

UNION TERRITORY OF DELHI
The Nature and Dimensions of Urban Poverty

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THE DIMENSION OF URBAN POVERTY IN DELHI

It seems to be paradoxical that one should talk of 'dimension of urban poverty' in Delhi which has the highest per capita income (of Rs. 5,464 at 1985-86 prices), amongst all the states and the union territories of the Indian Union. However, Delhi being the seat of the national government, it equally epitomises glaring inequalities at the national level in the distribution of income and wealth and the deprivation of a large segment of its population from the basic necessities of life. Besides the imperial garden city of New Delhi, the imposing skyline of its city centre brought about by a chain of skyscraper buildings, fashion shopping centres and arcades, lush green parks and open spaces, there is yet another Delhi consisting of a network of relocation colonies, squatter settlements, unauthorised colonies, a host of urban villages, officially notified slum areas of the walled city of Shahjahanabad and the alleys and footpaths of old Delhi giving shelter to the pavement dwellers. The inequalities and deprivations get manifested in these in its true and naked form.

These impressionistic observations apart, one does not come across specific studies of urban poverty per se in Delhi to throw light on its actual magnitude. Attempts have been made in the past to study urban poverty by analysing the socio-economic conditions obtaining in slums, squatter settlements and the

informal sector.¹ This perhaps does not give an objective picture of the state of actual urban poverty because neither all the workers engaged in informal sector nor all the people residing in slums have incomes below the poverty line.²

The extent of urban poverty is therefore ascertained in this study on the basis of the consumer expenditure data arising out of the various rounds of survey conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

The 27th round of the NSSO provides the benchmark data on consumer expenditure related to the consumption of calories by different expenditure classes on the per capita basis. A minimum intake of 2100 k calories per person in urban areas has been identified as the cut off point for identification of those who are poor.³ The consumer expenditure data for the 27th round (1972-73) are presented in Table 1.

It should be obvious from this Table that the required intake of k calorie is achieved in the monthly per capita

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1. T.K. Majumdar, Urbanising Poor : A Socio-economic study of Low Income Migrant Communities in the Metropolitan City of Delhi, Lancers Publishers, New Delhi, 1983; Birla Institute of Scientific Research, Immigration and Informal Sector, A Case Study of Delhi, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1980; S. Bhatnagar et al, Health Care Delivery Model in Urban Slums of Delhi (Mimeo), National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi, 1986; Communications for Development Possibilities and Reality, Situational Analysis of Women and Children in Union Territory of Delhi (Mimeo), UNICEF, Mid North India Office, 1988.
 2. NIUA, Urban Poverty : A Status Paper (Mimeo), New Delhi, 1989, Tables 7-14.
 3. For conceptual overtures see NIUA, Approach to Urban Poverty : A Position Note, (Mimeo), New Delhi, 1988, pp. 7-8.

expenditure class of Rs. 75-100. Therefore, the percentage of people below this expenditure class constitutes the urban poor in the Union Territory of Delhi. This comes to 56.18 per cent thus indicating that about 56.18% of the people residing in urban Delhi were poor in the early seventies. This is very much in conformity with the incidence of urban poverty then obtaining at the national level. The extent of urban poverty at the national

Table 1

Per Capita Consumption of Energy (k cal) per day and the Percentage of Estimated Number of Persons by Monthly Per Capita Expenditure Classes in Urban Delhi

Monthly Per Capita Expenditure Class (Rs.)	Per Capita Per day intake of K. cal.	% of Estimated number of Persons	Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (Rs.)	% of Food Expenditure to Total Expenditure
18-21	1051	0.93	19.33	17.73
21-24	1157	0.95	23.03	73.79
24-28	1322	2.23	26.17	76.49
28-34	1475	7.07	31.13	74.76
34-43	1578	11.36	38.28	70.90
43-55	1775	15.24	48.35	69.17
55-75	1917	18.40	63.98	64.85
75-100	2234	14.34	86.87	60.87
100-150	2607	15.12	121.08	55.03
150-200	3220	7.42	170.01	48.87
200+	3541	6.94	312.93	35.44
All Classes	2157	100.00	91.76	54.17

Source : NSSO, Sarvekshana, Vol. VI, Nos. 3-4, January-April, 1983, p.s - 85

level, according to the 27th Round was 58.06 per cent.⁴ In urban areas of Delhi, in terms of numbers, about 21.61 lakh people were living below the poverty line.⁵

4. NSSO, Sarvekshana, Vo. VI, Nos. 3-4, January-April, 1983, P.S. - 46.

5. Based on a projected urban population for 1972.

Before making an estimate of the existing magnitude of urban poverty in Delhi, it would be worth looking at the NSS data on average consumption of energy, in the four leading metropolitan cities of India. A look at Table 2 given below reveals that despite having the highest per capita income amongst all the states and union territories, the average intake of calories in Delhi is next only to Bombay and Calcutta.

Table - 2

Average Per Capita intake of Energy (K.cal) Per Day, Monthly Per Capita Expenditure on Food to Total Expenditure in the four big cities (1972-73)

Cities	Energy	Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (Rs.)	% of expenditure on food to total expenditure
Bombay	2206	95.11	57.90
Calcutta	2209	85.68	60.69
Delhi	2157	91.76	54.17
Madras	2052	69.20	57.87

Source : Sarvekhana, Vo. VI, Nos. 3-4, January-April 1983, p.9.

The Table suggests that the average per capita intake of k.cal per day is the lowest in Delhi except Madras, though the per capita monthly expenditure is next only to Bombay. As the percentage of expenditure on food in Delhi happens to be the lowest (Rs. 54.17), it indicates that the proportion of expenditure on non-food items in Delhi is higher than those of Calcutta and Madras.

The 27th Round of the NSS gives data on the intake of energy in the three sprawling metropolitan cities of India viz. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The comparison of the level of urban poverty in the four big metropolises is given in Table 3.

Table - 3

Magnitude of Poverty in the four big Metropolitan Cities of India (27th Round NSS Data - 1972-73)

City	% of People below the Poverty line
Bombay	59.9
Delhi	56.18
Calcutta	54.51
Madras	53.14

It should be obvious from the data given above that the magnitude of urban poverty in Delhi is next only to Bombay - yet another city which happens to be the major commercial and financial centre of India. The extent of poverty in Delhi is higher than even Calcutta which generally is thought to be a city of poor.

It is now more than a decade that 27th Round of the NSS was conducted. It would be therefore worthwhile to look at the existing magnitude and dimensions of poverty in urban Delhi. The constraints on the availability of data in this regard do not permit to estimate the incidence of urban poverty in Delhi. However, the 32nd and 38th Rounds of the NSS conducted during 1977-78 and 1983 respectively give the data on the proportion of households and persons according to the monthly per capita

expenditure classes. The expenditure class in which the per capita monthly expenditure at the relevant prices necessary for the required intake of calorie is achieved, has been used for estimating the extent of poverty in urban Delhi.

Table - 4

Magnitude of Urban Poverty in Delhi

Year	The Ratio of Urban Poverty (%)
1972-73	56.18
1877-78	33.33
1983	29.17

Source : Sarvekshana, Vol. VI, No. 3-4, 1983
Sarvekshana, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1986
Sarvekshana, Vo. IX, No. 4, 1986

A look at Table 4 reveals that the magnitude of urban poverty in Delhi is on a constant decline. It has declined from 56.18% in 1972-73 to 33.33% in 1977-78 and further down to 29.17% in 1983. This ostensibly suggests a welcome trend in the economy of the Union Territory of Delhi. Nevertheless, in terms of numbers, about 17.50 lakh people are still living in poverty.

Poverty is ineluctably related to employment and income level. It would be therefore useful to have a look at the employment situation in urban Delhi. This is done first on the basis of the working force data for comprehending the status of employment situation at the macro level in Delhi and subsequently at the micro level on the basis of various studies of Delhi's slums and squatter settlements where the poor live.

Employment in Urban Delhi

Data on working force and participation rate in urban Delhi are given in Table 5. A look at the data suggests an improving employment situation. The participation rate (31.65 in 1961) after getting a setback in 1971 (30.65) started looking up in 1981 as it increased to 32.21. It thus suggests that in the decade 1971-81, an increased number of people got engaged in gainful employment. The Table also indicates some disturbing trends. The data on the total applicants on the live register of the employment exchange in Delhi (Table 5) reveals that open unemployment has at the same time increased at a considerably high rate. It has increased from a mere 65000 in 1961 to 1.39 lakhs in 1971 and then to 2.92 lakhs in 1981. The average annual growth rate in open unemployment thus has been around 11% during 1961-81. This was so despite the fact that the growth in employment during 1971-81 (at the rate of 6.63% per annum) was higher than the growth in population (5.81%). This presents a rather very peculiar situation. Growth in unemployment at such a high rate even when the growth in employment is higher than the growth in population is perhaps a pointer to a very high degree of underemployment.

Table - 5

Growth of Employment and Unemployment in Urban Delhi					
Work Force and Population	1961	1971	1981	% Growth	
				1961-71	1971-81
1. Working force (in '000)	7.47	11.17	18.58	49.53	66.34
2. Participation Rate	31.65	30.65	32.21	-	-
3. Population (in '000)	23.59	36.47	57.68	54.60	58.16
4. Open un- employment (in '000)	0.65	1.39	2.92	113.85	110.07

Source : 1, 2 and 3, Census of India; No. 4, from Delhi Statistical Hand Book, 1988.

A grim unemployment situation has led to the proliferation of activities which are amenable to self-employment. A large segment of Delhi's population has taken recourse to informal sector. Here again the constraints on the availability of data on informal sector does not permit an objective analysis of employment situation. An attempt has, however, been made to estimate the number of people engaged in this sector in Table 6. But before we have a look at this Table, it is necessary to know the method of estimating it.

The Directorate of Employment collects information on employment under the Employment Market Information Programme on employment in the public and private sectors and non-agricultural establishments employing ten or more persons. Establishments employing less than ten workers are generally by their very

nature such that they belong to informal sector.⁶ The number of people working in informal sector has therefore been estimated by deducting the number of workers engaged the public and private sector establishments employing more than ten workers.

Table - 6

Number of Persons Engaged in Informal Sector in Urban Delhi				
Number of Persons	1961	1971	1981	1987*
1. Working Force in Urban Delhi (in '000)	7.47	11.17	18.58	23.95
2. Employment in Public and Private Establishments employing more than 10 workers (in '000)	3.30	5.68	7.18	8.35
3. % of 2 to 1	44.18	50.85	38.64	34.86
4. Employment in Informal Sector (in '000)	4.17	5.49	11.40	15.60
* Estimated				

The data given in Table 6 reveals that over the decades there has been increasing informalisation of employment situation in Delhi. As of 1981, the employment in informal sector constituted about 61% of the total working force. This is estimated to have increased to about two-third of the total working force in urban Delhi.

It is thus obvious from the analysis of Census data on working force that over the decades there has been marginal improvement in the employment situation as indicated by the participation rate of 1981 census. It has also revealed that due

6. Birla Institute of Scientific Research, In-migration and Informal Sector : A Case Study of Urban Delhi, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 19-20.

to very high rate of demographic growth, the employment market has not been able to absorb a large segment of Delhi's population. This has led to increase in open unemployment and increase in informal sector employment.

The Census figures apart, let us have a brief look at the NSS data arising out of quinquennial surveys on employment and unemployment. The data are available for the 27th Round (1972-73), 32nd Round (1977-78) and 38th Round (1983) for males and female separately and are given in Table 7 below.

Table - 7

Percentage of Workers to Total Persons of Age
5 years and above in Urban Delhi

Round	Usual Status		Current Week Status		Current Day Status	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. 27th Round (1972-73)	58.73	9.14	57.68	8.14	56.65	7.52
2. 32nd Round (1977-78)	58.87	10.41	60.42	10.79	59.91	10.14
3. 38th Round (1983)	58.46	13.35	59.91	12.91	58.18	12.55

Source : Sarvekshana, Vol. IX, No. 4, April, 1986.

It may be mentioned here that the data on current week and day status give a better account of the employment/unemployment situation.⁷ It is seen from this Table that employment situation

7. Sarvekshana, Vol. IX, No. 4, April 1986, pp. S 110-14

of the males has fluctuated a great deal between 1972-73 and 1983. However, despite the fluctuations the situation has improved as the current week participation rate increased from 57.68% in 1972-73 to 59.91% in 1983. The corresponding participation rate on the current day status has increased from 56.65% to 58.18%. For females the situation is found to be much brighter as the weekly participation rate increased on a regular basis from about 8% in 1972-73 to about 13% in 1983. On the basis of current day, the participating rate increased from 7.52% to 12.55%. This is corroborated by the NSS data on unemployment as well.

Table - 8

Percentage of Unemployed to total Persons of Age 5 and above in Urban Delhi

Round	Usual Status		Current Week Status		Current Day Status	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. 27th Round	2.04	1.48	2.57	2.12	3.25	1.98
2. 32nd Round	3.71	4.79	3.90	4.75	4.21	4.73
3. 38th Round	1.56	0.52	1.74	0.54	2.42	0.74

It should be obvious from this Table that the degree of unemployment has declined since 1972-73 both for males and females. This, however, does not mean that there does not exist any problem of unemployment. As mentioned above, open unemployment is on a constant increase firstly due to a very high rate of growth in population and secondly due to a high degree of underemployment.

Employment Situation in Slum Areas

Due to constraints on the availability of data on the employment situation amongst the slum population the analysis is based on some of the micro studies of slum configurations and a recent comprehensive survey of squatter settlements in Delhi.

According to a comprehensive study of squatter settlements in Delhi way back in 1976 (before they were relocated in relocation colonies) Mazumdar observed that of the total sample population of 78,560, only 32,035 were engaged in gainful employment.⁸ Thus less than even half of the total population (40.8%) was found to be employed giving a dependence ratio of 2.5 persons per worker. Of the employed persons, 8.2% were engaged as hawkers, vendors, petty businessmen and retail shopkeepers, 42.6% were engaged as construction workers, 28.6% were working as manual workers of various types, 10.80% as industrial workers, 8.8% in traditional skills and trades and the remaining 1.1% as low level white collar workers and semi-professionals. Of the total workers about 22% were women and 2.37% were children.⁹

A recent study of four slum localities (consisting of a relocation colony, a J.J. Colony, a construction site cluster and an old slum area of the Walled City), found that the employment situation has improved since 1976 as the participation rate is found to be 45.67%. This amongst the males was 57.4% and amongst

8. T.K. Mazumdar, Urbanising Poor, A Sociological Study of Low Income Migrant Communities in the Metropolitan City of Delhi, Lancers Publishers, New Delhi, 1981, Ch. 5.

9. Ibid, PP. 89-90.

the female 7%.¹⁰ However, even though the participation rate has improved, the dependency ratio (taken as age 0-14 and 60+ per 1000 persons in the age-group 15-59) was found to be 979 which is higher than the dependency ratio (854) at the national level.¹¹ Yet another matter of concern indicated by the data is the incidence of poverty amongst the children. The sample data revealed that 3.7% of the male children and 1.5% of the female children included the working force in the study areas.

According to a total survey of squatter clusters in urban Delhi and an indepth sample study of 29 clusters amongst the various clusters conducted by the DDA in 1983, out of the total sample population of 36,081, the number of earners was found to be 12,264 which gives a participation rate of about 34%. This thus reveals that the employment situation in the squatters settlements is very grim.¹² Of the workers, about 70% were engaged as labourer (20% as skilled and 50% as unskilled), 15% were engaged as hawkers and vendors, 5% as petty traders and shopkeepers, 4.3% in traditional trade and skills, 3% in miscellaneous activities, 2% as white collar workers and 0.7% as professionals.

10. S. Bhatnagar et al, Health Care Delivery Model in Urban Slums of Delhi, Part I (Mimeo), National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi, 1986, Pp. 38-40.

11. Ibid P. 30

12. DDA, Dimensions of Squatter Settlements in A Super Metropolitan City - Delhi (Mimeo), Socio-Economic Wing, City Planning, DDA, New Delhi, 1986.

Income Level

The data on income is very sketchy and it does not reveal any trend. Mazumdar found that in 1976, as many as 71% of the squatter household had an income of less than Rs. 250 per month. 23.7% of the households belonged to the income category of Rs. 251-450 and the remaining 5.3% of the households had an income of Rs. 450 and above. The average household income was Rs. 237 and the per capita income then was Rs. 149.¹³ The study of four slum areas in different parts of Delhi by Bhatnagar and others, however, reveals a strange situation. 70.6% of the households were found to have an income up to Rs. 500. Another 23.9% belonged to the monthly income category of Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 and 5.5% of the households had an income of more than Rs. 1000.¹⁴ It thus indicates that compared to the 1976 levels, the incomes have increased in 1986. This is corroborated also by an increase in the average household income which has increased from Rs. 237 in 1976 to Rs. 453 in 1986. However, in per capita terms, the income is found to have declined from Rs. 149 in 1976 to Rs. 89 in 1986. As the family size has also not increased during the period an improved income level accompanied by a fall in per capita income is difficult to explain. The DDA survey of squatter settlements in 1983 further confounds the confusion. It reveals that 94.68% of the households belong to the monthly income category of Rs. 500 and below¹⁵ as against 70.6% in 1986.

13. T.K. Mazumdar, op.cit, p. 123

14. S. Bhatnagar, op.cit, p. 26.

15. DDA, op. cit, p.62

These variations and divergencies could be explained in terms of the secrecy clouding the reporting of income data at the time of survey. Mazumdar gives a hint on the difficulty in extracting information on income levels from the respondents.¹⁶ These divergencies notwithstanding, the sample studies at two different points of time (Maszumdar and Bhatnagar and others) do reveal an improved income situation. The fall in income levels as indicated by the DDA survey is an indication of very low income levels in the squatter settlements per se.

16. Majumdar, op. cit, p. 123

MIGRATION AND URBAN POVERTY

Poverty, deprivation and marginalisation of a very large segment of population are the by-product of the basic lags and deficiencies in the structural transformation of the national economy as also an unequitable distribution of the fruits of development. These get exacerbated in the urban settlements in general and in the metropolitan cities in particular by a very high rate of population growth brought about by distress migration from the rural settlements. The push factor operating in the rural areas due to subsistence and even below subsistence level of living compels the people to flock to the urban areas in search of the sources of livelihood. Delhi is not at all an exception to this. It has been experiencing an explosive rate of demographic growth, a very large proportion of which is brought about by migration. Rural migration coupled with the natural increase leads to deprivation and proliferation of squatters' settlements, squated bustees and slums. It would be therefore desirable to look at Delhi's demographic growth and the role of migration in it for understanding the informalisation of economic activities and urban space as also the reasons for migration and the type of economic activities in which the migrants get absorbed.

The trend in the growth of Delhi's population is given in Table 1. It is seen from the Table that after the initial trauma of partition of the country the demographic growth of urban Delhi has settled around 56 per cent per decade. This is fairly a very

high rate of growth. In absolute terms, about 1.29 lakh people were added to Delhi's urban population per year during the sixties which increased to 2.12 lakhs during the seventies. This means that metropolitan cities of the size of Lucknow and Jaipur are being added to Delhi's population each decade. The economic and urban infrastructure implications of this magnitude of demographic growth are obvious.

There are basically three components of growth in urban population viz. (i) natural increase (ii) extension of urban areas and (iii) immigration. What has been the contribution of these components to Delhi's urban population growth? We present the data on it for the last four decades, i.e. from 1941 to 1981 in Table 2.

It should be obvious from this Table that natural increase and immigration had been the major components of Delhi's urban population growth. Natural increase had been adding an increasing proportion of population growth as its share increased from about 39% in the decades 1941-61 to 43% during 1961-71. Likewise immigration accounted for about 60 per cent of population growth during the forties. This, however, declined to about 34 per cent during the fifties and then increased more than 51 per cent during the sixties. Population growth due to increase in the physical areas was accounting for about 27 per cent of population growth during the fifties which declined to 5.61 per cent in the next decade.

Table - 1

Growth of Population in Delhi 1901-1981

Year	Population			% Variation		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
1901	405819 (100.00)	508575 (51.40)	197244 (48.60)	-	-	-
1911	413851 (100.00)	232837 (56.26)	181014 (43.74)	+2.0	+11.7	-8.2
1921	488452 (100.00)	304420 (62.32)	184032 (37.68)	+18.0	+30.7	+1.7
1931	636246 (100.00)	447442 (70.33)	188804 (29.67)	+30.3	+47.0	+2.6
1941	917939 (100.00)	695686 (75.79)	222253 (24.21)	+44.3	+55.5	+17.7
1951	1744072 (100.00)	1437134 (82.40)	306938 (17.60)	+90.0	+106.6	+38.1
1961	2658612 (100.00)	2359408 (88.75)	299204 (11.25)	+52.4	+64.2	-2.5
1971	4065698 (100.00)	3647023 (89.70)	418675 (10.30)	+50.9	+54.6	+39.9
1981	6220406 (100.00)	5768200 (92.73)	452206 (7.27)	+53.0	+58.16	+8.00

Source : Census of India.

Table - 2

Components of Population Growth in Urban Delhi 1941-1981
(Increase in lakhs)

Component	1941-51	1951-61	1961-71	1971-81
1. <u>Absolute Increase</u>	7.41	9.22	12.88	20.82
2. Natural Increase	2.96	3.55	5.58	7.29
3. Extension of Urban Areas	-	2.54	0.72	4.87
4. Net Migration	4.45	3.13	6.58	8.66
<u>% Increase Due to</u>				
5. Natural Increase	39.91	38.51	43.33	35.02
6. Extension of Urban Areas	-	27.51	5.61	23.39
7. Net Migration	60.10	33.98	51.06	41.59

Source : For the period 1941-71, from Gangadhar Jha, Local Finance in Metropolitan Cities : A Study of Delhi, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1988 and for the period 1971-81, NIUA, Pattern of Migration in the NCR (Mimeo), New Delhi, 1986.

However, during the seventies, the role of natural increase as well as immigration seems to have declined to a great extent. The share of natural increase declined from about 43 per cent in the decade 1961-71 to 35 per cent in the last decade. Similarly the role of immigration has declined from about 51 per cent during the sixties to 41.59 per cent in the last decade. It thus suggests that the extent of population growth due to natural increase and immigration has declined. Nevertheless in absolute terms, the contribution by these is substantial - about 7.29 lakhs due to natural increase and 8.66 lakhs by way of immigration. Immigration thus still accounts for a higher growth in Delhi's population than the natural increase.

The Migrant Population

In order to comprehend the nexus of rural migration with the extent of urban poverty and the growth of informal sector as also the informal settlements let us look at the migrants in Delhi in terms of their size, educational attainments, age-groups to which they belong and their employment status. The total number of immigrants in urban Delhi is given in Table 3 below.

Table - 3
Immigrants in Urban Delhi 1981

Pace of Migration	Number		
	Male	Female	Total
1. Last Residence Else- where in India	1378284	1081015	2459299
a. within the State of Enumeration	156506	129984	286490
b. From beyond the place of Enumeration	1221778	951031	2172809
2. From Countries Abroad	197852	166389	364241

Source : Census of India 1981, Part V A & B (V), Table D-3.

According to this Table, the 1981 census enumerated about 28.24 lakh people in Delhi as immigrants. The immigrants thus constituted about 49 per cent of Delhi's urban population in 1981. Of the total immigrants, about 2.86 lakhs belonged to the Union Territory of Delhi itself. Thus about 25.37 lakh people have migrated to Delhi from other states of Indian Union. This constitutes about 44 per cent of Delhi's urban population in 1981. If we exclude the immigrants from the foreign countries, about 56 per cent of the total internal migrants are male and about 44 per cent as female. It thus indicates that a larger segment of the migrants are lone migrants who to begin with migrate alone and only after getting absorbed in some gainful employment, they move their families.

This is corroborated by the data on the reasons for migration as reported by the migrants. This is presented in Table 4.

On the face of it the Table shows that the highest proportion (42.40%) of the migrants migrated because the family moved to the city of Delhi. But when analysed for the males and females separately, it should be obvious from the Table that the larger proportion of male migrants (47%) reported 'Employment' as the reason for migration to the city of Delhi. It is important to note that even some of the females migrated basically in search of employment. 4.68 per cent of the migrating females reported 'Employment' as the reason for migration.

Table - 4

Distribution of Migrants According to the Purpose of Migration

Purpose of Migration	Number of Migrants		
	Male	Female	Total
1. Employment	739198 (46.90)	58435 (4.68)	797633 (28.25)
2. Education	45068 (2.86)	21798 (1.72)	66566 (2.36)
3. Family Moved	549808 (34.88)	647464 (51.91)	1197272 (42.40)
4. Marriage	5715 (0.36)	348828 (27.96)	354543 (12.56)
5. Others	236348 (15.00)	171178 (13.73)	407526 (14.43)
Total	1576137 (100.00)	1247403 (100.00)	2823540 (100.00)

Source : Census of India, 1981, Migration Tables

Age and Educational Attainments of Migrants

An idea about the educational attainments of the migrants will throw light on the type of economic activities they are generally absorbed in and hence the level of income. The data in this regard is presented in Table 5 along with the age-groups of the migrant population in Delhi.

The data on the age of the immigrants in Delhi suggest that the economically active population (15-59 years) constitutes more than 80 per cent of the total migrant population. Children and

the old constitute only 13.47 per cent and 6.25 per cent of the total migrant population respectively.

A look at educational attainment of the immigrants suggests that a substantial proportion of them are illiterate. As much as much as 47 per cent of the immigrants in the age group of 15 to 59 years are illiterates. If we include the next category of those who are educated up to less than matriculation, as many as about 70 per cent of the migrant population in Delhi are either illiterate or with very little educational attainments. It could be safely assumed that the people belonging to these two categories are unlikely to be absorbed in white collar jobs. Hence by virtue of their low educational attainments they are supposed to be engaged either in petty jobs or in informal sector as self-employed. In both the situations they are likely to belong to very low income groups. Quite many of them could even be without a regular job. The data on educational attainments of the immigrants in Delhi thus suggests that a very large number of rural migrants come to Delhi without attaining any educational standard and hence some of them get absorbed in low-wage employment while others either enter the informal sector activities with low incomes or are compelled to live in poverty and deprivation.

Table - 5

Percentage Distribution of Migrants According to Educational Attainments and Age, 1981

Educational Level of Migrants	Age-group				Total
	0-14	15-29	30-59	60+	
1. Illiterate	68.47	58.94	33.11	47.47	49.97
2. Below Matric	31.28	18.49	27.81	29.56	24.34
3. Matric but below Graduate	0.24	14.73	22.33	14.67	15.58
4. Technical Diploma or certificate not equal to Degree	-	0.46	1.19	0.55	0.67
5. Graduate and Post-Graduate other than Technical	-	6.67	13.02	6.54	8.11
6. Technical Degree or Diploma equal to P.G. Degree	-	0.70	2.54	1.21	1.32
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Earlier in Table 4, we have analysed the distribution of migrant population according to the reason for migration and saw that about 7.98 lakh people migrated to Delhi in search of employment. It would be interesting to look at this segment of the migrant population for gaining knowledge on the proportion of this group actually engaged in gainful employment. We first present the data on literacy in Table 6.

This Table when read with Table 5 presents an interesting situation. To recapitulate the analysis in Table 5, as many as 70 per cent of the immigrants in Delhi belonging to the economically active population was found to be either illiterate

or with a very low educational attainment (below matriculation). The data in Table 6, however, present an entirely different situation. It indicates that more than two-third (67.12%) of the immigrants who came to Delhi in search of employment are literate. Only about one-third of them are found to be illiterate. Thus a majority of the migrant population in Delhi have come with some level of literacy though we do not know from this data the level of their educational attainment. It thus indicates that the prospects of their being absorbed in gainful employment is not as grim as it is thought to be on the basis of analysis of Table 5. With a view to gain insight into the actual employment situation of this group of migrant population we present the data on the distribution of migrant population who reported 'Employment' as the reason for migration according to work status in Table 7.

Table - 6

Distribution of Migrants to Urban Delhi who Reported 'Employment' as the Reason for Migration According to Literacy, Sex and Age Group, 1981

Age Group	Literate			Illiterate			Gra Tot
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
0-14	5495	1790	7285	8508	3303	11811	1909
15-19	27337	1794	29131	21274	2369	23643	5277
20-24	72866	3686	76852	32405	4509	36914	11376
25-29	85837	4215	90052	33326	4351	37677	12772
30+	318265	13745	332010	133653	18340	151993	48400
All Age Group	509800	25530	535330	229166	32872	262038	79736

Source : Census of India, Part V, A & B (VI), Table D-4.

Of about 7.98 lakh people who migrated to Delhi in search of employment as much as 88 per cent are found to have been engaged in employment as 'Main Worker'. The percentage of those who are working as 'Marginal Worker' is negligible (0.22%). Only 10 per cent of this group is found to be unemployed. Thus the participation rate amongst the immigrants is found to be very high and it thus presents a very happy situation so far as the employment situation is concerned.

So far as the employment of women is concerned, the participation rate is found to be very low. We have earlier seen in Table 4 that about 58.50 thousand females had reported 'Employment' as the reason for migrating to Delhi. Table 7, shows that out of 58.50 thousand only about 24 thousand females are belonging to the category of 'Main Worker'.

The analysis of the migrants who have come to Delhi mainly in search of the sources of livelihood thus indicates a very happy situation so far as the participation of male members of the migrant population is concerned. The work situation for the women folk is found to be grim. Even for the male members, though the participation rate is found to be very high, we still do not know their earnings for understanding the extent of their poverty and deprivation. However, drawing from some of the micro studies of squatter settlements and relocation colonies in Delhi, we have already seen that a major proportion of them belong to low income brackets and hence happen to be below the poverty line.

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Migrants to Urban Delhi who R
for Migration According

Age Group	Main Worker			Marginal Worker			Ma
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
0-14	7675	910	8585	66	4	70	626
15-19	43075	1905	44980	285	12	297	525
20-24	99225	3831	103056	418	34	452	562
25-29	116644	4005	120649	259	23	282	225
30+	423647	13367	437014	542	113	655	2742
All Ages	690266	24018	714284	1570	186	1756	468

Source : Census of India 1981, Migration Tables

Note the Grand Total will not tally as the total in Col. 13 forms p
firures in Col. 10.

To conclude, the analysis of migration to Delhi has shown that it along with natural increase is substantially contributing to the demographic growth of Delhi. Though by virtue of having a very strong economic base and being a major centre of distributive trade in the entire north and north-west India, Delhi has been offering employment opportunities to them but not to all of them. This adds to the problem of unemployment and underemployment. Even substantial proportion of those who are fortunate to get a source of livelihood by virtue of their low educational attainments and skills, their earnings are very low with the result that they are not able to come out of poverty and deprivation.

SHELTER

In the first Chapter we have identified the urban poor on the basis of expenditure data as a proxy for income levels. This is in conformity with the official definition of urban poverty. There is, however, lack of unanimity in accepting the conceptualisation of poverty based only on the extent of calorie consumption for, the "indices of poverty based entirely on personal expenditure linked with calorie values are totally one sided".¹ Poverty therefore needs to be defined on the basis of a "suitable index of poverty incorporating all the relevant factors which affect the quality of life".² Poverty is in fact characterised by deprivation from fulfilling even the basic need of shelter and basic services and amenities. It would be therefore apt to look into the type of shelter available. This will further throw light on deprivation which is an important dimension of poverty. Accessibility to the basic services like water, health and sanitation etc. is examined in the subsequent chapters.

Before analysing the type of shelter available for the poor in Delhi, it would be apt to first work at the proportion of Delhi's urban population living in slum and squalid conditions. This would serve as an important indicator of deprivation and hence of poverty.

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1. A.M. Khusro, "Poverty of Poverty Analysis", The Economic Times, 1 October, 1984.
 2. M.M. Ansari, "Poverty Analysis : A Reply", The Economic Times, 20 July, 1985.

The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), based on the sample survey gives an estimate of slum population in Delhi.³ However, the estimates have several limitations. First, for the metropolitan cities, the data relate only to 'declared' slum areas. Hence the estimates are on the lower side. Second, the proportion of population living in slums is worked out on the basis of 1971 population. It was due to these two limitations that the Task Force of Planning Commission on Housing and Urban Development while reporting on shelter and slum improvement worked out its own estimates.⁴ A comparative situation of slum population in the metropolitan cities is given below.

Table - 1
Estimated Slum Population in Metropolitan Cities, 1981
(Population in '000)

Name of the city	1981 Population	Estimated Slum Population			
		Low		High	
		%	Popu- lation	%	Popu- lation
1. Calcutta	9166	35	3208	40	3666
2. Greater Bombay	8227	40	3291	45	3702
3. Delhi	5714	45	2571	50	2857
4. Madras	4277	30	1283	35	1497
5. Bangalore	2914	20	583	25	728
6. Hyderabad	2528	20	506	25	632
7. Ahmedabad	2515	20	503	25	629
8. Kanpur	1688	40	675	45	760
9. Pune	1685	15	253	20	337
10. Nagpur	1298	30	389	35	454
11. Lucknow	1007	35	352	40	403
12. Jaipur	1005	25	251	30	302

Source : As in foot note 4 below.

3. Sarvekshana, Vol. III, No. 4, April, 1980.

4. India (Planning Commission), Task Forces on Housing and Urban Development, IV, Shelter for the Urban Poor and Slum Improvement, New Delhi, 1983. Ch. II

The data thus depict that Delhi has the highest proportion of population living in slums. Even we take the average of low and high estimates the proportion of people living in slums comes to 45.5 per cent. Delhi surpasses even Calcutta and Kanpur in this respect. In absolute terms, about 27 lakh people (average of high and low) are residing in slum areas. This gives an approximation of the extent of grim shelter conditions for the urban poor.

An analysis of housing and shelter conditions obtaining in urban Delhi presents even more grim a situation. According to a recent study conducted by the DDA, as many as three-fourth of Delhi's population lives in substandard areas as is shown below.

Table - 2

Population living in Substandard Areas

Type of Area	No. of people (Million)
1. Unauthorised Colonies	1.2
2. Jhuggi Clusters	0.8
3. Resettlement Colonies	1.0
4. Urban Villages	0.3
5. Rural Villages	0.5
6. Notified Slum Areas	0.8
Total	5.6

Source : DDA, Dimensions of Squatters Settlements in a Super Metropolitan City Delhi (Mimeo), 1986, P. 89.

In fact, the proportion of people living in squalid conditions will be still higher as the estimate of population living in J.J. clusters is on the lower side as discussed subsequently in this Chapter. The scenario presented in the Table above thus reveals that a very huge segment of Delhi's

population is deprived of healthy and wholesome environment to live in. The situation of shelter is aggravated in the main by a very high rate of migration to Delhi. A large section of the immigrants to Delhi belongs to the lower strata of the society who are pushed by the subsistence and even below subsistence level of living in rural areas. As the formal housing programme is not in a position to cater to the shelter needs of these migrants, they put up their hutments wherever they find an open space. Between 1951 and 1973, the overall annual rate of growth of squatter households was found to be 11.8 per cent as compared to that of 4.5 per cent for the city as a whole.⁵ The squatter population has been thus increasing by more than twice the rate of increase of the households in Delhi. The growth of squatter families is presented in Table 3.

Table - 3

Growth of Squatter Population in Delhi 1951-1983

Year	No. of Squatter Families	% Growth
1951	12749	-
1956	22414	75.81
1961	42814	91.01
1966	73693	72.12
1971	115961	57.36
1973	141755	22.24
1976	20000	-85.89
1980	98709	393.55
1983	113386	14.87

Source : Upto 1973 from T.K. Mazumdar, Urbanising Poor; from 1976 onwards DDA, Op.cit, 1986

5. T.K. Mazumdar, Op.cit, p. 30

It should be obvious from this Table that the squatter population has been growing in Delhi at a very fast rate. It reached the crest in 1973 and declined in 1976 especially because as many as about 1.50 lakh squatter families were relocated in planned relocation colonies during the national emergency. The pace of increase in squatter population thus declined tremendously. However, Delhi being a centre of economic activities and a major centre of distributive trade in the entire north and north-west India has continued to attract the low income migrants from far and wide with the result that the pace of increase in squatter population gathered the momentum soon after the 1976 relocation. Since 1976 the squatter family has increased at an average rate of growth of more than 66 per cent. The growth of squatter population at this rate completely overwhelms any planned effort to provide them shelter even at the basic minimum standard. As of 1983, the total number of squatters comes to about 5.5 lakhs. According to the latest estimate, there are about 652 Jhuggy (hutments) clusters in various areas. A survey of about 450 of them has revealed that there are about 2.12 lakh jhuggies having a population of about 15 lakhs.⁶ This constitutes about 18 per cent of urban population of Delhi. The analysis of the NSS data has earlier revealed that about 29 per cent of urban population is living in poverty. It thus suggests that a substantial proportion of urban poor is living in squatter settlements. A recent survey by the

6. Statement given by the Lt. Governor of Delhi, The Hindustan Times, 6 August, 1989.

DDA has revealed that the squatter families have an average monthly income of Rs. 300 and hence all of them are living below the poverty line.⁷

What is the condition of jhuggies which provide them the shelter? With a view to comprehend the structural condition of the shelter of the urban poor, the data on the type of structures are presented below.

Table - 4

Distribution of Jhuggies According to the Type of Structures

Type of Structure	%
1. Mud wall with Thatched Roof	73.54
2. Khokha	10.50
3. Brick and Mud Wall with Asbestos Roof	14.40
4. Pucca Wall with Asbestos Roof	0.13
5. Pucca Wall with Tin Roof	1.34

Source : DDA, 1986 Survey.

The data reveal that about three fourth of the squatter families are residing in Katcha structures having mud wall and thatched roof. The absence altogether of pucca structure with pucca wall and roof is quite conspicuous. Prevalence of thatched structures on a very large scale has made the shelter of a majority of the squatter families susceptible to fire hazard. An indepth survey of 29 jhuggi clusters revealed that they were prone to several harmful environmental pollutants. All the 29 clusters surveyed were found to be suffering from noise, smell

7. DDA, Op.cit, 1986, P. 23

pollution and fire hazard. 5 of them were found to be polluted by dust and 4 were suffering from smoke pollution. 7 clusters were found to be prone to water stagnation. The marginals are thus found to be living in shelters which are extremely injurious to their health. This notwithstanding, the basic economic urge to manage their living compels them to reside where ever they are able to find a space.

Relocation of Squatters

We have seen earlier that the squatter settlements have continued to grow over the years. Attempts have been made in the past to provide them wholesome living environment by relocating them on planned locations. Upto 1986, in all, 42 relocation colonies have been developed in various parts of Delhi to relocate the squatters. It may be seen from Table 5 that more than 1566 ha. of land has so far been used to develop about 2.16

Table - 5

Relocation of Squatters in Delhi

Year	No. of Colonies Developed	No. of Plots		Total	Area in Hect.
		21 Sq.mt.	67 Sq.mt.		
Upto 1974	18	49019	3845	52864	598.40
1975 to 1980	16	148262	-	148262	968.07
1981 to 1986	8	14915	-	14915	N.A
Total	42	212196	3845	216041	1566.47

lakh plots mostly of 21 sq. mts. for relocation of the same number of squatter families. It is worth noting that these 2.16

lakh plots have been developed as "camping sites" where the allottees do not have any ownership right over the plots allotted to them. The allottees are required to erect structure on the allotted plots on their own. The relocation colonies have been planned and developed with only rudimentary services like low cost water supply and sanitation which are provided on community basis, street lighting circulation pattern, open spaces etc. A study of the relocation colonies on the basis of a composite index of indicators like average time spent on journey, regularity of bus service, adequacy of water supply, average distance from public latrine, average distance from medical dispensary, average distance from posts and telegraph office, availability of park and play grounds and the distance from market before the relocation and after suggests that the situation was much better while they were residing in squatter settlements than in the relocation colonies.⁸ Now there is found to be a shift in public policy in this regard. Development of Jhuggi Jhopri Relocation Colonies is now being replaced by Sites and Services Scheme where each plot will be provided with individual W.C. and the plots will be given to the beneficiaries on hire-purchase basis.

Having analysed the situation in slum and squatter settlements, let us now look at the type of shelter presently existing in the slum localities. This is done on the basis of a

8. Girish K. Misra and Rakesh Gupta, Resettlement Policies in Delhi, IIPA, 1981, Pp. 88-90.

sample survey of 4073 households conducted by the NIUA. The localities included in the Sample Survey are Jaffrabad, Lalbagh, Sawan Park, Nabi Karim, Tigri, Shahbad, Kabir Nagar, and Khichripur. The areas included in the survey are thus widely scattered all over Delhi and they also represent different types of slum. The physical feature of the shelter put up by the slum dwellers is given in Table 6.

Table - 6
Percentage Distribution of Shelter According to the Type of Structure

Locality	Type of Structure				Total
	Pucca	Semi-Pucca	Katcha	Others	
1. Jaffrabad	0.86	69.79	29.35	0.00	100.00
2. Lalbagh	0.26	45.97	51.95	1.82	100.00
3. Nabi Karim	46.23	0.88	49.25	3.64	100.00
4. Tigri	0.00	0.36	99.04	0.60	100.00
5. Shahbad	9.35	0.48	89.93	0.24	100.00
6. Kabir Nagar	2.00	57.00	41.00	0.00	100.00
7. Sawan Park	19.21	22.17	58.62	0.00	100.00
8. Khichripur	62.74	0.69	35.88	0.69	100.00
Total	17.90	22.52	58.48	1.10	100.00

The Table depicts that more than half of the total shelter stock for the slum dwellers in Delhi is katcha structure. If we include the semi pucca structures as well as much as 81 per cent of the shelter are of sub-standard type. Amongst the various slum localities the katcha structure are abounding in Tigri which

is near Khanpur Slum Area (99.03%), Shahbad (89.93%) located on the G.T. Karnal Road beyond Azadpur Mandi, Sawan Park (58.62%), Lalbagh and Nabi Karim (49.25%) which is located within the Walled City of Shahjahanabad. It is surprising to note that despite being part of the old city, Nabi Karim has substantial number (49.25%) of Katcha structures. Khichripur, one of the relocation colonies developed under the cloud of controversy during the national emergency in the late seventies presents a very happy situation. Within about a decade of its development as many as 62.73 per cent of the structures belong to the pucca category indicating an improved income levels of the occupants. A high proportion of pucca structures (46%) in Nabi Karim is because of the fact that it is part of the Walled City which by and large has preponderance of pucca structures though majority of them are now in the dilapidated state. Jaffrabad, Lalbagh and Tigri virtually do not have any pucca structures. The former two along with Kabir Nagar seem to be in the intermediary state as a substantial proportion of the shelter stock belongs to the semi-pucca variety.

Structural condition of the shelter is dependent on (a) the extent of ownership and (b) income levels. Whereas the former provides a motivation to bring about improvement in the physical structure, the latter is a crucial variable for effectuating the motivation. We therefore present in Table 7 below the data on the tenancy status of the slum dwellers in the study area.

Table - 7

Percentage Distribution of Structures According to the Status of Occupants

Locality	Owner	Tenant	Others	No Response	Total
1. Jaffrabad	88.16	10.48	0.25	1.11	100.00
2. Lalbagh	1.30	0.26	0.00	98.44	100.00
3. Nabi Karim	86.31	10.80	0.00	2.89	100.00
4. Tigri	81.91	2.65	0.12	15.32	100.00
5. Shahbad	98.08	1.20	0.24	0.48	100.00
6. Kabir Nagar	96.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
7. Sawan Park	67.00	32.51	0.00	0.49	100.00
8. Khichripur	94.45	4.86	0.00	0.69	100.00
Total Delhi	79.32	7.22	0.10	13.36	100.00

The Table presents a very happy situation as about four-fifth of the households happen to be the owner occupiers of the constructed shelters. Only in Sawan Park about one third of the total households are still living as tenants. The situation in Lalbagh is confusing as 98.44 per cent of the respondents did not offer any response. This is primarily because of the fact that it is still an unauthorised settlement and the respondents hesitate to give the actual status. In rest of the localities an overwhelming segment of the households happens to be the owners of their shelter.

When read with Table 6, it presents an interesting situation. The extent of pucca structures is found to be directly correlated with ownership only in two slum localities viz. Khichripur and Nabi Karim where the proportion of ownership and pucca structures is 94.44 and 62.73 per cent and 86.31 and 46.23 per cent respectively. In other localities, viz. Jaffrabad, Shahbad, Tigri, Kabir Nagar and Sawan Park the extent

of ownership is not at all found to be related with the type of structure. Thus in Tigri even though about 82 per cent of the households happen to be the owners of their shelter, the pucca structure is completely non-existent. One could thus draw a conclusion that in Khichripur and Nabi Karim, the income levels of the households are relatively higher than other slum localities. A low income levels of the households in the rest of the localities has probably not permitted them to improve the structural condition of their shelter despite the fact that a very large section of the households already have the motivation as they are the owners.

The analysis of Shelter situation obtaining in Delhi thus suggests that a very large proportion of urban population is living in slum and squatter settlements where they are deprived of healthy environment to live in. It also suggests that there is a constant growth of people living in squatter settlements which present the worst form of deprivation and urban poverty. It is worth noting that as many as 12,072 households in urban Delhi were found to be sleeping on pavements according to the 1981 Census.⁸ In terms of population, it involves 22,516 persons who are not privileged to have even a roof over their head. This is now estimated to have increased to 45,000 people.⁹

8. Census of India, Delhi, Part II A & B, Series 28.

9. On the basis of discussion with the Official of the Slum Wing, DDA.

ACCESSIBILITY TO SERVICES

In early chapters we have analysed the dimension of urban poverty in the Union Territory of Delhi in terms of the minimum calorific consumption and the type of shelter available to the urban poor. As mentioned earlier, poverty basically means deprivation. The extent of poverty and its severity could be judged by looking at the accessibility of the poor to the basic services. We therefore analyse in this Chapter the accessibility of the slum dwellers and squatters to four basic services viz. water, snaitation, health, and education. While the first three services are absolutely essential for healthy living and hence for the existence of the poor, the latter is indespensable for human resource development in the slum areas. The accessibility to these services are analysed for the families living in the Jhuggi-Jhopri settlements and slum localities seperately. Data for this have been drawn from a survey of squatters conducted by the DDA; for the slum localities the analysis is based on the primary data collected through a sample survey and indepth interviews of selected respondents on the basis of a structured questionnaire in eight slum localities.

Water Supply

Besides food, clothing and shelter, water is yet another basic utility for survival. As mentioned earlier, there were more than 1.13 lakh families with a population of about 5.67 living in as many as 536 settlements and clusters in 1983.

Of the 29 J.J. clusters selected for indepth study by the DDA, not a single cluster was found to have the tapped water supply. All the 29 clusters depend for water supply on the handpumps. Of the 29 clusters, only 13 had the handpumps available within the cluster. In 16 J.J. clusters, the inhabitants had to draw water from the handpumps located on the peripheries. Thus a majority of families residing in the J.J. clusters have to fetch water from some distance from out side the squatter settlements. Beyond this we do not know the extent of distance covered for feteching the water, quality and potability of the water and other alternative arrangement, if any, for water supply.

The NIUA survey throws light on these aspects of water supply in the eight slum localities covered by it. The accessibility to water supply is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Percentage Distribution of Households
According to the Sources of Water Supply

Area	No.of H.H.	Tap	Hand Pump	Mark II Hand Pump	Well	Pond	River	Others	Total
1.Zafrabad	811	80	20	-	-	-	-	-	100
2.Lalbagh	385	55	45	-	-	-	-	-	100
3.Nabikarim	796	89	11	-	-	-	-	-	100
4.Tigri	829	35	65	-	-	-	-	-	100
5.Shahbad	417	100	neg.	-	-	-	-	-	100
6.Kabir Nagar	200	36	38	26	-	-	-	neg	100
7.Sawan Park	203	55	26	15	1	-	-	3	100
8.Khichripur	432	19	81	-	-	-	-	-	100
Total	4073	62	36	2	neg.	-	-	neg	100

The Table shows that the water supply situation is better in the slum localities than in the squatter settlements. More than three-fifth (62%) of the households surveyed, have the benefit of tapped water supply. The remaining 38 per cent of the households depend for water on the handpumps. Taking the individual slum localities sperately, the water supply situation appears to be very comfortable in Shahbad, Nabi Karim and Zafrabad as the tapped water supply system is obtaining in these localities for a substantial proportion of families residing there. Incidentally, they also happen to be old settlements now forming part of the built up area. Only in Khichripur, Tigri and Lalbagh, a very large proportion of the households are still depending on handpumps for their requirement of water. Whereas Khichripur happens to be a relocation colony developed in the late seventies, Tigri and Lalbagh consist of squatter settlements. It is worth noting that in none of the areas, the sources of water supply is other than the piped water and handpumps.

The analysis of Table 1 thus shows seemingly a happy situation so far as the sources of water supply are concerned. However, it does not throw light on the distance from which the water through water tap and handpump is drawn. We therefore present the data on it in Table 2 for measuring the accessibility to water supply.

Table 2

Percentage Distribution of Households According to Distance from Public Sources of Water Supply

Area	No.of H.H.	Distance from Sources (ft.)				Total Pump
		<50	50-100	>100	No Response	
1.Zafrabad	706	7	20	72	1	100
2.Lalbagh	353	58	34	4	4	100
3.Nabikarim	411	56	33	3	8	100
4.Tigri	809	4	24	67	5	100
5.Shahbad	416	21	61	18	neg	100
6.Kabir Nagar	163	54	13	32	1	100
7.Sawan Park	129	43	13	42	2	100
8.Khichripur	184	30	15	43	12	100
Total	3171	25	29	42	4	100

The data given in Table 2 relate only to those households who are using the public sources of water supply and do not have their own private arrangement. It is worth noting that out of 4073 households surveyed, only 902 households were found to have the private water supply system. As many as more than 85 percent of the households are thus depending for water on the public sources of water supply. A substantial proportion of these households are drawing water from a distance of more than 100 feet. Only one fourth of the sample households are drawing water from a distance of less than 50 feet. Amongst the sample areas, the accessibility to water does not seem to be easier particularly in Jafrabad, Tigri, Khichripur and Sawan Park because a very large proportion of the families have to fetch water from a distance of more than 100 feet. In Tigri and Khichripur in particular, the fetching of water seems to be an arduous exercise as a major proportion of the families are drawing water from the handpumps and from larger distances.

Thus, though water is found to be "accessible" to the slum dwellers, a large number of families have to fetch it from some distance.

What about the quality of water? Is it potable? The perception of the respondent households about the potability of water is tabulated in Table 3.

Table 3
Percentage Distribution of Households According
to Their Perception of Potability of Water

Area	No. of H.H.	Potable	Not Potable	No Response	Total
1. Jafrabad	811	85	15	neg.	100
2. Lalbagh	385	89	11	-	100
3. Nabikarim	796	93	3	4	100
4. Tigri	829	5	95	-	100
5. Shahbad	417	97	2	1	100
6. Kabir Nagar	200	85	15	-	100
7. Sawan Park	203	91	9	-	100
8. Khichripur	432	24	76	-	100
Total	4073	66	33	1	100

It is obvious from this Table that one-third of the families living in the sample slum areas feel that the water is not potable. There appears to be a coorelation between the non-potablity of water and the source of water supply. Earlier we have seen that about 36 per cent of the families in these slum areas draw water from handpump. Table 3 suggests that the same percentage of families think that the water is not potable. One could therefore deduce from this that water supply from the handpumps is not potable. It is worth recalling from Table 1 that of the 38 per cent of the families drawing water from

handpump, only 5 per cent draw water from the Mark II hand pumps which is said to be better than the conventional handpumps so far as the quality of water supplied is concerned.

The observation that water supplied from the handpumps is not potable is corroborated by looking at the opinion of the sample households in the various sample slum areas as well. In Tigri and Khichripur, for example, 95 per cent and 76 per cent of the households respectively said that water is not potable. When relating their observation with Table 1, it appears that these are also the localities where maximum number of families are depending on handpumps for water. This proportion in Tigri comes to 65 per cent and 81 per cent in Khichripur. This correlation holds good in Lalbagh and Kabirnagar as well. Thus collectively the quality of water in the sample slum localities is not good for about one-third of the households. Individually, the quality of water appears to be very bad especially in two slum localities, viz. Tigri where 95 per cent of the households say that water is not potable and also in Khichripur where 76 per cent of the families feel that water is not potable.

Is the water supply adequate in the slum areas surveyed? A look at Table 4 indicates that more than half of the total households do not get adequate water supply in the eight slum localities. Water situation is found to be most acute in Tigri and Shahbad where 94 per cent and 75 per cent of the households respectively do not have accessibility to adequate quantity of water. It is worth noting that Shahbad has piped water supply

system. The supply from this is perhaps very erratic. Even in Khichripur where 81 per cent of the household depends on the handpumps, the availability of water is not said to be adequate by 48 per cent of the households. The reasons reported for the inadequate supply of water include short duration of water supply, low pressure and long queue at the public stand post.

Table 4

Percentage Distribution of Households
According to the Adequacy of Water Supply

Area	Adequate	Not Adequate	No Response	Total
1. Jaffrabad	42	58	-	100
2. Lalbagh	68	32	-	100
3. Nabikarim	49	47	4	100
4. Tigri	6	94	-	100
5. Shahbad	24	75	neg.	100
6. Kabir Nagar	66	34	-	100
7. Sawan Park	64	33	3	100
8. Khichripur	52	48	-	100
Total	40	59	1	100

The analysis of accessibility to water supply thus reveals that although the various sources of water supply exist in the slum localities, the "accessibility" is not adequate because of several reasons. First, a large proportion of the households have to fetch water from long distances. Second, water is not found to be potable again by about one-third of the total families living in the slum areas. Third, the water supply is not said to be adequate by as many as 59 per cent of the households.

Sanitation

Sanitation is yet another basic amenity which every civilized society should have. The survey conducted in eight

bustees, as mentioned before, indicates that latrines on the community basis exists in six out of the eight busties. The proportion of households having private latrines as also those depending on community latrine is tabulated in Table 5.

Table 5

Percentage Distribution of Households
According to the Type of Latrine

Area	Private Latrine	Community Latrine	Using Open Space	Total
1. Jaffarabad	16	-	84	100
2. Nabikarim	21	78	1	100
3. Khichripur	3	93	4	100
4. Kabir Nagar	-	12	88	100
5. Shahbad	neg.	19	81	100
6. Tigri	-	83	17	100
7. Lal Bagh	1	71	28	100
8. Sawan Park	8	-	92	100
Total	8	51	41	100

It should be obvious from this Table that only a miniscule proportion (8%) of the total households has the benefit of having private latrine. A very large segment of families in the bustees surveyed use the community latrine (51%). As many as 41 per cent of the families use open spaces instead. This is found to be a widespread practice in Kabir Nagar, Shahbad, Jaffrabad and Sawan Park. The extensive use of open space at this scale, besides indicating the degrading living conditions in the bustees, has serious implications for public health. In Khichripur, Tigri, Nabi Karim and Lalbagh, a majority of the residents have been provided latrine on community basis. The survey data reveal that in all the eight slum localities selected for survey, as many as 2085 families out of 4073 families use the community latrines.

Thus approximately, half the families seem to be using the community latrines.

On closure examination, it is found that the people are not using them on a regular basis. The information collected reveals that out of 2085 households only 42 per cent of them use the community latrines regularly. 44 Per cent of the households do not use them regularly. The remaining 14 per cent of the respondents did not offer any response to this question. The reasons for not using the community latrines regularly include over crowding, dirtiness, lack of water, and long distance from house (Table 6). More than one-third of the households (39%) who do not use the community latrines regularly, do so because they are "over crowded". Another 30 per cent of them said that the latrines are too "dirty" to use; one-fifth of them said that they do not use them as there is scarcity of water. 9 per cent of such households do not use them as they are located far from their houses.

Table 6
Percentage Distribution of Households
Who do not use the Community Latrines
According to the Reason for it

Area	Over Crowded	Dirty	Lack of Water	Unsafe	Very far
1. Jaffrabad	-	-	-	-	-
2. Nabi Karim	29	57	-	-	14
3. Khichripur	31	63	-	-	6
4. Kabir Nagar	3	19	6	34	38
5. Shahbad	35	43	20	-	2
6. Tigri	47	27	23	1	2
7. Lal Bagh	13	7	16	2	62
8. Sawan Park	-	-	-	-	-
Total	39	30	20	2	9

It may be noted that in Jaffrabad and Sawan Park there does not exist any community latrine. The intensity of the factors which prevents the use of community latrines varies from bustee to bustee. Over crowding appears to be the most important reason in Tigri, Shahbad, Khichripur and Nabikarim. Dirtiness is the reason reported by a substantial proportion of families in Khichripur, Nabikarim, Shahbad and Tigri. Lack of water appears to be the problem in Tigri and Shahbad. Long distance from the house appears to be the reason in Lal Bagh, Kabir Nagar and Nabi Karim. Much is desired especially in Lalbagh to properly locate the community latrines.

As mentioned earlier, only about 8 per cent of the households have their own private latrines. Of the remaining households, as many as about 88 per cent wanted to have their own latrines. This indicates that a vast majority of the households wish to have their own latrines. When asked to indicate reasons for not having it, 28 per cent of them said that it was expensive so that they are not in a position to afford the cost. The largest proportion of the households (37%) said that there is no space for the latrine to be constructed. Another 18 per cent said that they can not have it as they do not own the land.

Affordability for installing private latrines: Having known the desire to have private latrine, we wanted to know their paying capacity for installation of private latrines. The respondents were therefore asked to indicate the amount of money they could afford to pay as the cash down payment for it. It is

sad to note that only 14 per cent of those households (3278) who want to have private latrines were found to be in a position to make the payment in one go. On further probing to know the amount of money they could afford, only 3 per cent of them could come out with an answer that they can afford the full cost (Rs. 1200) of installation. 7 per cent said that they were in a position to pay only up to Rs. 200 as cash down payment. Another 3 per cent said that they could pay Rs. 400 to Rs. 600 for this. It is thus obvious that a very large segment of the families are not in a position to pay for the private latrine installation in one go. Only about 53 per cent of the families indicated that they could pay for it in one go but only up to Rs. 200. In Khichripur, about one third (34%) of the families indicated that they could make the full payment on the cash down basis.

Willingness to pay in instalments: Another 25 per cent straightway said that they cannot pay for it even in instalment. Another 43 per cent of the respondents did not offer any response to it. Of those who are willing to pay for in instalments, only 13 per cent said that they could pay up to Rs. 25 only on the monthly basis. Another 3 per cent could afford to pay between Rs. 25 to 50 and yet another 3 per cent said that they could pay between Rs. 50 to 100 per month for the installation of private latrine. Only in Jaffrabad and Sawan Park a substantial proportion of the respondents indicated to pay in instalment but only up to Rs. 25 per month. The proportion of such families in Jaffrabad comes to 75 per cent and in Sawan Park, it comes to 66 per cent.

It should be thus obvious that even though a very large segment of the bustees dwellers wish to have a latrine of their own, they have a very low affordability. Therefore if at all the installation of private latrine becomes feasible, it has inevitably to be based on subsidy.

Garbage Disposal

Disposal of garbage is very important component of sanitation. The survey of the selected bustees reveals that only in 50 per cent of the bustees, the facility for rubbish depot has been provided for. In the rest of the bustees, there does not exist any such facility. When asked to indicate as to how and where do they dispose off the rubbish, only 14 per cent of the total sample households (4073) said that they disposed it in the depots provided for it. It thus indicates that even though the disposal facility has been provided for in some of the bustees, a very small proportion of the households infact are availing themselves of this facility. More than one third (37%) of the households said that they threw the garbage just outside their houses. Another 30 per cent of the households said that they threw it in the street. Only in Khichripur, about 90 per cent of the households were found to be using the depots for disposal of the garbage. In all the rest of the slum localities, throwing of the rubbish on to the street and outside the house is found to be a common practice.

When asked to indicate as to why they were not using the depots provided for garbage disposal, 21 per cent of the households said that the depots were located far from the house.

The analysis of garbage disposal thus reveals that firstly only half of the selected bustees have the facility of garbage depots. Secondly, even though such facility exists, the residents are not making use of it.

Health

The accessibility of the urban poor to health services is analysed first on the basis of certain key indicators of the state of health of the slum dwellers and second on the basis of the health facilities available to them. Under the first category we take the variables like infant and child mortality and morbidity rate, causes of infant and child mortality and morbidity. Under the second category are included facilities like immunisation, antenatal care etc. and the availability of general health services.

Infant and Child Mortality Rate

The data on infant mortality rate (IMR) reveal that the infant mortality rate in the eight slum localities selected for this study is very high. It is obvious from the figures given below that the IMR comes to 112. This is a very high rate when compared with the average IMR for urban India and Delhi. The IMR for the urban areas of India was 66 per 1000 live births in 1984.¹ The average for Delhi comes to 39.69 for the year 1985² which suggests that the extent of health services available in

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1. NIUA, Accessibility and Adequacy of Basic Services to the Urban Poor: A Preliminary Assessment, (Mimeo), New Delhi, 1989, p. 54.
 2. Delhi Administration, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Statistical Hand Book, Delhi, 1988, p.46.

Delhi is relatively better. However, a look at Table 7 reveals that the existing health services are perhaps not equitably available to all the sections of Delhi's population. This is deduced from a very high IMR in the study area which is found to be about three times higher than the average for Delhi. As many as half-the bustees within the study area are found to have higher IMR than the average for the study area as a whole. It thus suggests that the health services available in the slum areas is not adequate.

Table 7
Infant Mortality Rate

Area	Male	Female	Total
Sawan Park	190	210	200
Kabir Nagar	71	31	50
Tigri	100	128	116
Lalbagh	184	182	183
Nabikarim	63	53	58
Khichripur	93	128	110
Shahbad	48	76	63
Jaffrabad	178	146	162
Total	110	113	112

A comparison of the child mortality rate (CMR) with the IMR presents a very peculiar situation suggesting thereby that the health care for children (age 0-14 years) is better than the infants (age 0-1 years). The CMR in the study area is found to be only 18 which indicates a very happy situation. However, there is found to be a great deal of deviation from this average. In Shahbad, it is found to be 49 and Kabir Nagar it is 40. Whereas there is not found to be any difference between the IMR for male and female, in the case of CMR, there is found to be considerable difference. Thus in Kabir Nagar, the CMR for the

male is found to be 23 as against 56 for the females. Likewise in Shahbad, the male CMR is found to be 30 against 72 for child female. The prevailing value system of giving a lot of importance to the male child perhaps explains this situation.

The analysis of infant morbidity rate and the child morbidity rate also reveals that the former is higher (22) than the latter (17).

Causes of IMR

The analysis of reasons for the IMR does not present any pattern. About 33 per cent of the infant deaths are found to be caused by miscellaneous diseases not to be grouped under a single category. Amongst the specific ailments, Diarrhoea/dysentary is found to explain 19 per cent of the infant death (Table 7 in the Appendix); 7 per cent of the total death is explained by pneumonia and another 7 per cent by disorder of the respiratory system. Jaundice, Measles and Flue each are found to be explaining 6 per cent of the infant death. Amongst the children, again more than one-fourth of the death is explained by miscellaneous type of ailments (Table 8 in the Appendix). In this case also, Diarrhoea/ Dysentary is found to be accountable for 19 per cent of the death. Next in order comes Typhoid, Measles, Jaundice and Dipthiria, Pneumonia and Tetanus.

An enquiry into the causes of infant and child morbidity suggests that Diarroea/Dysentary accounts for as much as 40 per cent of the infant morbidity. Fever comes next explaining 27% of the infant morbidity. The incidence of Diarrhoea is found to be

very high (higher than the average for the study area) in Lalbagh (70%), Nabikarim (76%), Khichripur (60%), Tigri (47%) and Shahbad (45%). Other ailments, explaining infant morbidity include Measles, Respiratory disorders, Typhoid, Diptheria and skin diseases (Table 9 in the Appendix). Amongst the children, fever is found to be the reason for child morbidity to the extent of 35 per cent (Table 10 in the Appendix).

Health Facilities

We analyse the extent of health facilities obtaining in the study areas in terms of (a) immunisation of children, (b) Ante-natal Care, and (c) facilities for child delivery.

Immunisation

There are 2632 children in the age group of 1-4 years in the study area which constitutes 2.26 per cent of the total population. The proportion of children already immunised is given below.

Table 8
Immunisation of Children, 1-4 years

Area	No. of children	% Immunised			No response
		Fully immunised	Partially immunised	Not immunised	
Sawan Park	84	80	16	4	-
Kabir Nagar	161	50	43	7	-
Tigri	584	9	53	20	18
Lalbagh	162	19	48	33	-
Nabikarim	489	47	45	8	-
Khichripur	229	30	52	18	-
Shahbad	332	10	51	31	8
Jaffrabad	591	26	44	30	-
Total	2632	27	47	21	5

The Table shows that a little over one-fourth of the children in the age-group of 1 to 4 years has been fully immunised and another 47 per cent has been partially immunised. Only 21 per cent of the children has not been brought within the coverage of immunisation programme. It appears that there exists the facility for this but still about one-fourth of the children have not been immunised probably because of lack of proper education and understanding amongst the parents.

Taking the various bustees within the study area separately, the coverage of immunisation is the highest in Sawan Park, Kabir Nagar, Nabikarim and Khichripur.

Ante-natal Care: As regards the health care for women, an attempt was made to ascertain the extent of ante-natal care and health checks during pregnancy. The data reveal that out of 2641 women requiring ante-natal care, more than half of them (53%) were getting TT injections. The rest of them were not getting TT injection (Table in the Appendix). Thus approximately about half of the target group is not covered by it. The information, however, reveals that 70% of the pregnant ladies were getting regular medical checkups. This again throws light on the lack of will or perhaps the lack of education itself which has still left a large section of the women out side the health care. However, there is found to be a great deal of variation from these averages in the various bustees. In Shahbad, for instance, 72 per cent of the pregnant women were not getting TT injection. Other bustees with considerably large number of such women are

Tigri, Lalbagh, Jaffrabad and Kabir Nagar. As regards checkups, 46 per cent of the women in Tigri are not getting themselves checked up. Other such areas are Sawan Park, Jaffrabad and Shahbad (Table 11 in Appendix).

Where do the women go for check up? We have seen that 70 per cent of the women go for check up. Of them, 41 per cent go to the Mother and Child Health Centre (MCH) and another 14 per cent go to the hospitals. Another 6 per cent consult the local 'Dai' and 7 per cent go to the private doctor (Table 11 in the Appendix). The ratio of women going to the private doctor in the various bustees of the study area is higher in Lalbagh (17%) and Jaffrabad (16%). In all the other bustees, the public institutions and agencies are found to be generally made use of for check ups during pregnancy (Table 12 in Appendix).

Of the 30 per cent of women who were not found to be going for check ups, about one fourth of them said that they were doing so because according to them there is no need for such check up. The percentage distribution of women not going for checks by reasons is given in Table 13 in the Appendix.

Place of Child Delivery: An overwhelming proportion of women in the study area (75%) were found to be using their home only for the delivery of the child. Only 17 per cent were found to be going to the government hospital for delivery. Another 3 per cent were found to be going to the Maternity Home. (Table 13 in Appendix). Nabi Karim appears to be the only bustee where the highest number of women (35%) amongst the various bustees were

found to be going to government hospital for delivery. This is probably due to the fact that it has a very large women's hospitals located near the Jama Masjid.

A very high proportion (60%) of women were found to be using the services of a 'Dai' at the time of delivery. The highest number (34%) of women were found to be using the services of untrained 'Dai' (Table 13 in Appendix). 26 per cent of women used the services of trained 'Dai'. Only about a fourth (24%) were found to be using the services of a doctor.

The analysis of health facilities in the slum localities thus reveals that even though immunisation of children, ante-natal care and check up of the women folk are having a wide coverage, the infant mortality rate rate is very high. This is probably due to the lack of education on part of the slum households about the existence of facilities in their areas as also due to the lack of will. The data clearly show that this also might be due to the fact that more than one-third of the women are using the services of untrained Dai at the time of delivery.

Education: As mentioned earlier, education is essential for the development of human resource so that it could lead to development of various skills which will enable the beneficiaries to find a gainful employment. This is especially important for the poor living in slums. The institution for imparting education are (a) Angan wadis, (b) Balwadis and (c)

School. We analyse the accessibility of the urban poor in Delhi on the basis of enrollment of the children in these institutions.

The enrollment of children in the age-group of 3 to 5 years in the Balwadis and Anganwadis (Bw & Aw) is presented in Table 9. There are, in all, 2334 children in the age-group of 3 to 5 years within the study area. The proportion of children going to the Bw & Aw is found to be almost negligible. As much as 92 per cent of the children in this age-group is not enrolled in the Bw & Aw. In Tigri, not a single child in this age-group is found to be enrolled in the Aw & Bw. Only in Khichripur about one-fourth of the children is found to be enrolled and this happens to be the highest proportion amongst all the bustees within the study area.

We analyse the reasons for not going to the Aw & Bw in Table 10. We have seen in Table 9 that 92 per cent of the children do not go to the Aw & Bw. Of them, the largest group (22%) were not going because the Aw & Bw were said to be too far from their houses. Other reasons given are that the child does not learn anything at the Aw & Bw (5%), the parents are unable to pay their fee (5%) and childrens' help is required in the house (4%). These are very important reasons and have all important policy implications. The distance factor seems to be very important especially in Tigri (51%), Jaffrabad (29%) and Sawan Park (23%). The quality of the Aw & Bw seems to be very bad especially in Sawan Park and the affordability seems to be the important reason in Lalbagh. The opportunity cost of children going to Aw & Bw

seems to be high especially for the parents in Kabir Nagar and Sawan Park.

Table 9
Enrollment of Children in Anganwadi and Balwadi

Area	Children 3-5 years No.			% enrolled			% not enrolled		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. Jaffrabad	272	237	509	7	8	7	93	92	93
2. Lalbagh	80	65	145	13	20	16	87	80	84
3. Nabikarim	227	220	447	13	5	9	87	95	91
4. Tigri	270	232	502	-	-	-	100	100	100
5. Shahbad	150	141	291	5	7	6	95	93	94
6. Kabir Nagar	71	67	138	10	4	7	90	96	93
7. Sawan Park	47	43	90	19	16	18	81	84	82
8. Khichripur	119	93	212	27	22	25	73	78	75
Total	1236	1098	2334	9	7	8	91	93	92

Table 10

Percentage Distribution of Children According to the
Reasons for Non-enrollment in Anganwadi/Balwadi

Area	% not enroll- ed	Reasons for non-enrollment						No res- ponse
		Too far	Child does not learn	Unable to pay fee	Child's help needed at home	Aw/Bw not good	Any other	
1. Jaffrabad	93	29	10	7	3	3	23	18
2. Lalbagh	84	11	16	20	3	-	12	22
3. Nabikarim	91	2	2	1	1	-	10	75
4. Tigri	100	51	-	5	1	-	14	29
5. Shahbad	94	11	3	3	5	10	39	23
6. Kabir Nagar	93	14	6	3	18	5	6	41
7. Sawan Park	82	23	22	3	15	19	-	-
8. Khichripur	75	3	1	-	1	-	1	69
Total	92	22	5	5	4	3	16	37

The enrollment in school for the children in the age-group of 6 to 11 years is given in Table 11. The data with respect to the enrollment in school, as is obvious from the Table, shows a happier situation. Approximately three-fourth (72%) of the children in this age-group are found to be enrolled in schools. However, the ratio of female children going to the school (67%) is found to be lower than that of the male child (77%). Amongst the various bustees, only in Tigri the proportion of children going to the school is found to be low (50%).

A look at Table 12 reveals that out of 28 per cent of the children who are not going to school, the largest group (50%) is found not to be going to school as their parents feel that the opportunity cost of their going to school. Other reasons given are that the school is useless to study, the inability of the parents to pay fee, and that the school is too far.

The analysis of educational facilities thus reveals that the situation is very grim for the age-group 3 to 5 years. This is not so for the age-group 6 to 11 years.

Table 11

Percentage Distribution of Children in the Age-group of 6-11 years According to Enrollment in Schools

Area	No. of children			% of enrollment			% of non-enrollment		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. Jaffrabad	401	361	762	70	60	65	30	40	35
2. Lalbagh	91	73	164	81	78	80	19	22	20
3. Nabikarim	396	375	771	84	80	82	16	20	18
4. Tigri	304	297	601	59	42	50	41	58	50
5. Shahbad	177	137	314	79	64	72	21	36	28
6. Kabir Nagar	86	89	175	76	57	66	24	43	34
7. Sawan Park	103	77	180	84	75	81	16	25	19
8. Khichripur	203	183	386	95	93	94	5	7	6
Total	1761	1592	3353	77	67	72	23	33	28

Table 12

Percentage Distribution of Children not going to School by Reasons

Area	% of non-enrolled	Reasons							No res-
		Helps at home	School not good	Fail- ed and left	Child works	Un- able to pay fee	Too far	Other	
1. Jaffrabad	35	6	2	1	2	10	5	6	3
2. Lalbagh	20	3	-	1	-	4	-	1	11
3. Nabi- karim	18	1	3	-	1	-	-	3	10
4. Tigri	50	6	1	-	-	6	9	6	22
5. Shahbad	28	11	1	-	-	4	1	5	6
6. Kabir Nagar	34	17	2	1	1	4	-	4	5
7. Sawan Park	19	9	3	-	-	-	2	2	3
8. Khichri- pur	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Total	28	5	2	-	1	4	3	4	9

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Though Delhi tops the list of States and Union Territories of Indian Union so far as the per capita income is concerned, it is not an exception in epitomising the national inequality in the distribution of income and deprivation of the basic services and amenities. With an average per capita income of Rs.5,464, Delhi also had about 56 per cent of its population living in poverty in 1972-73 according to the National Sample Survey Organisation data on minimum consumption of 2100 k calories. In terms of numbers, the people living below the poverty line was 21.61 lakhs. This according to the 32nd round of the NSSO declined to 33.33 per cent in 1977-78. The 38th round of the NSS reveals that by 1983, it further declined to 29.17 per cent of urban population. In terms of numbers, this still means about 17.50 lakh people.

Employment

Poverty is related to unemployment and income. The analysis of census data reveals that in the decade 1971-81 the participation rate increased from 30.65 to 32.21 suggesting that an increased number of people were engaged in gainful employment. However, the open unemployment has also increased from 1.39 lakh in 1971 to 2.92 lakh in 1981. It thus presents an amazing situation: even though the rate of population growth is found to be around 5.81 per cent per annum during 1971-81 and rate of growth in employment is found to be higher than this (6.63 per cent per annum) unemployment increased by about 11 per cent per annum during the same period. This is perhaps an indicator of a very high degree of underemployment. The mounting unemployment

has led to informalisation of economic activities on a large scale. As of 1981, employment in informal sector constituted about 61 per cent of the total working force. Thus with a very high rate of demographic growth, the employment market has not been able to absorb a very large segment of Delhi's population. This has led to increase in open unemployment, underemployment and increase in informal sector employment. This is despite an improvement in employment situation in Delhi as is revealed by the analysis of census data as also the employment and unemployment data arising out of the 27th, 32nd and 38th round of the NSSO. A recent survey of a few slum localities in Delhi also corroborates this trend as the participation rate is found to have increased from 40.8 per cent in 1976 to 45.67 per cent in 1983. Despite this, the dependency ratio comes to 979 which is higher than the dependency ratio (854) at the national level. The survey data also reveal the incidence of poverty amongst the women and children. The employment situation is found to be very grim especially in the squatter settlements. A recent survey of squatters by the DDA found that the participation rate in the squatter settlements is only 34 per cent.

Income

The data on income happen to be sketchy and they also do not present any trend. In 1976 about 71 per cent of the households in squatter settlements had an income of Rs.250 per month. According to another survey in 1986, 70.6 per cent of the households in slum localities had a monthly income of Rs.500 which indicates an improved situation. The average household

income is found to have increased from Rs.237 in 1976 to Rs.453 in 1986. However, in per capita terms, income is found to have declined from Rs.149 in 1976 to Rs.89 in 1986! As the family size has also not increased during this period, an improved income level accompanied by a fall in the per capita income is difficult to explain. The DDA survey of squatters in 1983 further confounds this confusion. According to this, 94.68 per cent of the households belong to the monthly income category of Rs.500 and below as against 70.6 per cent in 1986. These divergencies are probably explained by the secrecy clouding the reporting of income by the respondents. Nevertheless, a fall in income levels indicated by the DDA survey is an indication of a very low level of income in the squatter settlements.

Migration and Urban Poverty

Urban poverty is said to be the spill over of rural poverty and is brought about by the "push" factor operating in rural areas. The analysis of population growth in Delhi reveals almost an explosive rate of demographic growth which has come to stabilise around 56 per cent per decade. On annual basis, this indicates that Delhi increases its population by about 2.12 lakhs per year. Migration is found to be contributing a larger proportion of growth in population. During the seventies, for example, it added 8.66 lakh people to the Delhi's population as compared to 7.29 lakhs added by the natural increase.

The 1981 census enumerated about 28.24 lakh people in Delhi as immigrants. This constitutes about 49 per cent of Delhi's

urban population in 1981. 56 per cent of the internal migrants were male and 44 per cent female indicating thereby that a larger segment of migrants are lone migrants. The analysis of migrants according to the reason of migration reveals that the largest group of 47 per cent of male migrants moved to Delhi in search of employment. Amongst the female, the ratio is 4.68 per cent. What type of employment the migrants get absorbed in? The analysis reveals that about 70 per cent of the migrants are illiterate or with very little educational attainments. Hence it could be safely assumed that they are not likely to be absorbed in white collar jobs. They therefore get engaged in petty jobs mostly in informal sector. Hence they are likely to belong to low income group and are compelled to live in poverty and deprivation.

Deprivation

Poverty defined only on the basis of consumer expenditure does not give a full account of poverty. Poverty is more than the economic ability to sustain biologically. It also means deprivation of the basic necessities of life. We therefore analyse deprivation of the low-income people from proper shelter and basic services and amenities like water, sanitation, health and education.

Shelter

A study conducted by the Planning Commission's Task Force on Housing and Urban Development reveals that between 45 to 50 per cent of Delhi's population is residing in slums. This is the highest amongst all the metropolitan cities of India. This in

itself is an important indicator of the deprivation of a very large segment of Delhi's population from a wholesome environment to live in. This is corroborated also by a recent study conducted by the DDA. Accordingly, about three-fourth of Delhi's population lives in substandard areas like unauthorised colony, Jhuggi clusters, Resettlement colonies, urban villages, rural villages and notified slum areas.

As the formal housing programme is not in a position to cater to the shelter needs of the migrants, they put up their hutments wherever they find open spaces. Since 1976, the squatter household has increased at an average rate of growth of more than 66 per cent per annum. As of 1983, the total number of squatters comes to about 15 lakhs constituting about 18 per cent of urban population of Delhi. The analysis of NSS data has earlier revealed that about 29 per cent of urban population is living in poverty. It thus suggests that a substantial proportion of urban poor is living in squatter settlements.

Taking shelter in jhuggies (hutments) itself indicates the extent of deprivation. About three-fourth of the squatter families are residing in katcha structures with mud wall and thatched roof. An indepth survey of 29 squatter settlements reveals that all of them were suffering from noise, smell pollution and fire hazard. 5 of them were found to be full of dust and 4 were suffering from smoke pollution. 7 clusters were prone to a water stagnation.

The squatters' settlements apart, even in other slum localities the shelter situation is grim. A sample survey of eight different types of bustees by the NIUA reveals that more than half of the total shelter stock for the slum dwellers in Delhi is katcha structure. If we include the semi-pucca structures as well, about 81 per cent of the shelter is of sub-standard type.

The analysis of deprivation of shelter thus reveals that even though only about 29 per cent of the population is found to be below the poverty line according to consumer expenditure data, between 45 to 50 per cent of the population is deprived of wholesome environment to live. About 18 per cent of urban population in Delhi is living in abject deprivation of shelter as they are residing in Jhuggis which do not have even the rudiment of living environment. Besides, about 45000 people are estimated to be living and sleeping on the pavements.

Water

Of all the 29 squatter settlements selected for an indepth study by the DDA, not a single cluster was found to have the tapped water supply. The squatters have to depend on the handpumps. Here too, only 13 settlements have handpumps available within the cluster. The accessibility to water is found to be relatively better in the slum localities than the squatter settlements. More than three-fifth of the households are found to have the benefit of tapped water supply. The remaining families depend for water on the handpump. However, out of 4073 households surveyed, only 902 of them have private

water supply system. Thus more than 85 per cent of the households are drawing water from public sources. A substantial proportion of them fetch water from a distance of more than 100 feet. As a large segment of the households are depending on handpumps, the quality of water is not found to be good. About one-third of the families living in the study area feels that the water is not potable. Amongst the study area, about 95 per cent and 76 per cent of the respondents in Tigri and Khichripur respectively said that the water is not potable. As regards adequacy of water supply, more than half of the total households does not get adequate supply of water. The problem seems to be very acute in Tigri and Shahbad where 94 and 75 per cent of the households respectively do not have accessibility to adequate quantity of water. The reasons reported for this include short duration of water supply, low pressure and long queue at the public standpost.

The analysis of accessibility of water supply thus reveals that although the various sources of water supply exist in the slum localities, the accessibility is not adequate first because a large proportion of the households have to fetch water from long distances. Second, water is not found to be potable by about one-third of the total families living in slums. Third, water supply is not said to be adequate by about 59 per cent of the households.

Sanitation

The analysis of availability of latrines also presents a grim situation. Out of eight bustees selected for study six have

only the community latrines. Only 8 per cent of the total households has the private latrines. As many as 51 per cent of the families in bustees use the community latrine only. As many as 41 per cent use only the open space for attending to the call of nature. Out of 51 per cent who use the community latrines, only 42 per cent of them use it on a regular basis. The reasons for not using them include the factors like over crowding, dirtiness, lack of water and long distance from the house.

Of the 92 per cent of the households who do not have their own latrines, 28 per cent feel that they can not have it as they can not afford its cost. The largest proportion of the households said that there is no space for it in their dwelling units. On enquiry into their paying capacity for it, a large segment of them were not found to be in a position to pay for it either in one go or in instalment.

Garbage Disposal

Only 50 per cent of the bustees have the facility for garbage disposal. Even though the disposal facility has been provided in some of the bustees, a very small proportion of the families are availing of this facility. A vast majority of them throw the rubbish just outside their houses or on to the street. Some of the households do not use the depots also due to long distance from the house.

Health

Taking a few key indicators of the state of health it is found that much is desired to promote health facilities. The

infant mortality rate for example, is found to be 112 which is very high when compared with the average for urban areas of India (66) and the average for the Union Territory of Delhi as well (39.69). The child mortality rate, however, suggests that the health of children (age 0-14 years) is better than the infants.

There are 2,632 children in the age-group of 1-4 years in the study area. A little over one-fourth of the children are found to be fully immunised and another 47 per cent is found to be partially immunised. 21 per cent of the children have not yet been immunised.

As regards the health care for the women, out of 2641 women requiring ante-natal care 53 per cent of them were getting TT injection. The rest of them were not getting it. Likewise, about 30 per cent of the pregnant women were not getting regular medical checkups. Thus a large proportion of the women are outside the health care programme. Of those who go for regular medical check up during pregnancy, 70 per cent of them is found to be going to the mother and child care health centres and another 14 per cent goes to the hospital. 6 per cent consults the Dai and another 7 per cent goes to the private practitioner. Of the 30 per cent of the women who are not going for checkups, about one-fourth of them said that there was no need for it.

At the time of delivery also 75 per cent of the expecting mother use only their home for the delivery of the child. A very high proportion of them (60%) are found to be using the services

of a Dai only for delivery. 34 per cent of them are using the services of untrained Dai only.

The analysis of health facilities in the slum localities thus suggests that even though immunisation of children, ante-natal care and check ups during pregnancy have a wide coverage, the infant mortality rate is very high. This is probably due to the lack of education and awareness on part of the bustee dwellers.

Education

The data reveal that out of 2334 children in the age-group of 3 to 5 years, as many as 92 per cent of them are not enrolled in the Anganwadis and Balwadis (Aw & Bw). The reasons for this include, the long distance from the house, the children do not learn anything in them, the parents are unable to pay fee and that the help of the children is needed at the house. These are very important reasons and have vital policy implications. The enrollment of children in the schools show a happier situation as about three-fourth of the children are found to be enrolled in schools. However, the ratio of female children going to the school (67%) is found to be lower than the male child (77%). Of those who do not go to the school (28%), the largest group is not going to school as the opportunity cost of education is found to be high by the parents. Other reasons given are that the school is useless for study, low paying capacity of the parents and the distance of the school from the house.

APPENDIX

Table 1
Percentage Distribution of Households According to
Availability of Latrines

S.No.	Name of the Bastees	No. of households not having private latrines	Percentage of households wishing to		
			Have private latrines	Not have private latrines	No response
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Jaffarabad	680	82	14	4
2.	Nabi Karim	632	97	1	2
3.	Khichripur	418	69	31	-
4.	Kabir Nagar	200	98	2	-
5.	Shahbad	416	81	19	-
6.	Tigri	829	99	1	-
7.	Lal Bagh	383	76	14	10
8.	Sawan Park	187	94	6	-
Total		3745	87	11	2

Contd.....

S.No.	Name of the Bastees	No. of hhs who want private latrines	Percentage of households by reasons for not getting it yet											
			7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15			
			Expen- sive	Tenant	Do not own land	Lack of infor- mation	No water to main- tain	No space	Any other	No res- ponse				
1.	Jaffarabad	557	29	4	23	13	7	23	1	-				
2.	Nabi Karim	611	14	6	2	7	1	66	4	-				
3.	Khichripur	287	4	1	7	3	22	28	35	-				
4.	Kabir Nagar	196	2	-	76	1	-	16	5	-				
5.	Shahbad	339	25	-	-	-	Neg	75	-	-				
6.	Tigri	820	61	Neg	12	2	2	23	Neg	-				
7.	Lal Bagh	291	20	-	41	7	14	18	-	-				
8.	Sawan Park	175	13	4	35	2	6	40	-	-				
Total			28	2	18	5	6	37	4	-				

Source : Primary data.

Table - 2
Percentage Distribution of Households who do not want
Private Latrines

S.No.	Name of Bastees	No. of hhs who do not want private latrines	Percentage of HHs by reasons for not wanting		
			Do not want inside the house	Any other	No res- ponse
1.	Jaffarabad	94	78	15	7
2.	Nabi Karim	10	90	-	10
3.	Khichripur	131	5	-	94
4.	Kabir Nagar	4	25	50	25
5.	Shahbad	77	66	30	4
6.	Tigri	9	89	-	11
7.	Lal Bagh	55	11	5	84
8.	Sawan Park	12	42	25	33
Total		393	41	11	48

Source : Primary data.

Table 3
Percentage Distribution of Households
Desiring Private Latrine and their Affordability

S.No.	Name of Bastees	No.of hhs who want private latrines	Down Payment (Rs.) (Percentage of Households)								Total
			< 200	200- <400	400- <600	600- <800	800- <1000	1000- 1200	Rs.1200/- (full payment)		
1.	Jaffarabad	557	5	Neg	-	Neg	-	-	-	Neg	5
2.	Nabi Karim	611	-	1	1	-	-	-	Neg	-	2
3.	Khichripur	287	2	6	6	3	-	2	-	34	53
4.	Kabir Nagar	196	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
5.	Shahbad	339	53	2	Neg	-	-	-	-	-	55
6.	Tigri	820	1	1	4	Neg	-	-	Neg	-	6
7.	Lal Bagh	291	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Sawan Park	175	19	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	24
Total		3276	7	1	3	Neg	-	Neg	3		14

Source : Primary data.

Table - 4

Percentage Distribution of Households Desiring Latrines and their Affordability

S.No.	Name of Bastees	No. of hns who want private latrines	Payment in instalments (Rs.) (Percentage of Households)					Total	No res- ponse	Can not pay
			< 25	25- <50	50- <100	>100	Total			
1.	Jaffarabad	557	57	11	6	1	75	14	6	
2.	Nabi Karim	611	1	1	2	1	5	93	-	
3.	Khichripur	287	-	-	-	-	-	23	24	
4.	Kabir Nagar	196	10	4	5	2	21	77	2	
5.	Shahbad	339	-	-	Neg	-	Neg	44	1	
6.	Tigri	820	1	1	3	Neg	6	12	82	
7.	Lal Bagh	291	-	-	-	1	1	91	8	
8.	Sawan Park	175	36	18	7	5	66	10	-	
Total		3276	13	3	3	1	20	43	25	

Source : Primary data.

Table - 5

Percentage Distribution of Households According to the Ways of Garbage Disposal

Sl.No.	Name of Bastees	No. of households	Place of disposal					
			In the rubbish depot	On the street	Outside the house	To the sweeper	Any other response	
1.	Jaffarabad	811	-	44	39	5	12	-
2.	Nabi Karim	796	14	1	44	41	Neg	-
3.	Khichripur	432	90	1	9	-	-	-
4.	Kabir Nagar	200	-	32	36	1	31	-
5.	Shahbad	417	12	39	44	5	-	-
6.	Tigri	829	-	54	46	Neg	Neg	-
7.	Lal Bagh	385	-	25	21	2	52	-
8.	Sawan Park	203	8	30	47	10	3	-
Total		4073	14	30	37	10	9	-

Table - 6

Percentage Distribution of Households According
Reasons for not using the Rubbish Depot

Sl.No.	Name of Bastees	No. of hhs not using rubbish Depot	Reasons				(Percentage of households)	
			No rubbish depot	Too far	Any other	No response		
1.	Jaffarabad	811	100	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Nabi Karim	684	-	60	38	2		
3.	Khichripur	44	-	66	34	-		
4.	Kabir Nagar	200	100	-	-	-		
5.	Shahbad	367	-	46	54	-		
6.	Tigri	829	98	-	2	Neg		
7.	Lal Bagh	385	49	-	51	-		
8.	Sawan Park	186	-	72	18	10		
Total		3506	58	21	20	1		

Source : Primary data.

Table - 7

Causes of Infant Mortality (0-1 year)

S.No.	Name of Bastees	No. of Deaths (0-1 year)	Causes (%)											
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1.	Sawan Park	8	-	13	37	25	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	13
2.	Kabir Nagar	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	-	-	67
3.	Tigri	24	29	8	8	-	8	-	5	5	8	8	8	21
4.	Lal Bagh	13	31	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	31	15	15
5.	Nabi Karim	10	30	-	-	-	-	20	30	-	-	-	-	20
6.	Khichripur	9	12	-	-	33	-	11	-	11	-	-	-	33
7.	Shahbad	8	13	13	12	-	-	25	25	-	-	-	-	12
8.	Jaffarabad	33	15	3	3	-	3	9	3	3	-	-	-	61
Total		108	19	6	6	5	3	7	7	7	3	5	6	33

Source : Primary data.

Codes : 1 Diarrhoea/dysentery
 2 Jaundice
 3 Measles
 4 Typhoid
 5 Diphtheria
 6 Prematurity
 7 Premia
 8 Other disorders of respiratory system
 9 Tetanus
 10 Influenza (flu)
 11 Any other (specify)

Table - 8

Causes of Child Mortality (1-5 years)

S.No.	Name of Bastees	No. of deaths (1-5 yrs)	Causes (%)												
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
1.	Sawan Park	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Kabir Nagar	7	-	14	29	14	14	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	14
3.	Tigri	7	15	14	14	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	14	14	-
4.	Lal Bagh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Nabi Karim	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	50
6.	Khichripur	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
7.	Shahbad	19	31	11	5	11	5	-	-	-	-	-	11	26	-
8.	Jaffarabad	17	18	-	6	18	12	-	6	11	-	-	-	-	29
Total		54	19	7	9	11	7	-	6	7	2	6	6	26	-

Source : Primary data.

Codes : 1 Diarrhoea/dysentery 6 Prematurity
 2 Jaundice 7 Premia
 3 Measles 8 Other disorders of respiratory system
 4 Typhoid 9 Tetanus
 5 Diphtheria 10 Influenza (flu)
 11 Any other (specify)

Table - 11
Percentage Distribution of Women According to
Anti - Natal Care

S.No.	Name of Bastees	No.of women	Getting T.T. injection	Not getting T.T. injection	Getting health checking	Not getting health checks
1.	Sawan Park	108	59	41	65	35
2.	Kabir Nagar	149	62	38	81	19
3.	Tigri	588	42	58	54	46
4.	Lal Bagh	170	48	52	81	19
5.	Nabi Karim	518	72	28	80	20
6.	Khichripur	200	76	24	88	12
7.	Shahbad	306	28	72	67	33
8.	Jaffarabad	602	50	50	69	31
	Total	2641	53	47	70	30

Source : Primary data.

Table - 12

Percentage Distribution of Women According to
the Places used for Check ups

S.No.	Name of Bastees	No.of women	Place (%)					
			MCH	Hos- pital	Dai	Health workers	Private doctors	Oth- ers
1.	Sawan Park	108	52	7	5	-	1	-
2.	Kabir Nagar	149	66	9	2	1	3	-
3.	Tigri	588	39	12	1	1	1	-
4.	Lal Bagh	170	40	12	12	-	17	-
5.	Nabi Karim	518	62	14	1	-	3	-
6.	Khichripur	200	62	15	8	1	1	1
7.	Shahbad	306	15	21	16	2	7	6
8.	Jaffarabad	602	27	16	8	2	16	-
Total		2641	41	14	6	1	7	1

Source : Primary data

Table - 13

Percentage Distribution of Women According to Reasons for not Going for Health Check ups

S.No.	Name of the Bastees	No. of women	Reasons for not going for health check ups									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
			Not needed	Experi-enced	Time consu- ming	No faci- lity	Too far	Any others	No res- ponse			
1.	Sawan Park	108	25	-	1	-	-	-	9	-	-	-
2.	Kabir Nagar	149	9	4	4	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
3.	Tigri	588	41	-	Neg	4	Neg	1	-	-	-	-
4.	Lal Bagh	170	11	7	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Nabi Karim	518	17	Neg	1	Neg	Neg	1	-	-	-	-
6.	Khichripur	200	11	1	-	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Shahbad	306	32	-	Neg	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Jaffarabad	602	23	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	-	-
Total		2641	24	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-

Contd.....

S.No.	Name of Bastees	Place of child delivery				
		Home	Govt. hospital	Maternity home	Nursing home	Any others
1	2	11	12	13	14	15
1.	Sawan Park	82	3	10	5	-
2.	Kabir Nagar	71	19	9	1	-
3.	Tigri	97	8	1	Neg	-
4.	Lal Bagh	89	9	1	1	-
5.	Nabi Karim	43	35	1	Neg	21
6.	Khichripur	64	26	8	2	-
7.	Shahbad	90	8	1	1	-
8.	Jaffarabad	81	15	4	-	-
Total		75	17	3	1	4

Contd.....

S.No. Name of Bastees		Help during delivery									
1	2	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
		HH member	Experi- enced lady	Trained dai	Untrained dai	Doctor	Myself	Any other			
1.	Sawan Park	5	-	34	43	18	-	-			
2.	Kabir Nagar	9	3	31	27	30	-	-			
3.	Tigri	4	8	4	74	9	1	-			
4.	Lal Bagh	26	12	37	14	11	-	-			
5.	Nabi Karim	5	1	23	14	56	-	1			
6.	Khichripur	23	2	40	1	34	-	-			
7.	Shahbad	6	44	30	10	10	-	-			
8.	Jaffarabad	2	3	37	39	19	Neg	-			
Total		7	9	26	34	24	0.3	0.2			