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SLUMS IN INDIA: A FOCUS ON METROPOLITAN CITIES

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ABSTRACT

Rapid urbanization and increasing migration from rural areas has led to growth of slums in every city/town, not only in India, but elsewhere in the world. Nearly world's 1/3rd urban population were lived in slums in 2001. Majority of them were in the developing regions accounting for 43 percent contrast to 6 percent in more developed regions. India alone accounted for 17 percent of the world's slum dwellers. In 2001, 42.6 million persons were living in slums spread over 640 cities/towns. In metropolitan cities every fifth person was living in slums area in 2001. The pattern of slums in each city has resulted from its environment, stage of development and characteristics of location. Analysis of slumming in these cities reveals that the slum proportion decreases with the decrease in population size as well as industrial status of a city. Highly industrialized cities have highest area of slum localities.

INTRODUCTION

Rapid urban growth without needed urban infrastructure development has resulted in slums. These are neglected parts of any city where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities (World Bank, 2000). The last few decades have seen them proliferating tremendously, although they have been in existence since historical times. The prevalence of slums varies dramatically across cities of the developed and developing world. The broad patterns of slum life are common all over the world, although these differ in origin and nature in the developed and developing countries. A slum locality in a developed country may be good living area as per the standards in developing countries. One can, of course, distinguish between the nature of interest as shown by the scholars in the developed and developing countries as also by the international agencies. In the developed countries, the primary interest in this scheme has been in the form of the question of social justice, or rather injustice, in the cities. This is represented by the work of geographers like Harvey (1973, 2008), Smith (1973), Peet (1977) and Costello (1987). On the other hand, the focus of study in the developing countries is on urban housing, urban poverty and rural-urban migration (Bolay, 2006; National Institute of Urban Affairs, 1988;

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Kundu, 2007). Slums result from a toxic combination of weak governance, underinvestment in basic infrastructure, poor planning to accommodate growth, unrealistically high standards for residential neighborhoods, infrastructure standards that are unaffordable for the poor, and insufficient public transportation that limits access to employment. Urban congestion, tremendous migration of labour forces both skilled and unskilled, non-availability of housing infrastructure is leading to occurrence of slums reflect the deteriorating quality of life in urban areas. Areas, which are seen to be over crowded, dilapidated and faulty laid out and lacking in essential services are generally termed as 'Slum'.

It is clear that urban areas have more people than they can support given the present urban infrastructure and slums are now becoming the permanent features in towns/cities. Geographically, a slum is an urban site possessing a quite contrasting spatial, structural and socio-economic situation of urban environment. Most of the times, it is a part and parcel of urban sprawl and identifies with distinct functional behaviour. The spread of slum in any city/town, undoubtedly poses multi-faceted problem, through not to be a physical environmental, but essentially a problem of poverty. These two, 'slum and poverty' are inter-related twins posing severe threat to urban economy and environment (Eswaramma *et al*., 2006). Census of India 2001 has adopted the definition of 'slum' areas as follows: (1) All specified areas in a town or city notified as 'Slum' by State/Local Government and UT Administration under any act including a 'Slum Act'. (2) All areas recognized

as 'Slum' by State/Local Government and UT Administration, Housing and Slum Boards, which may have not been formally notified as slum under any act. (3) A compact area of at least 300 populations or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities. The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), India, defines a slum as a "compact settlement with a collection of poorly built tenements, mostly of temporary nature, crowded together usually with inadequate sanitary and drinking water facilities in unhygienic conditions" (NSSO 2003). Also, there are two kinds of slums: notified and non-notified. Areas notified as slums by the respective municipalities, corporations, local bodies or development authorities are treated as notified slums. A slum is considered as a non-notified slum if at least 20 households lived in that area. There are number of terms by which slums are known in different cities. In India, they are known as Katras, Gallis, Juggi-Jhopadpatti in Delhi, Chawls in Mumbai, Ahtas in Kanpur, Bustee in Kolkata, Cheris in Chennai, Keries in Banglore and Pattas in Andhra Pradesh. The concept of slums and its definition vary from country to country depending upon the socio-economic conditions of each society. The basic characteristics of slums are – dilapidated and infirm housing structure, poor ventilation, acute over-crowding, faulty alignment of streets, inadequate lighting, paucity of safe drinking water, water logging during rains, absence of toilet facilities and non-availability of basic physical and social services. The living conditions in slums are usually unhygienic and contrary to all norms of planned urban growth and are an important factor in accelerating transmission of various air and water borne diseases (Census of India, 2001).

Urbanization and Slums in the World

Rapid urbanization, one of the greatest socio-economic changes during the last five decades or so, has caused the burgeoning of new kinds of slums, the growth of squatter and informal housing all around the rapidly expanding cities of the developing world. Urban populations have increased explosively in the past 50 years, and will continue to do so for at least the next 30 years as the number of people born in cities increase and as people continue to be displaced from rural areas that are almost at capacity. The rate of creation of formal sector urban jobs is well below the expected growth rate of the urban labour force, so in all probability the majority of these new residents will eke out an informal living and will live in slums. UN Habitat Slum Report 2003 results presented a picture on slum population all over the world. In 2001, 924 million people, or 31.6 per cent of the world's urban population, lived in slums. The majority of them were in the developing regions, accounting for 43 per cent of the urban population, in contrast to 6 per cent in more developed regions. With respect to absolute numbers of slum dwellers, Asia (all of its sub-regions combined) dominated the global picture, having a total of 554 million slum dwellers in 2001 (about 60 per cent of the world's total slum dwellers). Some sub-regions within Asia are faring worse than others. Eastern and Southern Asia harbour 80 per cent of the slum dwellers in the region, with Southern Asia hosting nearly half the region's slum population. These figures are largely attributable to China and India, which are the most populous countries in the world and have significant proportions of their urban

populations living in slum conditions. Although China hosts the world's largest slum population – almost 196 million people – its slum prevalence in 2001 was lower than that of India; UN-HABITAT estimates that 38 percent of China's urban residents lived in slum conditions that year, compared with India's 56 percent. Most of the slum dwellers in Southern Asia – 63 percent, or almost 170 million people – reside in India. The share of Southern Asia's slum dwellers constitutes 27 per cent of the global total. India alone accounts for 17 per cent of the world's slum dwellers. The country has pioneered many best practices and good policies in recent years that are having some impact on the lives of slum dwellers, but they have not reached a sufficient scale to ameliorate the proliferation of slums. Although India has seen remarkable economic growth rates in recent years and has managed to reduce extreme poverty by 10 per cent in the last decade, the impact of poverty reduction is still not being felt in cities. Unless more radical policies are pursued in India, the global target for improving the lives of slum dwellers will not be reached (Slum trends in Asia, UN Habitat, 2006).

Urbanization and Slums in Indian States

Slum demography had been presented on the basis of actual count in Census 2001 for the first time in the history of the Population Census in the country. Detailed demographic data about slum areas across the cities/towns in the country having population more than 50,000 in 1991 Census were enumerated. This process of systematic delineation of slums for collection of their demographic characteristics was probably first such exercise in the history of census not only in India but also internationally (Report of the Committee on Slum Statistics/Census, 2010). The slum population was reported from 26 states/union territories in India. Nine states/union territories namely, Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Daman & Diu and Lakshadweep did not report any slum population in their cities/towns. Only 640 towns reported slum population out of 5161. It means only 12.8 percent of total towns have reported slum occurrence. In 2001, 42.6 million population lived in slums in India. This constituted 15 percent of the total population of the country and 22.6 percent of the urban population of the States/Uts reporting slums. The distribution of slum towns across the states and union territories was not uniform in India. Andhra Pradesh had the largest number of towns (77) reporting slums followed by Uttar Pradesh (69), Tamil Nadu (63) and Maharashtra (61).

On the other hand Chandigarh, Tripura, Meghalaya, Andaman and Nicobar had reported slums in one town each. Maharashtra had reported 61 slum towns out of 640, which accounted for 11.2 million slum population which was 26.3 percent of the total slum population of the country. It was followed by Andhra Pradesh (5.1 million), Uttar Pradesh (4.4 million) and West Bengal (4.1 million). Indian 12 state namely, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Rajasthan and Punjab accounted for 39.4 million population which accounted for 92.4 percent slum population of the country. In Indian states, 23.1 percent slum population lived in towns in 2001. Meghalaya had shown exceptionally high percentage of slum population i.e. 65

Table 1. Slum configuration in Indian states/union territories, 2001

Name of States/Union Territories	Percent of Slum Reported Towns to Total No. of Towns	Percent of Slum Population to total No. of Slum Town	Percent Urbanisation	Slum Concentration	Urban Concentration
Maharashtra	16.1	33.3	42.4	26.3	18.3
Andhra Pradesh	36.7	32.2	27.3	12.2	8.7
Uttar Pradesh	9.8	20.7	20.8	10.3	11.5
West Bengal	15.7	27.1	28.0	9.7	8.2
Tamil Nadu	7.6	20.0	44.0	6.7	7.8
Madhya Pradesh	10.9	25.2	26.5	5.7	5.2
Delhi	25.8	18.0	93.2	4.8	6.1
Gujarat	16.9	14.7	37.4	4.4	6.9
Haryana	20.8	33.1	28.9	3.3	2.3
Karnataka	13.0	12.7	34.0	3.3	6.0
Rajasthan	11.7	16.9	23.4	3.0	4.2
Punjab	17.2	20.5	33.9	2.7	3.1
Chhattisgarh	12.4	31.4	20.1	1.9	1.4
Orrissa	10.9	22.2	15.0	1.5	1.5
Bihar	17.7	11.0	10.5	1.3	2.6
Jharkhand	7.2	12.5	22.2	0.7	1.3
J&K	6.7	18.6	24.8	0.6	0.8
Uttrakhand	7.0	19.4	25.7	0.5	0.6
Chandigar	100.0	13.3	89.8	0.3	0.4
Meghalaya	6.3	65.0	19.6	0.2	0.1
Assam	5.6	6.0	12.9	0.2	0.7
Pondicherry	50.0	14.3	66.6	0.2	0.3
Kerala	8.2	2.0	26.0	0.2	1.7
Tripura	4.4	15.8	17.1	0.1	0.1
A & N Island	33.3	16.3	32.6	0.0	0.1
Goa	4.6	8.3	49.8	0.0	0.1
Total	12.8	23.1	27.8	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of India – 2001, Slums Data II, India (UAs/Town).

Table 2. Concentration of slums in metropolitan cities, 2001

UAs/M.Corp	No. of Towns	No. of Towns Reporting Slum	Slum Concentration	Urban Concentration
Greater Mumbai UA	8	8	32.1	15.2
Kolkata UA	99	31	12.7	12.2
Delhi UA	59	16	9.1	11.9
Hyderabad UA	17	11	5.4	5.3
Chennai UA	53	7	5.1	6.1
Nagpur UA	3	1	3.3	2.0
Pune UA	6	2	2.8	3.5
Surat UA	8	1	2.3	2.6
Faridabad (M.C.)	1	1	2.2	1.0
Ahmadabad UA	21	4	2.2	4.2
Meerut UA	2	1	2.1	1.1
Bangalore UA	15	1	1.9	5.3
Jaipur (M. C.)	3	1	1.7	2.1
Kanpur UA	5	1	1.6	2.5
Ludhiana (M.C.)	1	1	1.4	1.3
Vijayawada UA	3	2	1.3	1.0
Jabalpur UA	9	2	1.3	1.0
Asansol UA	10	4	1.2	1.0
Indore UA	2	1	1.2	1.4
Amritsar UA	1	1	1.0	0.9
Madurai UA	12	1	1.0	1.1
Visakhapatnam UA	3	1	0.8	1.2
Vadodara UA	10	1	0.8	1.4
Lucknow UA	2	2	0.8	2.1
Rajkot UA	1	1	0.7	0.9
Jamshedpur UA	10	3	0.7	1.0
Allahabad UA	2	1	0.6	1.0
Nashik UA	4	1	0.6	1.1
Varanasi UA	6	1	0.6	1.1
Bhopal UA	1	1	0.6	1.4
Agra UA	4	1	0.5	1.2
Coimbatore UA	27	1	0.3	1.4
Dhanbad UA	32	3	0.2	1.0
Kochi UA	21	1	0.0	1.3
Patna UA	5	2	0.0	1.6
Total	369	118	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of India – 2001, Slums Data II, India (UAs/Town).

Table 3. Configuration of slum population in metropolitan cities, 2001

UAs/M.Corp	Slum Population			Percent Slum Population		
	Total	M.Corp	Out Growth	Total	M.Corp	Out Growth
Greater Mumbai UA	7188447	6475440	713007	43.7	90.1	9.9
Kolkata UA	2835051	1485309	1349742	21.5	52.4	47.6
Delhi UA	2029755	1851231	178524	15.8	91.2	8.8
Hyderabad UA	1201249	626849	574400	20.9	52.2	47.8
Chennai UA	1148315	819873	328442	17.5	71.4	28.6
Nagpur UA	737219	737219	0	34.6	100.0	0.0
Pune UA	616136	492179	123957	16.4	79.9	20.1
Surat UA	508485	508485	0	18.1	100.0	0.0
Ahmadabad UA	497214	473662	23552	11.0	95.3	4.7
Faridabad (M.Corp.)	490981	490981	0	46.5	100.0	0.0
Meerut UA	471581	471581	0	40.6	100.0	0.0
Bangalore UA	430501	430501	0	7.6	100.0	0.0
Jaipur (M Corp.)	368570	368570	0	15.9	100.0	0.0
Kanpur UA	367980	367980	0	13.6	100.0	0.0
Ludhiana (M.Corp.)	314904	314904	0	22.5	100.0	0.0
Vijayawada UA	293889	263393	30496	28.3	89.6	10.4
Jabalpur UA	282353	275662	6691	25.7	97.6	2.4
Asansol UA	277687	158324	119363	26.0	57.0	43.0
Indore UA	260975	260975	0	17.2	100.0	0.0
Amritsar UA	229603	229603	0	22.9	100.0	0.0
Madurai UA	221338	221338	0	18.4	100.0	0.0
Vadodara UA	186020	186020	0	12.5	100.0	0.0
Lucknow UA	180479	179176	1303	8.0	99.3	0.7
Visakhapatnam UA	170265	170265	0	12.7	100.0	0.0
Rajkot UA	166030	166030	0	16.6	100.0	0.0
Jamshedpur UA	152120	59314	92806	13.8	39.0	61.0
Nashik UA	138797	138797	0	12.0	100.0	0.0
Varanasi UA	137977	137977	0	11.5	100.0	0.0
Allahabad UA	126646	126646	0	12.2	100.0	0.0
Bhopal UA	125720	125720	0	8.6	100.0	0.0
Agra UA	121761	121761	0	9.2	100.0	0.0
Coimbatore UA	58406	58406	0	4.0	100.0	0.0
Dhanbad UA	37579	5526	32053	3.5	14.7	85.3
Kochi UA	7897	7897	0	0.6	100.0	0.0
Patna UA	4965	3592	1373	0.3	72.4	27.7
Total	22386895	18811186	3575709	20.7	84.0	16.0

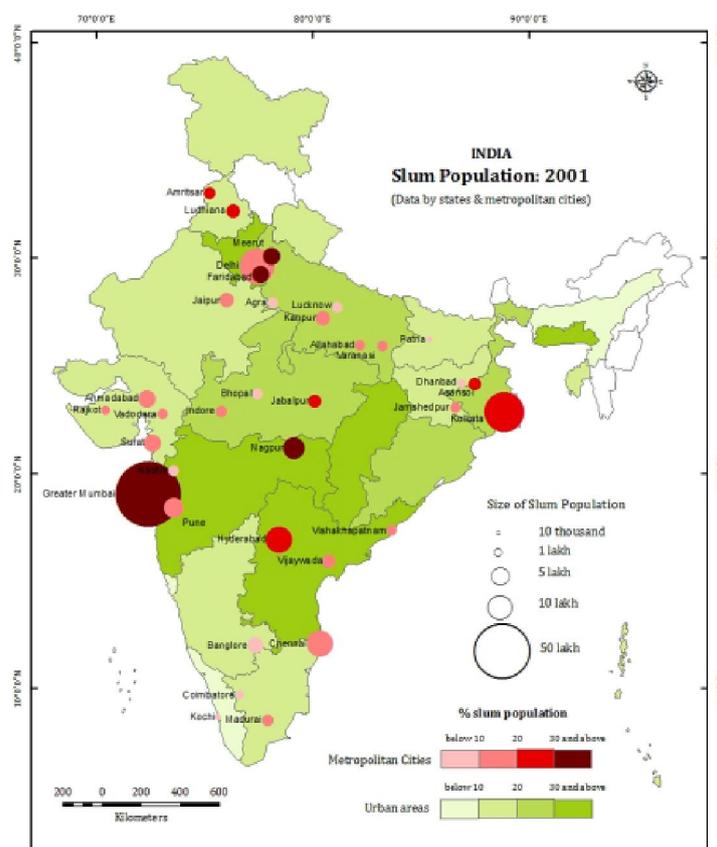Source: Census of India – 2001, Slums Data II, India (UAs/Town)

Fig. 1: Slum population in metropolitan cities and urban areas (towns more than 50,000 population).
Note: Nine States/Union territories namely: Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Daman & Diu and Lakshadweep did not report any slum population in their cities/towns.

percent. Only few states like Maharashtra, Haryana, and Andhra Pradesh had shown high percentage of slum population than the national average. Some states like Kerala, Assam and Goa had reported slum population less than 10 percent. Bihar, Meghalaya, Orissa, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh have high incidence of slums in comparison to level of urbanization where remaining states have low incidence of slum than urbanization (Table 1). There was a high positive correlation (r=0.95) between urban and slum concentration in Indian states. Some of the states have recorded high slum concentration than urban concentration, they are – Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Chhattisgarh and Meghalaya. Out of 640 towns/cities, 378 cities and 262 towns reported the existence of slums in 2001 and recorded the 22.7 percent slum population in case of cities whereas 26.4 percent in case of towns.

Metropolitan Cities and Slums

In metropolitan cities every fifth person lived in slum areas spread over 57 districts and 369 towns in 2001. In thirty five metropolitan cities, 22.4 million population lived in slums which was 52.6 percent of the total slum population and 20.7 percent of the population of metropolitan cities. Greater Mumbai, Kolkata, Hyderabad, Faridabad, Meerut, Nagpur, Vijayawada, Asansol, Jabalpur Amritsar and Ludhiana have high incidence of slums in comparison to the rest of the metropolitan cities. Patna and Kochi have recorded lowest concentration of slum population among all the metropolitan cities. Those cities which are urban agglomeration, have recorded slum population in their outgrowth also. There was a positive correlation (r=0.59) between concentration of slum population and size of metropolitan cities. The slum dweller of these cities ranges from 4965 in Patna (Bihar) to 7188447 in Greater Mumbai (Maharashtra). Greater Mumbai is the most populated among all the metropolitan cities in the country, with 71.9 million slum population accounting for 32.1 percent of the total slum population of metropolitan cities. It is followed by Kolkata (2.8 million), Delhi (20.3 million), Hyderabad (1.2 million) and Chennai (1.2 million). These five metropolitan cities have 64.4 percent slum population of the total slum population of metropolitan cities, whereas greater Mumbai has alone 32.1 percent slum population. Except Coimbatore, Dhanbad, Kochi and Patna cities have more than hundred thousand slum dwellers.

At the percentage level Faridabad (46.5 percent) has the highest slum population, followed by Greater Mumbai (43.7 percent), Meerut (40.6 percent) and Nagpur (34.6 percent). Seven metropolitan cities had less than 10 percent of slum population and two metropolitan cities namely Patna (0.3 percent) and Kochi (0.6 percent) had slum population less than one percent. Seven metropolitan cities have reported 100 percent slum population. The highest slum concentration found in Indian larger cities. Greater Mumbai accounts for 32.1 percent followed by Kolkata (12.7), Delhi (9.1 percent), Hyderabad (5.4 percent) and Chennai 5.2 percent. Fifteen metropolitan cities slum concentration less than one percent (Table 2). Thus, analysis indicates that the problem of slums arises in Indian larger cities. In metropolitan cities 84 percent slum population was found to be living in municipal corporation area and only 16 percent in their out growths. An observation of intra-urban agglomeration of metropolitan

cities indicates that slum population in urban agglomerations like Dhanbad and Jamshedpur which have attained the status of million plus population in 2001 have shown fast growing UA periphery. As a result they recorded a higher percentage of slum (more than 60 percent) population in their periphery than in the cores. Hyderabad, Kolkata and Asansol also recorded the higher proportion of slum population in their outgrowth (more than 40 percent), but as well municipal corporation also noticed more than 50 percent slum population of each city. But Greater Mumbai and Delhi mega cities recorded less than 10 percent slum population in their out growths. But in this series, Chennai, Patna and Pune recorded more than 1/5th of slum population in their outgrowth (Table 3). Most of the metropolitan cities more slum population residing in the core areas.

Conclusions

Slums are neglected parts of city where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. These may differ in origin and nature in the developed and developing countries but the broad patterns of slum life are common all over the world. The increasing migration from rural areas has led to growth of slums in every city, not only in India, but elsewhere in the world. In 2001, 924 million persons, or 31.6 per cent of the world's urban population lived in slums. Majority of them were in the developing regions accounting for 43 per cent of the urban population in contrast to 6 percent in more developed regions. India alone accounted for 17 percent of the world's slum dwellers. In 2001, 42.6 million population was living in slums spread over 640 cities/ towns. This constituted 15 percent of the urban population and 23.1 percent of the cities/ towns' reported slum. The distribution of slum towns across the states and union territories was not uniform in India. Andhra Pradesh had the largest number of towns reporting slums followed by Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. Only few states like Maharashtra, Haryana, and Andhra Pradesh had shown high percentage of slum population than the national average. Some states like Kerala, Assam and Goa had reported slum population less than 10 percent.

In metropolitan cities every fifth person was living in slums area in 2001. 22.4 million population lived in slums in these cities which was 52.6 percent of the total slum and 20.7 percent of the metropolitan cities population. Greater Mumbai, Kolkata, Hyderabad, Faridabad, Meerut, Nagpur, Vijayawada, Asansol, Jabalpur Amritsar and Ludhiana have high incidence of slums in comparison to the rest of the metropolitan cities. Patna and Kochi had recorded lowest concentration of slum population among all the metropolitan cities. Five largest cities in India namely Greater Mumbai, Kolkata, Delhi, Chennai and Hyderabad constituted more than 64 percent slum population of the total slum population of metropolitan cities. Thus, the mega cities are the main dwelling place of slum population. Majority of the slum population lived in municipal corporation area. Only 16 percent slum population was enumerated in their out growths. The pattern of slums in each city has resulted from its environment, stage of development and characteristics of location. Analysis of slumming in these cities reveals that the slum proportion decreases with the decrease in population size as well as industrial status of a city. Highly industrialized cities have highest area of slum localities. Neither slums can be removed or shifted completely from the cities. However, full utilization of the meager efforts

and state welfare policies can give them some relief or make their living condition slightly better if honestly implanted. There is an urgent need to tackle this situation for long term sustainable development as well as for city prosperity.

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