. Two of them have been indoor patients in hospitals and 9 have been receiving treatment from private practitioners, all allopathic.

†If the eleven persons in whose case expenditure was larger than Rs. 1,000 (see footnote above) are excluded from consideration the average per family works out at Rs. 126 or Rs. 10.05 per month.

VI

Housing

6:1 ASPECTS EXAMINED

The unhealthy character of their housing is what distinguishes the slum-dwellers from the rest of the city's population and so it has not been considered necessary to further inquire into the physical condition of the slum dwellings inhabited by the sample families. Inquiry has been directed here to obtaining other pertinent facts such as the duration of stay of the families in these slum dwellings, the accommodation available therein, their ownership and rent. Additionally attempt has been made to examine the attitude of these families (as expressed by the heads) towards the said unhealthy conditions in which they are living. In this latter connection we have sought to ascertain whether they are aware of these facts and whether they would like to move out to other more decent places.

6:2 DURATION OF STAY

There are many among the sample families who claimed that their present dwellings were in fact their ancestral homes in which their families have been living for generations. In some cases the period therefore extends to more than 100 years. As against this there are several other families who moved into their present abodes recently, the period in their case being shorter than 3 months. Breaking up this long period into

smaller ranges we get the distribution of these families as shown below :

Table 80 : Duration of Stay in Present Premises

Duration in years		No. of families							
		Zone I		Zone II		Zone III		All	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than $\frac{1}{4}$	...	6	0.7	9	0.6	4	0.5	19	0.6
$\frac{1}{4}$ to 1	...	24	2.8	30	1.9	39	5.3	93	3.0
1 to 2	...	13	1.5	45	2.9	37	5.1	95	3.0
2 to 5	...	67	7.8	116	7.5	109	14.9	292	9.3
5 to 10	...	315	36.6	628	40.8	445	60.8	388	44.3
10 to 15	...	99	11.5	241	15.6	48	6.6	388	12.4
15 or more	...	336	39.1	474	30.7	50	6.8	860	27.4
Total	...	860	100.0	1,543	100.0	732	100.0	3,135	100.0

It will be seen that the proportion of families who have recently found shelter in the slums is quite small. The duration of stay is less than a year for 5.8% of the families in zone III as against 3.6 and 3.5 per cent respectively for zone I and II. The duration is longer than 5 years for 87% of the families in both the I and II zones but 74% in the III. If we take the longer duration of 15 years or more it will be seen that the proportion is largest at 39.1% for the I and the smallest for the III at 6.8%, while for zone II it falls in-between but very much nearer to that of zone I. The pattern of distribution of the families in these ranges of duration is broadly the same for the first two zones in whose case concentration at the highest of these ranges is well-marked ; that for the zone III differs from the above in that the concentration is only on the middle range

of 5-10 years. This has been so because historically speaking zone III has been the latest to be populated. In any case nearly 40% of the sample families have been staying in these slums for a decade or more.

6:3 OWNERSHIP

A slum dweller owning the hovel he is living in is quite a rare person. There are only a few cases where both the tenement and the land it is built on, are owned by the occupier ; there are several others who have built the tenements themselves on land belonging to some other parties in which case they own only the tenements and pay rent for the land. There are also cases where land belongs to one party and the tenement to some other party and the dwellers pay rent to both. From the dweller's point of view there are three distinct positions with respect to ownership of the dwellings : (i) he owns both the land and the tenement, (ii) he owns only the tenement and not the land, and (iii) he does not own either. The 3,135 families in the three zones are distributed in this respect as follows :

Table 81 : Ownership

Ownership	No. of families in zone							
	I		II		III		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Both land and tenement	6	0.7	49	3.2	18	2.5	73	2.3
Only the tenement ...	176	20.5	280	18.1	594	81.1	1,050	33.5
Nil ...	678	78.8	1,214	78.7	120	16.4	2,012	64.2
Total ...	860	100.0	1,543	100.0	732	100.0	3,135	100.0

Full owners constitute a very small proportion, of 2.3% but the partial owners (of the tenement only) are a little more than a third of the total, the remaining over 64% enjoying with respect to their dwellings no right of ownership at all.

It will be seen that in this respect the position of third zone is markedly different from the other two; here, while the proportion of full owners is not significantly higher than that of the other two zones, the partial owners are much more predominant constituting 81.1% of the zonal total as against the corresponding figures of 20.5 and 18.1% for the first and second zone respectively. This is explained by the fact that the so-called basti-dwellers predominate the slum population in the third zone while in the other two they constitute much smaller proportion. So far as the first and second zones are concerned the position is broadly similar excepting for the fact that the full owners account for somewhat larger proportion in zone II. But it is clear also that the proportion of the partial owners is correspondingly larger in zone I so that proportion of non-owners is practically the same for both the zones.

6:4 RENT

From the table given in the preceding para it will be seen that among the 3,135 families 73 fully own the houses they live in and 1,050 own the tenements but not the land. For the latter as also the remaining 2,012, owning neither the land nor the tenement, the question of rent arises. We have collected from these 3,062 families information about the amounts of monthly rent they are presently paying. This information reveals that

as many as 874 (or nearly 28%) of them do not pay any rent at all. The families paying no rent constitute as large a proportion as 65% of the total number of families in zone III; in the I and II zones their proportions are 18 and 20 per cent respectively.

Among the remaining—rent-paying, 2,188 families the amount of monthly rent varies from less than a rupee in case of 99 families to Rs. 83 at the highest in case of a family of two members with a monthly income of Rs. 500. Distributing them in smaller ranges of rent we get the following position :

Table 82 : Present Rent

Rent range (Rs.)	Families							
	Zone I		Zone II		Zone III		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 1	63	9.0	33	2.7	3	1.2	99	4.5
1—2.50	62	8.8	203	16.5	114	44.4	379	17.3
2.50—5	270	38.5	438	35.6	57	22.1	765	35.0
5—7.50	131	18.7	288	23.5	32	12.4	451	20.6
7.50—10	69	9.9	90	7.3	13	5.1	172	7.9
10—15	69	9.9	113	9.1	23	8.9	205	9.4
15—20	17	2.4	44	3.6	10	3.9	71	3.3
20—25	10	1.4	10	0.8	3	1.2	23	1.0
25 or more	10	1.4	11	0.9	2	0.8	23	1.0
Total	701	100.0	1,230	100.0	257	100.0	2,188	100.0

Majority of the rent-paying families pay less than Rs. 5 per month as rent. The proportion of such families is in fact larger in the third zone than in the other two; here the amount is less than Rs. 10 for over 85% and less than Rs. 20 for nearly 98% of the total number of rent-paying families.

Average monthly rent per family for this whole lot of 2,190 families comes to Rs. 5.50. Calculated separately for the zones it comes to Rs. 5.80 for the first, to Rs. 5.60 for the second and to Rs. 4.60 for the third zone. It may be added that average monthly rent measures 5% of the average monthly family income for the group of the rent-paying families as a whole; the corresponding percentages for the zones are 5.4 for I, 5.0 for the II and 4.3 for the III. Here again we get the impression that living accommodation is comparatively speaking cheaper and the burden it places on the family income too is lighter in the third zone. But it must be remembered that the predominant dwelling in this zone is the *kucha* hut in *bastis* and not a *pucca* built tenement of *katras* and houses which preponderate in the first two zones. As for the over all position the amount of Rs. 5.5 constituting a share of 5% in the family income, cannot be viewed as excessive. That this level is in fact very much lower than the rent levels in the other parts of the city can easily be taken for granted.

6.5 ACCOMMODATION

Inadequacy of accommodation in the slums is common knowledge as it is in fact one of their characteristic features. Even so, information on the subject has been sought from the sample families in order to ascertain more accurately the extent of inadequacy as also to note variations among them in this matter. The specific queries made in this connection referred to the number of living rooms and their total area. In practice it has however not been possible to make any fine distinction between the living and non-living rooms. The total accommodation available to a slum family is

limited both in area and in the number of rooms and does not therefore leave any scope for separation, say of the kitchen and beds. The accommodation reported in response to the query about living rooms is in almost all cases the only accommodation available to these families.

It has not been possible to get the above information from 24 families, 14 of whom are single-member families. The total number of living rooms in the dwellings of the remaining 3,111 sample families comes to only 3,791 giving an average of 1.2 rooms per family. The distribution of these families according to the number of living rooms reveals that only 6 or 0.2% of them have more than 4 rooms each; 47.6 or over 15% have two rooms each; those having one room each predominate to the extent of measuring over 82% of the total.

Relating this distribution to the size of the family, which may be taken to indicate the need of living space, we obtain the following results.

Table 83 : Living Room Accommodation

Size of family (No. of persons)	No. of rooms								Total
	1		2		3		4 or more		No.
	No.*	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
I 1	289	94.6	13	4.2	2	0.6	2	0.6	306
II 2—5	1,446	87.6	185	11.2	14	0.8	7	0.4	1,652
III 6 or more	817	70.8	278	24.1	41	3.6	17	1.5	1,153
Total	2,552	82.0	476	15.3	57	1.8	26	0.9	3,111

* No. of families

If we leave out the single member families and consider only the families of larger size it appears that in all over 90% of them face the problem of accommodation. Among those consisting of more than five members the proportion is indeed higher.

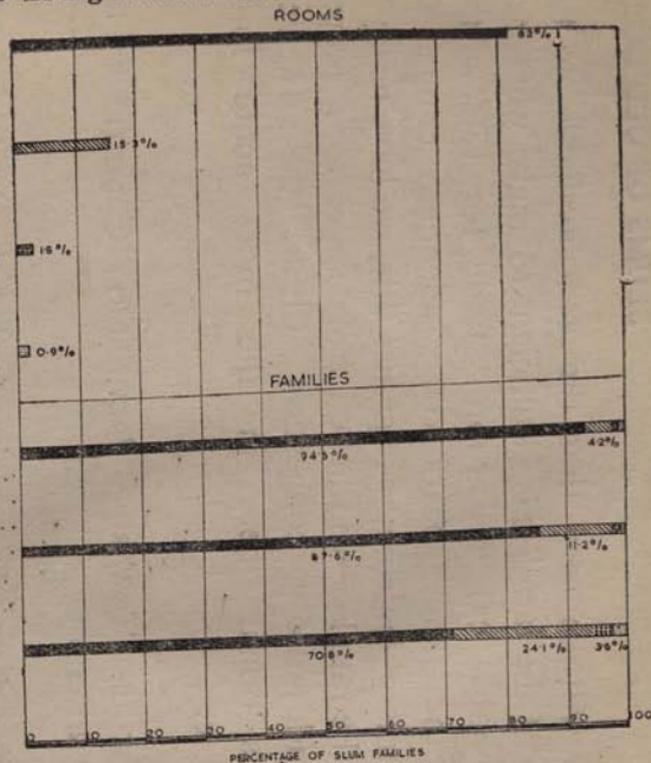
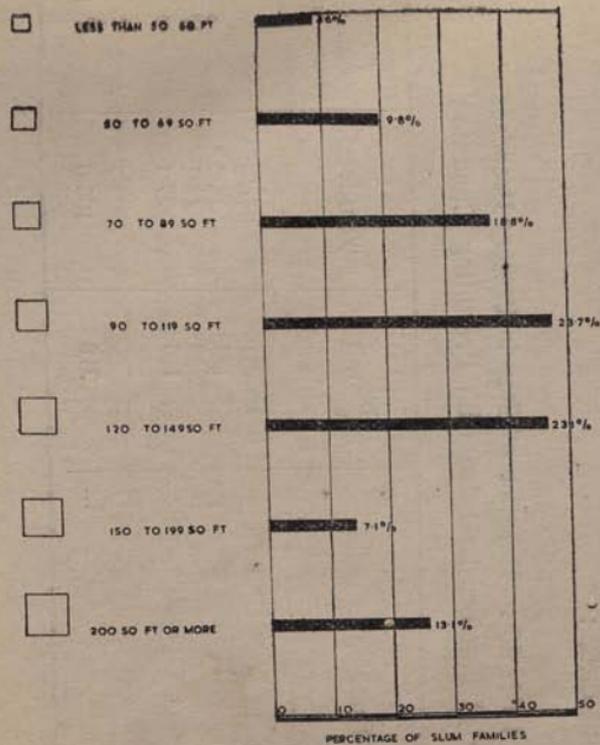
Consideration further of the area of living space makes the situation appear even worse. Adding up the differing areas of the 3,791 living rooms we obtain an 'estimated' aggregate of 3.90 lakh sq. feet, which produces a little more than 100 sq. feet as the average area per room. Average living space per family comes to about 125 sq. feet which means that in the final analysis we get a small figure of 25 sq. feet as the average per person. This small figure adequately sums up the prevailing situation of gross inadequacy of living space in the slum areas. Yet we may add that though the want of space is the most common feature of the sample population there are marked differences in the area of living space from family to family. The variation extends from less than 30 sq. feet to over 500 within which these 3,111 families, for which the figures are available, are distributed as follows :

Table 84 : Area of Available Living Space

Area in sq. feet		Families	% of total
Less than 50	...	144	4.6
50—70	...	304	9.8
70—90	...	581	18.8
90—120	...	738	23.7
120—150	...	720	23.7
150—200	...	220	7.1
200 or more	...	404	13.0
Total	...	3,111	100.0

Chart 12

Percentage Distribution of Families According to Living Accommodation



LEGEND

- ☐ FAMILIES LIVING IN 1 ROOM
- ☐ FAMILIES LIVING IN 2 ROOMS
- ☐ FAMILIES LIVING IN 3 ROOMS
- ☐ FAMILIES LIVING IN 4 ROOMS OR MORE

It will be seen that the area available to the majority of the families is insufficient to make what may be reasonably called a room. Only for 13% of the families the area appears to be adequate enough to provide tolerable living; as against this, we have nearly a third of the families who have hardly space for a proper bed. Undoubtedly congestion within the dwelling tenements obtains here in the most acute form conceivable.

6:6 ATTITUDE TOWARDS PREVAILING CONDITIONS OF INSANITATION

With a view to ascertain whether the dwellers were aware of the insanitary conditions prevailing around them a direct question was asked as to whether they were satisfied with the sanitation of the locality, and if not, to state reasons for their dissatisfaction. 2,817 or nearly 90% of the sample households stated that they were not satisfied with these conditions. Among those who responded in the affirmative members with longer duration of stay in the locality preponderate as the following figures indicate :

Table 85 : Duration of Stay in Present Premises of Families Satisfied with Prevailing Condition

Duration	No. of families	% of total	% of the families with same duration
Less than 5 years	31	9.8	6.2
5—10 years	121	38.0	8.7
10—15 years	48	15.1	12.4
15 or more years	118	37.1	13.8
Total	318	100.0	10.1

Response to the query about the reason of dissatisfaction could not be obtained from 54 of the 2,817 dissatisfied families. In many cases several reasons were put forth and it was found necessary to ascertain which among the several they considered to be the main or the most important reason. According to these reasons these 2,763 families are distributed as follows :

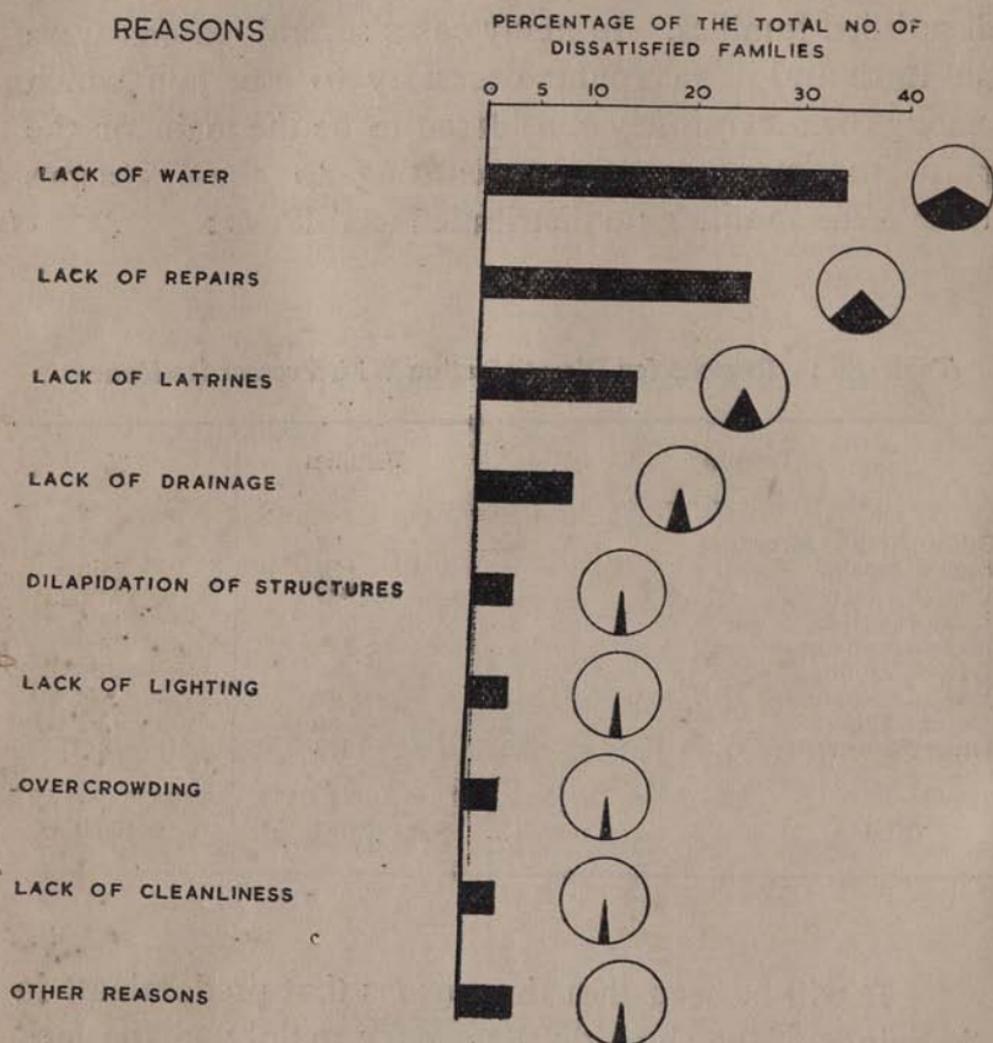
Table 86 : Reasons for Dissatisfaction With Present Residences

Reason	Families	%
Dilapidation of structures ...	98	3.5
Lack of repairs ...	688	25.0
Lack of water ...	943	34.1
Lack of latrines ...	404	14.6
Lack of drainage ...	247	8.9
Lack of lighting ...	97	3.5
Lack of cleanliness ...	77	2.8
Overcrowding ...	86	3.1
Other reasons ...	123	4.5
Total ...	2,763	100.0

It will be seen that the reasons that predominate in the minds of the slum dwellers refer mainly to the lack of amenities like water, electricity, latrines etc.; 64% of the sample families considered this to be the principal cause of prevailing insanitation. The deplorable state of structures is felt strongly by about 28% but it is notable that most of them have found fault with lack of repairs and not dilapidation which might suggest the remedy of demolition. Overcrowding which obtains in an acute form is considered as the principal reason only by 3% of these families.

Chart 13

Distribution of Dissatisfied Families according to Reasons



6:7 ATTITUDE TO DECONGESTION MEASURES

Since the fact of overcrowding indicated redistribution of population to be almost an imperative necessity, the question was pursued further and a specific query was included in the schedule on the subject. The question asked was, "Do you think shifting a portion of the people from this place to some other areas will improve the situation?" The replies received were in the affirmative in case of 68% of the sample families.

In case of the remaining 994 or 32% of the families who held that shifting will not improve the situation additional information was sought regarding specific alternative suggestions they would like to make for improving sanitation. These suggestions have been offered by 791 or 80% of these families; 172 offered only one suggestion each but many among the others made more than two suggestions.

On the basis of the first two suggestions made, the proportion of families making each one of the specific suggestions may be indicated as follows :

Table 87 : Suggestions for Improvement

Suggestions	% of the total number of families (791) making suggestions
Provision of water	52
Provision of lighting	40
Repair of structures	36
Reconstruction of structures	18
Provision of latrines, urinals	26
Provision of scavenger service	6
Educating people in sanitary habits	0.4

Here again we see that the demand for amenities is more commonly voiced than that for repairs and reconstruction of structures ; and that the proportion of families desiring repairs is significantly larger than of those desiring reconstruction of structures. It is notable also that the need of educating people in sanitary habits is expressed only by a small fraction of these families.

5:8 WILLINGNESS TO SHIFT

In case of the 2,141 families holding that shifting will improve the situation the matter was pursued further

by asking a direct question as to whether they themselves would like to move to new places. The reply was in the affirmative in case of 1,627 families, accounting for 76% of these families and for 52% of the total number of sample families.

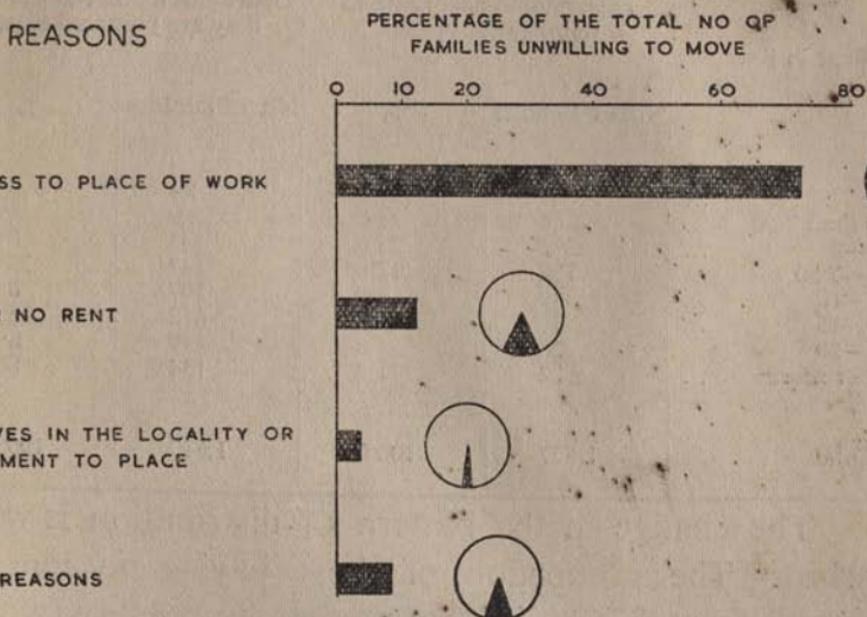
The remaining 514 families expressing unwillingness to move from the slums were further questioned as to the specific difficulties in the way of their doing so. 40 of them failed to specify their difficulty, 76 families contended that there were more than one difficulty in their way. Considering the first or the main difficulty mentioned by these 76 families and one difficulty indicated by the remaining 398 families we get their distribution according to the difficulties as follows :

Table 88 : Difficulties in Moving Out

Difficulty	Families	%
Nearness to the place of work ...	737	72.5
Lower or no rent ...	70	14.6
Relatives in the locality or attachment to the place ...	16	3.4
Others ...	45	9.5

These figures serve to indicate that the major force that ties the dwellers to the slums is by nature an economic one as indicated here by the 'nearness to place of work' difficulty advanced by nearly three-fourths of the families unwilling to move out.

Chart 14
Families by Difficulties in Shifting



6:9 RENT FOR NEW DWELLING

We have here 1,627 families who are willing to move to new dwellings in non-slum areas. 1,020 of them are presently paying some rent while the remaining 607 are not paying any rent. All of these families were further questioned as to whether they are willing to pay higher rents for their new dwellings. Replies to this question indicate that 941 or 92% of the rent-paying families were willing to pay higher rent and 513 or 85% of those who are not paying any rent now are found willing to pay some rent. Attempt was also made to get from each of these families the maximum amount of rent they were prepared to pay in the new area. Their distribution according to the amounts they are prepared to pay compares with the one according to amounts they are paying now as follows :

Table 89 : Present and Prospective Rents

Rent in Rs.	Distribution according to rent paid at present		Distribution according to rent they are prepared to pay	
	No. of families	%	No. of families	%
Nil ...	607	37.3	94	5.8
Less than 2.50 ...	244	15.0	59	3.6
2.50—5 ...	374	23.0	135	8.3
5—7.50 ...	196	12.0	547	33.6
7.50—10 ...	80	4.9	107	6.6
10—15 ...	78	4.8	412	25.3
15—20 ...	26	1.6	139	8.5
20 or more ...	22	1.4	134	8.3
Total ...	1,627	100.0	1,627	100.0

The change in the pattern of distribution is well-marked. The proportion of those paying no rent is reduced from 37.3% in the present to 5.8 in say, the 'prospective' pattern. Those paying less than Rs. 5 constitute over 75% in the former but only about 18% in the latter pattern in which we have over 42% of the families who are prepared to pay Rs. 10 or more.

For further appraisal of the comparative position consider table 90, on the next page, giving the break-up of relevant figures by zones :

Among the zones the proportion in the sample families of those willing to move out is the highest in zone III at 67% as against 48 and 46 per cent respectively in the I and II zones. If we consider the groups of rent-paying and not-paying families in these zones separately, the proportion is the highest at 77% for the not-paying group of zone III. The proportion of those willing to pay higher rents in the respective totals for the families willing to move varies from 74% for the not-paying group in zone I to 95% for the rent-paying group of zone III.

Table 90 : Zonal Distribution of Families Willing to Shift and Pay Higher Rents

	I			II			III			ALL		
	A	B	Both	A	B	Both	A	B	Both	A	B	Both
1. Total No. of sample families	701	159	860	1,232	311	1,543	257	475	732	2,190	945	3,135
2. Families willing to move	329	88	417	566	151	717	125	368	493	1,020	607	1,627
3. -do- as % of 1	47	55	48	46	48	46	49	77	67	47	64	52
4. Families willing to pay higher rents	307	65	372	515	137	652	119	311	430	941	513	1,454
5. -do- as % of 2	93	74	89	91	91	91	95	95	87	92	86	89
6. Families willing to pay the same rent	22	23	45	51	14	65	6	57	63	79	94	173
7. -do- as % of 2	7	26	11	9	9	9	59	15	13	8	15	11
8. Aggregate amount of present rents (Rs.)	1,886	—	1,186	2,903	—	2,903	611	—	611	5,400	—	5,400
9. Average of present rents per family	5.7	—	4.5	5.1	—	4.0	4.9	—	1.2	5.3	—	3.3
10. Aggregate amount of rents they are willing to pay (Rs.)	3,304	488	3,752	5,990	1,034	7,024	1,186	2,212	3,398	10,480	3,698	14,174
11. Average of 'prospective' rents per family	10.0	6.9(5.1)*	9.0	10.6	7.5(6.8)*	9.8	9.4	7.1(6.0)*	10.3	10.3	7.2(6.1)*	8.7

('A' stands for families paying some rent presently and 'B' for those not paying any rent).

*Average for all families willing to move out included in Col. 2.

It will be seen further that the average amount of "prospective" rent per family is over five and half times the average amount of present rent in zone III when calculated for the whole lot of families willing to move. This is because the 'not-paying' group preponderates in this zone and their inclusion lowers the average of present rents from Rs. 4.9 to Rs. 1.2.

If we consider the overall position it appears that the rent-paying families are on the average prepared to pay Rs. 5 more as rent while those who are not paying any rent presently are willing to pay on the average Rs. 6. Taking both the groups together the average of prospective rents measures more than two and a half times the average of present rents.

VII

Summary and Conclusions

I

7:1 EXCESS POPULATION

The rapid growth of population, especially within the past period of over twenty five years has turned Old Delhi into an extremely congested city. Congestion, both of houses on land and of people within houses, obtains here in the most acute form. In the prevailing situation, as much as about two-third of its present population of over 10·5 lakhs may be deemed to constitute "excess population."

7:2 SLUM POPULATION

Slum conditions prevail in all parts of the city. Their extent is much more conspicuous in the four extra-mural wards (from XII to XV) of the Delhi Municipality. A detailed screening of Old Delhi has shown that there are scattered over its 20 wards as many as 1,787 slum units—61 *bastis* and 1,726 *katras* (including 727 large houses), which are considered to be unfit for human habitation on account of congestion, dilapidation, lack of amenities, unsuitable location etc. They are inhabited by 48,500 families or over 2,25,000 persons; 47·5% of them live in the *bastis* and 52·5% in the *katras*.

7:3 THE SLUMS

(a) Ownership of the slum structures and land is divided almost equally between private interests and public agencies. The Custodian of Evacuee Property is the largest single holder among *katras* owners and the Delhi Improvement Trust occupies this position, to a much greater degree, with respect to *basti* lands.

(b) In the aggregate the slum *katras* cover nearly 162 acres of land area within the densely inhabited parts of the city and the *bastis* occupy about 385 acres of undeveloped and largely undevelopable land in the outer, more open parts.

(c) More than nine-tenths of the *katras* have long outlived their normal span of life. Half of them need reconstruction and the other half are in need of major repairs. In the *bastis* most dwellings are improvised *kucha* huts which are subject to an almost continual process of patching-up and replacement; they cannot be considered to possess any life expectancy whatever.

(d) 60% of the *katras* lack ventilation entirely and for another almost 30% the provision is insufficient. *Basti* huts do not generally possess any device for ventilation.

(e) Over 20% of the *katras* have no facility for drainage and another about 45% have inadequate drains. Where they do exist, the drains suffer from neglect and prove, in fact, to be a source of insanitation. In the *bastis* the proportion of those with no drains, and of those with inadequate drains, comes to 31 and 62 per cent respectively.

(f) The basic amenities of water supply, latrines and electricity are throughout grossly inadequate. This lack, it may be added, is more acute in the *bastis*.

(g) The situation is additionally aggravated by the presence of obnoxious trades which are carried on by some slum families in their dwellings, and by the practice of keeping milch cattle and other animals within the slums. It is estimated that roughly about half the slum population is presently putting up with these nuisances.

7:4 SLUM FAMILIES

(a) According to the sample survey, three-fourths of the slum families are in-migrant families; *i.e.* they are headed by persons who do not, by birth, belong to Delhi. More than two-fifths of these in-migrant families are headed by displaced persons from West Pakistan. Half of the remaining 60% (*i.e.* the non-refugee in-migrant families) have come to Delhi from Uttar Pradesh; 30% from Rajasthan and 14% from Punjab. According to place of origin, 45% of all the in-migrant families, including the bulk of refugees, came from urban areas and 55% from rural areas.

(b) By religion nearly 89% of all the slum families are Hindus; about 4% Muslims and a little less than 7% are Sikhs. Among the Hindus we have persons belonging to almost all the major castes, both high and low, including *khattris*, *aroras*, *brahmins*, *baniyas*, scheduled castes and backward classes.

(c) The language spoken in their homes (or the mother tongue of the head of family) is Hindi or Hindustani for 70% of slum families; and Punjabi,

Urdu and Sindhi for 23%, 4% and 1% of them respectively.

(d) 10% of all slum families are 'small' or 'unimember' families; 53% are of medium size (from 2 to 5 members each) and 37% are large families (each having 6 or more members). An average family in the sample consists of 5 members; in the slums of intra-mural Delhi it is, however, a little larger and in the recently developed zone consisting of wards 16 to 20, it is a little smaller. The members are, by and large, connected with the head by close family ties, the bulk of the families being 'nuclear' in composition.

7:5 SLUM DWELLERS

(a) The pattern of age and sex distribution of the 15,089 members of the sample families, as compared to that of the city as a whole (derived from the 1951 census) reveals that in the slum population (i) the proportion of females is larger; 46% as against 42%; (ii) children of both sexes account for 25% as against 22%; and (iii) the working-age male group (15-54 years) measures only 28% as against 31%.

(b) The overall literacy percentage for the slum population is 32 as compared to 33 shown by the 1951 census for the whole city. If adults and old persons only (*i.e.* all persons of 15 or more) are considered the proportion of literates comes to 37% for the slums but 45% for the whole city. The literates among males constitute almost the same proportion in the slums as in the city as a whole but among women they measure only 20% in the slums as against 36% in the city.

(c) About 30% of the slum dwellers profess to have received a formal education; 0.4% are graduates, 3.10% are matriculates, 5.7% have passed middle school, 12% have completed primary classes and 9% left before completing even primary classes. It may also be noted that about 11% of the sample population (*i.e.* 38% of the literates) are reported to have received technical training for specific crafts and professions. Formal training, however, appears to have been received by a fraction of them, *i.e.* not more than 4.6% of all the trained persons; four persons are degree holders and 74 others hold certificates and diplomas. The rest are trained either through apprenticeship or early in pursuit of hereditary occupations.

(d) 71% of the members of the sample families are dependents *i.e.* they receive no income whatever and depend entirely on their families for livelihood; they constitute 50% among males and 96% among females. Over 2% are earning dependents, who earn but not quite enough and so have to depend to an extent on the family. The remaining 27% are self-supporting members whose incomes are at least sufficient for their own maintenance. Together the latter two groups constitute 29% of the total sample population as against the corresponding figure of 34% indicated by the 1951 census for the city as a whole.

7:6 EMPLOYMENT

(a) 4,416 or 29.3% of the sample population are in employment. 84% of the employed members belong to the working age male group; 7.6% are old men of 55

or more; and 1.5% are boys below 15 years. The remaining 6.9% are females. To these employed members, 181 other members who are unemployed (*i.e.* who are actively seeking a job) should be added; we find thus that in all 30.5% of the sample population constitute what may be called "the readily available labour force."

(b) By occupation, 11.6% of the employed members are unskilled workers, *viz.* beldars, construction workers, stone-breakers etc., and 38.5% are skilled workers including skilled labour working in large and small industries, craftsmen and artisans; together these two categories of workers account for half the employed persons. The shares claimed by other spheres of economic activity are: trade 20.0%; transport 7.6%; service 11.0%; domestic and personal work 8.8%; and miscellaneous 2.5%. It is however inescapable that whatever activity they perform the slum dwellers are plying their labour in petty trades, petty crafts and petty arts; petty is the word that uniformly qualifies all occupations followed in the slums.

(c) 48.4% of the employed slum dwellers are employees; 44.2% are independent workers operating on their own account and 6% are unpaid family workers, helping in running family enterprises, mostly hereditary arts and crafts. Only 1.4% are employers.

(d) About 12% of the employed members are working in the public sector: 6.6% are employees of the Central Govt.; 2.0% of the local administration (the former Delhi State); and 3.3% of Municipal and other local bodies. The remaining 88% are operating in the

private sector, mainly as individual proprietors or their employees.

(e) Employment for 94% of the employed members is regular. The remaining 6% are casually employed persons; the employment in their case is discontinuous or intermittent and they have, in practice, to move from place to place in search of work. On the basis of the actual work they could obtain in the course of the preceding year, it is estimated that these casual workers are under-employed to the extent of nearly 40% of the normal working time.

(f) 70% of the employed members indicated that they have been working at their respective jobs for more than 5 years. For 80% this duration is longer than three years. On the whole the duration of their present employment has been long enough to infuse among the bulk of the employed members a feeling of being at home with their respective jobs. In fact more than 90% regard their jobs as secure, and almost the same proportion expressed in reply to a specific query that they were satisfied with their present jobs.

(g) Over 10% of the employed members work in their own dwellings. For 97% the workspot lies within 5 miles of their residences; for 90% within 3 miles, for 91% within 2 miles; and for 67% within a mile. Only about 20% use means of transport other than their own feet; among these means the cycle predominates. On the whole it is amply substantiated that nearness to the work place is one of the most important factors forcing them to live, where they are living today, in the slums.

7:7 INCOME

(a) Without exception income accrues to the slum dweller through employment; there are for them no sources of unearned income of any kind. 4,150 or 94% of the employed members are recipients of income from work; 6% of the employed members are unpaid family workers. Individual earnings range from less than Rs. 25 to less than Rs. 300 per month; there are however a few exceptions in whose case the higher level is surpassed; five are earning more than Rs. 500 per month. 97% of the employed members earn monthly below Rs. 200; 92% below 150; 87% below Rs. 125; 77% below Rs. 100; 53% below Rs. 75; 24% below Rs. 50; and 6% below Rs. 25. Overall average monthly earnings per employed person comes to Rs. 75 for those in regular employment, to Rs. 42 for casual workers and to Rs. 73 for the aggregate of both.

(b) The actual amount of earnings they take home is however smaller because of the expenditure some 60% incur at the work-spot and because of the cost of transport incurred by over 21%. The rate of the former comes to Rs. 7 and of the latter to Rs. 4 per person incurring the respective expenditure. In the result the overall average earnings before reaching the slum home get reduced by Rs. 5 to Rs. 68.

(c) The family income is the total amount brought in by the employed members as take-home pay described in para 7:7 (b) above. 67% of the sample families have only one employed member each; 22% have two each; 6% have 3 each; 2% have 4 each; less than 1% have 5 to 6 members and the remaining

more than 2% have no employed member at all. The average number of employed members per family comes to 1.41 persons and the average income per family comes, therefore, to Rs. 96.4 per month. The average size of the family being 4.81 *per capita* monthly income for the slum population comes to Rs. 20 only. This figure is estimated to be half the present *per capita* monthly income for the population of the city as a whole and falls short of the sum required to live on the working class standard by about 17%.

(d) The actual distribution of family income is quite uneven. Monthly family income ranges from less than Rs. 25 for 4.2% of the sample families to more than Rs. 200 for 8.6% of them. Over 91% have to carry on with less than Rs. 200 per month; 81%, with less than Rs. 150; 75%, with less than Rs. 125; 60%, with less than Rs. 100; 36%, with less than Rs. 75; and 13%, with less than Rs. 50. Relating family size with family income it is estimated that for more than 70% of the slum dwellers economic poverty is even more intense than for the industrial working class.

7:6 HEALTH

(a) The survey leaves us with the impression that slum dwellers are not quite 'health conscious'; in their opinion (as elicited from the heads of the families) 44% of the slum dwellers enjoy good health; 52% are in satisfactory condition and only in case of 4% health is either indifferent or sickly.

(b) Only 182 or 1.2% of the sample population report to be suffering from physical disability of some kind. This disability prevents from participating in

gainful economic activity only 100 persons who suffer from blindness, mental disability, dumbness, etc.

(c) With regard to illnesses, it was reported that 972 or 6.4% of the sample population suffered illnesses of various kinds in the course of the previous year. 941 received treatment from private practitioners ; 6% from charitable institutions and only 29% from Government or Municipal dispensaries and hospitals. Only 114 received the treatment freely, the remaining 827 patients belonging to 703 families had to incur expenditure averaging Rs. 147 per family. This amounts to a burden of Rs. 12 on their monthly income.

7:9 EDUCATION

(a) 54% of the slum children of school-going age (6 to 14 years) are receiving education. The other 46% do not go to school. The total number of student members in the sample population, including those of the other age-groups who are presently studying, comes to 2,323 or 15% of the sample population. Out of every 100 students, 35 are girls and 65 are boys.

(b) Barring exceptions they are all receiving a general type of education which goes up from primary onwards. 12% are attending private unrecognised schools, the teaching shops ; 18%, private recognised schools ; 7%, schools run by religious and charitable institutions ; 42%, municipal schools ; 19%, government schools and fewer than 1%, colleges of the university. With regard to the level of education 25%, are in pre-primary ; 37%, in primary ; 23%, in middle ; and 10%, in higher secondary classes. Only 2.5% are reading for a university degree.

(c) Only 31 or 1.3% of the student members are studying freely ; another 249 report to be receiving help which, however, is not sufficient to cover all their expenses for study. Among the 2,292 student members who have to incur expenditures, the total annual expenses, including tuition fees, cost of books, stationery and transport, vary from less than Rs. 5 for 1.2% to more than Rs. 100 for 16.6%. The average annual expenditure per student comes to Rs. 30 upto the primary level ; to Rs. 70 in secondary school, to Rs. 140 in higher secondary and to Rs. 170 at the college level. The average for all student members comes to Rs. 55 per student per annum. The average annual educational expenditure borne by the family comes to Rs. 103 per family for the aggregate of 1,250 families to which these student members belong.

(d) Of the children not going to school 31% are engaged in domestic work including looking after their still younger kins, cooking etc. ; and another 6% are employed. The remaining 63% have no alternative work to do. As to the reasons why they are not sent to schools, it was stated with respect to 58% of all children not going to school, that their parents cannot afford the expenses. Only in the case of 11% it was reported that the parents were clearly indifferent to educating them. On the whole it is clear that the reason why these children are not receiving education is the low income status of the families to which they belong.

7:10 ACCOMMODATION AND RENT

(a) There are quite a few cases in which families have been staying in their present slum dwellings for generations. The duration of stay ranges from less than

a quarter year for 0.6% of the sample families to as much as 100 years; those for whom it is more than 15 years constitute 27%. 40% have been staying in their present dwellings for more than a decade and as many as 85% for more than half a decade.

(b) Practically all the sample families are tenants; two-third rents both the land and tenement and one-third rent the land only. But about 28% pay no rent at all; they are tenants in the sense that they do not own the property on or in which they live. They have entered into no formal rent contract and appear to have occupied the property in an unauthorised manner; the bulk of these persons are *basti* dwellers and a few are refugee families who have occupied evacuee property and have somehow evaded payment of rent.

(c) The monthly rent for the remaining 72% ranges from less than a rupee for 99 to Rs. 83 for two families. The average monthly rent for this group comes to Rs. 5.50; but about 60% of them pay less.

(d) Families having more than two living rooms constitute a fraction of over 2% in the sample. Those with two living rooms account for over 15% and those with only one, for 82%. The area of living space available to the sample families ranges from less than 50 sq. feet for about 5% to 200 sq. feet or more, for 13%. The average comes to 125 sq. feet only and nearly 60% have less than this average.

(e) In response to a specific query about their attitude to the prevailing state in which they are living, 90% of the informants expressed strong dissatisfaction;

64% found fault with lack of amenities, principally water supply and latrine facilities; 28%, with dilapidation and want of repairs of structures; but only 3%, with over-crowding.

(f) Nearly 70% of the informants, however, held that shifting of people out of the slums will improve matters. 24% indicated that it was not possible for themselves to move out; the principal difficulty they advanced was the fact that they are living close to their places of work and cannot afford to shift. The remaining 76% of these informants (representing 52% of all the sample families) expressed willingness to move out and nine out of every ten such families are willing also to pay higher rents. The average prospective rent (the total rent they are prepared to pay for new dwellings) for these families comes to Rs. 8.70 as against the average present rent of Rs. 3.30.

(g) Taking all sample families (including both rent-paying and non-rent-paying families) to calculate average monthly rent realised we get the figure of Rs. 3.9 per family; if we add the additional rent the above families are willing to pay and recalculate the average, we obtain a figure of Rs. 6.7 per family.

II

7:11 SLUMS AND CITY PLANNING

The problem of slums and congestion has assumed astounding dimensions and is even likely to be further aggravated in view of the continuing growth of Delhi's population. Its long-term solution has to be attempted on the basis of a master plan for the Greater

Delhi region as a whole. We welcome, therefore, the setting up of the Town Planning Organisation for this purpose but we would like to urge upon the government to define the terms of reference for the organisation in order to assure that the removal and prevention of slums is adopted as by far the most important, if not absolutely over-riding, objective of the plan. If this is not done, we feel, efforts at planning will lead to frustration and entail unwise expenditure of public funds.

7:12 PREVENTION OF FURTHER CONGESTION

(a) The rate of population growth in Greater Delhi in general and Old Delhi in particular must be brought down. Of the two factors of growth, namely (i) natural increase and (ii) in-migration, the former is relatively much less important and is admittedly difficult to deal with; at best we might intensify such measures as propagation of family planning ideas and techniques to influence it.

(b) With respect to the rate of in-migration it is necessary to work upon the main pulls attracting the influx, namely (i) expanding public employment, particularly of the Central Government and (ii) expanding trade, industry and building activity. For (i) it should be possible to put a stop to opening of new offices of the Central Government in Delhi and even to shift some of the existing ones to other places.

(c) For (ii), alternative channels for re-export trade, which has expanded after partition, should be opened up. Creation of any new trading, commercial or manufacturing establishment in Old Delhi should

be discouraged by appropriate administrative action. The building activity is likely to continue for quite some time; it should be effectively controlled so as to facilitate its flow into channels of healthy growth.

(d) With respect to the growth of population that may continue in spite of these measures, attempts should be made to divert the influx away from Old Delhi into other parts of Greater Delhi City.

7:13 PLANNED DECENTRALISATION OF POPULATION

(a) In view of the obtaining acuteness of congestion within the Old Delhi City there exists no alternative to planned dispersal of people over the Greater Delhi region.

(b) So far as general congestion is considered, it should be feasible to find accommodation for those who are staying in Old Delhi but are working in, say, New Delhi, Civil Lines etc., in their respective regions of work places. It should be possible also to establish residential neighbourhoods outside Old Delhi for many of the middle and upper middle class persons who, while they can afford some travel to work, are habitually staying near their work places in Old Delhi. Development of such neighbourhoods should be encouraged to proceed on co-operative lines.

(c) These measures, even if successful, are not likely to touch more than a fringe of the problem. Dispersal on a large scale has to be tackled on a more lasting footing and in a way that avoids creation new problems. In attempting dispersal of population it should not be forgotten that the causal factor of

human concentration is concentration of employment or work sources, *i.e.* concentration of trade, of markets and of industries. Dispersal can be a solution only if it implies a rational redistribution of employment sources. Creation of an industrial or trade zone can be meaningful only if it serves and facilitates re-location of the establishments to be displaced from the congested area.

(d) With respect to dispersal of sources of employment, among the trades meriting displacement from the congested city and its slums the so-called obnoxious trades should be given the topmost priority. For all the other trades and markets we have to apply, in conformity with the requirement of healthy ecology, the criteria of rational or economic location. Locational aspect of each and every trade will need a thorough study on the basis of which a new, economically more efficient pattern could be established.

(e) The problem of planning for redevelopment of Greater Delhi is essentially one of the redistribution of the economic activity that is concentrated in the small locality of Old Delhi over a much larger Greater Delhi region. The only way in which this can effectively be achieved is by creation within the region of a chain of new townships (or composite neighbourhoods) each independent in matter of civic needs of the residents but with an economic function related to the Delhi metropolis and to other townships. We visualise the redeveloped Greater Delhi to be a "poly-nucleated city," comprising of a number of townships, adequately spaced within the region, each playing its equally important, even if relatively small, role in the fulfilment of the

political and economic function of the capital of a socialist democracy.

(f) It must be emphasised that each township should be self-contained in matters of civic needs of the residents who are to be welded into a unit community, capable of maintaining sanitary living and of preserving itself from undue congestion. It is necessary therefore to keep adequate provision in each township for development of community institutions, a school, a craft training centre or industrial polytechnic, a club, a community centre etc.

(g) If this approach has to be adopted it is imperative that we should (i) conserve all the available land resources in the region for the establishment and healthy growth of townships, (ii) effectively, check the sprawl of the city that has been helped by the Interim General Plan and has not successfully been thwarted by the Delhi Development Authority, and (iii) completely curb speculation in land and put a stop to colonisation within the region by private interests.

(h) Positive action in the matter of such planning must begin with selection of a number of spots within the preserved area for location of nuclei to be followed by a period of careful nursing of their growth into townships fulfilling the requirements of the plan. It is not contended that all nuclei should be located on open entirely undeveloped land; some of the existing colonies or villages may well serve as such.

7:14 ECONOMIC BETTERMENT

(a) In this process of redevelopment planning, special treatment is required for the slums because of the low economic or income status of the slum-dwellers. As an eminent planner has put it, "the slum is the outward expression of physical impoverishment: slum demolition is poverty demolition, or it is nothing." Only by helping him to fight his poverty, can we hope to enable the slum dweller to afford the citizenship of redeveloped Greater Delhi. Measures to this end can and should be commenced forthwith.

(b) In this matter we must make a start by creating a chain of institutions in the slum areas for undertaking economic welfare, for providing guidance and advice to the slum dwellers in all sorts of economic problems that face them. Such an institution should provide training and education at all levels of age and to both sexes, and, where desirable and feasible, create opportunities for work. Aims of such an institution should be (i) to decrease involuntary unemployment among slum dwellers, (ii) to create work opportunities for women in their homes or in craft centres located in the slum areas, (iii) to provide training and orientation for improvement of working efficiency of craftsmen and artisans, (iv) to improve employability of new entrants to the labour force by opening up opportunities for technical training, (v) to help artisans and craftsmen in marketing their products, (vi) to foster co-operative organisation of arts and crafts, (vii) to explore employment opportunities and to direct the slum labour force into appropriate channels. It should be possible to co-ordinate with the help of this institution, the programmes

for economic development of the region with measures of slum clearance, if the location of expanding economic activity is appropriately chosen so as to exert a pull on the slum dwellers. The institution may operate also as a link between the slum labour force and new employment opportunities that the development projects are creating all over the country. Such an institution should combine functions of education, training, guidance and advice in all economic matters and at the same time keep track of appropriate employment opportunities.

7:15 SOCIAL WORK

(a) Equally, if not more, imperative it is to enable them to root out many ills and handicaps that plague the social life in slums. We should undertake a programme of constructive social work of comprehensive character simultaneously with that of economic service indicated above. This may be aimed at filling the lack of educational and health facilities in the slum areas. At the same time it should be directed specifically towards rousing social and civic consciousness among the slum dwellers, infusing hope and confidence among them, cultivating local leadership and organising them for active participation in slum eradication programmes. The programme in essence should be one of extensive education, including general education, adult literacy, social education, education in personal hygiene, health and sanitation, family planning etc.

(b) There are today many agencies of social work operating in the city; their efforts require to be co-ordinated appropriately so that maximum benefit accrues to the slum dwellers. Here too we need an organisational

set-up similar to the one suggested above for economic betterment; we need, that is, a chain of social welfare centres. Administratively it should be possible to combine economic service and social work and design a centre capable of taking care of all aspects of slum life.

7:16 IMMEDIATE TASK

(a) Redevelopment of the Greater Delhi region on the basis of a master plan will no doubt take a long time. Meanwhile it is imperative to undertake operations for relief of slum conditions. What we can do is to provide temporary relief by way of improving, by repair, the physical condition of the slum tenements and by extension of basic amenities of water supply, latrines and lighting.

(b) In this connection it may be noted that quite a large proportion of slum properties are owned by government agencies. In their case there is no excuse for shirking the responsibility any more of keeping them in good habitable condition. Such repairs, it is estimated, can ameliorate condition in case of over 40% of the *katras*.

(c) So far as the *bastis* are considered, lack of amenities is strikingly more acute. Majority of the *bastis* are located on government land and are supposed to have come into existence in an unauthorised manner. In such cases it is often argued that provision of amenities will amount to acquiescence of such unauthorised occupation and will create difficulties in their removal. We would like to emphasise the urgent need of making alternative arrangements for their rehabilitation and to

impress upon the authorities that it is not proper to deny them the amenities till such arrangements are made.

7:17 SLUM CLEARANCE

(a) Taking into consideration all the emergent factors it appears quite possible to launch clearance programmes without prejudicing the master plan and in conformity with the government's slum policy of rehabilitating the slum dwellers as near their present residences as possible.

(b) If we take the intra-mural Delhi, we understand it is possible to substantially increase the density on 725 acres in the contiguous area of civil lines (see map on next page). These land resources may appropriately be used for establishment of co-operative neighbourhoods for shifting middle and upper middle class people from the walled City. We further understand that 360 acres of developed land is available in the Mata Sundari Area lying between the city walls (Circular Road from Delhi Gate to Ajmeri Gate) and the railway lines. This area must now be used for the very purpose, it was intended to serve in the original layout plan for New Delhi, namely to absorb the overflow of population from Old Delhi. These lands belong to the government and the decision to shift the present occupants of the government quarters located thereon has already been taken. We would urge upon the government to expedite the implementation of this decision and to replan the area for the establishment of a neighbourhood for housing the slum dwellers of the walled City.

(c) As for the two extra-mural zones of the city, if we consider all the nine wards, from XII to XX, together we find that undeveloped land resources are still available in a sizeable dimension and practicability of evening out density of population over the combined area of these two zones should be seriously considered.

(d) Ward XV in extent is large enough to accommodate most of its residents, without the danger of slum conditions reappearing, if all the various obnoxious trades from the junk of Motia Khan to Slaughter Houses of Nabi Karim are removed therefrom and the whole area is replanned for residential purposes.

(e) In the rest of extra-mural Delhi slums are concentrated in wards XII, XIII and XIV. Fortunately the contiguous ward XVIII, Sarai Rohilla area, is sparsely populated and its replanning can absorb quite a proportion of the slum dwellers, specially of wards XII and XIII.

(f) It should be feasible to commence without delay clearance operations on a pilot basis in several *katras* where open land is available to the extent that it is possible to rebuild the structures for rehousing all the present dwellers.

7:18 IN THE END

In the end we would like to reiterate our conviction that approaching the problem of slums merely in terms of housing accommodation is not only ineffective but also grossly wasteful; we must, out of

THE DELHI MUNICIPALITY

ZONE ———
 WARD ———

AREA OF ZONE ONE (I to XI) 1507 ACRES
 AREA OF ZONE TWO (XII to XV) 1829 " "
 AREA OF ZONE THREE (XVI to XX) 3213 " "
 CIVIL LINE AREA (for intensive re-
 development for residential purposes) = 725 ACRES
 MATA SUNDRI AREA A + B = 540 ACRES
 B for proposed rehabilitation of
 slum-dwellers of the walled city — 360 ACRES



(c) As for the two extra-mural zones of the city, if we consider all the nine wards, from XII to XX, together we find that undeveloped land resources are still available in a sizeable dimension and practicability of evening out density of population over the combined area of these two zones should be seriously considered.

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7:18 IN THE END

In the end we would like to reiterate our conviction that approaching the problem of slums merely in terms of housing accommodation is not only ineffective but also grossly wasteful; we must, out of

necessity, adopt the human approach and evolve a slum eradication programme that is comprehensive enough to cover socio-economic aspects of slum living so that we may facilitate the establishment of a prosperous, healthy and equalitarian urban community in the capital of India.

APPENDIX I

AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF SLUMS IN DELHI

1. Growth of Population : Shahjehan's Delhi was designed to accommodate about 60,000 people. Its present population is in the neighbourhood of 10 lakhs. By 1881 Delhi's population had swelled to 1.7 lakhs. It continued to increase first slowly and then rapidly, after it became the capital, as can be seen from the following census figures :

1891	2.00 lakhs
9 1	2.06 lakhs
1911	2.25 lakhs
1921	2.48 lakhs
1931	3.48 lakhs
1941	5.22 lakhs
1951	9.15 lakhs

2. Congestion : Living accommodation did not, for obvious reasons, keep pace with the growth of population. This led to overcrowding and slums. As early as 1912, the then President of the Delhi Municipal Committee, Colonel Beadon, deploring the fact that "the people in Delhi have been huddled into a totally insufficient area so that the streets have been encroached upon, slums have been built and the land has become so valuable that even capitalists cannot build," had urged that "the most pressing need of Delhi citizens is room, room to build, room to work, room to play, room to walk, room to drive."

3. Density of Population : As a measure of overcrowding we may consider the average density of population which for Old Delhi is between 400 to 600 per acre as against the standard of 200 per acre, laid down by the Delhi Improvement Trust. In some areas the density is indeed as high as 1,100 per acre. These calculations, it may be added, are for the total built-up area, which includes non-residential places such as hospitals, schools, etc. and therefore, under-rate density for the residential area covered.

4. Emergence of Slums : That the growth of population and overcrowding has created slums is beyond dispute. Admittedly it is difficult in the Old Delhi City to indicate a non-slum area. We have no precise definition for the word 'slum'. The meaning of this

word in the Oxford Dictionary is, "a street, alley, court etc., situated in a crowded district of a town or city and inhabited by people of low income classes or by very poor; a number of these streets and courts forming a thickly populated neighbourhood of a squalid and wretched character." Squalor and filth, dirt and disease are all too obvious features of a slum. The conditioning factors are: (1) overcrowding of tenements on land, (2) the dilapidated condition of the tenements, (3) overcrowding of people in these tenements, (4) lack of civic amenities and community facilities, and (5) existence of cattle sharing the available space with human beings. It is apparent that the root cause of all these is poverty, the miserable social and economic status of the people living in such places.

5. Type of Slums : Viewed in this light it is clear that slum conditions exist all through the Old Delhi City. The magnitude of the problem indicated is really stupendous. The list of places where conditions have assumed the most aggravated character includes :

(1) Nearly 700 *katras* falling within the limits of Delhi Municipal Committee with a population of over 1,00,000.

(2) Over 35 *bastis*—including the Jamna Bazar, the Kishan Ganj Basti near Raj Ghat, Chandrawal in Subzimandi, with a population of 90,000.

(3) Over 30 labour camps in New Delhi with a population of 30,000.

The *katras*, mentioned under (i) above, are extremely unhygienic structures with no proper ventilation, no drainage, no latrines and are in their existing state unfit for human habitation. It may be observed, however, that most of these *katras* are single storeyed and a number of them have open spaces within them, which implies that while there may be overcrowding on the built up area (living space) the density per acre should not prove un-managable.

As regards ownership of these *katras*, about a dozen are the property of the Delhi Improvement Trust, 200 belong to the Custodian of Evacuee Property and the rest are owned by private individuals.

The slum dwellers are generally tenants. In some cases, however, it is found that the houses are built by them and so tenancy relates only to the land. In some other cases where both land and houses are rented, land belongs to one party while houses belong to another party. The occupants are mainly of the labouring classes including construction labourers, petty hawkers, *dhobis*, *mochis*, *chamars*, *rikshaw*-pullers, *tongawalas*, *thelawalas*, etc. They belong to the lowest social and economic stratum and live in extreme misery and want.

6. Slum Problem in the Urban Society : The magnitude of the task is, challenging. The challenge has to be met, and a lasting solution has to be found out. Such a solution can only be based on proper appreciation of all the various aspects of the slum problem. Analytically it is possible to distinguish between two characteristic features namely overcrowding and insanitation ; of these two, the latter may be either caused by the former or may occur independently. But both can be traced to social degeneration and economic poverty of the slum dwellers. Urban poverty breeds slums ; but it is true also that the miserable environment in which they live breeds despair and a fatalistic approach to life and so helps in turn to perpetuate the initial cause, namely economic poverty. The problem not merely perpetuates but gets more and more aggravated thanks to the apathy and even the lack of proper understanding of official agencies. It follows, therefore, that the problem faced is much more than that of a mere housing shortage ; it is necessarily a human problem.

As for the city, it is common place to describe them as plague spots. Slums are indeed a standing menace to the city life and the problem so viewed is one of improving sanitary conditions, of the extension of civic amenities and community services, of dispersal of population from overcrowded areas and so of extending the geographical limits of the city.

7. Remedial Measures : In consideration of the needs of both the city and the slum dwellers it is imperative that our approach should be so comprehensive as to include : (i) City cleaning for removal of existing filth and squalor (including removal of cattle and obnoxious trades from the city). (ii) Extension of civic amenities and community facilities. (iii) Repair and reconstruction of old and dilapidated structures. (iv) Demolition of structures that are found to be totally unfit for human habitation and redevelopment of the sites so cleared. (v) Removal of people from the most congested areas and their rehabilitation at selected sites outside the city. (vi) Proper colonisation plans for the preceding purpose.

The last three measures, namely (iv), (v) and (vi) involve structural changes for the city and would need planning. Urban planning is indicated also by the rapid growth of population which threatens to aggravate the slum menace. In consideration of any scheme of city planning the problem of slums should receive the foremost importance.

8. Improvement Trust Approach and its Shortcomings : As already indicated this menace has had a long span of life. The Government were not unaware of its existence and had even applied their cure—the Improvement Trusts. In a recent appraisal of this “Improvement Trust Approach” Dr. Arthur Geddes of Edinburgh University, points out that “each Trust called in the only available

'man on the spot', the PWD Engineer.....but he with his salary dwelt in distant civil lines, aloof from 'native' life in all its horror. He could not understand the native economy nor stare in social life." With regard to their method of work he further records that the Improvement Trust engineers "commenced to amputate and destroy whole quarters, regardless of the people's protest. De-housing without re-housing increased the housing shortage and intensified human overcrowding."

Delhi had its Improvement Trust in 1937, which fared no better. The Birla Committee which examined its record of work in 1951 concluded that "the story of the Trust is the story of failure". Their considered opinion was that the Trust had been able to produce neither of the two essential pre-requisites—namely, a civic survey and a Master Plan, "with the result that the growth of Delhi has been proceeding in a haphazard way, with little foresight and imagination and without any co-ordination."

For the failure of Improvement Trusts various reasons such as lack of funds, administrative limitations etc. are advanced. Such factors may indeed have played a role but while admitting them it should be realised that their basic approach, framed on the narrow view of the problem in terms of mere housing shortage, ignored completely the dynamic social and economic factors of the city life during a period of rapid urbanisation. As such it was neither a realistic nor a human approach. Deploring this failure helps us no more but it does indicate the imperative necessity of revising our view of the problem so as to admit due consideration of the human factor—the social and economic needs of this, the lowest stratum of our society.

9. D. D. (P). A. Approach and its Limitations : With the institution of the Delhi Development (Provisional) Authority, and the Town Planning Organisation under the Ministry of Health, hope may be expressed that we are outliving the above Improvement Trust approach. Only the future will reveal the extent to which this hope is justified ; that future is not distant, since it is held out that in a couple of months Delhi will have, what is called, "the Skeleton Master Plan." What the adjective skeleton signifies is beyond comprehension for indeed a Master Plan, since its function is only to lay down broad policies of zoning a given area for the different urban uses, can be no more than a skeleton. If this Master Plan is being framed, in pursuance of the Birla Committee's recommendation, evidently this should have been preceded by a civic survey of both the congested urban areas and undeveloped areas, which they held was necessary. Without a thorough civic survey, not to speak of any full-fledged socio-economic survey, how receptive this 'skeleton' would be to the flesh and blood, that is to flow into it, is a matter which legitimately raises great misgivings.

10. Human Approach to Slum Problem : That in dealing with slums we need to adopt "the human approach" is recognised by all though differences of interpretation remain. While it is difficult to be specific on this matter, the least that we can hope is that the approach should be such that taking into consideration both the physical environment and the social and economic status of the slum dwellers, its execution should involve no harassment, no coercion and no adverse effect on the socio-economic condition of the slum dwellers. It would be welcome if in addition it becomes possible to achieve a little betterment of their status or at least to kindle a hope for the better days to come. This latter attempt should not be impossible for indeed we have a welfare state devoted to planning for the raising of economic standards ; the slum dwellers admittedly are on the lowest strata, and need all possible consideration in the programme of planning.

This approach warrants that in execution of all schemes it is imperative to obtain not merely goodwill but also active participation of the people affected through intensive educative propaganda. In this respect the executive agencies should enlist active co-operation of all non-official, non-political social welfare agencies such as, for example, the Bharat Sevak Samaj. This should help not merely in avoiding friction but in developing, where necessary, co-operative organisation which may be expected to serve the interests of the slum dwellers to the maximum extent.

11. Interim Measures of Relief : To be more specific this approach requires that in carrying out the first three measures suggested in para 7 above—namely city cleaning, extension of civic amenities and repair of dilapidated structures, no additional cost (in terms of money) should fall on the slum dwellers, except that they should be induced through educative propaganda to contribute their labour. In case of (iv), demolition and reconstruction, general procedure should be to set up a transit camp and re-house the same dwellers in reconstructed structures and their occupancy rights should in no case be confiscated ; this is not to say that the said rights should not be taken over by the Government where they are voluntarily surrendered in exchange of appropriate cash compensation or alternative accommodation.

12. Planned Development of City to be preceded by Socio-Economic Survey : Nos. (v) and (vi), removal and rehabilitation of the dwellers of overcrowded slums, warrant a planned programme, which should be integrated with the programme of economic development. This will necessarily be a well-phased programme spread over a period of years, and as such should constitute by far the most important and preponderant part of the Planned Redevelopment of the Greater Delhi City. To be realistic, to serve the purposes of the rapidly growing city and its people, it is imperative that this should be based on data

collected through a thorough-going survey not merely of the topography or physical conditions of the different areas, but, necessarily, also of the socio-economic conditions of the people. As Dr. Geddes asserts, "if planning is not preceded by survey it will be blind and is actually likely to destroy more than it saves and to do more harm than good." The dangers of 'blind' planning are very real; as the above author suggests "an ambitious architect, a pushing contractor and a publicity-seeking politician may bind together, linked (perhaps unawares) with land speculators, to press for a single expensive 'planning scheme' with the total demolition before construction, regardless of the real economic values. Such pseudo-planners are ignorant or careless of the welfare of the citizens, particularly of the poorer folk of the community and their needs." Such things did happen in the good old days of the British Rule, but today, we must hope that blind planning will have no place in our schemes of city redevelopment.

13. Proposed Programme : The planned re-development of the city however, is necessarily a long drawn out process and would take decades even after its initiation. The urgency of the slum problem brooks no delay and it is necessary that we should have an integrated plan of action which can be initiated immediately. The following programme is accordingly submitted for consideration.

(1) **Essential Services :** Provision of essential services in the slum areas immediately, irrespective of when their clearance is taken in hand, is practicable and should receive the first priority. All the relevant authorities should concentrate on this objective immediately and the Central Government should give a special grant for its fulfilment.

(2) **Removal of Animals :** Since existence of animals, cattle and horses, is an important factor in causing overcrowding and insanitary and un-hygienic conditions, the problem of their removal should be taken up immediately. The steps necessary are (i) prohibition against keeping them in slums and congested areas and (ii) introduction of licence system for non-slum areas under which only the licencees will be allowed to keep cattle or horses, on the condition that they maintain stables, conforming to certain specific sanitary standards, and open to regular inspection. It should also be possible for the municipal bodies to construct at a number of appropriately selected places, stables on modern sanitary lines for renting stable space to owners of animals living in the respective areas.

Simultaneously allotments of land pockets within the city should be made for the purpose of setting up colonies of cart-men, tongawalas etc. Facilities provided in these colonies should be such as to attract a large number of people engaged in these trades. This will have in addition some relieving effect on the respective congested areas of the city.

(3) **Removal of Certain Industrial Establishments** : It is possible for the local authorities to take early and effective action in the matter of removal from the grossly congested areas, of factories, workshops, lime-kilns, chakkis, and such major structures as the slaughter-house, all of which can be conveniently removed to approved sites either away from the city or to less congested newly developing areas.

(4) **City Cleaning** : Municipal bodies, social welfare organisations and local leadership should jointly undertake to take effective steps for the purpose of cleaning the city and generally improving sanitary conditions. For this purpose the whole of metropolitan area may suitably be divided into zones and placed under the charge of organisers, chosen in the respective areas of their operation from the local people.

(5) **City Cleaning Campaign** : This should be carried out by organising sanitary weeks with the help of local organisers, official and non-official bodies, local service and welfare organisations. The intensive programme should, besides cleaning, include such operations as minor repairs of drains and streets etc. On Saturdays and Sundays mechanised operations supported by perusal, effort and co-operation of the large number of administrative officers, volunteers and local people should be carried out. For this purpose mechanical unit of appliances like power-hoses on trolleys, DDT sprayers and motors, mops, brooms, brickets etc., should be set up.

(6) **Sanitation Publicity** : Educative work can be undertaken by social welfare organisations like the Bharat Sevak Samaj. Such work should include circulation of publicity material on sanitation, contacting of teachers in schools and colleges for the purpose of instilling consciousness of civic responsibilities etc.

(7) **Slum Clearance** : All the above steps can and should be initiated without delay. They will no doubt contribute to improvement of sanitary conditions but their scope is admittedly limited. We have to have a slum clearance programme and we can do so without waiting for either the Skeleton Master Plan or the detailed city re-development programme. Before launching on an extensive slum clearance programme it is very useful to acquire practical experience. On an experimental basis, we should plan and execute slum clearance schemes in a few selected areas. It is proposed that we should take up two slum clearance schemes (i) for Quadam Sharif area and (ii) for the removal of slaughter-houses. These schemes should be carefully prepared on the basis of all the relevant data obtained through intensive civic and socio-economic surveys. Preliminary observations suggest that problems faced in Quadam Sharif are different from those of the slaughter houses. In the former case we should attempt demolition of the existing hovels and replace them by planned re-development of the area and reconstruction of structures. The population need not be removed, except to a transit

camp in the initial stage, in which reconstruction of residential structures can be completed. These attempts can be expected to succeed because there is sufficient open space available in this locality for development.

In case of the slaughter houses, their removal to a selected area outside the city has been under consideration for a long time. In such an area a well-planned colony should be established where besides slaughtering, all its ancillary trades can prosper. Such relocation of the slaughter house would permit a very welcome opportunity of modernising the production processes and thus lead to economy, while concentration of ancillary trades may be expected to improve employment opportunities. In any case this scheme will help considerably in relieving congestion in the respective areas from which these trades move out.

14. Legislation : The execution of slum programme would need legislative backing. This may be secured by appropriate amendments of the existing laws or by enactment of a new one. Looking to the great urgency of the problem, issue of an ordinance immediately to be replaced by legislation in due course, is strongly urged.

This legislation should (i) vest in the state government or appropriate local body powers to declare a particular area as slum and also to declare certain pockets within the slum as unfit for human habitation and (ii) provide for the creation of an executive authority, say an administrator, with all the necessary powers (a) to take over the areas so declared as slums, (b) to make provision therein for essential services, (c) to direct operations in the matters of creating and finding alternative (temporary or permanent) accommodation for the dwellers, and (d) to redevelop sites and reconstruct tenements in areas taken over or to get the tenements reconstructed by the owners.

In the present context, there has arisen a more urgent need for action. What has happened is that the expression of the growing concern of the Government, receiving publicity, has induced a fear among the private owners that official action will be taken without delay and they are seeking now to evict the present tenants before it comes. Such growing evictions, harassments and coercion should be stopped immediately by issue of an ordinance. This ordinance, to be operative in slum areas only, should provide for suspension of eviction proceedings already before the courts and for putting a complete stop to further institution of such legal proceedings and for setting up of an arbitration machinery to settle disputes between the tenants and the landlords. —*Bharat Sevak Samaj Delhi Pradesh.*
Dated 5th May 1956.

APPENDIX II

FAMILY SCHEDULE

I. Identification

1. Ward.
2. House No.
3. Street.
4. Family No.
5. Sample No.
6. Head of family
 - (a) Name
 - (b) Religion
 - (c) Caste and sub-caste
 - (d) Mother tongue
 - (e) Belongs to Delhi — Yes 1; No 2.
 - (f) If no, native place :
 - (i) Rural 1; Urban 2.
 - (ii) District —.
 - (iii) State —.
7. Name of informant.
8. Interview language.
9. No. of visits.
10. Total time in minutes.

II. Family Composition

1. Serial no.
2. Name.
3. Relationship to head of family.
4. do do code.
5. Sex—(Male 1; Female 2).
6. Age—years.
7. do—code.
8. Civil condition.
9. Literacy—(Literate 1; Illiterate 2).
10. Education.
11. Technical training—Name.
12. do code.
13. do qualification.
14. Economic status.

III. Present Employment

1. Serial No. (Block II).
2. Occupation—Name.
3. do. code.
4. Employment status.
5. Organisation.
6. Duration—Months.
7. do. code.
8. Secure 1; Insecure 2.
9. Regular 1; Casual 2.
10. Regular Employment—Working hours (no).
11. do. Transport—Distance.
12. do. do. Means.
13. do. do. Time taken in minutes.
14. do. do. do. code.
15. do. do. Monthly Expenses in Rs.
16. do. do. do. code.
17. do. do. Convenient 1;
Inconvenient 2.
18. do. do. Period of payment.
19. do. do. Monthly earnings in Rs.
20. do. do. do. code.
21. Casual employment—Days worked—Last month—No.
22. do. do. do. code.
23. do. do. Last year No.
24. do. do. do. code.
25. do. do. Brisk season (Months).
26. do. do. Slack season (Months).
27. do. do. Average earnings—Daily—Last month
in Rs.
28. do. do. do. code.
29. do. do. Monthly—Last year
in Rs.
30. do. do. do. code.
31. do. do. Distance of usual place of work.
32. do. do. Transport—Means.
33. do. do. do. Time taken in minutes.
34. do. do. do. code.
35. do. do. do. Daily expenses in Rs.
36. do. do. do. code.
37. do. do. do. Convenient 1; Inconvenient 2.
38. Subsidiary employment. Occupation—Name.
39. do. do. do. code.
40. do. do. Duration in Months.
41. do. do. do. code.
42. do. do. Average monthly income in Rs.
43. do. do. do. code.

44. Total monthly income—Col. 19 (or col. 27) + col. 42.
45. Expenditure at place of work in annas.
46. do. code.
47. do. purpose
48. Satisfied with present occupation—Yes 1; No 2.
49. Preference for any other occupation—Yes 1; No 2.
50. do. Name.
51. do. Code.
52. Remarks.

IV. Unemployment

1. Serial No. (Block II).
2. Duration of unemployment in Months.
3. do. code.
4. Whether employed before—Yes 1; No 2.
5. Last employment—Occupation—Name.
6. do. do. code.
7. do. Employment status.
8. do. Average monthly income in Rs.
9. do. do. code.
10. do. Causes for leaving.
11. Present means of livelihood.
12. Occupation sought—Name.
13. do. code.
14. Monthly income expected in Rs.
15. do. code.
16. Willingness to leave Delhi for employment—Yes 1; No 2.
17. do. If no, reason.
18. do. do. code.
19. Willingness to change residence in Delhi for employment—
—Yes 1; No 2.
20. do. do. If no, reason.
21. do. do. code.
22. Remarks.

V. Employment History

1. Serial No. (Block II).
2. Serial No. of employment.
3. Occupation—Name.
4. do. code.
5. Employment Status.
6. Duration—Months.
7. do. code.
8. Average monthly earnings in Rs.
9. do. code.
10. Causes for leaving.
11. Remarks.

VI. Education

- A.
1. Serial No. (Block II).
 2. Sex—Male 1; Female 2.
 3. Age—Years.
 4. do. code.
 5. Whether studying—Yes 1; No 2.
 6. Studying—Class.
 7. do. Institution.
 8. do. Distance from residence.
 9. do. Hours of study (No).
 10. do. Annual expenses.
 11. do. do. code.
 12. do. Financial help.—Yes 1; No 2.
 13. Not studying—Reason.
 14. do. Type of work at home.
 15. do. do. code.
 16. do. Willingness to educate—Yes 1; No 2.
 17. do. If yes, type.
 18. do. do. code.
 19. Remarks.
- B. Would you like to move to a place where there are better facilities for education of your children? Yes 1; No 2.

VII. Health, Illness, Births and Deaths

A. *Present Health*

1. Serial No. (Block II).
2. General Health.
3. Disability—Nature.
4. do. Duration in months.
5. do. do. code.
6. Remarks.

B. *Illness during last year*

1. Serial No. (Block II)
2. Serial No. of illness.
3. Nature—Name.
4. do. code.
5. Duration—Days.
6. do. code.
7. Medical treatment—Type.
8. do. Agency.
9. do. Expenditure in Rs.
10. do. do. code.
11. Remarks.

C. *Births* (In the last decade or since their stay in Delhi).

1. Serial No.
2. Relationship to Head of family.
3. do. code.
4. Sex—Male 1; Female 2.
5. Year of birth.
6. Alive 1; Dead 2.
7. Remarks.

D. *Deaths* (In the last decade or since their stay in Delhi).

1. Serial No.
2. Relationship to head of family.
3. do. code.
4. Sex—Male 1; Female 2.
5. Year of death.
6. Age of death in Years.
7. do. code.
8. Cause of death.
9. do. code.
10. Period of ailment before death in Days.
11. do. code.
12. Medical treatment. Type.
13. do. Agency.
14. do. Expenditure in Rs.
15. do. do. code.
16. Remarks.

VIII. *Housing Conditions*

1. How long have you been staying in Delhi ?
2. How long have you been staying at this place ?
3. From which place did you change over to this ?
 - (a) If in Delhi, give address.
 - (b) If outside, give name.
4. Is this your own house ?
5. If yes, is the plot also yours ?
6. If no, who owns (a) the house and (b) the land ?
7. How much rent do you pay ?
8. (a) How many separate living rooms do you have :
No.—Area—
(b) Is there any open space ? If yes, area.
9. Are you satisfied with the sanitary conditions of the locality ?
10. If no, what are the reasons for your dissatisfaction ?
11. Do you think shifting a portion of the people from this place to some other areas will improve the situation ?

12. If yes, would you yourself like to move out ?
13. If yes, which part of Delhi would you like to go ?
14. If yes, would you be prepared to pay more rent ?
How much ?
15. If no (to 12) what are your difficulties in moving out ?
16. If no (to 11) can you suggest any other measures for improving the sanitary and living conditions here ?

IX. A. **Informant's Remarks**

- B. (i) Informant's ability to answer :
(ii) Informant's willingness to answer :

C. **Investigator's Appraisal.**

APPENDIX III

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SCHEDULE FILLING

1. For a long time Delhi has been facing the menacing problem of slums where, as many as over 2 lacs of Delhi's population lead a life of abject misery surrounded by filth and squalor. This long standing problem attracted the attention of the Government as early as 1935 when they appointed the Hume Committee to report on the housing conditions. On the recommendations of this Committee the Delhi Improvement Trust was set up to carry out reconstruction programmes including slum clearance. The efforts of the Government have, in a way, continued till this day. But the situation, too, has continued to deteriorate and the problem has now assumed alarming proportions, and it is realised by the Government as well as other organisations, which are working in the field of social service, that steps are urgently needed to alleviate the situation.

2. The Bharat Sevak Samaj has been considering this problem for last several years and has come to the conclusion that the problem can be tackled only by a comprehensive plan to be carried out over a number of years. Such a comprehensive plan has to be based on a proper and a detailed study of the real needs of the people living in the slums, and so to obtain these data we are conducting this survey.

3. In undertaking this survey the Samaj has been facing obvious difficulties regarding such basic information as location of slum areas and number of families living in them. In order to meet this difficulty the first step of the survey was to conduct an enumeration of families in slum areas which were listed by Delhi Municipal Committee. Actual experience of the enumeration work has, however, revealed that the Committee's list was not entirely complete and we had, therefore, to enumerate some additional *katras* whose existence was revealed by spot visits.

4. After enumeration the next step to be taken is to conduct a detailed enquiry into the socio-economic conditions of the slum dwellers. For this purpose we have drawn, by using random numbers, a sample of over 3,000 out of 30,000 families which we can confidently expect to give us the required information.

5. We have to fill for each of these 3,000 families a schedule which is designed to collect information under the following heads. I. Identification. II. Family composition. III. Present employment. IV. Unemployment. V. Employment history. VI. Education. VII. Health, illness etc. VIII. Housing conditions. IX. Remarks and Appraisal.

6. We must understand that the sampling method demands accuracy and completeness of data collected. In order to get the accurate information it is necessary for us to understand thoroughly each item of the schedule. It is further necessary that we should know the informant and establish a relation of goodwill with him. This can be done only by patiently endeavouring to explain to him the purpose of our visit, the purpose of Survey and the role of the Bharat Sevak Samaj in this respect as also to satisfy him on all queries that he may make. Particularly, the informant will wish to know, why he and not his neighbour, was chosen ; in such cases we should explain to him in as simple a language as possible the technique of random sampling. A further apprehension that he might have is likely to be with regard to the use to which the information collected from him may be put. In such cases we must assure him that the information will in no case be used in a way harmful to him. You should stress that the Samaj is not interested in any particular family. The Samaj's endeavour is to work for the raising of the status of all such families as his.

7. The Schedule is designed to collect information about all members of a family. A family or household is a group of the persons who live together and take their food from a common kitchen. Natural family includes the head of the family, his wife or her husband, and their children. Where more than one such family unit live together, usually because of common paternal link, the whole group is taken to be a joint family. Please do not include any non-related person living in the same tenement as a family member if his living is a matter of convenience and he pays his share of the common kitchen, whether in kind or cash. The fact should however be mentioned in the space below Block II.

8. Information for this schedule should be obtained preferably from the head of the family; in his absence it may be obtained from any other responsible member of the family.

9. In case of more than one visit, try to obtain the information from the same person in all your visits.

10. Please take care to see that no crowd gathers around you at the time of your interview. You should not interview in the presence of outside people.

11. Leave all code columns blank.

12. Do not leave any other column blank. Write with blue-black ink in clear legible hand. Avoid over-writing.

13. In case a column does not apply to a person in question write 'Dna'.

14. In case a column applies to the person but the information given indicates that the quantity or value is 'nil', write only 'n' (small n).

15. In case the column applies but the information is not available write 'na'; in case the informant says he had the required information but refuses outright to give it write capital 'R'.

16. In case where you have to enter in a column two or more codes, please put a colon (:) between them.

17. Return the allotment slip together with the filled schedule. In case after due pursuance you do not succeed in filling the schedule, record the reason for it on the allotment slip and return it.

18. Whenever you have to enter code for 'others', do not forget to mention the specific reply.

BLOCK I—IDENTIFICATION

Cols. 1 to 6 (a) This information is contained in the allotment slip. Please verify each item at the spot and record it on the schedule. Against col. 2 record, together with the house no., also the name of the *katra* or *basti*. Against col. 3 record full description of the street together with names of the road and locality.

6 (b) Record information without further questioning, using codes.

6 (c) Record here both the caste and sub-caste of the head of family. You may indicate further whether he belongs to a schedule caste or not. In case of a harijan please indicate the particular sub-caste—*chamar*, *bhangi*, etc.

6 (d) Our intention is to study how coming in of people over the last two or three decades has been causing overcrowding. In the slums we will find people who have come to Delhi in course of the last three decades, and those who have been staying there for generations. The people of the latter group can be safely taken as belonging to Delhi. This can, however be ascertained in a specific manner only by the family's position at time of the birth of the head of family in question. Delhi is taken to include the areas covered by DMC and contiguous inhabited areas. Consider all those persons born to parents settled in Delhi as belonging to Delhi: exclude, however, such persons who have been born in Delhi but whose parents belonged to any outside place the mother having come to Delhi for the purpose of confinement, but include persons who were born outside Delhi to parents settled in Delhi, the mother having gone out for confinement.

6 (f) (i) Specify whether he came from a rural or an urban area by circling the number '1' or '2'. Give only the district and the State in which the place is situated.

7. Name of informant. If the informant is the same as the head of family, write figure '6' only; otherwise state the name of the informant.

8. Use codes.

9. Record the number of visits in which information was obtained from the informant.

10. Record total time for all visits in which information was recorded in the schedule, excluding time taken in transport but including time taken in explaining the schedule. This should give total time spent with the informant.

BLOCK II—FAMILY COMPOSITION

First record information separately for each member of the family inside Delhi, including all those who may have gone out on temporary visits. Any person staying with the family at present but only temporarily is not to be included as member inside Delhi *e.g.* a married daughter. But such other persons who are staying with the family permanently *e.g.* a separated or a widowed daughter or a sister or a daughter married but who has not entered the married life (pending *gona* or *chala*) are to be included inside Delhi.

1. While giving the serial numbers please adopt order as follows: Husband, wife, sons and daughters. In case a son or brother is married, his wife and children should be recorded just after him in the same order. Enter father, mother, brother and sister etc. just after the natural family. Please record sons and daughters at their appropriate places in order of age within each category.

Note: Draw a line after entering all the members of the family inside Delhi. Then record family members staying outside, if any.

2. Do not write any prefixes while writing the names such as, Shri, Dr., Ch. etc. Write in clear legible hand.

3. Use specified abbreviations. Sl. means brother's wife and not wife's sister; NW. means brother's son and not sister's son; NE. means brother's daughter and not sister's daughter; GS. and GD. stand for son's children.

6. Record age in completed years. For infants below one year write '0'.

8. Question about civil condition should be asked with respect to every individual of the family irrespective of age. Take care to distinguish between divorced and separated.

9. Literate is one who can both read and write.

10. Refers to the course completed. In case of an examination in a modern Indian language, please ascertain its equivalent; give the name of the examination if you are not sure about its equivalent.

11. Record specifically the training received for example typing, stenography, tailoring, masonry, electric-fitting, shoe-making and hair-dressing etc.

14. (A) Self-supporting person is one who is in receipt of an income, whether in cash or kind, which, in amount, is at least sufficient for his own maintenance.

(B) An earning dependent is one who is in receipt of an income whether in cash or kind, which is insufficient for his own maintenance. Please note that an unpaid family worker, even though he may not receive any income for himself has to be treated as an earning dependent because of the fact that he contributes his effort to an enterprise from which the family earns an income.

(C) A non-earning dependent is one who does not receive any income whether in cash or kind, and is solely dependent on the family for his maintenance.

BLOCK III—PRESENT EMPLOYMENT

Include here all the employed members of the family separately *i.e.* all those people who are working in one capacity or other for obtaining an income.

1. Serial Nos. as in Block II.

2. Occupation is the name of the specified function which a person performs *i.e.* it describes what he does. Record here the specific occupation giving the designation *e.g.* L.D.C. (Govt.), clerk, shop-assistant, washerman, sweeper, etc.

Note: Unpaid family worker is a person working without pay for at least one-third of a full time—day, month or year, in an economic enterprise operated by any member of the family.

6. Record the duration, in months, of the present employment *i.e.* time for which the person has continuously been in this occupation.

8. Here you have to note whether the person in question views his employment as secure in the sense that no change is

expected to occur in the near future. A permanent job is necessarily secure. In all cases you have to ascertain whether the nature of organisation, or of the job, in which he is employed promises him continuity and stability.

9. Employment is regular if the person concerned is expected to be in the job on all the working days of the year. Please note that for seasonal trades, there will be regularity of working in the relevant season and hence such seasonal employment is to be treated as regular. Casual employment is discontinuous and a person usually moves from place to place.

10. Record the number of working hours excluding recess.

11. The distance of the place of work from residence. For a hawker this distance is from his residence to the point where he begins his regular beat.

13. Record the time taken one way.

15. Try to obtain actual expenses in all cases.

17. Record here whether the person in question considers the transport arrangement on the whole as convenient or inconvenient.

18. Applies only to persons whose employment status is '2'.

19. The average monthly earnings, including all allowances except travelling allowance. In case of self-employed persons (employers or independent workers), obtain net earnings (net of all costs and not turnover).

21. Refers to calendar month.

23. Refers to the year ending with the preceding month.

25-26. Record here months of the year starting with January as '1', February as '2' and so on. For months in which employment is available for 3 weeks or more, the season is brisk; it is slack in the months in which employment is available for a week or less.

31-33. Usual place of work is one which the person in question frequents for work. If the person cannot indicate the usual distances ask him for the distance of the place where he worked for the largest number of days during the last month.

37. Same as column 17.

38-43. Refers to subsidiary employment which is next in order of income amount to the principal employment, the latter being the

one providing the largest income to the person who possesses two or more means of livelihood.

42. Total earnings from the subsidiary occupation for the whole year divided by 12.

44. Record for each person separately the sum of columns 19 or 29 and 42.

45. Average daily expenses.

48. Ask a straight question about the view of the person in question as to whether he is happy with his present occupation.

49. Put a straight question as to whether the person would prefer some other occupation to his present one.

52. You should ask finally if the family receives any additional income from such sources as land, houses, shares etc. and record the amount here together with the source.

BLOCK IV—UNEMPLOYMENT

Enter in this block all those employable persons in the family who are without work at present and are seeking employment. Include also those doing part-time work, unpaid family workers and even casual workers if they are seeking regular full-time jobs.

2. For a person who is seeking employment not for the first time, take period since the date he lost his last employment. For one seeking employment for the first time take the period since the date on which he was prepared to accept the job he was seeking.

8. Refers to monthly average income of the last year of the last employment.

12. Please insist on the informant's naming a specific job.

14. Record the minimum amount per month acceptable.

16. State whether the person is willing to leave Delhi for accepting the job he is seeking.

17. Please note precisely the reason given by the informant. If you find the space insufficient, record at the bottom of the page indicating both his serial number and the column number.

22. Record here specifically whether the person is registered with the employment exchange or not.

BLOCK V—EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

This information is sought in order to have an idea of the alternative occupations that the person might have actually followed in the past. Record only the last three occupations.

Please record information for all employed members and also unemployed members who were in employment any time in the past. Please trace the 3 employments in reverse order.

2. This serial number refers to employment separately of each person included here.

6. Record in months the period for which the person concerned was in the job under consideration.

8. Record the monthly average for the last year of the employment.

11. Specify the place of employment if he was employed previously outside Delhi.

BLOCK VI—EDUCATION

1. Record all members between the ages of 6 and 14 years, and also all such members of other ages now receiving education. Children studying include those studying at home also. In such cases record the course for which they are preparing at home in column 6 and make a note "at home" in column 19. First take all those members of the family who are studying and then those not studying.

2-3. As in columns 5 and 6 of Block II.

6. Record the class in which the person is presently studying using codes.

7-8. Use codes.

9. Record the number of hours, the student spends in the school.

10. Under reference here is the estimate for current academic year (if you do not get proper estimate, ask for actual expenditure incurred last year). Include here fees, cost of books, stationery, transport etc., which are expected to be incurred during the academic year. In case you have recorded in column 6 a course of shorter duration take total expenses and make a remark to that effect giving the duration of the course.

12. Enter '1' if the student is at present in receipt of a scholarship, freeship, stipend or any other monetary help and give the amount annually.

13. Use codes.

14. Record here specifically the work done by the person to help the family.

16-18. Please ask a straight-forward question as to whether the family is willing to educate the children; if yes, name the type of education that they desire to give.

16. If the answer is no, give reasons in col. 19.

17. Record the type of education, mentioning the qualification (degree, diploma or certificate) desired.

BLOCK VII—HEALTH, ILLNESS, BIRTHS AND DEATHS

A. Present Health

1. Record information separately for each member of the family as entered in Block II.

B. Illness

2. Record all illnesses under independent serial nos. for each member included.

5. In case a person has suffered the same illness at different times in the year, record them together under one serial.

9. Record total expenditure incurred during each illness, including cost of special diet prescribed for the patient.

C. Births

Record here all the births that took place in the family in or after 1946 or since their arrival in Delhi. Please record here births in the reverse order, recording the latest birth against serial No. 1.

D. Deaths

Record here all the deaths of members of the family since 1946 or since their arrival in Delhi.

BLOCK VIII—HOUSING CONDITIONS

1. Record here the present continuous stay of the family in Delhi in months. If the period is very long you may write the duration in years.

6. In case the house and the land are owned by different persons, take them down separately for A & B.

7. Please record total monthly rent that the person is liable to pay.

8. Record area in sq. feet.

10. Record specific causes of insanitation as given by the informant.

13. Indicate the broad locality to which the person would like to go.

14. How much means, how much rent in total would the informant be prepared to pay, (and not how much more).

15. The family may not like to shift from the present place of residence due to its nearness to place of work or because friends and relatives are staying there. Without further questioning record the reasons given by the informant.

16. Record the specific improvement which the informant suggests.

9-16. These are questions asked with a view to elicit the opinions of the informant and they should be asked as far as possible in the form they are given here.

BLOCK IX

A. Record, if any, the informant's remarks on the schedule or on your interview.

B. Record here your impression about the informant's ability to answer and willingness to answer, using codes.

C. Mention the columns or items of the schedule for which it was particularly difficult for you to obtain information and indicate where possible the reliability or otherwise of the information recorded in the different blocks (and columns) of the schedule.

APPENDIX IV

OCCUPATIONS FOLLOWED BY THE EMPLOYED MEMBERS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Occupations	No. of employed members	% of total
1. Manual (unskilled) labourers	588	13.32
2. Petty (retail) shop-keepers and shop-assistants.	463	10.49
3. Hawkers	346	7.84
4. Textile (including hosiery) workers	293	6.64
5. Cobblers	197	4.46
6. Tonga—and thela-walas	186	4.21
7. Clerks	183	4.14
8. Sweepers	168	3.80
9. Masons, plumbers etc.	156	3.53
10. Smelters, moulders, turners etc.	149	3.37
11. Peons	146	3.31
12. Mechanics, fitters, electricians etc.	140	3.17
13. Tailors, cutters, embroiders etc.	127	2.88
14. Carpenters, cane-workers, sawyers etc.	111	2.51
15. Dhobis (washer-men, drycleaners etc.)	96	2.17
16. Printing press (skilled) workers	63	1.43
17. Domestic workers	58	1.31
18. Drivers of auto-vehicles	53	1.20
19. Photographers, modellers	43	0.97
20. Metal smiths	40	0.91
21. Bakers	38	0.86
22. Agents, brokers, dalals etc.	33	0.75
23. Potters	31	0.70
24. Water-men	31	0.70
25. School teachers	30	0.68
26. Milk-men	26	0.59
27. Barbers	25	0.57
28. Accountants, Munshis, Patwaris etc.	21	0.48
29. Constables	18	0.41
30. Bus-conductors, ticket-checkers etc.	13	0.29
31. Compounders	11	0.25
32. Farmers	10	0.23
33. Chowkidars	9	0.20
34. Watch and fountain pen repairers	9	0.20
35. Teli (oil crushers)	7	0.16
36. Hakims and vaidis etc.	6	0.14
37. Petty contractors	5	0.11
38. Kebaris (junk dealers)	5	0.11
39. Bearers	5	0.11
40. Pandits	5	0.11
41. The rest	472	10.69
Total	4,416	100.00