

REPORT
OF THE
SEMINAR ON SLUM CLEARANCE

BOMBAY
May 14-19, 1957

Published by
INDIAN CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
6/A, Cooperage, Bombay 1

Edited and Published by B. Chatterjee and Zakia Khan for the Indian Conference of Social Work, 6/A Cooperage, Bombay 1 and Printed by V. P. Bhagwat at the Mouj Printing Bureau, Khatau Wadi, Bombay 4.

FOREWORD

The success of the first national seminar held under the auspices of the Indian Conference of Social Work on the problem of Casteism and the Removal of Untouchability in 1955, encouraged the organization to deal similarly with another major social evil of growing proportions—the existence of Slums. The object of this second Seminar was to make a scientific and comprehensive study of the slum problem in India and to formulate a plan for dealing with the situation adequately.

2. With the present emphasis in governmental programmes of social welfare on the rural areas and rural services, it was felt that a non-official organisation might profitably devote its attention to urban areas. Here, the rapid process of unplanned urbanization has been accentuated by rapid industrialization, increasing migration from the rural to the urban areas, and political factors such as the War and Partition have also produced an unplanned growth of towns and cities. Inadequate housing facilities and low rent-paying capacity have resulted in overcrowding and the springing up of many insanitary hutment colonies. It is true that some schemes for improvement were undertaken in a sporadic manner, but the national importance of the problem, which was growing in proportions, was not recognised until after Independence. There were, of course, several reasons for this—financial, administrative and legal. This is not to say that no attempts were made, either by Government or social agencies to tackle the problem; but such attempts as were being made were piecemeal, and in the absence of an integrated, national plan for slum clearance, the headway made was inconsiderable. It was with a view to promote comprehensive study of this matter and to suggest concerted and practical action to meet the situation, that the Indian Conference of Social Work decided to organise a Seminar on Slum Clearance.

3. Much first-hand knowledge of the problem, extensive investigation and study, administrative experience and expert judgment went into the deliberations. In order to keep the

discussion groups effective, participation was restricted to 60 persons, including representatives of major local bodies, state governments, trade unions, employers and property owners as well as expert architects, town planners, sociologists, economists and social workers. Representatives of international organizations also took part.

It was decided that discussions be conducted under five broad headings :

- (1) Social and public aspects of slum dwelling ;
- (2) Minimum housing standards and slum improvement ;
- (3) Positive steps for the prevention of slums ;
- (4) Integrated plan for slum clearance ; and
- (5) Examination of slum clearance projects in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur and Madras.

The deliberations of these groups are recorded in the following pages.

4. A major part in making the Seminar possible was played by those who provided the finances for it—the Governments of Andhra and Bombay and the Municipal Corporations of Ahmedabad, Bombay and Calcutta. The Souvenir issued on the occasion owes the wherewithal for its publication to a large number of industrial and commercial houses, who gave us advertisements and donations in a generous manner and to those advertising firms who waived their commission on the advertisements secured for us. To all of them we are grateful.

5. The Governor of Bombay, Shri Sri Prakasa, very kindly accepted our invitation to inaugurate the Seminar and gave a most thought-provoking address. He also entertained the delegates at a reception. For the keen interest he took in our deliberations, we are deeply thankful to him.

6. No venue could provide an atmosphere—both physical and intellectual—more conducive to serious thinking on social problems than the Tata Institute of Social Sciences at Chembur, the pioneer institution in the country for training in social work. Our thanks go to the Director, Prof. A. R.

Wadia and his very helpful staff for providing a venue of so pleasant a character.

7. For publicising the message of the Seminar, we are thankful to the press, including the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India and All India Radio. The stimulation of public interest is largely dependent upon the Press and the Radio, which served us well.

8. So far as the actual deliberations of the Seminar are concerned, we have to express appreciation of those who initiated, steered and recorded them so successfully—to the Chairmen of the Plenary Sessions and the Sectional Chairmen, to those who contributed papers, to the Rapporteurs and to the Public Relations Officers. We are also grateful to Shri B. K. Chandiwala, Associate Director of the Seminar for all the help and assistance he extended in that capacity. The spade work and details of organization of the Seminar were executed by the Secretariat of the Indian Conference of Social Work to the high satisfaction of all concerned.

9. With a view to working for the implementation of the recommendations made in the Report, an All India Standing Committee on Slum Clearance consisting of the following participants was formed on the conclusion of the Seminar :—

- (i) Smt. Hansa Mehta, President, ICSW (Chairman)
- (ii) Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S. (Director of the Seminar)
- (iii) Shri B. K. Chandiwala, (Associate Director)
- (iv) Smt. Mary Clubwala Jadhav (Hon. Gen. Secretary, ICSW)
- (v) Shri B. K. Sen (Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta)
- (vi) Shri B. Chatterjee (Seminar Secretary)

The members waited in deputation on the Prime Minister of India at New Delhi on Nov. 7, 1957, with a request that Government of India enunciate a National Housing Policy, which ceases to regard housing as unproductive enterprise. It was also suggested that questions relating to Housing, Town and Country Planning and Slum Clearance, which are at present often dealt with in different Ministries and De-

partments of the Central and State Governments, be integrated into a comprehensive Ministry or Department of Housing and Town Planning.

10. In Bombay, a local committee has been set up under the Chairmanship of Shri Shantilal H. Shah, Minister for Law and Labour, Government of Bombay and consisting of the members from the City of Bombay who participated in the Seminar. Some members of this Committee waited in deputation on the Union Minister for Housing and the Chief Minister of Bombay with a request to implement the Seminar recommendations.

The Bombay Committee is focussing its attention on the problem of urban community development and exploring the possibility of launching such a project in Bombay.

We are also trying to set up similar local ad hoc committees in Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur and Madras.

11. It is in keeping with the scholarly traditions of the Indian Conference of Social Work—with Smt. Hansa Mehta at the helm of affairs—that the Seminar on Slum Clearance should have been a success. The value of this venture was fully recognised by those who readily responded to our invitation to participate in the Seminar. The contribution of all those bodies and individuals must place the Slum Clearance movement in this country forever in their debt. In the end, we hope that the intensive effort, at so many levels, which has gone into this Seminar, will be considered justified by the Report of its deliberations, which I, herewith, present.

New Delhi
May 1, 1958


Director

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SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

The registration of delegates and observers to the Seminar commenced at the Sir C. J. Hall, Bombay from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. and thereafter from 3 p.m. to 4 p.m.

The first business meeting of the Seminar was held at 4 p.m. in the Sir C. J. Hall under the Chairmanship of Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S., Director of the Seminar. Welcoming the delegates, the Director expressed the hope that the Seminar would be a success with the active co-operation of the delegates concerned. The delegates and observers then introduced themselves.¹

Thereafter, the Secretary read out the names of persons who were unable to join the Seminar. In view of these changes, the list of Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the five Working Groups was revised. The time schedule of the Seminar was also modified to suit the convenience of participants.

It was agreed that the papers submitted to the Seminar by the contributors be taken as read; if necessary, the contributors could present the salient points of their papers so that most of the time could be devoted to discussions.

Appointment of a Steering Committee

A Steering Committee consisting of the following, with powers to co-opt, was appointed:—

1. The Director of the Seminar.
2. The Associate Director.
3. Chairmen of Working Groups.
4. Rapporteurs of Working Groups.
5. The Seminar Secretary.

The Steering Committee was authorised to appoint separate Editorial and Evaluation Committees.

¹ For a complete list of participants, please see Appendix No. IX, page 307.

Thereafter, the delegates assembled were requested to indicate the Groups to which they would like to be assigned and, in consultation with the Director, the five Working Groups were finally appointed.¹

Inaugural Session

The Inaugural Session of the Seminar was held at the Sir C. J. Hall at 6-15 p.m. (May 14, 1957) in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering.

Welcoming the delegates, Smt. Hansa Mehta, President, Indian Conference of Social Work, said that the problem of Slum Clearance was intimately connected with the evolution of new ideas and values in terms of changing needs and conditions. Therefore, in evolving minimum housing standards, this fact must be taken into consideration so that multiplication of single-room chawls be prevented and the workers housed in either one or two room self-contained units including a bathroom and a water closet. She further stressed that the provision of housing was one of the basic human needs.²

Thereafter, the Governor of Bombay, Shri Sri Prakasa, inaugurating the Seminar, said that the objective of the Seminar should be Slum Improvement and not Slum Clearance.

“It is a curious thing”, he added, “how the ideal and the real are always at war. The more we talk of equality among human beings, the more inequalities we seem to create; and the more we speak of the elimination of differences between man and man, the greater do these become as actually witnessed in life. Advance of what is called civilization has resulted in the phenomenon we find around us, and the eternal conflict of the heart and the head, of what we should like to do and what we have to do, makes life unhappy and unbearable for most of us.”³

This was followed by an Address by Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S., Municipal Commissioner for Greater Bombay and the

¹ For details, please see Appendix No. III, page 289.

² For full text of her address, please see pages 21-24.

³ For full text of the address, please see pages 25-33.

Director of the Seminar. He affirmed that the decision of the Indian Conference of Social Work to organise a National Seminar on Slum Clearance was both opportune and praiseworthy as it came at a time when the country had been stirred by the consequences of slum dwelling and was on the threshold of an attempt to eradicate this major evil. At this juncture, when the country is assiduously working for a large scale regeneration, a growing number of people—simple and impressionable people from the villages—are being exposed to great harm, and it is important to assess the situation correctly and formulate a better approach to the problem.¹

Smt. Mary Clubwala Jadhav, Honorary General Secretary, ICSW, then read out a number of messages received on the occasion.²

Shri Brij Krishan Chandiwala, Associate Director of the Seminar proposed a vote of thanks.³

Wednesday, 15th May 1957

The venue of the Seminar moved to the beautiful surroundings of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences at Chembur. The proceedings of the day started at 9-00 a.m. with Shri M. C. Shah, Minister for Local Self-Government, Bombay, presiding over the two plenary sessions on "Social and Public Health Aspects of Slum Dwelling". He remarked that Slum Improvement rather than Slum Clearance was suggested as a solution to the growing problem of slums in the city. Shri Shah emphasized the curative and preventive aspects of the problem and said that inadequate finance was a great handicap in the removal of slums. The Local Self-Government Minister was against undertaking any grandiose schemes, which could not be put into practice. He advised those working for the solution of the problem to improve the existing slums by providing better sanitation, water supply, lighting, ventilation, etc. In doing so, he said, it would be a small but sure begin-

¹ For the full text of this address, please see pages 34-50.

² Since all the messages were reproduced in the Souvenir of the Seminar only a list of persons from whom these messages were received has been given in Appendix No. VII, page 302.

³ For the full text of this speech, please see pages 51-54.

ning. "Let us aim low as a practical measure but make sure of hitting the target rather than aim high and miss it altogether," he added.

Shri Shah was of the opinion that rapid industrialization and centralisation of industries was at the root of increasing slums. Dispersal of industries, he thought, would not only stem the increase of slums but also relieve the influx of the rural population to cities by providing new sources of livelihood in their areas.

The morning plenary sessions were addressed by Shri C. Govindan Nair, Jt. Director of Town Planning, Madras who spoke on "Causation and Definition of Slums" and Dr. B. H. Mehta, Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay on "Social and Public Health Aspects of Slum Dwelling."*

A number of persons participated in the discussion that followed the talk by Dr. Mehta. They were Shri A. S. Naik, Municipal Commissioner of Poona; Shri Kanji Dwarkadas of Bombay; Shri K. R. Thakkar of Bharat Sevak Samaj, Bombay; Shri C. R. Desai, Bombay Housing Commissioner; Shri P. B. Guha, a Calcutta Architect; Shri S. V. Desai, Public Health Engineer, Bombay Municipality. The following points were raised at this discussion :—

1. That the rural population was forced to migrate into urban Industrial Centres and live in cheap sub-standard houses thus creating slums.

2. That in cities like Kanpur it was estimated that 30 to 35% of people lived in slums and unless something quick and on a large scale was done to provide decent housing to Industrial Labour, their efficiency would be affected.

3. That more attention be paid to the human being—the slum dweller—rather than the physical environment.

4. That a degree of earnestness regarding the problem, in planning as well as administration, be introduced.

5. That the Government or Municipality should take over the land on which landlords raise a variety of structures.

* For the complete text of their addresses, please see pages 55-101.

6. That the private sector is not being encouraged to make its contribution to housing.

Afternoon Session

In the afternoon, the Working groups on the following subjects met and discussed various points drawn up in advance for discussion by the various Working Groups appointed for the purpose :

Working Group No. 1—Social Aspects of Slum Dwelling.

Group No. 2—Minimum Housing Standards and Slum Improvement.

Group No. 3—Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums.

Group No. 4—Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance.

Group No. 5—Examination of Slum Clearance Projects in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur and Madras.

Steering Committee

A meeting of the Steering Committee was held at 2-30 p.m. when the Chairman of each Group gave a report of the discussions in his Group. It was also decided to appoint an Evaluation Committee consisting of Shri B. K. Chandiwala (Chairman), Shri J. B. Sharma, Shri John Barnabas, Shri D. Balasundaram and the Seminar Secretary. The draft questionnaire prepared by the Secretary was generally approved.*

As regards the Editorial Committee, it was felt that the task of editing and printing the proceedings of the Seminar should be entrusted to the Director and the Secretary of the Seminar.

In the evening the delegates were invited to an "At Home" by the Governor of Bombay, Shri Sri Prakasa, at Raj Bhavan at 6-00 p.m.

* For Questionnaire, see Appendix IV, page 294.

Thursday, 16th May 1957

The proceedings of the day began with Shri S. K. Wankhede, Minister for Planning, Development, Electricity and Industries, Bombay, presiding. The plenary sessions were addressed by Shri S. B. Joshi, Consulting Engineer, Bombay, in whose absence Shri R. N. Joshi read his paper on "Minimum Housing Standards" and Shri N. V. Modak, Special Engineer, Bombay Municipal Corporation read his paper on "Slum Improvement."†

In the discussion that followed the Director suggested that ideas regarding "the one room tenement" be clarified in view of the minimum housing standards. Shri C. B. Patel, Shri K. N. Misra, Shri K. M. Kantawala, Shri C. Govindan Nair, Shri Deva Raj, Shri K. N. Sreenivasan, Shri C. R. Desai, Shri V. K. R. Menon, Prof. C. N. Vakil and Dr. B. H. Mehta among others participated in this discussion.

Some of the points resulting from this discussion are given below : it was felt by some that if open space is provided in terms of a courtyard or terraces according to climatic conditions, it would serve as an additional living space for the family. Others were of the view that open spaces are no substitutes for additional rooms as has been experienced in Kanpur, where additional accommodation by way of open spaces has been utilised to create rooms made of hessian cloth and bamboo etc., thus creating a fresh batch of slums.

It was also said that while laying down the standards, one should keep in mind the needs of people who are engaged in cottage or home industries, for, in the absence of additional rooms, they carry on their vocations in the existing living rooms which, however neatly planned, degenerate into slums.

In order to reduce the cost, it was suggested that if slum clearance was to be tackled on a national basis, the production of material and transport facilities should also be planned in order to avoid waste of large sums of money.

It was also suggested that the question whether one or

† For the full text of their addresses, please see pages 102-120.

two room units were necessary could only be determined in relation to the size of the families residing there.

The provision of suitable civic amenities such as schools, parks, playgrounds was also to be encouraged in the newly developing housing colonies.

It was suggested that in a country where the population is growing at a fast rate, the question of whether one room or two rooms was necessary should be determined in relation to the increasing population and our housing needs in future. Hence, delegates had to work on the basis of maximum density and some sort of control in this regard had to be exercised by the housing authorities.

Further, no colony should be set up unless the lay-out is sanctioned by the appropriate town planning authority.

It was also suggested that the idea of a one-room tenement should be accepted, but that it should be so planned that in course of time it could be converted into a two-room tenement.

In conclusion, Bombay's Minister for Planning and Development, Shri Wankhede, said that experts on housing problems must agree among themselves and evolve a co-ordinated programme of slum improvement. He added that the Government was aware of the magnitude of the slum problem in Bombay City and was making earnest efforts to tackle it. He urged upon the delegates to consider the problem in its scientific as well as sociological aspects.

Afternoon Session

In the afternoon the five Working Groups met and continued their discussions.

A meeting of the Steering Committee was held to review the discussions of the various Groups.

As a part of the Seminar, an exhibition of Slum Clearance work in Delhi was also arranged.

Friday, 17th May 1957

The proceedings of the day started at 9 a.m. with Shri Shantilal H. Shah, Bombay's Labour and Law Minister pre-

siding over the two plenary sessions on "Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums."

In his opening remarks, Shri Shah observed that expansion of housing could be an immediate solution to the problem of slum clearance. The Minister said that the private sector should be encouraged to undertake such schemes as it was not possible for the public sector alone to tackle this huge problem.

Shri Shah, who confined himself to the problem of slum clearance in Bombay City, thought that the removal of hut slums was one possible way of solving the problem. If this was done with a little more hard-heartedness—all in the interests of the people—desirable results might be achieved, he added.

He continued by saying that though the prevention and eradication of slums deserved to be undertaken simultaneously, it was not practical to do so. He, therefore, pleaded for energetic steps for the prevention of slums in the city. He referred to the tendency of congregating near places of employment and said that, perhaps unconsciously, all had selected South Bombay for setting up their offices and concerns. He called upon the Central and State Governments and the Corporation to see that centres of employment were located in some other areas also in order to ease the congestion in one place alone.

Shri Shah urged the participants to the Seminar to suggest such solutions as would be found practicable. "I will prefer to have half a loaf, even a dry one, to not having any at all," he concluded.

The plenary session then proceeded to the paper of Shri S. K. Gupta, I.C.S., Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust on "Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums" which in his absence was read by the Rapporteur of the Section, Shri S. V. Utamsingh. Thereafter, Shri K. N. Misra, Town and Village Planner to Government of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow addressed the session on the same subject.*

* For full text of these addresses, please see pages 121-127.

In the discussion that followed, Shri John Barnabas, Shri C. R. Desai, Shri Faiyazuddin, Smt. Jer Gobhai, Shri Raja Kulkarni, Shri Manohar, Dr. B. H. Mehta, Shri N. V. Modak, and Smt. Parin Nariman, among others, took part and the following points were raised :

That decentralization of industries should be enforced with legislative sanctions. That in planning quantity should not be catered for at the expense of quality and that each small town should have a master Plan within four years. A delegate suggested that Bombay State should have a Town Planning Department. As regards the controversy between one and two rooms it was suggested that each unit should at least have a self-contained W.C. and bath room and a kitchen. The need for greater coordination between housing and town planning was also urged. It was stated that the cost of building houses can be curtailed if the contractors or middle men are eliminated. At one place, the forest department auctioned timber at Rs. 2/- per cubic foot to a contractor and another department bought it for Rs. 20/ per cubic foot from the same contractor. Saw mills should be constructed near forest areas so that costs could be reduced by as much as 35%. It was also felt that housing accommodation of one or two rooms should be provided according to the needs of the family. Another member said that voluntary co-operation of the people was of the utmost importance in such plans. Housing should be turned into a people's movement. It was suggested that urban community development projects should be launched to solve urban problems.

As regards slum prevention one member said that there was no single way to its solution—improved building codes, town planning legislation and zonal codes, were all equally important.

Afternoon Session

In the afternoon, the five Working Groups met and continued discussions on their respective subjects between 12-30 and 2.30 p.m.

A meeting of the Steering Committee was held to review the points raised in the discussions.

In the evening, a Programme of visits to slums in the city was arranged for the delegates. The delegates left the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Chembur at 3 p.m. and visited various slums in the city like the Mankhurd Colony, Dharavi, the Government Housing Colony, Worli, B.D.D. Chawls, Worli Labour Welfare Centre, Kamathipura, Dhaku Prabhu Wadi, and the Palton Road Chawls.

Saturday, 18th May 1957

The Proceedings of the day started at 9 a.m. with Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Bombay's Finance Minister, presiding over the two plenary sessions on "Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance."

He suggested that all employing authorities should provide housing accommodation for their employees gradually spread over a fixed period and that it would then perhaps be desirable to hand over the funds for the construction of houses for the employees to the Government as had been done by certain industrial concerns. The Finance Minister said that such a step, besides providing accommodation to a large number of people, would also meet the objection that housing provided by employers adversely affected the collective bargaining position of the employee.

Discussing the problem of slum clearance and housing from the financial point of view, Dr. Mehta said that the former was an offshoot of the latter, viz. inadequate housing. He stated that according to some reports, there was a shortage in India of about one crore houses, the construction of which would mean an expenditure of about Rs. 5,000 crores. The amount involved spoke for the magnitude of the problem and for the need to solve it by joint efforts of all concerned, he added.

The Minister made the following suggestions for tackling the financial aspect of the problem :

All organisations having a large number of employees should provide housing gradually to their employees; no interest should be charged on loans given for housing for the

first three to five years and suitable instalments should be fixed for the repayment of the loan with interest over a period of 25 years; housing should be considered as an industry and treated by Government for purposes of assistance on lines similar to the aid given to small scale or medium-scale industrial co-operatives by advancing loans to house-building agencies at a low rate of interest; local authorities should recover only service charges, giving a rebate on general tax for the first five years to encourage private investors to build houses; rent control restrictions may be relaxed in the case of new construction.

Dr. Mehta also told the Seminar that the Government of India were helping large-scale industries to create a depreciation fund at an increased rate of percentage for the first few years, treating it as an item of expenditure and exempting it from the payment of income tax. The housing industry should also be encouraged by being put on a similar footing.

The Finance Minister assured the delegates to the Seminar that the Government had been anxious to solve the problem and was ready to do all that was possible in the matter. Sustained efforts to provide houses to the people had been made in spite of enormous financial difficulties. Government had been able to construct within the last few years, through the instrument of the Bombay Housing Board, about 11,000 tenements and another 5,000 were in the process of being constructed.

The plenary session was addressed by Shri C. B. Patel, Housing Adviser to Government of India, New Delhi and Shri B. K. Sen, Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta on "Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance.*"

In the discussion that followed, Shri A. S. Naik, Shri K. N. Misra, Shri K. R. Thakkar, Shri Kanji Dwardadas, Shri John Barnabas, Shri M. Harris, Shri Deva Raj, Shri P. B. Guha, Shri J. S. Mathur, Shri L. R. Vagale, Shri Sahane, Shri M. Quaraishi, Shri C. R. Desai, Shri Sharma, Kumari N. B. Sidhwa, Dr. B. H. Mehta, Shri P. R. Nayak participated among others.

* For the full text of the abovementioned addresses, please see pages 138-156.

While criticising the delays occurring in the disposal of cases at the Government level, it was suggested that some concrete machinery should be devised whereby the work could be disposed of expeditiously; this was essential since, as time passes, conditions change with regard to the cost of material etc. and the work is hampered.

Further, it was felt that there was no proper planning and some aspects which needed little money were neglected, e.g. in the Mankhurd Colony, there were no roads etc.

Another member suggested that economic conditions of the people would also have to be improved.

It was also suggested that there should be a survey of old buildings and the various rehabilitation or slum clearance schemes must have a long term view in mind. It was agreed that there was no coordination and cooperation at various levels, for which the establishment of a Housing Ministry including town planning and slum clearance departments was recommended.

One member suggested that the Delhi Act should be adopted in all States in order to tackle the slum clearance problem.

It was found that proper statistics of slums were not available and, therefore, it was suggested that there should be a National Register.

It was further suggested that Town Planning institutions be started all over the country.

A Lady observer to the Seminar, pointed out that no consideration had been given to the planning of a home. People only thought of manufacturing houses. Planning should be done from a woman's point of view, particularly with regard to requirements in the kitchen, etc. and there should be women members included in the Housing Boards appointed by the Government.

Afternoon Session

In the afternoon, the five working Groups resumed their meetings to draft their respective reports.

The Steering Committee met for a short while to review the reports of various Working Groups and to approve the Evaluation Report prepared by the Secretary in the light of replies received to the questionnaire issued.

A film show was arranged in the Psychological Laboratory Hall of the Tata Institute when Films on Slum Clearance, Housing and related subjects loaned by the British Information Service and Canadian High Commission, were screened.

Sunday, 19th May 1957

In the morning, all the Working Groups were busy finalising their reports, which were duly submitted to the Director of the Seminar for his approval.

In the afternoon, final reports of the Working Groups were mimeographed for circulation the next morning at the closing plenary session.

In the evening, a Farewell Dinner was arranged in honour of the delegates to the Seminar by the Indian Conference of Social Work at the Juhu Hotel at 8-30 p.m. which was attended by Shri and Smt. S. K. Wankhede and Shri & Smt. H. K. Desai among others.

Monday 20th May 1957

Closing Session

The closing plenary session of the Seminar began at 9 a.m. under the presidentship of Smt. Hansa Mehta, President, ICSW. At the outset, the Chairmen of the following five Working Groups presented the reports of their respective groups, which were discussed in detail and adopted with minor modifications.*

Thereafter, the following resolution, moved by Shri C. R. Desai and seconded by Shri K. N. Misra, was unanimously adopted :—

* The final report of the Working Groups is included in the Director's Report pages 157-198.

Resolution regarding the follow-up of the Seminar deliberations

“The Seminar on Slum Clearance considers that the recommendations formulated by it are realistic in their approach and capable of implementation by the various authorities and urges them to take steps forthwith for implementing them.

“The Seminar considers that it is necessary to keep on pursuing the various authorities from time to time and with that view **RESOLVES** that a small influential **STANDING COMMITTEE** headed by the President, Indian Conference of Social Work and assisted by the Director of the present Seminar and two or three of its participants be set up.

“The Seminar further requests this **COMMITTEE** to wait on the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission of India and to move the Chief Ministers of various States when necessary through separate local committees including the participants in the Seminar and explain to the several authorities the recommendations of this Seminar and urge them to secure implementation of the recommendations in an expeditious planned manner.”

“This Seminar resolves that the Director may take further later steps to constitute local Committees for various areas. It would be the function of the Standing Committee and the local committees to review the work done and progress achieved in the area of their jurisdiction and to keep one another informed of implementation.”

Evaluation Report

The Secretary then read out the Evaluation report which was prepared on the basis of replies received to the questionnaire already issued to the members, which was duly recorded.†

Vote of Thanks

The Seminar Secretary proposed a vote of thanks

† For the full text of the report, please see pages 295-298.

to all those who helped in making the Seminar a tremendous success.*

The following resolution moved by Shri Kanji Dwarkadas and seconded by Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S., was unanimously passed: "The Seminar on Slum Clearance places on record the valuable services rendered by Shri B. Chatterjee, the Secretary of the Seminar, in making the Seminar a great success."

With a vote of thanks to the Chair, the proceedings of the session terminated.

Chief Minister's Message

It was planned to hold a formal closing session of the Seminar in the City, in the evening, under the Chairmanship of Shri Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay, but in view of unforeseen difficulties, he could not attend the scheduled closing plenary session and, as a consequence, this session was cancelled. The following message was received from the Chief Minister on the occasion:—

"I regret my inability to participate in the formal closing session of the Seminar on Slum Clearance organised by the Indian Conference of Social Work. When I accepted the invitation I was looking forward to it, but I regret, other pressing work has prevented me from attending it.

"Slums are a symbol of our neglect of a primary necessity—housing—in our hurry to raise our industrial structure. The ignorant and helpless workers flocking to the cities in search of badly needed employment, the opportunist landlord, slack or short sighted local bodies have all contributed to the creation of slums. The cost in human health and happiness has been terrible. Nor has the process of creating slums stopped. Successive censuses have revealed a continuous influx of the rural population in the towns and construction of new houses has totally failed to keep pace with this influx. The result has been more and more congestion, turning into slums areas which were not so before.

* For the full text of his address, please see pages 303-306.

“There are several ways of attacking this cancerous growth. We can remove slums or improve them or increase housing in such a way that people are drawn away from slums. There is really no time to debate on the merits or demerits of each of these remedies and we must try all of them at the same time as much as we can.

“We would however be courting disappointment if we ignore the limitations which beset us in accomplishing this task. We have not got unlimited finance nor unlimited supply of land or building materials. We have also to face the limited capacity of the people to pay rent for the new houses.

“In all this, we must remember that we will not achieve the satisfaction of the people unless we are able to achieve tangible results on a sufficiently large scale within a reasonable time. If our results are not substantial, everything else will matter very little.

“Slum clearance is a problem which has eaten into the vitals of our cities for a long time now. Unless we impart a sense of urgency to the solution of the problem and unless the people, the industrialists, the local bodies and Government make a joint attack in co-operation and with all the earnestness at their demand, we will not achieve results on that scale which we desire. On this occasion, I would like to say a special word to our engineers. If they could find ways and means of building cheaper houses in quicker time, they will have made a substantial contribution to the solution of the problem. I cannot help feeling that a great deal remains to be done in this direction.

“I am glad that the Seminar has provided an opportunity to persons of knowledge and experience in this field like you to meet and discuss the various aspects of this difficult problem and I hope the results of your deliberations over the last one week will substantially help all those charged with responsibility of tackling this problem in practice.”

Thus came to a conclusion the week-long Seminar which had proved to be a very useful and successful one. It is fervently hoped that its work will bring about tangible results in the direction of slum clearance, slum improvement and the housing policy of the country.

DIRECTOR'S WORKING PAPER

By

SHRI P. R. NAYAK, I.C.S.

Director of the Seminar

A slum may be defined as a building or an area which is unfit for human habitation by reason of serious deficiencies in the nature of the living accommodation or of the environment. In this sense, a great proportion of our rural population can be regarded as inhabiting slums. But the background of abundant nature in the villages and the outdoor life there perhaps mitigate somewhat the consequences of slum-dwelling on mind and body. While in no way minimising the importance of improvements in the rural areas, it is true to say that sub-human living conditions in the larger towns and cities, with congestion abounding, become utterly intolerable. The word "slum" has thus come to be specially applied to such areas.

2. A rapid process of urbanisation has been going on in the country in the last four decades. The absence of a corresponding growth in housing facilities, and a substantial failure of the regulatory functions of civic authorities, have created highly unsatisfactory living conditions. The growth of industry has been one factor in the migration of population. Another, perhaps no less potent, is the relatively greater economic insecurity in the villages and the beckoning hope of a city's opportunities.

3. An already aggravated situation has been worsened during the last War and the subsequent years, which have produced a further large increase in the population of industrial cities. Excessive overcrowding has intensified filth and squalor in under-developed localities and even blighted the more decent ones. Numerous clusters of ugly hutment colonies pock-mark the cities indiscriminately.

4. With rapid industrialisation in the Second Five-Year Plan period and a change in social outlook, it is imperative

that greater attention must be given to the necessity of improving or eradicating slum areas. The consequences of the existing situation cannot be overstated. Filth and overcrowding in sub-standard buildings and the paucity or absence of civic amenities and community services have heightened delinquency and arrested or denied opportunities for educational and social advancement. The health of the slum dwellers and of the younger generation, in particular, has deteriorated; and industrial and other productive potential has undoubtedly suffered in consequence. The disparity in living conditions, now being gradually perceived, is likely to increase dissatisfaction in a more easily susceptible community.

5. Although the problem of slums has attracted much attention of late, it does not appear that a sufficiently bold and practical plan for tackling this vast problem has yet been formulated. The Seminar must endeavour to focus attention on the many complex issues involved, so that from a full consideration of them a realistic national programme can emerge.

6. Slums include both insanitary hutment colonies or bustees and groups of pucca buildings of utterly obsolete standards as regards the size of accommodation, light and ventilation, sanitary services and general layout of the area. The former still crop up in cities, from time to time, and are invariably the result of the continuing migration from rural areas of people in search of temporary employment; for it is known that there is a significant shift of population in these colonies. The acute scarcity of accommodation, the absence of any regular employment, and, above all, a different background of environmental hygiene, unsuited to urban ways of living, are the principal causes underlying the growth of such colonies. The pucca-built slum is, on the other hand, a heritage of earlier times, when civic standards were either non-existent or, on current notions, primitive in character. The continued occupation of, indeed overcrowding in, such buildings today, despite the improvement in economic conditions, is attributable to the absence of suitable alternative accommodation at reasonable rentals, ignorance of the advantages of better living conditions, and, sometimes, contentment

with one's lot, either fatalistic or born of acquisitive instincts. In this situation, it is important to understand the mind of the slum dweller, so that we can formulate the right approach and make the right appeal that will win him over to the decent and the dignified way of living.

7. On the physical plane, effort must be directed to the prevention of slums and their eradication. As part of the former, it is clearly necessary to consider the causes that underlie the continued migration from the rural areas into the cities. Equally, however, the defaults and deficiencies in the regulatory duties and powers of civic authorities must be cured.

The approach to the eradication of slums has to be different in the two cases referred to. Hutment colonies present a simpler problem, mechanically speaking, and, depending on their location, the solution can take varied forms, such as complete re-development or the planned provision of essential services and amenities. But the nature of the inhabiting population calls for a sustained effort at education and the creation of a more settled way of life, social and economic. The eradication of pucca slums abounds with special problems; and a two-fold attack is indicated. Firstly, because of our present paucity of resources, one must consider the extent and practicability of improving sub-standard dwellings and localities. Where this is impossible, as unfortunately it is in numerous cases, re-development of slum areas is inevitable. And here one is confronted with difficulties of special acuteness; large-scale demolition, a degree, inevitably, of expropriation of property, re-development of cleared areas at the desired pace, and a displacement of spill-over population from these abnormally overcrowded areas. In both cases, initiative and a preponderating measure of enterprise must stem from public authority. There must also be public acceptance of the urgency of slum clearance and improvement measures, with all that it connotes as regards a suitable priority for materials and other resources. Above all, authority must clearly perceive and prescribe the standards of desirable re-development with reference to the social and economic future of the country.

8. The Seminar will discuss the subject of slum clearance under the following headings :—

1. Social Aspects of Slum Dwelling
 - (a) Definition of Slums
 - (b) Causation of Slums
 - (c) Social consequences of slum dwelling
 - (d) Planning community services for re-developed areas
 - (e) Social education of slum dwellers towards better living
 - (f) Public Health Problems in slum dwelling
2. Minimum Housing Standards and Slum Improvement
3. Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums
4. Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance
 - (a) Magnitude of the problem
 - (b) Pace of a desired programme (c.f. dilapidation and collapse of old buildings)
 - (c) The process of implementation, including private versus public re-development, compensation for slum acquisition and rehabilitation of the displaced or dishoused population
 - (d) Adequacy of the Governmental Plan
 - (e) Finance
5. Examination of Slum Clearance Projects in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Kanpur and Ahmedabad.

Inaugural Session

WELCOME ADDRESS

By

SMT. HANSA MEHTA

President, Indian Conference of Social Work

On behalf of the Indian Conference of Social Work I consider it a pleasure and a privilege to welcome you all here this evening to the Inaugural Session of the National Seminar on Slum Clearance. I extend my welcome particularly to Shri Sri Prakasa, our popular Governor, who has kindly consented to inaugurate the Seminar in spite of his manifold activities and at considerable inconvenience to himself.

I am grateful to all the delegates and observers to the Seminar—most of them well-known experts in their respective fields, who have assembled here from the four corners of the country to discuss one of the most pressing and, if I may say so, an ugly problem in our National life, which needs to be tackled with a sense of desperate urgency, if we are anxious to raise the standard of life of the common man in this country.

This is the second occasion when we are organizing a National Seminar on an important social problem. Encouraged by our experience with the first one we had on Casteism and Untouchability, we have ventured to assemble experts from a number of disciplines which are directly or indirectly concerned with the problem of slums, slum dwellings, housing, town planning and such other allied fields to discuss the problem of slum clearance and suggest ways and means of tackling it in an effective way. There is a feeling among some that the [problem of slum clearance is only a practical problem] and does not need a Seminar to discuss it. This is because the problem of slum clearance is not understood in its entirety. If slum clearance meant only taking a shovel and demolishing slums or providing a few facilities to improve community life in the slum areas, the problem would be very easy indeed.

It would only mean pooling our financial resources and sending a team of workers or a bulldozer to work and all would be well. Unfortunately, the problem is not so simple as all that. It is not merely a problem of clearing slums but also seeing that no new slums are created—in short it is a problem of prevention as much as that of cure. The problem has many facets to it. From the purely physical angle, it has to be discussed in connection with concentration of industries in a particular area, adequate housing, proper maintenance of existing housing, building of new houses for growing population, checking rural-urban migration, zoning, town planning, setting standards of housing, etc. From the human angle, it is a question of educating those who live in slums to develop ambition and ability to live a better life. It is a question of having suitable housing with proper amenities for all and implementing it both at the State, Municipal or at any other level.

One realises that it is not possible to deal with all these on a nation-wide scale within the limited amount of money available to us under the Second Five-Year Plan. One can, however, indicate the order in which the problem can be taken up, i.e. (1) arresting growth of new slums; (2) improving the existing slums; (3) providing adequate housing for all; and (4) ultimate clearance of all slums.

The problem of slums is intimately connected with the evolution of ideas and values in terms of changing social needs and conditions. For example, a hundred, or even fifty years ago what was considered to be adequate housing is considered today to be very inadequate and becomes one of the worst types of slums. Therefore, in evolving minimum housing standards we have to keep one eye fixed on future needs and growing ideas and the other on the practical realities of the present situation.

Thus, in providing housing for the working class in industrial areas, we should not go on multiplying chawls, but give decent minimum housing accommodation for each worker. For example, I do not see why in a Welfare State, workers should be housed in a one-room tenement or even a

two-room tenement with bath rooms and w. cs. common to a number of tenements, when they should be provided with a self-contained unit with a balcony, a kitchen, and separate bath room and w. c. facilities. Building chawls with inadequate and primitive facilities will only turn out to be slum development schemes.

The Second Five-Year Plan envisages a rapid development of the industrialisation of the country, and if the administrators, municipal authorities and town planners and citizens do not take sufficient interest and precaution against haphazard development of townships in industrial areas or concentration of large population in the already over-crowded cities there will be danger of considerably extending the slum area.

It has been pointed out that at every new industrial project like the one at Bhilai or Rurkela, new townships are being planned along with industrial plants. These industrial townships, however, will have impact on a vast surrounding area and will attract, apart from industrial workers, all kinds of people beginning from small tradesmen and hawkers to what not. Will there be adequate housing accommodation for all of them? If not, what steps will be taken to prevent such persons from settling down around the town and creating slums?

Apart from clearing slums, town and zonal planning, regional development, etc., we must consider provision of housing as one of the foremost basic human needs after food and clothing and should launch new housing projects on a national scale as this has a creative potential for increasing employment producing economic values which will strengthen our country.

These are some of the thoughts I have in mind and I leave all these questions to the experts who have assembled here to deliberate on slum clearance during the next few days and hope they will give us some concrete proposals to approach the problem in a practical way so that we can improve the life and condition of the slum dwellers and provide better housing for the whole nation.

In the end, I would like to request the delegates and observers to forgive us for any shortcoming or difficulty they may experience during their stay here for the Seminar week. Bombay city has its many charms but the climate in the month of May is certainly not one of them. Yet this was a convenient month to hold the Seminar as due to vacation it was possible for a number of busy persons to get away from their desks for a week and we could also arrange the Seminar in the premises of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

Now I would request Shri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay to inaugurate the Seminar.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By

SHRI SRI PRAKASA
Governor of Bombay

It is truly kind of the President and her colleagues in the Indian Conference of Social Work to invite me to inaugurate the Seminar on Slum Clearance organized under their auspices. I am fully sensible of the honour that they have done me for which I am sincerely grateful. I feel, however, a little embarrassed in appearing before this distinguished audience consisting as it does, on the one hand, of great and good men and women who have devoted a whole life-time of self-sacrificing effort in the service of the humble and the handicapped, and, on the other, of scholars who have made serious studies in the art and science of social service; have examined it in all its varied aspects; and are giving advice and guidance as to what should be done and how it should be done to face the problems in front of us, effectively and successfully, so as to make the world a better place to live in for human beings in general. I am only a lay man distantly interested in your work; and though earnestly wanting that things should be different to what they actually are, I am painfully aware that I have personally contributed nothing to the great task of world-mending in which you are so steadfastly engaged. I should therefore be excused if you find that the ideas I express are very elementary, and the suggestions I venture to make, far from practical.

We here today are concentrating on one definite aspect of social work; and that pertains to slums. In the plenary sessions that will follow, persons of learning and experience would give us definitions and descriptions of slums, and tell us what is their cause and cure. Workers with practical experience will also speak to us of the actual conditions in which people live in these slums in large and small cities, and formulate proposals as to how their lot could be bettered. Comparisons may also be made between the slums of Euro-

pean countries and our own. These are all very important subjects; and no doubt every attention will be paid to them by all who have gathered for these meetings. My own task, however, is a simple and comparatively easy one; and that is to give a start, so to say, to these discussions, and to express the hope that the exchange of views and experience in the manner proposed, among such earnest and devoted persons like yourselves, will help in the taking of decisions of a practical nature, and the devising of ways and means for the attainment of our objectives at as early a date as possible.

It is a curious thing (how the ideal and the real are always at war. The more we talk of equality among human beings, the more inequalities we seem to create; and the more we speak of the elimination of differences between man and man, the greater do these become as actually witnessed in life.) Advance of what is called civilisation, has resulted in the phenomenon we find around us; and the eternal conflict of the heart and the head, of what we should like to do and what we have to do, makes life unhappy and unbearable for most of us. In this situation, not unoften do we wish that we could go back to a primitive state of existence when we all functioned at a level of real equality, and when all the many problems that the increasing complexities of human existence have brought before us, were unknown. Still it is true that there is no receding; and that we have always to go forwards from change to change. The path of wisdom lies in accepting the world as it goes, and trying so to work as to eliminate the evil that might have gathered, without disturbing the good that the passage of time might have brought. We, as social workers, have a definite feeling that this is possible; otherwise we would have no urge to embark on the many and difficult tasks that we are constantly undertaking. We dare not indulge in complacency which would be unbecoming of us; nor can we allow things to drift as they will, for that would be clearly dangerous.

Slums, as such, are associated with city life. It is not that human habitations described as "slums" are necessarily worse in the matter of insanitation, over-crowding, dirt and

disease than dwellings in the countryside. In many cases, they may even be less undesirable, but we would not call even the humblest of cottages in a village, a slum. Slums necessarily go with the very special conditions existing in cities. The simple fact is that due to various causes, human beings tended to leave their agricultural operations and divert their attention and activity to industrial pursuits. Thus mills and factories grew up. These require concentration of large numbers of persons in small areas. Foundations of large cities as we know them, were thus laid. Persons who came from villages to the towns, without preparation and forethought, lived somehow, squatting here and there; raising little temporary structures if at all possible; meeting their creature needs in any way they could; and so just jogged along.

It would perhaps be good to study their psychology in order to understand them and their ways. In a village, the person that occupies the smallest village cottage, regards it as his own, and feels personally attached to it as the place where his ancestors had lived in the past, and where his children and children's children will also live in days to come. To such a cottage are also attached open fields—however small their area might be—which also are his own, and in which he has hereditary pride, and on which he works and from which he produces crops that give him food, and enable him to supply himself with other necessities of life. The same person when out of economic necessity or for the fulfilment of some social ambition, he comes to the city and joins any industrial concern, develops a very different psychology.

The mill or factory where he works is not his own. He is only interested in the wages that he receives, and therefore any injury that might be done to the machine he handles, either by himself or others, does not affect him in the least, as any harm done to his field in his home village would immediately do. In the village, he is an individualist looking after his own house and fields, in a spirit of healthy rivalry with others in the neighbourhood similarly occupied. In the factory, he is inclined to be a trade unionist joining his fellow-

workers all of whom are similarly engaged on so much wage for so much work, for the betterment of their conditions as a community. These men have no permanent interest either in their work or in their employer. Not unoften their heart is in the village, and they send whatever they can save, for the cultivation of their lands and the paying of rents that might be due or debts that might have been incurred by the family. There is also present in many of them the desire to go back to their villages at some future date. They certainly have no attachment for the places where they have squatted and raised some structures for temporary shelter.

Then the scene presents itself of a few persons as proprietors of mills and factories prospering while the men who labour hard to make the machines go, remain depressed and poor. The prosperity of the few is rather blatantly evidenced by large residences that come into existence, and the many amenities and facilities purchasable by money, that owners and proprietors come to enjoy. Differences between man and man become very greatly marked, and rouse strong feelings of jealousy and bitterness to which human nature is so prone. In villages all the houses are more or less alike. There is very little difference between them. No luxuries can be purchased, and so even the comparatively well-to-do there do not appear to live in conditions better than any others. The dwellers of the city slums feel dissatisfied with the state of affairs as they compare their conditions with those of their masters, and they combine together in an attempt to make things better for themselves than they are. It is here that the social worker steps in, for he realises the need both of Capital and Labour, and feels that if only those who are in power were considerate and sympathetic, the humble folk on whom they ultimately depend for their own prosperity would be content, and actually become more serviceable and efficient if given good treatment and better surroundings to live in. Thus the problem of slum clearance comes before us.

Earlier towns and cities might have grown round industrial centres, and the only persons concerned there might

have been the proprietors of the factories and the labourers who worked there. But soon other folk also came over like traders and merchants, to supply the many needs of the people living there. Such urban areas became more and more attractive, and large numbers of persons gathered there evolving various types of learned professions as distinguished from manual, not known before in the form they are today. Lawyers, teachers, doctors, journalists, besides bankers, traders, merchants and industrialists, all congregated in towns. These good folk are, generally speaking, both averse to and incapable of doing manual work. Still they cannot do without the help of those who perform these tasks. The position is very rightly and pithily described in a simple Hindi saying that translated in English would mean: "A small man can manage without the big man; but a big man cannot get along without the small man." This may hurt the vanity of the so-called big man, but it is eternally true. Thus, apart from those who came only to work in the mills and factories, large numbers of men and women also came to towns and cities as casual labourers, domestic servants, cart drivers, rickshaw pullers, washermen, shoemakers, and so on endlessly. Even to the village man who originally came with the desire to go back home some day, the City began to grow in attraction. He found so many attractions and distractions there that were not only unknown but undreamt of in the countryside. He got attached to them, and did not know how he could do without them. All sorts of people, big and small, seemed eager and anxious to settle there permanently ever adding to the physical amenities and facilities of the place and turning their backs on everything else. "Back to the village" thus becomes a cry in the wilderness from the time of the Gracchus of ancient Rome to that of Mahatma Gandhi of today. The cruel fact, however, is that if a few palaces in an expanding city rise on the one hand, slums grow and grow endlessly, on the other.

What is to be done?—is the problem for you today. Unfortunately, when reformers have set their hearts and minds on improving cities by eliminating the ugly habitations called slums, they, as a rule, have so far just cleared

these habitations of all their inmates, razing their dwellings to the ground, re-distributing the grounds on which they stood, in small plots, and building neat little houses for the comparatively well-to-do. This solves no problem, for the slum dwellers driven out from their original places, go a little distance away, and re-build their slums. The well-to-do people who come to inhabit the new houses built where the slums existed before, find that they need the services of humble folk which are essential for their well-being but which they cannot or would not perform themselves. Thus new slums, that is, small dirty houses, again come up in the neighbourhood. That is why, it seems to me that our objective should be slum improvement and not slum clearance, and our Seminar might just as well be re-named accordingly. Now-a-days mills and factories are not allowed to rise in a haphazard manner. There are endless regulations imposed by the State because of which various amenities have to be provided by proprietors to their labour.

The slums that we have to deal with now—generally speaking—are those that are formed by various humble folk who congregate in cities to supply the needs of the well-to-do, and for which there are no very strict regulations because of which their haphazard and unsatisfactory nature continues. I do not mean to say that industrial areas have solved all their problems. There are plenty of these there also to tackle and surmount. They seem, however, to be on the right track as pointed attention has been drawn to them; but the others need our urgent care and consideration. The humble folk who live there, as I have said above, consist of various categories of manual workers who are needed by the better placed city people. In our country—whether we like it or not—they would be needed for a very long time yet, till further social revolutions take place and the creature needs of man are met in a manner not yet known to us. Thus it would be best if we did not take to clearing all slums in the sense of just destroying them and allowing their dwellers to go anywhere, but decided on constructing dwellings or improving the existing ones, which would be suitable for human beings, and where the erstwhile slum dwellers

could continue to live in happy and healthy surroundings with reasonable facilities for proper recreation and amusements provided for them. This would also make them more efficient in the discharge of their duties, and thus improve the general ways and standards of life and conduct all round.

The effect of this new orientation of thought and endeavour is indeed magical, as I can testify from personal knowledge of things in the city of Madras. The problem there—though not so bad as in more crowded cities—has been bad enough; and there, as everywhere else, big drives have been undertaken for slum clearance. The great and wise Shri C. Rajagopalachariar—affectionately known as Rajaji to us all—as Chief Minister, gave stern and sage advice to all persons concerned, that slums are not to be cleared, but improved. The Corporation of Madras enthusiastically took up the idea, and slum after slum has been changed into decent colonies for the humble. Play-grounds for the children have been provided; hydrants installed; little schools and libraries opened; arrangements for radio sets made to give music and news. We cannot forget that man does not live by bread alone. We are all inclined to blame the poor for imbibing many bad habits and neglecting their families. The way of curing them is not to find fault with them, but provide them with opportunities so that they can engage themselves in pursuits that would help them to lift the tedium and monotony of their drab existence, and enable them to enjoy life with their wives and children, and share it with friends and relatives in a manner that gives true happiness and felicity, genuine solace and comfort. The Corporation of Madras is to be congratulated on the success, however limited, that it has achieved in this direction. Its example deserves to be followed. There is, of course, much still to do, but well begun is always half done. I recognise that there is more open space available in the City of Madras than there is, for example, in the City of Bombay, and that such improvements can be effected with much less difficulty there than perhaps here or in other cities. Still, if the principle is accepted, there is no doubt that the various changes necessitated by local circumstances, could be made, and a

better state of affairs brought about. There may also be legal difficulties regarding proprietorship of the lands occupied by squatters and slums, but these will have to be tackled sympathetically; and may be, the principle of "possession being nine points of the law" will, in many cases, have to be allowed to override the sterner provisions thereof.

The task that you have set before yourselves is indeed an important one. It is both difficult and delicate. In a Free Democratic Republican Society such as ours, every citizen counts; and we cannot afford to let any group of men and women remain in such circumstances of poverty, ignorance and disease as cannot enable them to understand their simple rights and duties as citizens. We have to harness all our resources so that darkness and sadness of the present may yield to light and joy in the coming days. We have to learn ourselves and to teach others that all professions are necessary for the well-being of human society as a whole; that all professions that are not anti-social, are equally honourable; and that it is the bounden duty of every one of us to perform our civic and our professional tasks to the best of our ability and capacity so that the wheels of life may run smoothly, so that society may function in its varied facets in a proper and beautiful manner. We are not out to destroy the professions but to make them all clean and respected by making the men who have adopted them, good, pure and dutiful. It is thus alone that the dweller of the slum and the dweller of the palace will be able to meet on grounds of common humanity for the good and well-being of both, when each will perform his allotted work conscientiously and well, and esteem the other to be as necessary as himself for the stability of society and the progress of mankind. Much of the trouble of the world today is due to the artificial division of professions, into respectable and disrespectable, regarding those of the brain to be honourable and those involving the brawn to be not so. If both are equally esteemed, then everyone will be proud of the work he does, and the contribution he makes to the service of society; then will be born in the hearts and minds of all men and women, that true feeling of self-respect that inculcates respect for

others also. Thus with the emergence of the realisation of the fact and need of mutual dependence, the psychological idea of high and low will disappear, and it will be in the interest of everyone to help and serve every other. In such a society, differences in material conditions will first of all be very greatly narrowed, and such as inevitably exist will not matter very much.

Under the cover of an apparently simple problem of slum clearance or slum improvement, we are really required to look at the larger perspective, and work for a society modelled on a new ideology which will take on a new appearance, thanks to your labours, by what will seem to be a process of natural evolution without clashes and conflicts, without bombs and battles. You, my friends, are devoting yourselves to the task of improving conditions in urban areas. That is as it should be, not so much because you yourselves are city-dwellers and so may be regarded as naturally interested in the conditions of your neighbourhood, but also because great attention is being already rightly paid by the present Governments at the Centre and the States to the well-being of the village man and wife, and it is possible that cities that form such an important part of modern civilised existence, might be neglected. Voluntary effort for improving and embellishing the city therefore is particularly necessary, so that town and country might prosper alike in mutual co-operation and sympathetic understanding of each other's needs and requirements. It is in the earnest hope that your discussions will help in the making of a better world, and in the realisation of the great ideal of the City Beautiful, that I now formally inaugurate this National Seminar on Slum Clearance organised under the auspices of the Indian Conference of Social Work; and as I leave you to your self-imposed and patriotic labours, I offer my earnest prayer that all health and happiness be vouchsafed to every single one of you, and that success may crown your efforts in the great and noble cause that you have so courageously espoused and made your own.

DIRECTOR'S ADDRESS

By

SHRI P. R. NAYAK, I.C.S.

Introductory

The decision of the Indian Conference of Social Work to organise a Seminar on Slum Clearance is both opportune and praiseworthy. Our deliberations come at a time when the country has been stirred by the consequences of slum dwelling. We are on the threshold of an attempt to eradicate this major evil. Urbanisation has been proceeding apace and the accelerated industrialisation envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan will give a further impetus to this movement, if one may use that phrase in a context of doubtful merit. With the growing pressure on the cities, the serious inadequacies of the housing situation are being further accentuated. Already, a substantial proportion of urban dwelling must be regarded as unfit for human habitation; and the moral, social and economic results of slum-dwelling are plain for all to see. At a time when the country is assiduously working for large-scale regeneration, a growing number of people, simple and impressionable people from the villages, are being exposed to great harm.

2. It is important, therefore, at this juncture to assess the situation correctly and formulate a correct approach to the problem. For that purpose, the participants in our Seminar are extremely well-qualified. We have persons who have been closely connected with urban problems—city fathers and administrators, town planners, sociologists, public health officials and representatives of labour, trade and industry. Government officers engaged in planning and execution in related spheres at the Central and State Government levels are also associated with us. Our deliberations, therefore, start under favourable circumstances; and we are entitled to hope that the outcome will prove to be a valuable contribution to thought on the subject of slums.

3. I am grateful to the Indian Conference of Social Work for their having asked me to work as Director of the Seminar. I look upon the privilege as an opportunity to serve a cause that, as a city administrator, I consider crucial to urban development on sound lines. Months of careful planning have preceded today's function; and the thoroughness of preparation is again a tribute to the initiative and enterprise of the Indian Conference of Social Work.

Slums—A Definition

4. When we talk of slums, the broad picture is clear enough. A scene of filth and squalor, of dingy streets and unkempt rows of dilapidated houses, of overcrowding in tiny rooms, and of inadequate community services rises before our eyes. But a precise definition is obviously necessary.

In the history of urban development in India, our thought has once before turned to the problem of city improvement. In that connection, we had talked of buildings unfit for human habitation and areas which for various reasons were dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants. For dealing with these, and also for certain other purposes, improvement schemes were to be formulated and executed by the civic authority through a rearrangement and reconstruction of the streets and buildings in such areas. This picture of buildings and areas has a familiar ring in the context of slums also. But the idea underlying improvement schemes, at any rate so far as one can gauge from executed programmes, was one essentially of dealing with rural pockets in the midst of urban development. The main attack was on agricultural settlements and hutment colonies, and the principal object seems to have been to improve the neighbourhood of the better localities. The basic approach was probably dictated more by the need for improving public health; and the background was specially the serious epidemics that broke out as a result of primitive conditions unsuited to a concentrated urban community.

5. In our country, a legal conception of slums has only lately been emerging. Meanwhile, the conditions that necessitated improvement schemes have fast been disappearing. In the housing situation, the decadence of buildings has emerged

as a new factor created both by neglect and the strain of excessive population. The idea that the indiscriminate user of land for industrial purposes, in a predominantly residential area, can blight that area, has gained ground. When we talk today of buildings and areas unfit for human habitation a wider view of causative factors is taken. Thus, in Bombay, a slum is defined as an area in which

- (a) the residential buildings are, by reason of disrepair or sanitary defects, unfit for human habitation, or which, by reason of their bad arrangement or the narrowness or bad arrangement of the streets, dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants of the area; and
- (b) the other buildings, if any, are for a like reason similarly dangerous or injurious.

This is as good a definition as any to work on, though the broad idea must be broken down into detailed criteria for judging each case. These would relate, in the case of buildings, to their structural conditions and size, the adequacy or otherwise of the living accommodation available for a family, and of the internal services including water, light, ventilation and sanitary accommodation; and, in the case of whole areas, to the density of population, the user of land and the level of available civic services.

The Situation Today

6. From the point of view of the condition and nature of buildings, it appears that a high percentage of urban properties would fall in the category of slums. It has been estimated that, in Bombay City, about 16,000 buildings, out of a total of 54,000, are more than 60 years old and are built to standards that are utterly obsolete. The standards relate to the modes of construction and the accommodation and internal services available. I do not suggest that all these old buildings are necessarily unfit for human habitation. But a great proportion are; and others are fast joining that category owing to accelerated decay caused by sundry factors operating today. There are about 2,000,000 single-room tenements in

the City, housing, perhaps, 10 to 12 lakhs of the population. They are, in the main, our present slums and the slums of the not too distant future.

In addition, each city is familiar with the hutment colonies that pockmark the surface all over. They are the result of the continuing influx of population from the rural areas, a population that has neither the contacts nor the tenuous security of the older streams that came in. Thrown utterly to their resources, and without even the opportunity of shelter in an already congested room, these people build tiny huts of bamboo or zaoli or rusty, discarded sheets. The colonies grow overnight; and they generally rise in the backyards of the city, where conditions are primitive in the extreme, but also, at times, on any vacant piece of land in a developed part of the city.

Various estimates have been made of the size of the slum population in our cities, but none appears to possess any high degree of precision. No really comprehensive survey, covering not merely hutment colonies but also the old, decayed and disrepaired buildings, has been completed, though one is under way in respect of the 16,000 old structures in Bombay. But it seems safe to say that in the larger, industrialised cities, the slum-dwelling population would be between one-third and two-fifth of the total. For Greater Bombay, this would yield a figure of 10 to 15 lakhs, a staggering number that is a ground for real concern.

In this Seminar, we are concentrating on the situation in the cities. This is not to minimise the gravity of the housing problem in the rural areas. The shortage of houses and the level of services there are extremely grave. But nature softens somewhat the harshness of those conditions; and the programmes of community development that have been launched on a country-wide scale hold the key to redemption. On the other hand, urban living in concentrated masses of humanity accentuates deficiencies and creates special problems of sanitation, public health and community life. The consequences in the cities are graver; and our preoccupation with the slum problem in the cities is therefore, natural.

Consequences of Slum-dwelling

7. The consequences of slum-dwelling on the individual and the community may be briefly stated. The effect on health is profound; the general death rate and the infantile mortality rate are relatively high. A high percentage of the younger generation suffers from many deficiency diseases. These results could arguably be attributed to the underlying poverty of the slum-dweller. But surveys also indicate that a majority have means above the marginal level and the connection between poor health, on the one hand, and insanitary environment and unsuitable living accommodation, on the other, appears conclusive.

A substantial portion of the children remains outside the pale of education. This is partly due to inadequate educational facilities in these poorly served areas, and partly also the result of truancy generated by parental attitude and the general atmosphere around. The prevailing conditions at home and in the school are far from conducive to study and application. The meagre facilities for physical exercise and outdoor recreation further detract from the benefits that education is intended to confer. The result must inevitably be a serious obstacle to physical and intellectual advancement.

Equally, the effect on the adult population is distressing. Decent family life is virtually impossible; and, at night, the sheer physical necessity for fresh air drives thousands to sleep on roads and footpaths. As with the children, so with them, facilities for healthy recreation are poor and the level of community services is low.

Dissatisfaction with such conditions must often lead to maladjustment with society. That this does not happen more generally is, I think, a tribute to the heritage and spiritual quality of our people. Nevertheless, with increasing awareness of disparities, the impact of prevailing conditions on the political stability of the community is bound to be serious.

The largeness of the slum population makes the situation one of great importance with reference also to our plans for economic progress. This under-privileged community, com-

prising a high proportion of our industrial labour, must be an obstacle to the attainment of full productive potential. An energetic assault on slums must, therefore, be a major plank in the campaign for building up the country's economy.

The Origin and Growth of Slums

8. This present relationship between slum-dwelling and industrial production has a strange parallel in history ; for the advent of the industrial revolution also saw the birth of the slums. The man-power requirements of industry launched a growing inflow of population into the cities from the villages. The early capitalist economy drew some of its strength from intensive exploitation of human material ; and the needs of labour for decent living conditions received scant attention. Employment was uncertain and wages were low ; and necessity compelled resort to the cheapest type of shelter. The opportunist entrepreneur filled the need. Cheap housing required intensive, almost "slaughter" exploitation of cheap land ; and the largest gain on the lowest investment was the objective.

Today, it is easy to scoff at this enterprise ; but it had at least the merit of satisfying a pressing want and, incidentally, helping in the growth of the cities. That we now regard the efforts as, in the main, responsible for our slums is, in part, the result of a more enlightened appraisal of human needs. But it underscores also a serious default on the part of civic authority at the time in enforcing certain basic requirements. Indeed, even up till as recently as 1946, it was permissible in Bombay to build a tenement of 100 sq. ft. area ; and the B. D. D. and B. I. T. chawls built by Authority itself in recent decades are a painful example of mistaken outlook. These are the original slums.

9. Over the years, new slums have been added through overcrowding, neglect, decadence and uncontrolled development. Our cities have grown in population, but not in the pre-requisite of housing on a commensurate scale. Congestion abounds, and structures and services of a low standard have borne an unnatural strain. The resulting decay of buildings has been accelerated by factors that have specially operated

in the last 15 years or so. The scarcity of materials engendered by the Second World War seriously affected proper repair and maintenance of buildings. On those six years of neglect was superimposed a rent control law that has, so far as the maintenance of properties goes, proved to be the last straw. We have seen many a camel's back broken in recent years.

10. In the spread of slums another factor was added to decaying houses during the same recent period. The war effort and the need for increased production subsequently, aided and abetted by unclear civic attitude or inadequate regulatory powers, has led to a promiscuous growth of small and large industrial units in our cities, lying cheek by jowl with residential areas, and spreading noise and nuisance around. This creeping blight is recognised as one of the prime causes of slummy growth. We have realised today the need for proper control over the user of land but the problems created by years of haphazard growth are hard to remedy.

11. The slums have not only persisted, but grown in numbers and extent. We have seen that the circumstances that gave birth to the slums have been operating more intensively still through the years. Industrialisation has grown apace, preferring generally the established industrial centres, and the influx of population into the cities has remained unabated. At the other end, the paucity of suitable housing has grown more acute. Old buildings have collapsed or been replaced by business, industrial or expensive residential premises. New houses suited to the needs of the working classes have been slow in coming up. For various reasons, private initiative has virtually dried up. Construction under Public auspices has remained at an inadequate level, because of the relatively low priority assigned to housing projects. In the result, accommodation in the slums has remained at a premium.

It is also true that public conscience has only lately been touched by the consequences of slum dwelling, at any rate to a degree adequate for formulating energetic counter measures. In some measure, the slum dweller himself had not, and perhaps still has not, clearly grasped his disadvantage. His interest in the city has been often ephemeral; to many, city-

dwelling was only a temporary acquisitive phase. One had to lay by as much as one could for the eventual and certain return to one's real home. We cannot also rule out the effect of the fatalistic outlook our philosophy of life has generated. Social and economic disadvantage is often regarded as one's destined lot; and calm acquiescence as virtue.

The Importance of Counter Measures

12. In the vital centres of population that are our cities, we cannot afford a continuance of sub-human living conditions. They are causing incalculable harm to moral and material progress, and hold the seeds of a dangerous outgrowth. On a more mundane plane, the under-utilisation of land implicit in slum areas is of serious consequence to cities pressed for living space. Optimum exploitation of this scarce and valuable commodity is essential. Apart from houses, of which thousands more are needed, leeway has to be made up in the provision of adequate educational, medical and recreational facilities. Slums, with their low rentals and under-development of land, also adversely affect civic revenues, at a time when the provision of additional services and amenities demands expanding resources. Here is a vicious circle; for the slums are the very areas most in need of augmented facilities, but in their turn, make only a meagre contribution to civic coffers

The accelerated decay of old and slum-like buildings has been responsible for grave injury to life and limb. Tottering buildings have been collapsing at an increasing rate, and many innocent lives have been lost. Indeed, this loss of life has become a recurring feature of city news. Desperate people clinging to half-collapsed or dangerous buildings are a common and piteous sight.

13. In the climate of our independence, we have come to recognise the urgency of an assault on social evils, not on intrinsic merits alone, but as a means also to economic progress and political stability. We have arrived at the stage for concerting measures for that assault. We not only say that slums are bad and must go; we have even a plan for their eradication. It is wise, therefore, to pause and reflect on essential prerequisites.

Pre-requisites to Action

14. The slum problem is in reality an integral part of the largest issue of decent housing. Inadequacy of housing breeds slums ; and slums are a blot on a city's housing facilities. The two must not, indeed cannot, be tackled in isolated compartments. A sound policy for all public housing should, I suggest, be that it must primarily help to speed the eradication of slums. The only other superior claim could be the need of people dishoused through house collapses and house demolitions. Today, a major Government project, namely the Industrial Housing Scheme, does no doubt ease congestion, but scarcely makes any other impression on existing slums. A unified view, and possibly, too, integrated planning and execution at the local level, are essential. But when I speak of unification, I must not be understood as advocating undue centralisation. The housing situation and future needs have a peculiarly local flavour and must be judged and satisfied under local initiative and direction. Centralisation over essentials and, at times, over trivialities even, as today in hands not attuned to local needs and circumstances, saps initiative, creates discouragement, and results in serious delays. I have specially in mind certain Central directions as regards prior approval to building design, plot layouts and other matters in connection with current slum clearance schemes. In my experience, this insistence has been fruitful of delay ; and there is no valid reason for not leaving decisions on these details to local officers or local committees.

An overall long-term housing plan can only be founded on a comprehensive survey of existing housing, more particularly such of it as exists in the older parts of our cities. Housing needs are today a matter for considerable speculation ; and estimates of deficiencies vary widely. Such a survey—Bombay has undertaken one—will establish the extent of dilapidation and other slum-like conditions, the degree of overcrowding and future needs based on family size and economic conditions.

15. Long-term policy on the housing front also calls for large-scale acquisition and development of land. A great deal

of private land is lying sterile or underdeveloped. It lends itself admirably for development or re-development at minimum constructional cost and, if we take a comprehensive view of public expenditure, it must receive prior attention. Different housing authorities today operate without adequate mutual consultation and collaboration; and the provision of developmental services is tackled in an *ad-hoc* rather than in a broadly pre-planned manner. To the extent that already serviced areas remain unbuilt upon, and scarce resources must be expended in virgin ones, we are needlessly exhausting ourselves. Virgin areas must undoubtedly be opened up; but let us do so according to a plan, and one that gives heed also to the desired pattern of regional or zonal development.

Minimum Housing Standards

16. The data we have collected and the approach we have formulated will not serve their object if our outlook on minimum housing standards is halting or unclear. Of this, there is today a real danger, for we seem over-obsessed with considerations of short-term cost. The ceilings to which subsidised industrial housing or slum clearance schemes are required to work appear clearly inadequate for minimum desired standards. These standards must take into account two vital factors: firstly, the rapidly changing pattern of our social and economic life, and, secondly, the permanency for which we build today. Concrete structures with a life of 60 to 80 years, such as we are building, must have a reasonable chance of meeting with the approval of generations 30 or 40 years hence; and a little stinting today will perpetuate the slum problem in different contexts of time and economic condition. The prudent course would be to build a little more generously and, if possible, as it surely must be with all the technological ingenuity at our disposal, design for a shorter span of building life. There is urgent need for cheaper building costs by modifying over-rigid specifications and resorting to the use of alternative materials. Such a step is essential for the conservation of materials and to enable, at equivalent outlay, the provision of a house of a desired minimum standard. As a last resort, it would be better to build

some fewer houses than aim at quantity of dubious standards. The Prime Minister has spoken of the two-room tenement in this context. In the bigger cities, that still remains, for the working man, a dream of a distant future and perhaps inevitably so. But to whittle down standards unduly with reference to a preconceived ceiling of cost, one, moreover, that in the wake of rising costs has become utterly out-of-date, would be unwise in the extreme. The prescribed monetary ceiling, it may be noted, also tends to ignore total costs, including those which must be incurred in virgin areas on the provision of local services at the cost of another authority. This is hardly a sound over-all financial view. If the only obstacle to the utilisation of developed land is high market value, let us face the problem boldly in the manner advocated for slum clearance and re-development, that is, with reference to levels of compensation payable. The foregoing is an issue of the highest importance and must receive the most earnest consideration.

17. The problem of slums must thus be dealt with as a part of the general housing plan; and that, in turn, calls for unified direction and control, a general survey of existing housing, a bold plan for expanding facilities for development and a clear view of the pattern of housing we must adopt.

“Slum Clearance” emphasises the radical method of dealing with the problem, that is, through a process of wholesale demolition and re-development. But there is another possible line of attack, viz., slum improvement, that has value in certain contexts. This dual approach of improvement and clearance suggests the better term of “slum eradication” for our purpose.

Slum Improvement

18. Slum improvement must be recognised as a short-term solution only. Its usefulness arises primarily with reference to the more permanent types of hutment colonies that exist on the fringes of our cities. One can bring to the people here certain basic necessities, such as a protected water supply, adequate sanitary conveniences, conservancy

and public health services, reasonable communications, electricity, and certain facilities for community recreation. Drainage and sewerage are important, too, but their provision is a matter of considerable technical difficulty owing to the prevailing conditions of haphazard, almost chaotic, growth. Long-term considerations clearly point to the necessity of re-developing these areas on planned lines. But much time and effort will be needed, and meanwhile, steps that enable a more decent way of life must be taken. Some of these are the responsibility of civic authorities ; others must be enforced on the property owners ; and some again call for a measure of enterprise from the local population. There are here the seeds of a programme of urban community development, to match the effort in the rural areas.

19. The survey of old buildings, recommended earlier, provides the material for a second type of improvement that must be attempted. Many old buildings, though structurally sound enough to last for years to come, are highly deficient in certain important respects, such as the size of the room, light and ventilation, sanitary accommodation, water supply and means of egress. A scheme for alterations and improvements to such buildings so as to create certain desirable conditions is fully worthwhile. The standards that can be prescribed would, owing to physical limitations, naturally differ from those to be adopted for new constructions, but can still make a substantial contribution to more decent living conditions. We need a Housing Code to govern such alterations and improvements, just as we have Building Rules & Regulations to control new constructions. An attempt on these lines has lately been made in Bombay, where the Municipal law had been amended to compel the carrying out of improvements in old buildings unfit for human habitation. The first experiments in this "Improvement Scheme" are about to be carried out and it is being launched with financial assistance from the Corporation to the extent of 50% of the cost involved. A building will qualify for improvement action and for the subsidy, provided it can reasonably be expected to last for at least 15 to 20 years more. To what extent the scheme will succeed will depend on the co-operation that

landlords and tenants give, but it is clear that it has potentialities.

The question has been asked whether such a scheme cannot also be undertaken in respect of buildings in need of heavy repairs, so that they may be salvaged to the maximum possible extent. But, generally, such buildings require an outlay disproportionately large in comparison with the income derived. Even in existing circumstances, their normal maintenance is a serious liability, owing to the rent control restrictions in force. There is, in such cases, little hope of bringing forth further large-scale outlays; and the situation must be tackled by serious re-thinking on the relationship between rent control and the rehabilitation of old buildings. To brush aside this idea as a pampering of spoilt landlords is to ignore the realities of the situations and the importance of preserving old buildings in a safe condition, at least until a large building programme overtakes the existing housing shortage. The matter clearly brooks no delay.

Slum Clearance

20. Slum clearance proper consists of the demolition of buildings and areas that are incapable of being improved, as a preliminary to planned re-development. We are new to the technique and our first steps must be well-informed. The rehousing of people displaced through demolition action, whether in the same area or elsewhere, will create serious psychological and economic problems; and it is necessary that we must study the affected population, with reference to their condition and needs, and secure their whole-hearted co-operation. It is desirable, therefore, that the first clearance schemes should be limited in size and should be undertaken in different sets of circumstances, so that all round experience can be gained. In the selected areas, a comprehensive survey of the state of the buildings and community services, of the density of population and of the social and economic condition of the people must be undertaken. This will provide not only the justification for clearance action but also the basis for the planned re-housing of the people. Such re-housing must take into account the nature of the

alternative accommodation necessary, the rent paying capacity of the people, their places of work and a rational allocation of new housing. Attention must also be paid to rehabilitation of trades and vocations in a suitable manner. The survey makes for personal contact with the people and provides an opportunity for explaining the ideas underlying the projected action. But these contacts must be followed up with a sustained effort at education, with the help of social workers and reputable social service agencies. Such follow-up action through the Bharat Sewak Samaj has yielded valuable results in the Kamathipura clearance area in Bombay.

21. Aside from the legal formalities, our plan of action must provide for the temporary re-housing of people pending their permanent rehabilitation. Temporary accommodation on a sufficient scale must be provided first. The plan for permanent re-housing must be based on the desired density of population in the clearance area and, as far as possible, the wishes of the people for accommodation elsewhere. Minimum dislocation of the even tenor of life and work must be the objective; and, therefore, side by side with the shift of population, we must arrange for an intelligent re-siting of trades and vocations. Equally, the re-development of the clearance area must be made to fit into the broader pattern of the surrounding zone, so that the concept of zoning can be progressively realised.

In its main essentials, the re-development plan must provide for speedy execution; an adequate level of community services; the re-siting and rehabilitation of trade and industry; the acquisition and development of suitable neighbouring areas; maximum re-housing of the population in other schemes of public housing; private initiative in re-development as far as practicable; and the types of accommodation to be built and the rents to be charged.

22. On the practical plane, the last two are the most important. The extent to which private enterprise will participate in re-development is a matter of considerable doubt. It has certainly not displayed latterly much interest and

initiative in building for the poorer classes. Even so, an attempt can and must be made to enlist its co-operation. If we are prepared to grant financial assistance to private industry for housing schemes for workers, there is no reason why, under specified conditions, something similar should not be tried out for the re-development of clearance areas.

However, it will probably be the case that the major effort must come from public authorities; and the issue of types of accommodation to be built and rents to be charged requires careful consideration. The question of a desired minimum standard of accommodation has been discussed earlier. The slum-dweller has been used to a low level of rents. It is true that his house is of sub-human standard and that we plan to give him a more decent abode. Nevertheless, there is a limit to his rent-paying capacity; and the necessity for subsidising rents has been universally accepted. That the levels established under the subsidised Industrial Housing Schemes of Government are fair and reasonable has been demonstrated by the success of these schemes. With certain exceptions, the working classes have shown that they have the means and the desire for decent housing. For the exceptions, we shall perhaps have to build cheaper types of accommodation still; and dormitories in Bombay have proved their value in this context. The official scheme of slum clearance also provides for the construction of hutment colonies on approved lines on the outskirts of cities. In the sense that the improvement of such existing colonies is of value, this idea may have merit. But it has certain dangerous potentialities and must, I suggest, be resorted to only in a limited way, as a purely temporary and transitional measure, and under strict supervision. Such a scheme in Madras has been estimated to cost about Rs. 1,300 per family. With a little more outlay, and by resort to certain cheaper modes of construction one could build a decent house and make a satisfactory new colony rather than another potential slum. Experiments in Bombay suggest that this is not impossible.

23. While there are few differences on the *modus operandi*, progress on slum clearance schemes is slowed down

by certain rigidities in the current plan and by inadequacies of money and materials. On the former, I have recommended greater local initiative and control, and careful re-thinking on the subject of standards and cost. As regards funds, these today come from the joint effort of the Central and State Governments and local authorities. It is outside my scope to discuss the extent of finance that can be made available for slum eradication. That must be determined from the point of view of broad national priorities. But an allocation of Rs. 20 crores for the purpose in the Second Five-Year Plan, out of a total of Rs. 120 crores for housing schemes, does appear very inadequate. However, the disparity can be cured if the recommended integration of slum clearance with general housing schemes can be achieved. I would also urge that the scope of Government assistance should be widened to bring improvement schemes discussed earlier within the scope of loans and subsidies. Above all, it must be ensured that approved schemes do not have to linger for want of materials. This today is not uncommon.

24. A substantial part of slum clearance cost arises on the acquisition of clearance areas when re-development under public auspices is inevitable. The opposition to slum clearance from property owners springs from fears about the probable level of compensation. Current practice in this matter is not uniform. In Bombay, compensation must be paid at market rates for the cleared land, but not for the structure that has been demolished. The law proposed for Delhi provides for compensation at 60 times the net monthly income from the property. A national view on the subject must be taken early.

Safeguarding Measures

25. While applying ourselves to the task of eradicating slums, we must take effective steps to prevent the creation of new ones. Otherwise, this problem will remain as a running sore in the body politic. We need an adequate urban housing programme, restriction on the growth of industry in areas or centres where saturation has been or is being reached; the zoning of the user of land in cities and the dis-

persal of trades, etc., in conformity with such a plan; and, above all, constant vigilance from civic authorities for nipping undesirable growths in the bud.

These are tasks of great magnitude, requiring determination and careful forethought. Coupled with the task of slum-clearance, they place in hands of Authority great responsibilities and splendid opportunities. Time will show how well we fulfil this role. But present indications unfortunately are that the slums and the housing problem will long be with us, for we are not yet arrived at the outlook and tempo requisite for speedy remedies.

VOTE OF THANKS

By

BRIJ KISHAN

Associate Director

I consider it a privilege to be called upon to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Shri Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Bombay, for having kindly inaugurated the Seminar and for placing before us his considered views and concrete suggestions with regard to this difficult problem of "slums". I also thank all the experts and ladies and gentlemen who have encouraged us by their presence at this inaugural session of the Seminar.

On this occasion, it is not my intention to speak at length on the "slum" problem, as it is going to be discussed threadbare during the week at the Seminar. However, I do wish to draw your attention to the human aspects of the problem as I strongly feel that if anything is on the wane today it is genuine "human feeling". Gandhiji dedicated his life to upgrading dignity and worth of human beings and Shri Vinoba Bhave is roaming from village to village in the same quest. Slum problem is as difficult as the "Bhoodan Yagna"—for so long as the human mind remains unchanged, it will be difficult to solve both these problems.

In his message to the Seminar the Governor has rightly called for "Slum Reform" or slum improvement rather than clearance. Thus the emphasis has correctly been laid on the improvement of the miserable condition of slum dwellers rather than merely physical clearance of the slums.

Recently, the Bharat Sevak Samaj has completed a socio-economic survey of slums in Delhi under the guidance of the Delhi School of Economics. The findings of the Survey have been graphically represented through graphs, charts, etc., which will be displayed for the benefit of the participants to the Seminar. The Survey, which was carried out with the active support of the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,

will, I hope, lead to a more realistic and concrete programme in dealing with this problem.

Although the report of the Survey is not yet ready, I would like to give some broad facts about the results of the study. The general belief that slum dwellers are individuals belonging to lower castes and handicapped groups is not sustained by the findings of the study. The survey has proved that people of all castes equally predominate in slum dwellings which are by no means an exclusive refuge of Harijans, the handicapped and the destitute. As a matter of fact beggars and handicapped are very few. Most of them are labourers who are financially very poor, having an income of less than Rs. 100/- per month, and 11% of these families have an income of less than Rs. 25/- per month. Nearly 30% of slum dwellers travel only 2 furlongs to reach their place of work and in all 80% people do not go beyond two miles to reach their site of employment. Only five per cent have to travel a distance of more than 4 miles to reach their place of work and most of them pay a monthly rental of less than Rs. 5/- per month for their dwelling. A large percentage of slum dwellers are illiterate. It is obvious that the main reason for the miserable condition of slum dwellers is the absence of adequate civic conveniences and social services as also their wretched social and economic conditions. It is absolutely inevitable to clear these slums. We will have to demolish dilapidated dwellings and build new houses. But the problem will not be solved merely by providing accommodation in new housing estates to erstwhile slum dwellers. It is not a question of finding alternate accommodation but it is a real human problem. If we aim at improvement we should not be content merely by improving physical environment alone but should aim at reforming and rehabilitating the whole life situation of the slum dwellers. If by demolition action we are forced to re-house the slum dwellers far away and cannot raise their standard of life otherwise, we need not pursue such programmes. Slum clearance action should necessarily aim and achieve improved social, economic and housing standards. Where the distance between the residence and place of employment is great it may lead not

only to uprooting of slums but also to breaking of the economic backbone of slum dwellers.

The filthy environment in slums is due to lack of social awareness among slum dwellers. Although living in the midst of dirt and squalor they are overcome by frustration and lethargy and become oblivious to hygienic living, even so on account of their living in close human companionship for a long period of time they develop among themselves a community feeling which is the mainstay of their otherwise dismal lives. We have to be careful lest we disintegrate this community life while clearing slums.

Slum clearance and rehabilitation of slum dwellers is a difficult task which can only be tackled with the co-operation of all sections of our society. It is indeed gratifying to note that our Government has taken the responsibility in this matter and provided a sum of Rs. 20 crores for slum clearance in the Second Five-Year Plan. In addition a sum of Rs. 40 crores has been provided for low income group housing and another Rs. 45 crores for housing industrial workers. Most of these amounts should be expended for the relief of slum dwellers. The planning and implementation of these schemes will be entrusted to municipalities and development corporations, who will prepare and execute the plans. I do hope they will not concentrate on building houses of steel and cement, for, if they do so, the problem will never be solved. We can only succeed if we follow the Gandhian path of simplicity in tune with our country's low economic resources. It is incorrect to think that people cannot live hygienically in mud huts. Gandhiji proved this through his own example. Five lakhs of villages and scores of urban towns can attain beauty, simplicity and cleanliness only through the Gandhian way. It is, however, imperative that we secure the active co-operation of slum dwellers and all the members of our society. If we entrust these programmes to Government departments and officials then I am afraid the plans will remain on paper only. This task cannot succeed without the active co-operation of schools, colleges, social service agencies, trade unions and all social workers. In

fact, it can only succeed if we campaign slum clearance into a dynamic movement, such as "Bhoodan" is today.

As I have already stated, the problem of slum clearance is not confined to demolition of sub-standard houses but to raising the standard of life and living of the lakhs of men, women and children who are subject to the brutalising influence of slums. These distressed and harrassed people constitute the wealth of our nation and so long as we are not able to make their lives happy and wholesome, economic development of the country will remain incomplete. As our Prime Minister said after a visit to slums in Delhi, the success of our five-year plans will not depend on setting up cement and steel factories but on any improvement we are able to effect in these slums.

These dilapidated slums devoid of any of the civic facilities or conveniences constitute a slur on the glory and grandeur of our urban areas, and have enslaved a large section of our countrymen. By making these depressed areas healthy and happy we will not only improve the individual welfare of slum dwellers but promote collective well-being of the nation and release new forces of creativity which will lead to real prosperity through improved output and production.

I thank you all once again.

CAUSATION AND DEFINITION OF SLUMS

By

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Introduction

It is indeed a unique opportunity to be able to present one's views on a matter like slum clearance, which from the point of view of nation-building has now come to be regarded as one of paramount importance. At its recent Autumn Seminar at Chandigarh in 1956 the conference of the Institute of Town Planners in India gave serious thought to the subject of slums and slum clearance and made several recommendations. The problem has also been discussed on various occasions previously. Any conference or Committee discussing either Housing, Town and Country Planning, Public Health, Environmental Hygiene or Social Welfare, cannot but give pointed attention to this problem. Still despite its vastness, the problem has not received the full impetus it needs to bring forth positive remedies. The recommendations of this Seminar, will undoubtedly, go to further strengthen the cause of Slum Clearance and at the same time provide the additional social background to the problem and devise ways and means of evolving firm and lasting solutions.

We are living in an age of social awakening, where society in its numerous facets, claims special indulgence. When it relates to that section of the people which is in majority in its framework, and when it directly concerns its dignity, happiness and comfort, it is most forceful. Living environment and living facilities form the foremost of society's needs. The dignity of social advancement, health and comfort of the family is measured by the manner in which it is housed and such housing and building leave their indelible stamp on the recorded civilisation of the time. It is no wonder, therefore, that in resurgent India of today, we find ourselves obsessed

by the appalling squalor and indignity of our slums. When we see a vast section of our society housed in such slums, our social consciousness is piqued, and we know that our cultural and material advancement would come to naught, as long as these symptoms remain.

Early Symptoms

India has been a predominantly agricultural country and it still remains as such. Yet, in the pattern evolved through centuries there has come into being a vast number of cities, towns and villages depicting the urbanised form of communal living and progress. These urban centres grew and developed with time. Town Planning and regulation of development which obtained in the earlier kingdoms had come to a standstill for the past two or three centuries, and developments became haphazard, indiscriminate and uncontrolled.

The first impact of increased urbanisation leading to problems of insanitation and overcrowding made itself manifest in the earlier part of the 19th century, when commercial and, to a slight extent, industrial activities increased. The administrators of the day had perforce to focus attention on the dangers to Public Health. The early health reforms came to be evolved and along with it, the organisation of municipal administrative bodies. It was at this juncture that the element of slums came into public focus, for the first time, more as a menace to general health than anything else. The acute congestion, overcrowding, and squalor in the improperly developed areas giving rise to epidemics and disease reacted strongly on the social consciousness.

The health measures employed achieved a measure of success and have been improved upon from time to time by various means. These measures, however, had been only palliative in their effect and did not actually offer any solution for reorganising or improving the slums in an orderly manner or preventing them. Most of our Municipal and Public Health Legislation indicates our anxiety for improving living conditions, controlling building and land developments and other matters. They offered scope only for restrictive negative action. They were soon followed by other legisla-

tive measures for Town Planning and Town Improvement, as in the Bombay and the Madras States and in the creation of several City Improvement Trusts in large cities. These helped somewhat in regulating certain new developments and in effecting some improvements generally, but were not adequate for overall planning action. The slums and overcrowding were hardly touched. They remained and thrived and there was no stopping of their malignancy. With every new spurt of national or international catastrophe such as wars and famines and with every new advancement such as the attainment of independence, industrialisation, re-building programmes and so forth more people were drawn into cities and towns from rural areas; the malignancy only kept on increasing. The problem of the slums grew to alarming proportions.

New Awakening

Since the attainment of independence, India has launched upon a specific programme of reconstruction and re-development. The objects and aims conceived by the Five-Year Plans of the country are directed towards improvement of the economy of the country and also the living standards of the people. These developmental projects, the guarantees afforded by the Constitution and the feeling provided by our independence, have awakened a new sense of social consciousness and given rise to claims for levelling social inequalities and disabilities. These inequalities and disabilities are epitomised in abundant measure in our slums and overcrowded and congested neighbourhoods. Naturally, housing and Slum Clearance must acquire a very prominent place in the set up of things and in national re-building.

The present address is confined to only two aspects of the slum problem; namely,

- (1) the causation of slums, and
- (2) the definition of a "slum".

(A) Causation of Slums

It has been commonly accepted that slums are caused

as a result of lack of balance between the rate of migration and the rate of building or housing in cities and towns.

The attractions which bring the migrants from rural areas to the city or town fundamentally are :—

- (i) inadequacy of employment in rural areas,
- (ii) improved employment facilities and wages in the city from industry, commerce, administration and social services,
- (iii) improved social facilities for recreation, medical care, education, etc.,
- (iv) the vast increase in rural populations unable to subsist solely on agriculture, and
- (v) the rather drab, unattractive and undeveloped nature of rural life.

There is also the natural increase of population in cities to contend with and which adds to its general increase. The rate of immigration is directly influenced by various current events, very often by draught and famine conditions in rural areas and severally by industrialisation.

Primary Manifestations

{Migrant populations are mostly derived from that class of people who have no capital means to secure housing accommodation by themselves, nor are in a position to pay high rents. While the existing society does not accept these new comers into their pucca built houses, they find accommodation in vacant lands or public lands and establish themselves in huts or similar kind of structures for residence shelter. The preliminary manifestations are, therefore, in the form of such hutted areas where these landless, moneyless emigrants secure space and build for themselves such poor accommodation as can be got by their slender finances, and mostly provided by their own labour.

Secondary Stage

The secondary stage is created by overcrowding the already built up areas. This is mainly caused in the initial

stages by the slightly better class of population than the one mentioned above, namely, the skilled workers, educated lower middle class men, petty traders, etc. Here again the incapacity of the individual or the family to find for itself the land needed and to build a house, paves the way for over-crowding where building owners for purposes of profit would divide and further sub-divide their houses and sub-let several portions of them to several families. The continued process of spoilation of an erstwhile residential district results eventually in a slum—a pucca built slum. We shall now examine this process.

Three Levels of Spoilation of a Good Built Up Residential District

It has been significant that a good many of our middle class residential districts had in the past been developed in a reasonably healthy and satisfactory manner, even if, in the matter of layout and arrangement of its streets or sites or in the allocation of its amenities, etc., the standards of good Town Planning were not maintained.

A study of some of the well-planned historical towns of the south, such as Madurai, Srirangam, Kancheepuram, Chidambaram, etc., reveals how the middle and the upper class residential districts had maintained high standards of civic consciousness. Their buildings were in full accord with the rules laid down by the Sutras, Smritis and Sastras. These rules had the severity, comprehensiveness and dignity of purpose which might easily put to shame the best of our present day building by-laws. Here was practised a combination of high class living standards, and social regulations, fused into the art and science of building techniques and Town Planning. It is understandable that as long as the study and the practice of these sciences continued, these areas must have maintained good living conditions. But, the very study and practice of these sciences deteriorated in time and with changes of rulerships, until at last we find ourselves thrust into an era of quackery, mis-interpretations and ignorance. It is common knowledge that the practice almost ceased entirely and that there was no professional study of the

science during the last five centuries. Until a few years ago (even today in certain rural areas), the common man had to depend entirely on an unlettered carpenter or mason for all the advice he needed. It will not be out of place here to mention that hard sentiment had given these persons certain privileges which they employed, most relentlessly, to maintain a living. They had to profess a knowledge they had no means of acquiring and hence did not possess. They had to bend to circumstances and even lend their unqualified sentimental support to any scheme an owner had for subdividing his plot into fragments and for overbuilding and over-crowding it.

A survey has indicated how an erstwhile single family dwelling and site comprising an area of nearly one acre had become so badly cut up into lanes, bylanes and alleys as to make room for over 60 sub-divisions and hold within its meagre buildings over 180 families.

The Process

The process of spoilation of a residential area occurs in three distinct stages as follows:—

Stage One: Over-crowding and Over-building

This is caused by natural increases in the population of the area and also by the demand for more housing accommodation from immigrants. The natural increase of the strength of the family gives rise to extensions and additions to existing buildings and also their sub-division and building up for convenience of the different parties. The process may also be combined with legal partitions. The consequences are raising of the density of population in the area, elimination of open spaces, inadequacy of sanitary conveniences and conditions and general inconvenience to all. It is not necessary that all the houses in an area should become overbuilt or overcrowded at the same time. If, however, a certain percentage of the houses have become so and if the general density of population has become higher than is good, the area would require relief measures and reconstitution to be introduced, so as to protect it from lapsing into a worse condition.

Stage Two : Blight

This stage is reached when a vast portion of the houses in an area has become overbuilt and over-populated and comes to bear a high density. The average family dwelling arising from the badly cut up property becomes acutely sub-standard in most respects and there is gradual lowering of rents as the occupation changes from the better classes to the lower classes as a result of the standards set.

In such areas, on account of increased number of residents the servicing expenses of the local authority become high, but are incompatible with the tax returns collected therefrom. The area assumes the stage of being a blighted area, an uneconomic unit from the point of view of municipal administration, and subsequently plunges to the status of a slum.

The process however is cautious and slow in the initial stages, but is continuous. It is a matter of supply *versus* demand and where the demand has been heavy, fragmentation, once it has been commenced, acquires great speed towards absolute deterioration. As the population in the area increases, correspondingly the share of amenities for the individual decreases and becomes almost insignificant or nil. At this stage there is also fall in prestige and in rents and lack of maintenance of the buildings and even re-building is impossible.

Stage Three : The Built Up Slum

The pucca built slum is evolved from areas which had become blighted. The process of "slummification" of the area then proceeds unchecked or unabated; for, once the area begins to abound in sub-standard houses the demand for which becomes heavy and is only from the lower classes, the standards become so deteriorated as have no bearing whatever with any normal human values or human morals or human health or of social dignity. The area has to be cleaned up completely and re-built.

Building Regulations and By-laws and Their Effect on Over-building and Over-crowding

With the inception of local laws and organisation of

municipalities the need for regulation of construction and reconstruction of buildings and additions thereto became apparent in the Madras State. The Acts of 1920 gave powers to frame both rules and bylaws for the purpose. They also gave powers to regulate the laying down and making of streets and made it incumbent that every site meant for a building site shall be provided with a street access and no building is permissible on a site unless the street has been duly laid and formed to specifications, lighted, drained, conserved, etc.

Building Regulations and Bylaws

These mainly took care of :

- (i) Suitability of site,
- (ii) Foundations,
- (iii) Structural stability and materials,
- (iv) Open spaces to be left on a site,
- (v) Minimum sizes and heights of living rooms,
- (vi) Ventilation of living rooms and lighting,
- (vii) Methods for smoke escape, and
- (viii) Sanitary facilities, drainage, etc.

These stipulations defined, in respect of safety, health and convenience, the minimum standards to be adopted in buildings meant for human habitation. They hardly prevented sub-division of existing buildings or creation of additions to buildings or again their alterations. They did not also help to specify the size of the family of occupation, nor the number of persons who may occupy or sleep in one room. In effect, however, the building regulations achieved some measure of safeguards in respect of sanitation and general health requirements in over-crowded areas. But they have not helped much in prevention of overcrowding or of congestion of built up areas. It has been my experience, that where certain minimum standards as above were specified in the rules the minimum had more often been the guiding standard in congested areas and no more.

It has anyhow been necessary to watch all building operations very carefully to prevent unauthorised constructions.

It has not been uncommon for owners to attempt to violate the rules or to circumvent them by devious methods. The enforcement of building regulation has been successfully employed to some extent in the Madras State, but it has not by itself entirely prevented slum conditions developing in built up areas; for, while on the one hand efforts are made to enforce improved living conditions, indiscriminate sub-division of ownerships, creating acute over-crowding could not be prevented, nor again could any standard regarding permissible occupation of living rooms be enforced.

Control of Sub-division of Land

This has been enforced successfully, especially in open and outlying areas. Even in the case of existing large building sites sub-division has been controlled somewhat in respect of the open spaces available. Strict enforcement of the provisions of the Act and imposition of intelligent restrictions and conditions while approving a layout, have greatly prevented spoilation of those areas.

But, powers with respect to sub-division of a building or a property in built up areas have been largely absent and congestion in such areas has gone almost unchecked, otherwise than what improvement was achieved by the enforcement of Building Regulations.

I have indicated the above facts with a view to pointing out, how with increased preventive powers and raised standards some measure of prevention of slum formation might be achieved and how inadequate provisions and absence of proper standards have abetted their growth.

Bane of Hereditary Laws

Still another fact, nonetheless important, is the fact that our hereditary laws afford legal sanction to the cutting up of residential buildings into parts unworthy of residential habitation. It has not been unusual for courts to allow sub-division of existing houses into six or seven parts by imaginary lines formed right across. Instances have been noticed where each such sub-division did not give an individual owner more than 5' width of the building. Individual sanctities attached

to private ownership, especially in the ownership of hereditary property, have been fairly strong in our country and have also been sanctioned by our constitution. There has been no measure for preventing the cutting up a useful unit into several bits of sub-standard or even impossible units. This Seminar may perhaps pay special attention to this matter while discussing preventive measures for slum formation.

Inadequate Building or Housing by Private Enterprise

Housing has hitherto been solely a matter for private enterprise and private enterprise has not found it possible in recent years to provide decent housing for Low Income Groups for the reason that the ultimate cost of building including land would not produce a reasonable return from rents payable by the said poor class people. Private enterprise, thereon, confined its building activity only to cater to the middle and upper classes from whom an economic rent could be extracted. Thus, the working class groups had perforce to find accommodation in the slums and in overcrowded and insanitary areas. As there had been no positive measures for housing by the Government or the local authorities for these groups of people for centuries over, built up areas have steadily absorbed them and become slums, our vacant lands have come to be encroached upon and converted into the hutted slums of today. More and more good residential localities are getting victimised into over-crowding and congestion every year in our towns. This tendency has to be controlled by a multi-pronged drive, in which large-scale provision of housing for Low Income Groups will be one of the main spearheads.

Different Types of Areas Examined

The question of prevention of slums will be discussed at a later stage during the Seminar. It will be useful here to examine the repercussions created by the different types of areas at the different levels mentioned above.

The Insanitary and Congested Hutting Areas

In the technical sense, this area may be called a "*hutted slum*". Its impact on the social consciousness of the public is the most forceful. It strikes the eye as something highly

reprehensible, inadequate, undignified and insanitary, in a city or town where its neighbours, the better developed or pucca areas, afford such glaring contrast. It is regarded as constituting the most formidable of social stigmas.

The hutted slum is also the easiest and the cheapest to tackle, for two reasons; the land cost is low on account of the nature of the development on it and structures are cheap and easily removable. It is also an original development, haphazard in its pattern and extremely inadequate in standards and sanitary facilities and highly dangerous from the point of view of fire. There are also some advantages. Congestion and over-crowding are controlled by physical limitations afforded by the nature of the constructions. Although the structures are mean and perhaps without basements ventilation is not often very bad, for the roofing of thatches is somewhat self-ventilating except in cases where tin sheets, canvas or thick grass are used. The thatched hut by itself cannot be regarded as a mean building but an agglomeration of such huts in a haphazard, congested over-crowded manner is most unwelcome. These areas must be cleared entirely to give way to good housing in cities and to storied housing or other uses in central areas.

The Pucca Built Slums

"Pucca built slums", unlike their hutted counterparts, are not very visible to the external eye. The exteriors of the buildings present a false impression of what they hold within. Experience has shown that much higher densities prevail in such areas than in the hutted slums. This is probably due to a sense of false dignity the areas provide and also because of upper floors. Their location with reference to places of work and commercial centres add greater value and provide greater congestion.

One peculiarity with the pucca built slum, which can be taken advantage of, is the fact that hardly any comprehensive reconstruction of the individual building becomes possible once it has taken an unusually large number of families in its fold, who cannot be displaced or sent out easily. The income derived by the owner is also attractive enough, and

reconstruction would mean loss of revenue. Thus, it is likely that in a heavily built pucca slum, most of the buildings would be old and dilapidated. The pucca built slum areas have sometimes high densities of 200 to 250 families an acre, or 1,000 to 1,500 people. Upto 15 families have only one water-closet to share or one open latrine and one common water fountain. From points of view of standards of health and of morals (privacy, conveniences, etc.) this form of slum should be regarded as the most hideous, and more dangerous to society than perhaps the all-apparent hutted slum. They should be cleared wholesale and replaced by good housing.

The Problem of Pavement Dwellers

This is yet another classification of unauthorised occupations by landless, homeless, working families and is in reality much more precarious, offensive and inconvenient than slums.

These are apparent mostly in large towns and cities and are generally confined to central areas, where slums, both the pucca built as well as hutted ones, get severely congested and are incapable of taking in any more. The over-spill finds shelter on public pavements, street margins and side streets.

It is remarkable that the intensity of such occupations generally increases with some specific events. In Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta the problem has been intensified by the huge influx of refugees. In Madras, the intensification was observed at a time when the surrounding districts suffered near to famine conditions, on account of six years of continuous draught.

It is also significant that the bulk of these populations depend on some kind of gainful employment of an unsteady nature. In Madras, they are mostly comprised of casual labourers, domestic servants, hawkers and beggars. Casual labour is employed by commercial firms and enterprises and with the increase in this kind of enterprise, opportunities also increase and more pavements and road margins get occupied. This position may not be entirely true in the case

of refugees. The main problem of evicting them to a suitable housing site is one of the absence of any site close to these central areas and coupled with the insecure nature of employment facilities, this population may find it difficult to move out, unless a good part of it is offered some kind of steady employment.

In recent years the central areas are witnessing large-scale re-building. Old buildings are knocked down and new multi-storied ones go up. Harbours and railways carry out large-scale expansion schemes. These afford great opportunities for casual labour who are needed in large numbers. Commercial casual labour would need to be duly organised in time, and housing for such labour as for industrial labour might become necessary as a solution.

The Main Reasons for Causation of Congestion and Slums

I have explained at some length the different ways in which congestion of slum formation occurs. While so doing I have also referred to some of the causes leading to this phenomenon. I would now like to sum up the physical and sociological causes which lead to such growths.

Slum formation is consonant with increases in urban populations on the one hand and inadequacy of housing activity in urban areas on the other. The problem is therefore one to be looked at from both these points of view, and no solution for the one can be useful without solving the other.

While both these are matters of deep concern to Town Planners and Town Administrators they call for bold and comprehensive action allround at higher level.

Location of Industry

The chief cause of unchecked expansion of city populations leading to a complete upset in its end still continues to be the manner in which industrial and commercial expansion occurs in it. All our large cities evidence an over-concentration of industrial and commercial activity; These have proceeded in an entirely unchecked manner for some decades now and while these cities and towns acquire ever-increasing

sprawls of urban accretions and heavy increases of population, the rural areas remain as undeveloped as ever and hardly any attempt is made to create new towns to distribute industries and industrial populations over the country in a manner that will prevent further spoilation and promote new growth. In the matter of location of industry there has been no basic principle whatever. The industry just got itself established where its promoters liked. There has been no consideration also as to how or where the industrial populations would be. They are mostly left to themselves and resort to slums and further intensification of the cities' problems.

It is high time that we grasped the situation and thought on proper lines. The Royal Commission on the Distribution of Industrial populations in U.K. (the Barlow Commission) showed the way long back. Are our conditions different? Should we allow the problems concerning this lack of planning to drift any further? What would be the repercussions of such neglect now?

It will be useful for us to realise the fact that the problem of slums and of housing is already vast and calls for huge national expenditure. We cannot afford to allow the problem to grow, as a measure of national economy, and I am sure that we do not have to, if we act quickly. But, the task is not easy; it has to be a measure combining comprehensive planning and the roping in of the numerous causes, mainly of such items as industry, commerce, etc., to some positive method of regimentation for the common good, while taking care to see that their development is not in any way affected.

Thus, in analysing fully the causes of slum formation, we should be paving the way for devising measures for preventing the causes.

A Summary of Analysis of the Several Causes Leading to Slum Formation

These may be broadly classified as follows:

(A) General Causes:

(i) The lack of balance between the rural way of life and wages and the urban way of life and wages.

(ii) Inadequacy of diversified employment opportunities in rural areas, intensified by pressure of populations incapable of subsisting on agriculture.

(iii) Concentration of industries, commerce and items of interest and value in Towns and Cities.

(iv) Unchecked migration of populations from rural areas and unplanned growth and expansion of Towns and Cities.

(B) Special Causes :

(i) Absence of a continuous general Housing Programme and policy of sufficient magnitude.

(ii) Incapacity of the private sector to provide economic housing for the working and poorer classes and incapacity of these classes to provide houses for themselves or pay reasonable rents.

(iii) Absence of housing standards and also of a social consciousness of minimum housing needs in the country as a whole.

(iv) Absence of positive measures for clearance of existing insanitary and congested areas and for re-housing families in good housing projects.

(v) Absence of positive measures for an overall comprehensive Town and Regional Planning action and of planning regulations, zoning of land for specific uses and densities, distribution of places of work and of amenities and creation of positive improvements including housing.

(vi) Absence of adequate power and adequate legal and physical machinery for local authorities, to enforce suitable building and housing standards and to prevent unhealthy fragmentation of plots and of buildings.

(vii) Our laws of heredity. Absence of subordination of extent of ownerships to set standards of Housing and By-laws.

I would like to point out in this connection, that housing standards would impress themselves upon the social consciousness of the average individual, only if such a standard is set in a positive and deliberate manner by a continuous pro-

gramme of national housing for those sections of the population, who by sheer poverty and incapacity have had no opportunity to set themselves any reasonable standard, but are only conscious that they ought to have better standards than they were accustomed to. The provision of positive housing should aim at setting that standard.

Conclusion

While the causation of slums can be attributed to the many causes referred above it is essential that steps are taken to assess them correctly in respect of each town or each region. I accordingly make the following recommendations for the consideration of the Seminar.

(1) A special high level Commission may be appointed by the Government to make a study of the distribution of Industry and of population in the country and advise on measures to be instituted on re-distribution if need be, of existing industries and commerce and for zonal distribution and location of new industries yet to be established and new centres of commercial activity.

(2) A social and economic housing survey should be undertaken immediately for all urban areas with a population of 50,000 and above.

(3) A special Commission may be appointed to define minimum housing standards, to assess the national housing needs, to provide for emergency measures to prevent slum formation and to define matters that may be contained in a National Legislation for Housing and clearance areas.

(4) A special Commission should also be appointed to examine the existing powers of local bodies in the matter of Town and Regional Planning, Building Regulations, and other preventive measures including examination of the evils created by laws of heredity and succession to property or property fragmentation with a view to framing national legislation for granting enabling powers to the States.

(5) Planning and replanning the use of all land in the country according to the principles of Town and Country

Planning should be a matter for immediate action. But, while country-wide planning would be impossible for some time to come for want of trained technicians and specialists it should be deemed to be expedient to undertake regional planning action for all vulnerable areas and regions surrounding large industrial cities and towns.

(B) Definition of "Slum"

The next point for discussion at this Session is on the definition to be given of a slum.

The term "Slum" has not come to be defined in our country in any definite terms. The physical definition of a Slum would include the "Slum dwelling" and the "Slum area" as we commonly understand them. These two are co-related. We have to examine them separately.

Meaning of the Word

The Twentieth Century Dictionary of Chambers offers the following meaning.

"Slum": An over-crowded, squalid neighbourhood. Here again the word "squalid" is defined as "filthy, foul, neglected, uncared for, unkept, sordid and dingy, poverty-stricken".

The above two definitions convey a general meaning and this is what we have in mind when we talk about a slum area or a slum dwelling. But in attributing a concrete shape to the terms for practical action it is necessary for us to specify in clear terms, how far and to what extent an area or a house would acquire the qualification of being over-crowded and/or squalid.

These qualifications should necessarily be dependent on some specified standards and the determination of slum would be based on a comparison with those standards. We thus need standards for over-crowding and standards which will draw the line for squalor.

Overcrowding

In a technical sense, this should apply to a dwelling and to an area comprised of dwellings. Thus two separate standards are called for.

The Over-crowded Dwelling

(a) Standard of Accommodation in a House

We are aware that no defined standards for a dwelling exist in our country at present either in a technical sense or in a legal sense. The standards needed for our country may differ in different parts of it and also from those of certain other countries. These depend variously on the size of family, climate, conditions, social habits and customs and the spiritual and material advancements aimed at. They would also differ for different sizes of family, for accommodation is always assessed in terms of the individual and the number of individuals in a family vary at different times and depending on the social make up of what is to be termed a family.

The standard to be fixed in respect of accommodation will also depend on the amenities needed in housing as for instance sanitary facilities, domestic facilities of all sorts and shelter space including perhaps separate accommodation for separate sexes. In the ultimate, over-crowding in a house has to be measured by the minimum defined standards for a house for a family.

It has also to be determined whether a sub-standard house is a house unfit for human habitation. Hence over-crowding by itself cannot be regarded as the ultimate measure as a small house which is overcrowded by a large family may be good for a small family, if otherwise satisfactory.

The unfit houses and the fit houses are therefore two categories to be determined by actual survey.

Even in our housing programmes for the Five-Year Plans we have not attempted to specify any regular standards. We are just creating a small number of shelters for industrial workers and for certain low income group families. We simply make provision for one-room houses or two-room houses, as the case may be. The specifications have been evolved solely on merits of finance and have not been broad-based on any minimum requirements of a family. To this extent we are greatly handicapped in aiming at a standard for a dwelling house. As this Seminar will discuss housing

standards at a later stage, it will be sufficient for us to say that a slum dwelling is a sub-standard dwelling.

(b) Over-crowding of an Area

This is a measure which is more easily determined and is based on density standards fixed with reference to town planning principles and zoning. An area may be deemed to be over-crowded if it holds a larger number of families and of populations than is permissible under principles revealed or set out by town planning needs, and does not provide or is not capable of providing for all amenities required for them. An over-crowded area need not always be a slum, in the acute sense of the term, but is essentially a sub-standard area which may become a slum in time and which requires decongestion and even re-development. Where the over-crowding is severe and most of the dwellings are substandard, then, if it also qualifies as being squalid, it becomes a slum area.

Squalor

This term has also been defined above.

In the case of a single dwelling the degree of squalor has to be determined with reference to the standards of ventilation, sanitation, open spaces and amenity facilities fixed in respect of housing and in addition to the nature of the structure, its age, appearance and general appeal.

In the case of an area, the border line will be reached, when it is overcrowded and does not possess the normal amenities, sanitary facilities, open spaces, etc., and is also badly laid out and built over with ugly congested buildings and narrow, irregular streets, alleys and lanes in an inconvenient or dangerous pattern and not well formed or maintained.

While the general position is as stated above it is also to be granted that we are now in a position where we cannot possibly broad-base our definition on abstract realities or equate such definitions which have been evolved in Western countries. As I had indicated at an earlier stage, the standards to be adopted by us should be standards that will hold good

probably fifty years hence. We should proceed on the assumption that our socio-economic position will undergo a thorough transformation by that time.

A Point of Doubt

The definition of a slum area or a slum dwelling can therefore only be made in general terms. Any concreteness we would attach to the term will depend very much on what we aim at doing or what we would like to eliminate. For instance, if our anxiety is only to eradicate extreme ugliness and extreme congestion and squalor we would probably think in terms of only those areas which need wholesale clearance. If on the other hand our aim is towards eliminating all overcrowding and congestion and to replace all unfit and sub-standard dwellings in urban areas, we would have to think in terms of the problem at three or four levels of areas. It is at this stage that a point of doubt occurs. All these different zone levels cannot in the technical sense be called slum areas. I shall deal with them in detail in my recommendations.

The Conviction

I believe, however, that the general conviction would be, and probably should be that we should aim at eliminating all over-crowding and congestion and all unfit and sub-standard houses in our urban areas, if we want our towns and cities to be worthy habitants for their citizens. If this is to be so the slum areas will be defined as constituting at different levels different kinds of developments.

A Suggestion

I have a suggestion to make at this juncture. Under what circumstances shall we use the word "Slum" as such? The term itself connotes something extremely ugly, repugnant, repulsive—in fact amounting to something slimy—filthy. It carries with it a great deal of loss of dignity. While this is absolutely true of slum areas as we know them, to my mind, I feel that we should not use the term otherwise than in a non-technical and non-legislative sense. I do not know what the Seminar will feel about this, but I

must submit that in its application in the technical and legislative sense, any mention of the term as such should be avoided. I feel that the free use of the term cannot remove from it the stigma that will be attached to it and, in the sociological sense, any labelling of an area or the resident dwellers of the area with such a stigma would be consonant with loss of prestige. They are there as a matter of circumstance ; but as equal citizens their dignity needs safeguarding. The psychological reaction which the continued use of the term may induce, may not, I am afraid, be a desirable feature. The sociologists present at this Seminar may throw better light on this aspect of the term.

The Different Levels of the Slum Aspect

As our object should be to eliminate all overcrowding, congestion, squalor and substandard dwellings and developments, the problem has to be tackled at the following levels :—

- (i) Clearance Areas,
- (ii) Redevelopment Areas, and
- (iii) Improvement Areas.

Our aim at defining slums will be complete only if we can evolve clear cut definitions for these three classes of areas.

(1) Clearance Areas

This classification should include both the Huttled Slums and the pucca built slums which require wholesale or near to wholesale clearance and rebuilding and provision of alternate accommodation for excess populations. It is not always that an area comprising of only unfit houses, is come across. There may be some good houses in it. A line of demarcation has to be drawn at which a specified area can be classed as a clearance area. The entire area may however be also badly developed, insanitary or ugly. I would suggest that a clearance area may be deemed to be an area which is insanitary, ill-developed and overcrowded and in which not less than 75 per cent of the houses are deemed to be unfit for human habi-

tation. All our conspicuous slums will fall under this category.

(2) Redevelopment Areas

A redevelopment area may be an area, which may not need wholesale clearance, but which is generally overcrowded and ill-developed and has an unhealthy mingling of all kinds of developments or which contains in the aggregate not less than 50 per cent of the dwellings and other buildings which can be deemed to be unfit for human habitation or for other occupations.

(3) Improvement Areas

These may be classified as areas which may not require wholesale redevelopment as such, but which in view of the absence of amenities and open spaces, require opening up and improvement and also decongestion of overcrowding and clearance of unfit houses. An area may be deemed to be an improvement area if it contains in the aggregate not less than 25 per cent of the houses or buildings which can be deemed to be unfit for human habitation or occupation.

In the declaration of the above types of areas, however, consideration will be given to requirements of zoning and density regulations as may be evolved by town planning action.

Conclusions

(1) Standards should be fixed in the first instance for housing accommodation with reference to the size of the family and amenities needed therewith, and number of members to the family and for all general amenities needed therewith. The definition of an unfit dwelling or a sub-standard dwelling shall be based on such standards.

(2) Any standard so fixed must hold good for the next thirty to fifty years, and should have regard for the increased social living and economic standards of the Nation at that time.

(3) The term "Slum" should be used only in its non-technical sense and should not in any case be used in legis-

lation or in administration, as it is likely to be repugnant to the social consciousness of the large sections of urban populations living in such areas.

(4) The definition of a "Slum" should be based on different classifications of areas, depending on the intensity of over-crowding and percentage of unfit or sub-standard houses as noted below, whose definitions are attached herewith.

(a) *A Clearance Area* shall mean an area which has a high density of population, is insanitary and ill-developed, does not possess normal amenities for living according to requirements of town planning and aesthetics and comprises not less than 75 per cent of buildings which are found to be unfit for human habitation or occupation and are of a sub-standard nature.

(b) *A Redevelopment Area* shall mean an area, which is generally overcrowded with a high density of population, has developed in a haphazard manner with narrow crooked streets, is generally insanitary and inadequate in living amenities and requires to be cleared of all unfit or substandard buildings and remodelled according to requirements of town planning and zoning for use and densities. An area shall be deemed to be a redevelopment area if 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the houses and buildings are found to be unfit for human habitation or occupation and are of a sub-standard nature.

(c) *An Improvement Area* shall mean an area which in all respects qualifies as a redevelopment area except that between 25 per cent to 50 per cent of the houses and buildings alone are found to be unfit for human habitation or occupation and are of a substandard nature.

(5) A house or building shall be deemed to be unfit if by its age, state of repair, and amenities available, it is unhealthy or dangerous for human habitation and if it is overcrowded or otherwise ugly and is best removed.

(6) The definitions given above will require to be legalised by introduction into a comprehensive National Housing Act

which will specify the stage at which a house or building can be declared unfit for human habitation or occupation and under which clearance areas, redevelopment areas and improvement areas can be assessed and declared as a measure of Slum Clearance or improvement.

Plenary Session No. 2

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE SLUM PROBLEM

By

DR. B. H. MEHTA

The social aspects of the slum are perhaps of the greatest importance, especially in comparison with the physical and the economic aspects of the slum problem. It is desirable that major human problems should receive a total and comprehensive approach, and then each of their aspects could receive deep and separate consideration. This is the sociological approach to the slum problem, because the slum is basically a social phenomenon.

Slums quickly arose whenever human beings congregated to live together in large numbers, occupying small areas with inadequate wherewithals for existence. These communities became victims of social neglect when at the same time their members were engaged in a severe struggle for survival. This situation did not permit the growth of a mental outlook which recognised the higher values of life. The slum was not only a product of individuals who were slum dwellers, and of the overcrowding of persons and houses and the presence of undesirable trades, but it was allowed to exist because of the social order which did not realise that the slum was a menace to the social health of the entire city. Besides there was no social administration which recognised the purposes and needs of communities. Conditions in the slum became worse after the Industrial Revolution when the large factories came into existence using power, machinery and cheap human labour. These industries invited large sections of the labour population to occupy unplanned areas and cheap houses.

The anxieties, worries and insecurity of urban industrial existence, a new self-centred human relationship between neighbours, lack of relaxation and repose, and the tensions caused by the hurry, greed and impatience of the new social order gradually produced a discontented and aggressive mind

with a new consciousness of self, disharmony and aggression. This disturbed psychology of large masses existed in the midst of a new political and economic order where there was a sense of largeness, power, possession and property.

Slums do not exist only in poor countries like India. Some of the worst slums existed in Britain, America, Russia, France and other countries when they enjoyed prosperity and power. Whilst one would imagine that prosperous countries would give the highest priority to slum clearance and housing, it is notorious that housing received possibly the lowest priority in the social policy of many countries. This situation led to extensive growth of slum areas with consequent industrial unrest and tensions which are unhappy features of the industrial age. This clearly demonstrates that slums are also the result of lack of social idealism and objectivity, the absence of social consciousness, and the consequences of undue promotion of self-interest that permits the steady growth of social inequality and injustice.

Plea for an Original Social Approach

India with its history, heritage and moral foundations should not seek urban development on the basis of a mere imitation of the West. Such a catastrophe will probably undermine some of the unique qualities of our rural peoples and culture. Whilst the industrial development of the West and its achievement are undoubted, they have been accompanied by wars, conflicts, social maladjustment and the rise of social evils on a vast scale. They have paid the price of pioneers. In our political and economic life, we are following a policy which seeks social synthesis. India should therefore have a very carefully thought out social policy based on history, knowledge, analysis and sound social objectivity. With such an objective, the slum problem takes on a new meaning, and requires a different approach.

What Is a Slum

A part of this Seminar is dealing with the definition of slums. Several definitions have been attempted, and new definitions appear as the problem becomes more complex and

its different aspects become evident. A slum is an unplanned yet somewhat chaotically developed, neglected section or part of a city overcrowded with a large number of persons, with ill-attended houses and other structures, with an assortment of trades some of which are harmful, with prevalent insanitary conditions, inadequate communications, lacking in other amenities needed by its residents and poorly provided with social services for the promotion of individual and community well-being. Such areas are inhabited by persons and groups with sub-standard health and ways and a poor standard of life. They are victims of biological, psychological and social consequences of the physical and social environment. Their minds are dominated by anxiety and insecurity, and the strain of an adequate and an unsatisfying economic, family and social life. Amongst the more serious social consequences there is the possibility of family disorganisation and even disintegration, neglect of the child, sexual indecency, demoralisation of family and the institution of marriage, the rise of prostitution, crime, gambling and gangsterism, and deterioration of youth and the development of work shyness, lethargy and manual inefficiency, resulting in an anti-social outlook, behaviour and activity. The most serious psychological consequence is often described as the emergence of 'slum mentality' with its morbidity, vulgarity and neurosis, blunting community consciousness and the aesthetic sense; and bad neighbourliness and aggression in some and fear, submissiveness and cowardice in others. The chief biological harmful consequence naturally appears as a result of the marriage of the 'unfits' in those slum areas, bringing forth a progeny of poor heredity, manifested by harmful and undesirable traits, temperaments and characters.

The Slum in Relation to Social Development and Progress

Civilisation is known by the nature and content of social progress which is the result of social development. It is paradoxical to realise that the slum is the consequence of social development and the anti-thesis of social progress.

An analysis of total human development reveals the need for five separate and yet co-ordinated developments that must

take place in defined areas which are parts of very large social units. These are :—

- (1) Development of the region and the physical environment of man.
- (2) The promotion of physical health and well-being.
- (3) The development of economy.
- (4) The growth of proper social structures possessing competence to perform social functions in terms of prevailing social needs.
- (5) Development of culture which is the expression of the life and total creativeness of all members of society.

We shall deal with the social aspects of the slum in terms of each of the above five separate factors.

Social Aspects of the Physical Environment

In its material manifestation the slum is probably the worst kind of physical environment that has ever emerged in the history of man. The slum is a physical area which is the result of man's effort at survival in the face of a bitter struggle for existence.

The spacious environment, the streets and the physical layout of the entire area, water supply and lighting, the touch of Nature, the contents of the atmosphere, all these affect his emotional responses to environment, his sex and family life, and the development of relationship between neighbours and the entire community. Place consciousness is vital to the development of social consciousness of the human race.

The most important of all is the house, which is the home of the family, which gives shelter and protection to the child, which builds affectionate relations between man and wife, and which gives refuge to the individual from the turmoil and complexities of modern city life. When the nation is fast building its economy, where good wages and employment security are considered imperative, the concept of minimum housing is yet absent, and the tenement is far below the normal and average needs of a healthy family. Thus slums are cleared to leave more slums to be cleared, houses are

built which are incapable of becoming homes, and eventually provide material for the slum clearance programmes of tomorrow. We yet need the architects for tomorrow who understand human nature, sex, and health; who provide structures that soothe frayed nerves and afford opportunities for quietness, peace, sleep, conveniences for home and family life and scope for recreation and the education of children.

The Slum and Health

The physical evils of the slum are as well-known as the undisputed unfortunate consequences of the physical environment on human health. It is however very difficult to consider separately the consequences of the physical slum and of socio-economic poverty on human health. The worst consequences affect the growth of the child, the health of the mother and the work capacity and efficiency of the working man and woman. Congestion, insanitation, foul air and bacteria and vermin take their toll in the one-room tenement. Poverty trails in its wake. Malnutrition, lack of protection from climate, and lack of means for proper medical treatment—they all take their toll in terms of poverty. The alarming consequences of these factors on a vast working population need to be carefully surveyed.

Death often gives important indications about problems of life. A study of the causes of 1,041 deaths that had taken place amongst all the families in a community revealed how and when life could end in a slum area. 47 male children and 25 female children had died before they were seven days old. 69 children under the age of 5 had died due to convulsions; 27 due to small pox and 121 due to complications after measles. Total number of deaths due to pyrexia were 232; influenza and pneumonia had caused 107 deaths, of which 78 were before the age of 5 years. Diarrhoea and dysentery had caused 70 deaths. Tuberculosis was the revealed cause of 45 deaths. 20 persons were killed in accidents, 3 had committed suicide and 3 were murdered. 124 infants had passed away in the first year of life, 480 other children had died between one and five years. Only 27 deaths had occurred above the age of 50 years.

A medical examinations of 894 persons of the 1,300 members of a community, carried out during a period of five months, revealed the following facts. Illness and diseases amongst those examined: 272 persons or 30 per cent were found to be suffering from major ailments and diseases at the time of the examination and only 81 or 9.6 per cent were declared to be enjoying normal good health.

76 men and 101 women or nearly 20 per cent of the entire population suffered from moliciable anaemia, and 155 more suffered from general debility.

A very large number of persons in the slums have "sub-health". These persons, though not actually ill, do not enjoy a feeling of well-being and have a proneness to illness. They also suffer regularly from minor ailments, fevers, headaches and digestive disorders. The two doctors pronounced 541 persons or 61 per cent as victims of sub-health. Together with the clearance of slums, it is imperative to create conditions and services which will at least create a sense of well-being and capacity to work and reproduce.

Physical health is dependent on cleanliness, sanitation and good food. The slum is invariably unclean and the community living in it can hardly be otherwise. The doctors described the personal cleanliness of all persons by classifying cleanliness as good in 173 cases, very fair in 108 cases, fair in 278 cases and poor in 342 cases. 259 persons had clean teeth, 576 had unclean teeth and 181 persons had carids.

The slum endangers food and cooking. There is no larder in a one-room tenement and the kitchens are often in the open or on balconies and verandahs. At times one wonders how human beings survive in such an environment. Food in the slum is endangered in many ways. Eating houses in slum areas continue to endanger human health and they exist in very large numbers. Besides poor slum dwellers find it expedient to buy rather rotten stuff to sell at a profit near their homes.

Emotional Ill-health

Industrial cities and civilisation have taken a heavy toll of emotional health all over the world. Both the U.S.A. and

the U.S.S.R. are taking measures to deal with neurosis. The rich, the middle classes and the slum dwellers all suffer because of different reasons. Anxiety, worry, insecurity, poverty and the sensory reactions to filth, ugliness and squalor of the physical environment all contribute to the anger, irritation, brutality and even sadistic behaviour that are so common in the slum areas. Perhaps the chief single factor of the greatest import is the sex problem. The nature and manifestations of sex desire are influenced considerably by the physical environment and the nature of relationship between the sexes in the community.

Sex life in the slum area is very complex. In India when people first come to stay in the city they follow the social patterns of marriage which once prevailed in their villages and communities in the rural areas. These were conditioned by the rural environment. Conflicts and contradictions arise as patterns of human behaviour change due to their conditioning by the physical environment. The absence of Nature and space in the slum and the proximity of neighbours and the sexes cause sex stimulations, habits, disorders and frustrations. The effects on the modesty and the sense of shame of the woman in the slum are markedly apparent. Sex becomes a paradox in the slum area. Sexual activity is very high and yet sexual satisfaction is inadequate and lacking in the psychological quality to contribute towards a happy life. The relationship between sex and poverty are well-known. Sex is a fruitless effort to escape from the consequences of poverty. It is a diversion which seeks happiness which is otherwise impossible due to slum and economic conditions. Often this vicious circle leads to extra-marital life and indulgence in cheap prostitution. Drink, vice and sadistic behaviour follow.

Emotional disorders are not suffered by adults only. Children suffer most from the emotional violence of the elders. They do not receive that love, protection and care which are so vital to promote the total growth of the child. Sex life in the slum leads to the neglect of childhood. It leads to the existence of countless numbers of neglected children.

Slums and Mental Development

The problem of intelligence and the problem of mental illness are two separate problems. The word 'ignorance' is probably most ignorantly used in India. Slum dwellers are not lacking in intelligence, because intelligence is a consequence of life experience. It is the direct result of work, self-support, struggle for existence, and eventual survival. Slum dwellers are often mentally mature persons. They have abilities to live in spite of their environment, poverty and lack of recognition. They come to understand and even analyse and interpret their problems. They often invent solutions which are distasteful to society as a whole. Generalisations are difficult but on the whole intelligence seems to produce irresponsibility in youth, resignation in middle age, and philosophy in old age. These are natural consequences of the life they live. Educated young persons in the slums invariably appear to become unhappy. Education naturally breeds discontent and even aggression.

The Slum and National Physical Fitness

When it was found that the slum seriously affected human health and increased infant mortality, medical social services were increased and improved. It was only at the end of the First World War that the social concept of national physical fitness was emphasized by the League of Nations in a world gathering. Since then, India at least has not taken adequate cognisance of this vital social need. The slum seriously affects the physical fitness of the nation, impairs national efficiency and endangers the future physical growth of a large section of the population. India's First Five-Year Plan took notice of the need for improving national fitness and desired the establishment of physical standards which the nation should achieve. During the last five years a committee was appointed to lay down standards but it is not known whether any further action has been taken. One vital action on the basis of such a report together with many others, should be the eradication of slums. Preventive measures, health, education and the maintenance of human health are far more important and far less costly than the provision of curative services and

the treatment of established disease. Poverty and mal-nutrition worsen and concurrent with slum clearance, provision of recreation, parks, play-grounds and open air activities can improve physical fitness.

Social Aspects of Urban Economy

Economic development makes social development possible. The slum is a result of a chaotic economic development. Whilst we welcome the present awakening to the dangers of the slum, it is the emphasis and extension of industrial development which warns us that rather than slum clearance, the prevention of the increase in existing slum areas in the near future is the greatest problem.

The city is ambitious. Its leadership always seeks profit through increased production and commercial economy is even expanding. The wealth produced demands an increase of public and social services. All these factors invite an immigration of the rural population to the city. An absence of social consciousness always leads to the neglect of social preparation for economic development. Economy grows faster than housing. Slums are the immediate and natural consequences.

Apart from personal contributions, the city is the result of a concentration of capital, power, ability and opportunities. Most of the commercial and industrial cities of India derive their present importance from British rule, development of commerce and industry and centres of administration and political power. The most important characteristic of urban social life is complexity. It involves a heterogeneous society, and an undue growth of size. This complexity and size have far-reaching consequence on health, personality, sense, of values and ability to live and enjoy life. There are great divergences of wealth, intelligence, skills and capacity to contribute to personal and general weal. There is visible and invisible conflict and the struggle for existence is complex. This human battle tends to produce a scrap humanity or an inferior human strata that somehow finds itself in slums. Whatever be the nature of the economic life of cities, it should not be allowed to produce a scrap heap of inferior humanity.

Slum clearance therefore implies not only the eradication of the dismal shadows of physical areas but it also implies the restoration to good houses and health, to education and opportunity of large numbers of human beings who are partially the product of the slum and partially of the process of economic development. This is possibly the largest single social problem of the city. It is the problem of Human Welfare and Development. If this problem is not handled with courage, vision, large financial investments, and well-defined programmes of welfare, then all attempts at slum clearance may fail.

Even economic planning is in its infancy. It is more in the nature of physical planning and target achievement. There is no planning of each single aspect of industrial development. Attempts at decentralisation, dispersal and scientific location of industries are not yet adequate. This alone could contribute towards the increase of slum areas. The obsession about great, glorious and beautiful cities yet continues and worsens, as urban appetite is whetted by the possibilities of increasing profits. Minimum wages are difficult to introduce and enforce even in most successful industries. Health insurance has only just begun. Unemployment is not yet under control.

Labour Welfare and the Slum Problem

That urban economic development, and especially industrial development threatens human welfare was realised decades ago. Labour welfare began with the introduction of the Boiler Act and the appointment of a Factory Inspector. Labour legislation is being continually improved. But this welfare, whilst producing improved working conditions in factories has not brought about real social welfare and has produced little improvement of the slum problem. The number of slums in which workers live have increased and social conditions in these slums, beyond being served by normal and symbolic programmes of recreation, etc., remain neglected. As Labour Welfare is a constantly changing and growing concept, the new industrial development and policies

require a complete rethinking of the labour policy and the welfare concept. While rightly emphasizing the need for improved factory conditions, improved relations between employer and employee, avoidance of the danger of strikes to production and need of better wages and working conditions, promotion of real social welfare has only taken a second place. Indeed very often industrial welfare has been equated with social welfare. True social welfare should always be irrespective of political and economic situations as it involves the basic welfare of the entire human family. It implies constant and scientific social education and the maximum care of the woman and the child. Physical health of humans has to be vigilantly looked after. Good housing, proper housing management and urban community organisation alone can lay the foundation of true labour welfare.

The Municipality and the State Governments should initiate well defined programmes of urban community development as parallel services to the rural community development projects. This will be a concrete preliminary step towards a slum clearance and a slum prevention programme.

The Slum and Urban Poverty

The problem of poverty and the slum problem are two sides of a coin. Poverty is a complex social phenomenon and it is a vicious circle where social causes lead to evil social consequences, which in their turn become the cause of poverty. Bad housing, poor health, inadequate income, unsatisfactory and uncreative employment, unemployment, undesirable marriages, neglected childhood, lack of education and uneducability, absence of recreation and creative enjoyment are all causes as well as consequences of poverty. Each of these factors should receive comprehensive and separate attention or the human being should be given the right environment and housing, adequate wages, a social education to help him to deal with all the above problems intelligently, and an opportunity to live as a member of an organised regional community so that collective and co-operative strength and effort can help in the achievement of a better standard of life by the entire community.

The Slum and the Human Family

The eventual aim of social organisation is the welfare of man as an individual, as a member of the family and of the community. From the point of view of urban welfare a most vital factor is the human family. The family exists amongst all mammals, because bi-sexual mating, the dependency of the offspring and the co-operative comradeship and intimate relationship between parent and child and husband and wife are imperative for the achievement of human happiness. Social investigations have revealed that the structure, pattern and functions of a family depend upon man's environment and economy. We have known of primitive families and the feudal family; but the greatest single social problem of the industrial age is the slow emergence of a new family pattern. The transition from the feudal to the industrial family and from the rural to the urban family has promoted great human unhappiness.

The family in urban areas is basically a rural family pattern adjusting itself to urban conditions. A new pattern may emerge in the city but meanwhile there are dark prospects of the disorganisation and disintegration of the small family and the deterioration of basic human relationship.

In the slum the family begins to weaken, family disorganisation being later followed by family disintegration. Many pessimistic sociologists in the West have declared that the family institution can hardly remain in an industrial society. Meanwhile divorces continue to increase; thousands of children enter foster homes and institutions; there are large numbers of unmarried mothers and the family life of well-paid industrial workers is unbalanced compared to the more conservative family life of the intelligent middle class. India with its wisdom and understanding of the role of the family and the community in society, should firmly hold to the family, strengthen it, and help it to build its health and unity. Sound social policy will suggest slum clearance as a first step in this direction.

The Woman and the Child

The family is the shield and shelter for the woman and

the child. The woman is the creator of the future and the child is the future itself. Any society that fails to seek and achieve the welfare and happiness of both the woman and the child endangers social health. The woman is probably the greatest victim of the slum, the chief burden-bearer in the family and the least gainer out of wealth produced in the city. In terms of her domestic duties she gives birth to children and looks after them and the home and then earns for the livelihood of the family. Often she does hard work for sixteen hours a day. She yields to the sex cravings of an unhappy and discontented male. She mans the kitchen and keeps the rooms clean. She toils conscientiously and diligently in her eight-hour-a-day contribution to the employer. And yet she has to suffer hardships, injustice and even the abuse and cruelty of the opposite sex. The educated and intelligent woman of the middle class claims equality for the sexes; but no such sense of equality makes a woman in the slum work for wages. It is the sheer coercion of the economic imperative that compels her to earn. Her life in the slum is often a tale of heroism and sacrifice. This is not stated to glamorise her. This sacrifice and heroism is not always the case and often she struggles, fails and is demoralised.

A human society should give something better to a woman than a slum to live in.

The Slum and the Child

The well-being of society is wrongly conceived to be solely inherent in its wealth and property. The child is the greatest single asset of human society. On its character, development, growth and training depends civilisation and human progress. The complex industrial society requires a new type of developed human being possessing knowledge, abilities, skills, self-control and social feelings. The slum is evidently no place for the birth, growth and training of such children. The child is innocent, helpless and dependent. Every democracy has accepted that it should not be victimised or punished for the shortcomings of parenthood, family and society. Society is painfully aware of the inequality existing

between man and man. This inequality is due to heredity and environmental factors as also to inequality of opportunities. This latter factor has to be corrected especially in a socialist State. The slum is probably the one great single handicap which is imposed upon the child. The second factor is neglect—neglect by the family and the community. Let us hope it is no longer going to be neglected by the State, either at the provincial or municipal level.

Birth Control

The above programme must be aided by a planned and scientific drive for planned parenthood. A beginning has to be made by the organisation of birth control clinics. The introduction of birth control is therefore essential during a transition period, which may be a long one. But this blessing may be abused by illiterate persons, through an excessive and improper use of contraceptives producing neurosis, absence of true satisfaction and even demoralisation of youth. Unless birth control clinics also impart social education, through qualified and trained personnel and the use of harmful methods and cheap appliances are controlled, birth control may be found to be a mixed blessing. Slum clearance programmes therefore should always include facilities for proper birth control and V.D. clinics and intensive research to judge results, reactions and the suitability of methods of birth control.

Growth of the Child

Great attention is to be paid to the provision of the right environment for the child and for creating the maximum scope for child development and growth. The vital factors of child nurture, viz., heredity, environment, health, nourishment, play, care and education are all highly unsatisfactory in a slum. It is hardly necessary to dilate upon these factors, because they are too well-known to medical science, educationists, administrators, social workers and others. Social education will undertake to explain them further to parents and communities. The main issue is to develop effective agencies to implement programmes for the benefit of children forming part of the slum population. The three best known

agencies are parents, home-educators and teachers in an organised community.

It is unfortunate that whilst the human race is the most highly evolved species, the human mother at times lacks the love, inclination and ability she once possessed to look after her young in their period of complete dependency, at least during the first thirty months. The human child has the longest period of dependency known amongst mammals. It requires affectionate and intelligent care, which is often forthcoming from mothers in a slum community. The social education of the mother is therefore a vital imperative if slum clearance is to serve an adequate purpose and if slum prevention has to be made effective.

The Education of the Slum Child

Slums with their one-room tenements, their prevailing insanitary conditions and their mothers overburdened with work and worry cry out for the creation of day nurseries (not pre-schools) for the care of small children under 36 months of age. These day nurseries, which have to be located in the actual slum area unlike the creches in factories, could provide a shelter during the day.

The Pre-school

The pre-school was literally born in the slums of Europe and the laboratory of the psychologist and the educationist. Froebel, Macmillan, Montessori, Blatz, Millichamp and many others realised the dangers inherent in the slum environment to the growth and future educability of the child. School education in India is yet a mere imitation of other systems and a product of school masters. It has received the attention of the politician who usually suffers from a handicap of inadequate study, knowledge and information in this matter. Emphasis is laid on a free and compulsory education without adequately appreciating the fact that in a country of slums, poverty and neglected childhood, the pre-school is unavoidable and imperative. Under-fed or improperly fed and neglected children of the slum are no material for education and proper development. Slum prevention requires the preven-

tion of the breeding of a future slum population. For this purpose, the pre-school with its feeding and medical service is imperative in the heart of every slum land.

Primary Education

Most lay persons believe that education will produce a new human being and that this human being will put an end to the slum. It is naively believed that if a child goes to a school which boasts of a school building, a class-room, a teacher and a horde of wide-eyed children laden with books, then the ends of education are achieved. It is possible that a quantitative education without objective and quality may actually worsen the slum situation. Indeed great progress has been made during the last twenty years and after Independence we have the new experiment of "mass education". Primary schools work in two and three shifts. First of all the slum has no space for a school and it is no proper environment for the education of children. The problem of location therefore challenges solution. New structures are built with and without playgrounds. The schools themselves bear the stamp of a slum. From primary to basic education is a vital change; but how is this change to affect slum areas? India is yet in the 'fact finding stage' of the education problem. The Sargeant report was shelved and more commissions on secondary and primary education followed. The new education has yet to come. Whether slums will be cleared first or a new education will come first is very hard to guess, but it can be confidently stated that a new education cannot achieve its purpose to prepare the child to be the 'whole man' for in a slum no human being can become or remain 'whole' or 'complete'.

The vast problem of mentally retarded, backward and handicapped children evidently requires special attention in slum areas. There is hardly any information about the true nature and extent of mental backwardness. The sub-normal child in the slum wanders about neglected, ridiculed by other children and often practically forsaken by its own parents. Years of neglect naturally worsen the handicap, the child develops an inferiority complex and may eventually become

a burden on society. If such children exist in large numbers, they impair national efficiency.

The Slum and Youth

Youth can be described as the period of immaturity and preparation for work and employment, marriage and social participation. To youth the slum means danger, for it is a period of ambitions and frustration, struggle and absence of hope, or reckless irresponsibility. Many adults who were born in rural areas live according to rural tradition; but the slum begins to have its consequence on youth. The city produces leadership and the appeal of hero worship and youth organisation produces both awakening and discontent. There is a desire to learn accompanied by ambitions. The desire for a new, higher standard of life is vague and confused and is governed by what could be described as the 'imitation of the success pattern'. The number of those who receive education and succeed in becoming matriculates and graduates is now growing. Their life and struggle in the slum should be studied carefully by research. Education in the slum is never easy and the slum environment becomes a serious handicap. There is the will to learn but capacities and abilities are stunted due to powerful reactions of the slum. Education becomes a competition with the more comfortable youth of the middle classes and the competition produces bitterness. Whatever education may help to achieve, it seems to produce unhappiness and a desire to escape from the slum environment and the community. Some youth in the slum achieve remarkable success in many fields with little or no education.

Ignorance and Social Education

It has been stated before that there is considerable mental maturity and even intelligence amongst many slum dwellers. This does not imply that there is no ignorance, because real ignorance is the lack of capacity to understand and deal with problems of life and environment independently. Mental pre-occupation and mental strain, leading to mental fatigue amongst adults are too apparent to all those who work in slum areas. The irrationality of human behaviour, emotional-

ism and constant indulgence in undesirable and unprofitable activities are vital problems relating to the slum mind. Then there is the reaction of sex and the consequences of alcoholism.

The following statistics obtained in 1955-56 by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in a working class area is an indication of the problem. This data refers to a community of dock workers who live in an area where a slum is under clearance, where there is security of employment at least for the bread winner and where wages are not very low. It is not, therefore, an example of the lowest slum area.

The community consisted of 542 families, with 774 males and 569 female adults above the age of 18 years. There were 252 illiterate males, 91 were literate, and 431 had received or were receiving some instruction. Amongst females 430 were illiterate, 25 were literate, and 114 had received or were receiving some instruction. From amongst the illiterate 58 men and 76 women expressed a desire to become literate.

Social education is considerably different as a concept from fundamental education, yet remains a new concept with many different interpretations given to it in various places. In any case both the concepts regard literacy as of minor importance, compared to the larger approach to human abilities and capacities. The human being requires different types and degrees of capacities to function normally and successfully in different physical and social environments. Life in a city is very complex, though the normal economic life of the employed person may be easier than the life of a small farmer or cultivator in a rural area. Man to be physically fit, successfully employed, and happy with a family, with capacity to make his contribution to his community, city and national culture requires the will to grow up and possess several capacities which could be detailed by the following eight contents of a total fundamental education programme :

1. Education for work, employment and promotion.
2. Education for sex, marriage and family life.
3. Health education.
4. Education for recreation.

5. Education in domestic economy, parent craft, etc.
6. Education for citizenship.
7. Education for self-expression and culture.
8. Education for good neighbourliness and social participation.

The ultimate aim is to equip all persons to function efficiently and successfully in all major aspects of life not only for the benefit of themselves, but for the general well-being of all and the social progress of humanity.

Recreation and the Slum Areas

The importance of recreation for all communities is now fully realised. Labour welfare centres, the Prohibition Board and almost all welfare agencies now provide recreational facilities. The attempt to develop recreational programmes in slum areas reveals the importance of the very baffling nature of this problem. Slum communities are invariably large and there is not space enough for either indoor or outdoor recreational facilities for all. It should be recognised that the mere presence of recreational activities does not mean that the community is able to find adequate recreational facilities. These facilities are invariably nominal, and they hardly provide opportunities for 2 per cent to 5 per cent of the entire population.

Recreation to be enjoyable requires a proper community atmosphere. The slum environment and atmosphere is totally unsuitable for recreational purposes. The safety of children is often endangered and the non-recreating community comes in the way of recreational groups. The interference of gangsterism and vulgarity makes it difficult for women to participate in recreational activities in large numbers. The association of children with the older and tougher groups with their slang and abuse, violence and indiscipline is very harmful to their future development as citizens of a cultured society.

Recreation has to suit the tastes, temperaments and skills of the participants. Physical, emotional, intellectual and cultural recreations all cannot find place in slum areas due to

lack of space, lack of finances and resources and poor leadership. Entire slum communities are now accustomed to the cinema and some of our worst productions involving sex, crime and violence not only cater to their tastes, but actually help to promote a most unaesthetic development of human culture with the lowest values. When more decent recreations are introduced in the slums, these are unable to compete with the organised and commercialised culture of most urban cities.

The Slum and Social Vice

Though the slum is often the originating place for many social vices, urban civilisation as a whole is not without its own vices. The surroundings, the poverty, and an attempt to imitate the ways of the upper classes produce most of the vices in slum areas. It is not possible to deal here with all the small and major social vices, so attention will be concentrated only on gangsterism and crime, alcoholism, gambling and prostitution. Gangsterism begins at a very early age with thrilling little vices, such as smoking, stealing and other acts of juvenile delinquency. Gangsterism begins as a crude mixture of good and evils. Innocent gangsterism includes a good deal of fun, play and comradeship. Available leadership, the inherent sense of adventure in youth, aggressiveness and absence of occupation gradually lead to ganging up for frolics and escapades and at times even for serious crimes. Criminality matures in the gang of the slum areas so that small groups take to thefts, pickpocketing, stealing from shops and eating houses and began to enjoy harassing innocent and weaker persons. This problem is serious enough to deserve special study and a better light can be thrown by persons who are associated with the care and treatment of juvenile delinquents.

Alcoholism

Many of us still remember the ravages of pre-prohibition days, when in many cities even the small wage-earner, the unemployed and even women and children used to buy a drink even if it meant heavy indebtedness or theft. The origin of alcoholism, or rather the desire to drink has many

similarities to the emergence of sex habits and pattern of sexual behaviour. It is an escape and an illusory fulfilment of unspecified desires on the part of those who experience poverty as a perpetual psychological existence. The mechanism of habit gradually forms itself and then it is a slavery from which escape is difficult. Prohibition, while it reduces the evil, creates new problems both of illicit drinking and of illicit manufacture. Like all social vices, drink is a difficult problem. It produces chain reactions that seriously affect home life and employment and turn innocent people into criminals and law breakers.

Gambling

Perhaps gambling is the worst of the social evils. Here the slum seems to be at its best. It is an alternative of the workshy, the last resort of the unemployed, and the first resort of the instinctive stock broker who could not find opportunity to work with that legal and respected fraternity. Little children, women working at home meals, teachers of primary schools, policemen on their beat in the slum, old men who can hardly move—they all know persons, places, methods and ways of gambling of which most educated persons know very little.

Prostitution

It is never desirable to deal with such problems unless there is convincing data to prove the nature, extent and contents of such problems. My personal experience of slums in Bombay has convinced me that there is less prostitution in a slum than in other places of the city. The women in the slum are decent and conscious of human dignity. There is a strong community feeling against prostitution, and as most slums have a kind of organised social life, its general practice is almost an impossibility. The character of Indian womanhood deserves careful study because it should be interesting to learn how tradition, rural background, various concepts of Hinduism and a natural modesty and dignity have helped save the woman upto now even in some of the worst of slums. This does not however mean that prostitution is entirely absent from many slum areas. But if any one takes

to it, it is the last ditch to which loneliness and desertion by relatives and the community compelled her to descend. Such a woman invariably has to leave the community and live with strangers, because most slum areas in cities are based on plans of the original rural domicile of the inhabitants. So far as India is concerned, where industrialisation has not yet had its swing, prostitution does not appear to be too closely associated with the slum problem. Poverty is endurable to the poor, it is less bearable to those who have seen better days.

Conclusions

The chief social aspects of the slum have been stated in this paper. If the physical slum is removed, the social aspects will remain and continue to affect the human beings who are involved in the problem. The social treatment of the slum problem is therefore of vital importance. The slum problem, besides, like all major human problems, is difficult of solution. There are only programmes to remove the physical slum, or to deal with the human community in a slum, or to prevent the emergence of new slums where slums exist. All these programmes bring about a social change where man can live a healthier, better and more useful life. Each of the three programmes are of vital importance. I may repeat that slum-prevention is as important as slum clearance.

It is vital to realise that the failure of slum clearance in many parts of the world is due to the fact that there is no total approach to deal with the problem in its entirety. The total programme has to be based on a social philosophy which determines very clearly the social objectives of urban civilisation. The social policy of the State must be well conceived and the State should hold to a policy for a long time to reap social benefits. Immense financial and material resources are required to deal with the slum problem. Therefore the significance of the physical environment to human society and the living organism should be adequately realised. Slum clearance and re-housing must receive the same priority in urban areas that is given to major irrigation projects in rural areas.

It is only a highly competent and efficient municipal administration pledged to the service of the people that can accept the hard challenge of the slum problem. Maximum financial economy, incorruptibility of administration, bold land and finance policies and imagination and scientific construction can heal many wounds of old cities and help to build new cities worthy of high social objectives.

Upto now, man as an individual has faced complex societies of cities. It is worthwhile experimenting with urban community organisations so that living together, enjoying life together, the constructive genius and energy of small, manageable and integrated communities are used to develop composite and defined region-community areas in full co-operation with Municipal and State authorities. It can be boldly stated that if an intelligent and organised community can occupy a physical area, that area could hardly ever become a slum. Urban community organisation will not be competent to deal with the economic life of individual members but it can create a social structure where community participation in activities, social education, the co-operative movement and community welfare, services for health, education and youth, woman and child welfare, aided by effective facilities for community recreation can create effective social units of a strong local self-government. This is a field where India can even give a lead to Western societies, because our experience of community social structures is many centuries old.

Plenary Session No. 3

MINIMUM HOUSING STANDARDS

By

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It is difficult to do justice to the subject of 'Minimum Housing Standards' within the limited time available. It is therefore proposed to discuss the objectives and the principles that must guide the planning authority in laying down minimum housing standards. Some minimum housing standards are implied in the existing Building Bye-laws, Master Plans, codes of functional and strength requirements of buildings, etc. But the framers of these codes and standards have been conscious of their limitations. They have been handicapped by the want of statistics, research and collective opinion of those who have devoted themselves to the study of one or the other branch of this subject. The present seminar, therefore, will serve a useful purpose in bringing together men interested in the different aspects of housing and slum improvement.

Need for Minimum Standards

With the growing demand for some kind of shelter for the vast number of persons in search of houses and with the limited funds available, it may appear futile to think of 'Housing Standards'. It must however be realized, firstly, that maintenance of standards does not necessarily mean high expenditure; secondly, that it is no use removing existing slums and replacing them by what may in future be termed as other slums; and thirdly, that it is only when we are aware of the correct minimum standards that we can ascertain to what extent some of these standards have to be sacrificed at the altar of financial stringency and perhaps social inertia.

Experience abroad has shown that in the effort for slum clearance and improvement, emphasis should be given on its

positive aspect, i.e., city planning and urban redevelopment and not entirely on its negative aspect, i.e., 'Clearance'. We have, therefore, to discuss the minimum housing standards in city planning and urban redevelopment undertaken as a positive means of slum improvement. Modern conception of housing does not merely connote the provision of shelters of sufficient strength, accommodation and sanitation. It means something more. It is worthwhile discussing housing standards as an instrument for achieving human welfare.

Role of Physical Environment

In a socialist democracy, every individual must have opportunities for self-development. We have to create environments to foster his creative talents and we have to encourage co-operation between man and man. Health, freedom from physical and mental strain, privacy and comfort are the essential requirements of such living. In slum improvement the effort is to remove the impediments that prevent the exercise of the full opportunities of life and in defining minimum housing standards, the aim is to create environments that will encourage self-reliance, self-development and co-operation. It is therefore clear that provision of standard shelters will lead to human welfare only if supplemented by positive environments brought about by zoning, street-layout, transport, residential and industrial decentralization—based upon the correct understanding of human needs and aspirations. The city planner has not only to define minimum housing standards in accordance with the technical advice of home experts and foreign experts but also to put life in the skeleton he creates. He must study how the dweller reacts and responds to the new environments he creates and to the old impediments he removes. It may be that the response to new environment is not spontaneous, it may require some training and persuasion. But laying down minimum housing standards is in the ultimate analysis a dynamic process—of training and persuading the dweller and being trained and persuaded by the dwellers. Man the individual, Man in the family, Man as member of society should, therefore, be the central source of information and inspiration.

to the city planner. The standards we lay down must yield a positive answer to questions like the following :

1. Does the environment create a noble urge in the mind of the inhabitants for self-development and co-operation ?
 2. Can the mother see her children at play in the yard without any hazard to their life ?
 2. Can the mother see her children at play in the yard themselves ?
 4. Can he/she reach the place of employment in a reasonable time with no physical and mental strain ?
- etc., etc.

Our housing standards will be judged by the answers we get to questions like these.

Human needs have been broadly classified under two categories :

- I. Universal needs, that is, Biogenic and Sociogenic needs which are commonly felt by mankind.
- II. Cultural needs—Needs felt by a group of persons on account of the culture and traditions that have descended to that group from generation to generation.

Basic Housing Needs

Some of the universal needs common to mankind are :

1. Privacy.
 2. Light and air.
 3. Protection from excessive heat and cold.
 4. Freedom from excessive mental and physical strain.
 5. Love of beauty and variety.
 6. Desire for self-expression and public approbation.
 7. Security.
 8. Group living.
- etc., etc.

All such needs have a bearing on housing standards. We will take some of them in illustration.

Privacy : Suppression of the primitive instincts of man—elimination of the 'brute' in man, enjoyment of life's

full opportunities for creation and co-operation can only be achieved by providing him with sufficient scope for sex expression, introspection, prayer, creative thinking, etc., all of which require a certain measure of privacy. Housing inadequacy and overcrowding are evils which will have disastrous effects on the social structure and no cost can be considered too heavy to eliminate this danger. Three rooms including kitchen for an average family of five appears to be the minimum accommodation that must be provided. Planning of these rooms, corridors, passages, sanitary blocks, open spaces, etc., in relation to each other and the surroundings have also to be considered by the planner from the point of view of the requirement of privacy.

Light and Air: Enough light and circulation of non-polluted air are the primary necessities of physical and mental health. Spread of Tuberculosis and other diseases can be arrested by planning of dwellings with a view to adequate provision of light and air. The standard recommended by experts is the penetration of sun rays in every room for a minimum period of one hour at midday in the third week of December, when the sun is in its lowest position. Most building Bye-laws make some provision for light but the present Bye-laws are inadequate in their provision of circulation of air. Flow of air at low velocities, reflection of moving air mass when it impinges against an obstacle, effects of chimneys, widows, clear storey windows and so-called ventilators over doors and windows on the flow of air, are all subjects which require scientific study. This study can be made not only in the laboratory but also in the field by observation of existing houses.

Freedom from excessive physical and mental strain :

Some of the sources of physical and mental strain are :

- (1) Long distances to place of employment, marketing, entertainment, school, temple, public hall, etc.

- (2) Hazard to life of men, women and children at street crossings due to unscientific planning of communications.
- (3) Excessive noise from aircraft, railway, trams, vehicular traffic, industries, workshops, radios, gramophones, crackers.
- (4) Quarrels and strife at common utility services like water taps, latrines, washing places.
- (5) Unhealthy and crowded market places.
- (6) Lack of play ground and open yards, sanitary blocks.
- (7) Mosquitoes and bugs, etc.

In some parts of India, people walk barefooted in the house. They spread beds on floors and do not use cots. These facts must be taken into account in the design of floors.

It is not necessary to discuss in detail every human need in its relation to housing standards. It is clear that the subject of housing standards covers in its purview the topics of zoning, site selection, planning with due regard to topography and natural drainage, communications, utility services, gardens, yards, market places and play grounds, different type of dwellings, provision of minimum amenities in houses, etc., etc.

Investigating Housing Requirements

Housing standards are so intimately connected with the mode of living of the dwellers that they cannot be copied or adapted from standards prevailing in other countries. They must be based upon our own research and investigations regarding people's wants, opinions and attitudes. The following is an illustrative list of topics on which special investigations should be carried out:

1. Urge to own a house.
2. Preference for location.
3. Migration of population.
4. Size and amenities of houses.
5. Reactions of slum dwellers to old and new environments.
6. Plumbing and water supply needs.

7. Bad plumbing and nuisance of cockroaches.
8. Kitchen needs.
9. Laundry arrangements in houses.
10. Distance to shops, schools, play grounds, etc.
11. Play grounds and their location.
12. Distance to place of employment.
13. Study of group relations.
14. Street system.
15. Attitude to tall buildings.
16. Floor height.
17. Loads on floors for structural design of floors.
18. Studies in Light, Ventilation and Illumination, etc., etc.

“To determine wisely the types of housing that should be built for present slum dwellers, it would be desirable in each city to conduct a field study of their reactions to their present dwellings and to projected housing schemes, their accustomed modes of living, the hours spent in the home by each member of the household and the way in which such hours are spent, their occupational and leisure time interests, and their aspirations. Case studies would be useful to ascertain the type of housing to be provided for each specific family. The findings should be summarised by sociologists to arrive at tentative judgements concerning the divergencies in needs, interests and attitudes between different racial, occupational, sex and age groups. Pertinent to such studies would be an analysis of the tenants’ chief complaints concerning their present housing—the sources of daily irritation. Such recorded complaints might cover size of rooms, height of ceilings, arrangement of rooms, closet space and location, kitchen size and equipment, sanitary facilities, equipment for lighting or heating, ventilation, refuse disposal, upkeep, maintenance, noise and other invasions of privacy. Similarly, the reactions to their new surroundings of the dwellers in model tenements should be ascertained, because such buildings have been erected in the past without adequate previous study of the needs of their future tenant families. Further, it is desirable to note for each member of the family the distribu-

tion of time spent in preparing and eating of meals, odd jobs, loafing, sleep and study; the forms which home recreation may take; the sleeping arrangements for each member of the household, in order to determine how many individual sleeping rooms are necessary. Studies should cover such details as preferred floor and wall surfaces, size and arrangement of windows, provision for storage of baby carriages and toys, children's indoor play space, laundry facilities, delivery of goods from stores. Above all, an attempt should be made to ascertain to what districts of the city each family would wish to move, to what type of dwelling and why."*

The method of investigation employed by Women's City Club, New York is worth study: "Field workers supplied by the Housing Authority, together with trained investigators from local social service agencies, gathered the data. The statistical division of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company advised the Women's City Club on the tabulation of the data. In all, 1,450 housewives were interviewed, and 1,395 questionnaires were considered sufficiently complete to warrant tabulation. The report gives evidence of a keen appreciation of the problems and attitudes of the persons interrogated and is careful and judicious in its interpretations."

Structural Standards

Some reference to structural standards will not be out of place. Some of our buildings continue to be designed for a live load on floors of 70 lb. per sq. ft. Investigations have shown that floors in residential buildings should be designed for about 30 lb. to 40 lb. per sq. ft. Similarly the latest standards and practices regarding wind loads, loads on external and internal columns and beams, loads for design for footings, seismic or earthquake loads are not still adopted by Government and semi-Government authorities with the results that the designs produced are neither economical nor rational. The Indian Standards Institution is preparing standards for sizes of bricks, tiles, doors, window frames and shutters, fixtures, etc., with a view to modular construction and con-

* "Slums and Housing", Vol. II, by James Fort, pp. 655-56.

sequent economy. Standardisation in building construction will lead to considerable economy. Municipalities, Housing Boards and other authorities should give up their age old bias in favour of time worn methods, standards and practices and adopt the new methods and standards.

SLUM IMPROVEMENT

By

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The subject matter of my talk today is 'Slum Improvement' which, in my opinion, falls under the category 'Rehabilitation and Conservation'. This is known, in England, as 'make do and mend'. This type of operation is only an interim measure directed towards improving swiftly the living conditions of the slum dwellers by rehabilitating and conserving such sub-standard dwellings as are worth saving, which have a useful life span of another 15 years and which can be improved at a reasonable cost so that the increased rents of the dwellings, after improvement, would be within the reach of their occupants.

Fundamental Causes of Slums

The fundamental causes of slums are: (1) bad planning of the house itself or of the street pattern and plot on which it is built, (2) neglect by the landlord and the tenant in maintaining individual dwellings in a decent state of repairs, (3) change of user, (4) change in occupancy, (5) overcrowding, and (6) neglect by city government in enforcing strictly the building and zoning codes. How many local authorities are enforcing occupancy controls even in those areas of the city which are not yet overcrowded but are threatened with the most advanced symptoms of blight?

Main Tools of Slum Clearance

Just as there is no one cause for this most difficult of municipal problems, so there is no one cure. Many devices must be used in concert and sometimes in the same neighbourhood. They range from prevention, as a start, by guiding the development of all new housing through neighbourhood planning to razing whole areas of the city and starting

afresh on urban redevelopment. In between, lies the largest part of the job, the conservation and improvement through enforcement of minimum standards of a large number of old houses which form the bulk of the housing supply.

The three main tools used in the campaign of 'slum clearance' are therefore: (1) demolition and redevelopment, (2) construction of new (subsidised and non-subsidised) housing on cleared sites and on vacant lands in other parts of the city (for relocation of the dishoused families), and (3) rehabilitation and conservation.

No city can be rebuilt overnight. The pace of rebuilding and renewal must be geared to the requirements of the people, the trade and industry on which it is dependent for its prosperity, the resources available and to the constructive vitality of the community which is its regenerative power. The bulk of the city's physical plant is a capital resource which is necessary for economic survival. A right balance has therefore to be struck between conservation of the capital resource and its reshaping and replacement.

Slum Improvement : A Process of Rehabilitation and Conservation

In every city, there are four types of areas: (1) areas in which dwellings and their environments meet the accepted local minimum standards of quality, (2) areas with moderately advanced blight but in which dwellings and their environment can be restored to acceptable minimum standards by the enforcement of suitable legislation, (3) areas in which dwellings are so poor that it would not be feasible to restore them to acceptable minimum standards, thus making it advisable that they should be demolished or converted to other suitable uses, and (4) areas in which environment is so poor that they should be cleared of housing and replanned for other uses regardless of the existing quality of the dwellings. Areas falling under category (2) can be tackled under slum improvement, while those falling under categories (3) and (4) are generally dealt with by resorting to demolition and redevelopment. It was at one time believed that construction of subsidised housing in undeveloped parts of the city or

on vacant plots in the undeveloped areas would solve the problem of slum clearance. But experience abroad has demonstrated that such a policy does not tend to eliminate the slums but on the contrary it helps to perpetuate them by worsening the conditions in the old development and helping it to go into obsolescence and then deteriorate. Obsolescence goes on increasing with the growth of population, with economics and with the general advance in techniques and standards of housing to a stage where it should not be allowed to continue. If the lot of the slum dweller is to be swiftly improved, the tool of 'slum improvement' must also be used along with new housing, demolition and redevelopment. None of these tools, alone, can succeed in the eradication and prevention of slums.

Slum improvement covers several operations such as: (1) making obsolete houses more attractive to the present tenants by patching, demolition and introduction of sanitary facilities, (2) opening out chowks to ensure more light and ventilation to rooms deficient therein, (3) joining some of the smaller tenements to make larger and more convenient tenements wherever feasible, (4) demolishing aged houses to make room available for the construction of buildings of cultural and recreational type, (5) encouraging landlords to develop their properties to the fullest possible extent in conformity with zoning and building codes to ensure most economical development and so forth.

It would be obvious from what has been said earlier, that slum improvement is a basic conservative measure which aims at taking full advantage of the existing public utilities, streets, lanes, etc. It is intended to add to the supply of up-to-standard, low and moderate rent housing and help to maintain a balanced housing supply. It allows private enterprise to participate in the efforts of the local authority. It at the same time helps to check and prevent further deterioration of blighted areas into slums.

Slum Prevention as Important as Slum Clearance

Slum prevention is as important as slum clearance and in every scheme of slum clearance slum prevention must be

given top priority. There is a close relationship between cause and effect in slums and both must be dealt with to get rid of either. The final slum state is simply the end result of a long chain of insidious changes which can be detected and stopped at a much earlier stage before the physical and social deterioration of environment has begun to blight the life of the residents.

'Slum Service'—A Correctional Method of Improvement

'Slum Improvement' may take the form of 'slum service' to improve the environment of an area or areas where the majority of dwellings is upto the minimum standard but the environment is most unsatisfactory for the promotion of individual and public health. The improvements carried out under a programme of slum service may include, *inter alia*, repairing and resurfacing neglected streets and alleys, rehabilitating outmoded and perhaps unsafe school and community buildings, constructing sanitary sewers and storm water drains, providing facilities for water supply and refuse collection, opening up of traffic gaps or lanes for the movement of fire fighting equipment and conservancy vehicles and also to serve as access to certain dwellings, improving street lighting, removing noisy and offensive trades to the appropriate zones of the city, bringing into existence shopping facilities if they do not exist and construction of new housing on the vacant lands in the area.

'Slum Service' Scheme of the Bombay Municipal Corporation

The Bombay Municipal Corporation, a few years ago, improved to some extent the living conditions of the residents of the two villages of Worli and Dharavi by resorting to 'slum service'. Under this programme, passages serving as access to the dwellings were concreted, underground sewers for sullage were constructed, street lighting was improved, stand posts for water supply were built at convenient points. Low rent housing was also constructed, under this programme, on vacant lands close by, to provide accommodation for the families which were then living in what may be called 'hovels'. This Service is being gradually extended to other villages which have been merged into Greater Bombay Area

since 1950. In addition to the improvements in the environments of the villages, the Corporation is also considering the problem of improving the environment of the unauthorized developments of housing in the form of hutments that have sprung up on the low-lying areas of Greater Bombay due to acute shortage of housing. This housing is without adequate means of access, water supply and sanitary facilities. In order to provide proper access and make room for the movement of conservancy vehicles, a few houses will have to be demolished.

Squatters' Camps

Another form of Slum Service to prevent the occupation of footpaths, open spaces and out of the place vacant lands by homeless beggars and squatters is the establishment of Squatters' Camps. The Bombay Municipal Corporation has provided two squatters' camps—one at Mankhurd in the eastern suburbs and the other at Jogeshwari in the western suburbs. Here, platforms for huts have been built and are offered along with sanitary sewers and water supply. These camps have not become as popular as expected because the occupants of the camps having no means of livelihood in close proximity have to travel long distances to go to their place of work. If small cottage industries could be started in the camps themselves or some light industries in the vicinity of the camps, there are more chances of such camps being fully utilized by those for whom they are intended. Another factor which requires consideration is that it would be much better to provide temporary housing in such camps by the local authorities themselves instead of allowing the occupants to construct their own huts on the platforms provided for.

Transit Camps

During the process of Slum Clearance or Slum Improvement many families are likely to be dishoused. Until they are in a position to occupy permanent housing, it is necessary to provide temporary housing in the form of transit camps in different slum areas of a city. A beginning in this direction has already been made by the Bombay Municipal Corporation with the provision of 450 tenements.

Success of Slum Improvement Depending upon the Nature and Conditions of Existing Slums

The extent to which slum improvement will succeed in improving slum conditions by rehabilitation and conservation will naturally depend upon the nature and conditions of the existing slums and blighted areas. A large volume of housing in older areas is neglected, run down and in dire need of repair. Some units are rat and vermin-infected. Long standing accumulation of filth and rubbish with littered grounds and alleys gives the place a squalid appearance. Some dwellings lack inside bath and toilet facilities and electric lighting. With new construction on available sites added to the rehabilitation of existing properties and removal of injurious land uses plus systematic improvement of public facilities, the full potential of neighbourhood conservation can be realised. Such measures will bring new vitality, liveability, usefulness and attractiveness in older areas that are adaptable to conservation measures. Urban conservation must be supplemented by a suitable plan to arrest deterioration of the other areas and those improved under slum improvement.

Necessity of Enforcing Codes of Housing Standards in Cities

A good ordinance on housing standards, with a stiff penalty and firm enforcement has succeeded in reversing the downward trend in the neighbourhood areas of some of the American cities. Every city has the power to outlaw the use of housing that fails to meet reasonable local standards. Some cities may not have revised their building codes for a considerable number of years in keeping with the modern trends in city planning and development. New buildings constructed today in such cities, though as per 'standards', are actually 'substandard' judged from the modern standards. Most of the old buildings in cities were constructed when perhaps no building codes were in existence.

The essential pre-requisites for slum improvement are :
(1) revising the existing building codes to meet the growing demand for better living which should conform to the modern trends in city planning and development as far as the new

construction is concerned, (2) preparing a new code for the improvement of existing housing which is sub-standard as judged from the present standards of living and environmental health. The new code should also specifically mention the responsibility of the owner and the occupier in regard to the maintenance of the buildings and the fixtures therein in a satisfactory condition. It must at the same time be equitable and reasonable in law.

There should be a provision in the Code to make it obligatory on the owner or occupier to maintain in a satisfactory condition the upto-standard buildings as well as those rehabilitated under the new Code so that they do not deteriorate into future slums.

There cannot be one set of standards applicable to all cities. They may vary from city to city or in different areas of the same city according to local, geographical, climatic, economic and other conditions.

Minimum housing standards should include: (a) provision of open spaces round the buildings to ensure adequate light, air and ventilation, (b) specification for size and cubage of living rooms, (c) specifications as to the maximum number of persons per habitable room, (d) presence of inside running water, flush toilet and bathing facilities with sewer connections and proper ventilation, (e) placing of definite responsibilities for exterior sanitary and other conditions on the occupier if he is not the owner, (f) requirement that all parts of a dwelling be maintained in good repair and be kept structurally safe and weather-proof, (g) provision that the proper municipal official or department, after due notice to the occupier or owner or both, may correct any violation of the health, fire, sanitary or other related codes and charge the property with a lien and shall have power, when necessary, to order the property vacated.

Under the English Housing Repairs and Rents Act of 1954 the local authorities are required to have regard to the condition of a house in respect of certain matters such as repairs, stability, freedom from damp, natural lighting, ventilation, water supply, drainage and sanitary conveniences and

facilities for the storage, preparation and cooking of food and for the disposal of waste water. A house is deemed to be unfit for habitation if and only if it is so far defective in one or more of the above respects as to be not reasonably suitable for occupation in that condition. In this Act, reasonable suitability for occupation is the real test in assessing whether a building is 'substandard' or otherwise.

Corporation's Housing Standards of Fitness

The Bombay Municipal Corporation has obtained powers to enforce repairs to insanitary and unfit buildings under Sections 378A and 378B of the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act, 1954. In order to implement the provisions of these sections, the Act empowers the Corporation under Section 378D to frame regulations for determining standards of fitness of such buildings. These standards have since been framed by the Corporation which are based more or less on the provisions contained in the English Housing Repairs and Rents Act (1954).

'Improvement Subsidies' Offered by the Bombay Corporation

In order to induce owners to undertake additions, alterations, improvements and conversion of buildings, the Corporation have also offered an 'Improvement Subsidy' on the lines of 'grants-in-aid' for improvements and alterations which local authorities in the U.K. are empowered to make under the Housing Act, 1949 and the Housing Repairs and Rents Act of 1954.

The Improvement Subsidy is governed by the following conditions: (a) Residual useful life for letting accommodation shall be at least 15 years, (b) only residential buildings in non-scheduled areas will be eligible for subsidy, (c) the amount of subsidy will be restricted to half the cost of improvement or conversion of Rs. 500/- per tenement whichever is less, (d) only major improvements and conversions (and not ordinary repairs) will count for subsidy such as—increasing the sanitary accommodation, converting the privies to water closet system, providing water supply facilities inside the tenements, removing fundamental structural defects such as improving the ceiling height of rooms, providing new

staircases, providing adequate open spaces by opening new windows and chowks, enlarging the size of rooms, converting non-residential building into residential units, etc., (e) for the eligible tenements the subsidy will be paid by instalments during the progress of work, to the satisfaction of the Municipality, (f) no subletting shall be resorted to in respect of the improved tenement and the subsidy will be excluded from expenditure for fixing the maximum rent for such tenements under the Rent Act.

Zoning Regulations for Positive Planning

As stated before Slum Improvement must be coupled with slum prevention which can only be achieved if the problem of new housing is approached from a different angle. The present system of negative planning by the enforcement of building byelaws has been found to be outmoded and most unsuitable for the present time. It must be replaced as early as possible by positive planning. The most important total in positive planning is 'Zoning'. *Zoning is very widely adopted* in the development of American and Continental cities. It has not yet been introduced in India. The U.K. has accepted the necessity for it in its recently enacted Town Planning Acts. It is essential that every big city in India should have a Zoning Code.

Zoning regulations should govern the location, use and size of buildings, size of plot yards, courts and other open spaces, density and distribution of population and the use of buildings or land for trade, industry, residence, recreation, agriculture and other purposes. The whole town should be divided into 'districts' and within such districts, the regulations as to the additions, alteration and uses of buildings or land should be established. Such regulations must be reasonable and must be in accordance with an overall plan for local development.

Survey of Existing Buildings—a Pre-requisite for Slum Improvement

A complete survey of the existing buildings in the city should be made to determine how many of them conform to the minimum standards of housing and how many are in

need of improvement. Based on this information the slum areas of the city should be marked and an effective ban should be placed on making additions and alterations to buildings in the slum areas unless they conform to a general layout plan of redevelopment which should be prepared in advance.

Special Building Bye-laws for Congested Areas

In the meantime, special building bye-laws should be devised for application to the congested parts of the city to ensure creation of larger open spaces round the buildings and to restrict their height so as to keep down density of population. In the Greater Bombay area there are three sets of building bye-laws—one set governs the new construction or additions and alterations in the old parts of the city, the other is applicable to newly built parts of the city and the third covers the merged suburban areas. The open spaces round the buildings in the older parts of the city are not in consonance *with the 63½° rule* but are very much on the conservative side. This has resulted in increasing the density of population at the sacrifice of open spaces. Further, no additions to an old building should be allowed until steps are taken to improve the standard conditions of the existing building.

Legislation to Ensure Maximum Economical Development of Lands

Suitable legislation should also be enacted for encouraging the owners to develop their buildings and plots to the maximum economical extent. There are a number of buildings in close proximity to congested areas which have not been raised to the maximum permissible height by the owners for some reason or other mainly economic. Loans at low rate of interest may therefore be offered to such owners who wish to develop the plot fully as per municipal requirements. There should also be a provision in the Act that if the owner is not willing or capable of developing his property it should be acquired by the local authorities for planned development.

Conclusion

Summing up, 'Slum Improvement' is essentially a process of Rehabilitation and Conservation of existing housing poten-

tial by planned economic development. Side by side with slum improvement, steps must be taken for 'Slum Prevention' to arrest further growth of slums and to guard against the 'Slum Clearance' becoming an endless job for civic authorities. 'Slum Improvement' should be effected by rendering 'Slum Service' in the form of improving the environments of the existing areas, after undertaking a survey of buildings in the city, laying down minimum standards of fitness for existing buildings and then modernising the existing residential buildings by granting 'Improvement Subsidies', demolition of unfit housing and creation of new 'housing' on suitable and appropriate sites. Measures necessary for slum prevention include framing of special building bye-laws for congested areas and their strict enforcement, adoption of Zoning Regulations for positive planning in congested localities, suitable legislation for ensuring maximum economic development of lands partially built upon.

The extreme housing shortage, especially for low-income families and the menace of spreading slums are among the most urgent problems facing most of the industrial towns in the country. Slums are a great menace to our national health and to the building up of national character. No positive action could so far be taken on a wider scale in regard to slum clearance, by city governments, due to their limited financial resources. Now that the Central and State Governments are evincing keen interest in this problem, it is to be hoped that something tangible will be done in the near future by the three agencies jointly to improve the lot of slum dwellers.

POSITIVE STEPS FOR THE PREVENTION OF SLUMS—I

By

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I

What is a slum ? in what manner is life conditioned by it ? how does it grow ?—these are some of the basic questions that must be answered before one can prescribe preventive or remedial measures.

The main test of a slum is overcrowding, insanitation and squalor irrespective of the type of building in which such over-crowding occurs. It has thus a wider meaning than a "bustee" in Calcutta which is a collection of huts over an area of 10 kottahs or more whose walls above a certain height are not made of durable materials like masonry or steel. It is theoretically possible for a bustee to be clean and free from congestion and thus avoid the stigma of a slum. In actual fact none is, while quite a large number of pucca buildings not coming under the definition of a bustee hut qualify for inclusion as slums on the test laid down above. The Census Report of 1951 shows that the number of bustees there are 21,556 barracks divided into 1,55,624 rooms accommodating 6,17,374 people of whom 1,12,515 (that is 18.2 per cent) are refugees. Approximately one-fourth of Calcutta's teeming millions live in bustees occupying about one-ninth of the city's living space and since slums have a wider meaning than bustees, the proportion would be larger if we substitute slums for bustees. In one of several bustees recently surveyed by the Calcutta Improvement Trust the net density found was 1,103 per acre with as many as 17 families, having a membership varying from 5 to 10, occupying not more than 50 to 100 sq. ft. of floor space ; and this is by no means the worst.

For Calcutta as a whole, the sample survey by the State Statistical Bureau in 1948-49 shows that an average bustee family of 3.16 persons occupies a floor space of 86 sq. ft., that about 62 per cent have no water supply, that day-light and ventilation are very indifferent in many cases and that one latrine is shared by 23 persons on an average, though in some cases the number is as large as 45. The filth, the stench and the pollution of tanks sometimes defy description. The position has worsened since then through the continued influx of refugees.

How has this intolerable situation arisen? I have no doubt that it stems from two factors—scarcity of land and the poverty of people. Slums grow because in an overcrowded city with scarce land (scarce, that is, relative to demand) there are large numbers of people with not enough means to afford the better or costlier kind of accommodation and ready to make do with whatever flimsy shelter is available within easy reach of their place of work. This scarcity is the result of the unplanned urbanisation that has gone on during the last century and a half. In pre-British and early British days when for various reasons the pressure of population was not great, the diversified cottage and small-scale rural industries provided sufficient occupation for labour not needed for agriculture. When the indigenous crafts were destroyed either through deliberate policy or as a result of relentless competition from imported manufactured goods, labour thrown out of employment was first absorbed in agriculture and the surplus (growing in volume with every passing decade) began its trek to Calcutta for employment as industrial labour. The result is that while in 1801 Calcutta's 4,997 acres contained only 1,40,000 people, in 1951, its 18,163 acres contained 25,48,677; and the Census Report shows that during the last half-century the increase of population in Calcutta has been 176.7 per cent over that of 1901 as contrasted with a mere 35 per cent in rural areas. The city area did not increase *pari passu* and even within its borders municipal services lagged behind. The factory owner did not admit any obligation to provide adequate housing to the labour staff. Much of this emigrant labour consisted only of males who

were not particular about the accommodation they got so long as they could save the maximum amount of their earnings for remittance home. Very few could afford the economic rent for houses containing minimum requirements for family life in a city. The respectable private investor would not cater for them and the small investor who would need only to lease waste or undeveloped lands for building low-cost shanties so that the rent, though low, would be high enough relative to the capital investment required to leave a good margin of profit. The municipal law is lenient towards such construction and the municipal authorities are both reluctant to improve bustee areas which are private property and unable to extend services which are relatively costlier because of the undeveloped nature of the terrain.

II

The above analysis suggests the following steps as necessary to counteract the tendency.

(1) All the factors now tend to attract people to Calcutta and accentuate the problem. The first and most essential preventive step is to put the machinery in reverse gear and keep people out of Calcutta or other congested city agglomerations. How is that to be done ?

We may profit by the experience of other countries, take a leaf out of their book and avoid their mistakes. The war years were also years of intensive thinking in Britain about the location of industries, the revival of derelict towns, the de-congestion of London and other over-crowded cities and the compensation payable for acquisition of land necessary for large-scale re-planning of towns. That industries should be scattered conveniently all over the country instead of being concentrated in London or a few urban areas was accepted without question and the Board of Trade, which administers Government's industrial location policy, was empowered to divert new industries to "developed areas" selected for the special facilities they offered or "depressed areas" where new industries were needed to keep the people in full employment after the decline of the old. It was also taken for granted that

the density of all big metropolitan areas should be reduced by dispersing a portion of its existing population and setting a limit to further urban sprawl by a green belt some miles in depth which should on no account be allowed to be built upon. The historic London Plan, 1943 and the Greater London Plan, 1944, specified the need of seven to ten satellite towns to take in the over-spill population. The Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, was passed to enable or compel local authorities to prepare master plans with proper zoning for different purposes, to lay down standards of density or enforce architectural designs and set in motion the process of dispersal. The New Towns Act and the Town Development Act passed later provided the statutory means, the one to build completely new towns out of scratch by setting up public corporations and the other to enlarge the existing towns by extending their area and expanding their services through encouragement and help offered to local authorities. Housing subsidies on a liberal scale were granted by the post-war Labour Government and were continued, though at a slightly reduced rate, by the Conservative Government that followed. Where previously cities emerged from administrative necessity or from the decision of landlords, builders, industrialists, traders, property-owners and private development concerns, the new legislation envisaged that "local and national policy was to decide the essential character of a community in advance, that private decisions were to be made within the frame-work of an overall plan which embodied these social goals, and that the city was no longer to be an incidental by-product of complex individual decisions made in the market with other ends in view." The transition has not been too easy and progress has not been uniform. The Board of Trade and the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning have not always seen eye to eye; the permanent residents have not always favoured the large export of population from London into their areas; the vacuum created by such export has sometimes been promptly filled by old business firms hitherto unable to expand for lack of space so that density remained unaltered; and new towns have suffered both from opposition by private owners of land who received inadequate

compensation, from financial stringency and from the difficulty of inducing industries to come to virgin areas. Even so, there is every reason to hope that the process will continue, that differences will be ironed out and difficulties disappear.

If, as is obvious, Calcutta has not enough land to house its enormous bustee population, the first step to prevent further immigration is to set up a ring of planned new towns in suitably selected sites which will take out the industries employing the surplus population and also provide for the location of new industries. Whether persuasion or force will do the trick, I do not know, or whether the "fundamental rights" guaranteed by the Constitution will stand in the way. I am merely stating what, on a long-run view, seems to be the most important positive step to prevent the growth of slums.

(2) The second positive step is large-scale building construction by the State or with State subsidy. Big manufacturing concerns should be compelled to provide healthy living conditions for their labour staff, but that will only touch the fringe of the problem. The large majority of bustee dwellers consist of casual labour, self-employed people, artisans, petty traders, domestic servants, lower middle-class people, etc., who cannot pay an economic rent for the kind of housing which ensures privacy with a minimum standard of amenities. Statutory reduction of land values will not help, for the bustee hut-owner in Calcutta is generally a lessee who pays a very small rent for the land on which he builds or, in rare cases, the owner of the land himself. It is the high cost of construction which is responsible for high rent of new buildings and there is little prospect of its reduction unless there is a revolution in the manufacturing process of building materials. If rent is to be brought down to the level which is within the means of the slum dweller, the State should step into the breach vacated by the private investor. As I said in a note submitted to the State Ministry of Local Self-Government two years back, the only kind of demand recognised in a competitive capitalist economy is "effective" demand, i.e., demand which

is backed by the ability to pay on the part of the person desiring it. In a welfare state this lack of means of large numbers of people in the lower economic strata is sought to be remedied by providing some of the basic needs of life either free or at subsidised rates. Housing for the poor in overcrowded cities where congestion means filth, disease and moral degradation has made good its claim to be recognised as a basic need in the West. If ours is a welfare state, there is no reason why it should not be recognised here.

(3) The third step is the creation of municipal authorities armed with requisite powers and willing to exercise them ruthlessly for the public good. The right of the Calcutta Corporation to deal drastically with the bustees was hedged in with crippling restrictions in the Act of 1923 which were only partially remedied in the Act of 1951. There is yet no provision empowering the Corporation to refuse sanction to construction in areas which have not yet been sewered or to demand from developers of private estates that not only should the width and layout of roads be above a certain minimum and liable to further widening at the request of the municipal authority, but that a prescribed proportion of the land should be kept as open space for recreational purposes. In the absence of such provision an Insurance Company was allowed to develop a very large fringe of Calcutta without providing a single park or community centre or market throughout its entire area and the whole area may turn into a pucca slum within a generation or two, unless the people who have purchased land here voluntarily refrain from building on the maximum permissible area, or to the maximum permissible height. There is persistent pressure from the land-owning classes, especially those who have purchased for profitable investment, to ignore or by-pass existing laws, meagre as they are, and persuade the municipal corporation to accede to their unreasonable demand. In one area, even when the law insisted on a certain minimum width of roadway, a property owner was allowed by a piece of casuistry to develop his land with narrower roads in order to enable him to make extra profit by having more lands to sell. It is not enough that the municipal law has been changed

authorising stopping of building construction in unsewered and undeveloped areas and enforcing a reasonable standard for private developments, it is essential that in the administration of that law municipal authorities should see that public good takes precedence over private profit.

**POSITIVE STEPS FOR THE PREVENTION
OF SLUM-II**

By

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The concept of slums and slum areas varies from place to place and with different authorities. There is no statutory definition of a slum; the word is of uncertain meaning; perhaps connected with the word slump, which means a boggy place, and the German word 'Schlamm', which means mud; but it is defined in the dictionary as "a squalid, dirty street or quarter of a city, town or village inhabited by the very poor, destitute or criminal classes". Murray's Dictionary defines a slum as "a fully populated neighbourhood where the houses and conditions of life are of a squalid and wretched character". In the United Kingdom a slum area is one within which either: "(a) house, courts or alleys are unfit for human habitation", or "(b) the narrowness, closeness, and bad arrangement or the bad condition of the streets and houses or groups of houses within such area, or the want of light, air ventilation, or proper conveniences, or any other sanitary defects, or one or more of such causes, are dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants either of the buildings in the said area or of the neighbouring buildings."

Causation of Slums

The slum has probably been with civilization as long as the city. We know of it as far back as we have written history. Even in Western countries the same thing has happened. The classical works of Charles Dickens and Victor Hugo have depicted slums. Not only has the slum been with us for a long time, but in some instances the slum area has remained a slum throughout the life of the city. The causes of slums are complex and inter-acting. Man's unwise use of physical features is a causative factor. Polluted streams,

dirty nullahs or excavations which scar the landscape are surrounded by the dwellings of those who because of their poverty can make no choice. The same is true of the areas which are made undesirable by various noxious activity, such as heavy traffic, elevated railroads, or factories, which are noisy or noisome. Rapid growth of population, particularly by immigration, has caused great difficulty by making the demand for housing too great for the supply, and encouraging speculative, low-standard building for quick profit.

The causes which have produced slums, specially in big industrial cities, can also be ascribed to bad planning or to no planning at all. The history of our cities tells us that there was hardly any control over the land use, and industries were allowed to grow at any and every place convenient to the industrialist. He was never forced to do anything for his workers with the result that the workers, who came mostly from the villages, settled down in a haphazard manner close to the mills and as time passed, these settlements became part of the city with all the qualifications of a slum area. Even today the same thing is happening. There is hardly any city in the country where proper zoning regulations for segregating different land uses exist. Our laws cannot compel the industrialist to construct houses for his workers and the workers crowd themselves in the same old way close to the industries in sub-standard houses or shacks. Even at Chandigarh, a city which has been planned by eminent architects and town planners and which is being built at colossal cost, we find a huge slum like a 'bustee' developing on the periphery of the city.

Another reason for the development of slums is poor architectural planning. This resulted in inadequate light and air even for dwellings which were not overcrowded and made them intolerable when large numbers of people were crowded into areas meant to house only a few. Similarly the growth of cities pushed business and industrial uses too close to the homes of the well-to-do, causing these buildings, which were designed for spacious living, to be abandoned to those who could not afford and did not know those standards. This growth has also increased the land values

in these transitional areas, requiring overcrowding in order to collect sufficient total rent.

Prevention of Slums

Having dealt with the causes which create slums, I would now like to place before you suggestions for their prevention. The most important thing which would help in checking the slums is social education for the slum dwellers. During our survey of slum areas we find that a majority of slum dwellers does not like change even for the better. Then again, the living habits of these people are harmful to their health, and yet they are not aware of these things. If social work is undertaken extensively in slum areas the slum dwellers will become conscious of the evils of slums and will learn how to live with better health and prosperity even in a mud house. They will understand the need and principles of environmental hygiene and community living, and will thus improve their dwellings and their surroundings. Not only this, but if after we have given this education to these people, we move them to better houses and better localities, they will know how to live and they will see that their new localities are preserved well. If this is not done, then even if we clear our slums and put these people in newly built colonies, they will convert those colonies into slum areas in a very short time, and all the efforts made will be lost.

City Planning

Proper planning of a city and its parts is the next most important step which is essential for the prevention of slums. I have mentioned earlier that the indiscriminate placing of factories in the city is a vital cause for the growth of slums. It is, therefore, essential that every city should have a Master Plan—a plan which would indicate various land uses—and this plan should be enforced through legislation. By doing this we shall ensure that in future all industry will go to the area earmarked for the purpose and this would prevent good residential areas being converted first into overcrowded localities and then into slums. At present we know that as soon

as a factory is set up near a residential area, it becomes a nuisance to the people living in the neighbourhood, because it generates heavy traffic, noise and smoke, with the result that well-to-do people living in the locality begin moving into better areas, and then the vicious circle starts. The new inmates of this area cannot pay good rent, so the locality gets overcrowded. The maintenance of these houses suffers, the municipal services get over-burdened and gradually the transformation of a good residential area into a slum area begins. With the help of a Master Plan we can also limit the non-conforming uses in the city, which would go a long way in preventing further deterioration of residential areas.

Zoning of Areas

In order to avoid the mixed development of industrial and residential areas it is very necessary that separate zones for residential, commercial and industrial areas should be developed in such a way that the industrial workers live close to their place of work with all amenities of life provided to them in these areas and they do not have to spend much on transport whereas those who are not directly connected with the industries can be located away from the factory area. This can only be possible if a city has effective Zoning Regulations. It is, therefore, necessary for prevention of slums to make it obligatory on the city authorities to prepare a development plan for the cities. Quite often it has been observed that potential areas on the periphery of the city are developed by private individuals without any regard to planning, sanitation or hygiene. The city authorities cannot exercise proper control of such developments, which become part of the city in due course and are bound to become slums after some time. A local body should, therefore, be encouraged to prepare comprehensive plans for the development not only of the city but also the area adjoining the city as well.

Need for Comprehensive Legislation

Such development plans must also have legal backing if the slums of the future are to be prevented. It should also

be the duty of city authorities to prepare detailed town planning and housing schemes whenever they undertake the development of any area and these schemes should be approved by a central town planning authority of the State. This will enable a uniform policy to be adopted throughout the State and will also help local bodies to see that best possible use is made of the available land. In order to achieve all this, it is necessary that every State should have comprehensive town planning legislation, which would compel local bodies to prepare Master Plans for their cities and enable them to enforce their zoning regulations and control the periphery.

Another handicap in preventing the growth of slums is the adoption and continuation of out-dated building bye-laws by most of the local bodies. I had an opportunity of studying the Building Bye-laws of a number of big cities in the country some time back, when I was drafting Model Building Bye-laws for the Indian Standards Institution, and I was surprised to find that even in big towns the existing bye-laws are not adequate to prevent the growth of slums. Our bye-laws should be able to check the construction of sub-standard dwellings and should ensure proper light and ventilation. We should lay down minimum standards for a house and should also see that every house is a complete house in itself. Every house should have at least two rooms, a verandah, a kitchen, a bath and a W.C. The minimum areas required for these should be specified by the Indian Standards Institution. A survey of slum areas at Kanpur, Agra and Lucknow revealed that they have 81.3 per cent, 94.7 per cent and 88.6 per cent kutchha houses in them respectively. The number of persons using one latrine at these places was 18, 80 and 38 respectively. These figures are high because 60 per cent of slums at Kanpur, 75 per cent at Agra and 60 per cent at Lucknow do not have even community latrines, 75 per cent of slums of Kanpur, 63 per cent at Agra and 70 per cent at Lucknow had no drainage and 89 per cent of slums at Kanpur, 96 per cent at Agra and 75 per cent at Lucknow had no public open space. Unless we have adequate bye-laws, sub-standard

materials will continue to be used to produce cheap houses and these structures will convert themselves into slum houses in no time. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that the building bye-laws of every city should be thoroughly revised and brought up-to-date to prevent the growth of slums in the city. The State Government should help the local bodies in revising these bye-laws by giving technical guidance and by standardizing minimum environmental standards all over the State. It is not enough to bring the bye-laws up-to-date, what is more important is to see that the authorities enforce them strictly. There should be no relaxation in adopting these standards and the authorities concerned should be given sufficient powers to deal severely with the defaulters. The Government should also take strong action against those authorities who fail to enforce these standards and bye-laws. Bye-laws should be examined from time to time to keep them up-to-date with the rising living standards.

Unplanned Growth of Cities

It may also be mentioned here that most of our cities are growing without any restriction on their ultimate size. Cities like Kanpur, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi have more than doubled in size during the last two or three decades, which increases overcrowding and causes growth of more slums. The only solution for the prevention of growth of slums in this manner is to check the growth of large cities by adopting a policy of dispersal of industries, which would automatically result in the dispersal of population. This policy cannot be adopted at the local level, and will have to be considered by the Planning Commission. This matter needs serious consideration as special efforts are being made to set up new industries in our towns in the Second Five-Year Plan.

Need for Progressive Housing Policy

The Housing Policy of the Government also plays a very important role in the prevention of slums in the country. At present we see that even the Government, which is the largest single constructing agency, has for various reasons accepted the policy of constructing one-room tenements. It is true

that in slum areas at present, 8 to 10 persons live in a single room, which has no light or ventilation, and that we are improving their lot a good deal by giving them single-room tenements where a family of 4 to 5 persons can stay with proper light and air. However, if we study this matter from the point of view of slum prevention, we would come to the conclusion that while this policy provides a large number of slum dwellers with better houses, it also lays the foundation for future slums. On account of shortage of accommodation which these people feel in a single room, they always make temporary and cheap additions to their tenements, which not only give them a shabby look, but also start converting them into slum houses. Thus for the prevention of the slums it is necessary that we should give adequate accommodation to a family so that there may not be a chance for our newly built colonies to be converted into slums in a decade or so.

Earlier we have discussed how the growth of industry without adequate housing for the workers creates a number of slums. It is, therefore, necessary that the housing policy of Government should also lay down a minimum percentage of workers for whom every industrialist should construct houses at the time of setting up new industry. It can be said against this suggestion, that India is a poor country where it is difficult to find people to start new industries and, if such a condition is imposed on the industrialist, then the development of industry in the country might suffer. In order to meet this objection the Government can make a concession to the people starting small industries, but those who set up big factories, etc., must not be given any concession. If necessary they can be given loans at low interest and easy terms for the construction of houses for their workers. Another step which would go a long way in preventing the slums would be the enactment of legislation which would compel the existing industries to provide houses for a certain percentage of their workers every year. Government of India has already done this in case of plantation labour and if similar legislation is enacted for other industries it will reduce overcrowding and save a number of areas from becoming slums in future.

Certain residential areas which may not be classified as slums but would become slums if left uncared for, can be improved by taking positive steps. Every year a considerable number of houses in the slum areas and elsewhere are damaged by natural calamities such as floods, heavy rains, storms, etc. If advantage is taken of the damages caused by these calamities, the residential areas could be improved to a great extent. Usually, such damage is allowed to be repaired and the houses are rebuilt in the same old manner resulting in the perpetuation of the slums and in many cases worsening their conditions. The local authorities have very little power to stop this deterioration. In some cases they are apathetic towards the problem of slums. In most cases it is taken for granted that wherever there is a city there must be a slum. It should, however, be realised that a slum is like a cancer in the life of the city and no efforts should be spared to eradicate it. When the authorities are satisfied that a particular building is unfit for human habitation they should have the power to demolish it without paying any compensation for the building as it is a crime to retain such habitations. There are several factors such as repairs, stability, natural light and air, freedom from damp, water supply, drainage, etc., which will have to be considered in determining whether the building is unfit for human habitation. Where possible the owner of the building should be asked to carry out repairs or changes so as to make the building a habitable one and, in case he fails to do so, the building should be demolished altogether. Demolition of such houses would make it possible to relieve congestion in the crowded localities to a certain extent or make it possible to provide for open spaces which may not exist at all in the area. This will naturally result in the betterment of the area and would prevent its further deterioration.

Acquisition of Slums

At present the slum yields a very decent return to its owners because in return for a little investment they get quite a good rent by overcrowding the slum houses. In order to check this and to convince the public that it is anti-social to use such hovels as dwelling places for human beings, it is neces-

sary that all governments should enact laws which will provide for acquisition of slums at nominal cost. The States of Madras, Andhra and Delhi have already passed such legislation and they have fixed various rates for the compensation of slum areas. The latest act which has been passed by Delhi provides for the acquisition of slum areas by paying an amount equal to 60 times the net average of the monthly income actually derived from such land during the period of five consecutive years immediately preceding the day of service of the notice. Although this seems to be rather harsh, yet for the sake of preventing the growth of slums it is very necessary that we should have similar provisions in every State. It would not only prevent the growth of new slums but would also compel the owners of the existing slums to improve them out of sheer fear of acquisition.

Last but not the least is the important question of raising our economic standard. A survey of slum areas in big industrial cities like Kanpur has revealed that 40 per cent to 50 per cent of the people living in slum areas are non-industrial workers. Thus even if we provide for cent per cent industrial workers to live in better houses, the problem of non-industrial workers will still remain to be solved. It is impossible to solve this difficult problem completely unless we raise the economic standard of these people, whereby they can pay at least the subsidised rent of newly constructed houses. The Government should, therefore, concentrate first on improving the economic standard of the people. If we can get rid of our present poverty most of our inabilities would be overcome and unless and until this is done we shall never be able to prevent the growth of the slums or clear them from our cities.

Our people are at present not aware of their rights. But such awareness amongst them is increasing day by day. One of the principal reasons in increasing awareness of the slum problem has been the increasing disparity between the best and the worst in housing as civilization advanced. When the home environment of the well-to-do child is compared with that of the child in the slums, equality of opportunity,

which is guaranteed by our constitution, seems to be somewhat of a mockery. What kind of citizens are those who live in slums and how do they contribute to society? Even if the adults who live in slums are assumed to be incorrigible, which is by no means a justifiable assumption, what chance have their children to escape the warped mind and character engendered by their environment? How far will the infection of sickness, delinquency, vice and misery spread as the members of this community come in contact with those outside and more fortunate? That the slum does attract certain incompetents and criminals, and causes them to further degenerate cannot be denied, but it seems reasonably certain that these types are more the result of slum environments than the cause of slums. If society has to survive, it will have to take care of slums and the unfortunate people who live in them, specially children who for no fault of their own are born in these environments and grow with a handicap.

The percentage of slum dwellers in our country is increasing day by day. Last year the Central Ministry for Housing, Works and Supply calculated that we had 20 per cent slum houses in our country and if we do not take positive steps to prevent the slums soon then the standard of morality and health of the country will suffer very badly.

INTEGRATED PLAN FOR SLUM CLEARANCE-1

By

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To get a rough idea of the magnitude of the problem, it is essential to trace the basic reasons for the creation of slums in urban areas. With the advent of the industrial era at the end of the last century, the towns and cities attracted large sections of population from rural areas in search of employment. There was no statutory or other obligation on the employer to provide suitable housing for the labour employed in industrial undertakings. People coming from the rural areas no doubt earned more in a town or city but they did not feel that they were the residents of the place. Their roots and family ties were in the villages from which they came and they felt that their main purpose in coming to the town or city was to earn the maximum and spend the minimum. They wanted to save as much as they could and remit it to their homes. A large section of the industrial and other population therefore remained floating in towns and cities with the intention of settling permanently in their villages. Such people, therefore, were quite prepared to undergo the hardships of poor conditions of living, in order to effect maximum saving. Ultimately of course, all the families who came from the rural areas did not go back but remained in the towns and cities.

Assessing Magnitude of the Problem

The residential areas within the old town limits in many cases lacked essential services of water supply and drainage. Such areas became congested due to pressure of population in the towns. The replacement of the old houses also did not keep pace with the requirements. All this resulted in gradual deterioration of such localities into slums. It is difficult to judge the exact magnitude of the problem because

detailed and reliable statistics are not available for most of our towns and cities. It is, however, not unreasonable to assume that substantial portions of the old towns and cities have deteriorated badly.

Growing Urbanization

The table below gives the total increase in the population of urban area from 1921 onwards:

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Urban Population (In lakhs)</i>	<i>Rate of growing during preceding decade</i>
1921	282	—
1931	334	18.4%
1941	438	31.1%
1951	619	41.3%

During the period of the First and Second Five-Year Plans with the emphasis on industrialisation, it is expected that the growth of population in urban areas may continue. It has been estimated that the increase in the population of urban areas during 1951 to 1961 may be more than 20 million.

Our Housing Needs

The approximate assessment of physical need of urban houses in ten years from 1951 to 1961 would be as under:

- (i) Increase and influx of population in urban areas —200 lakhs.

Average size per family—4.71 persons

No. of houses required = $200/4.71 = 42$ lakhs

- (ii) *Relieving existing congestion*

According to the 1951 Census there were 103 lakh houses in urban areas while the number of households were 127.7 lakhs. If each household is to be given a house, then the shortage is $127.7 - 103 = 24.7$ lakhs, say, 25 lakh houses.

- (iii) *Replacement due to normal depreciation*

At the replacement rate of 1 per cent per year within

10 years, considering the total stock of houses of 103 lakhs, replacement required is 10 lakhs.

(iv) *Replacement of houses totally unfit for human occupation*

In 1947 the Madras Provincial Housing Committee estimated that about 30,000 houses out of 90,000 houses in the old limits of Madras City were just slum-dwellings which were required to be demolished and replaced. This represents a figure of 33 per cent replacement. In the same report it was stated that out of 55 lakh houses in 69 Madras Municipalities about 28,000, i.e., approximately 5 per cent houses could be classified as slums. The conditions in other States are no better as far as important cities and towns are concerned. Shri Dhebar, Congress President, is reported to have stated according to the *Times of India* dated 22-5-1955, that in Delhi the slum population was about 6 lakhs out of a total population of 14 lakhs. On the basis of these figures we can roughly estimate that urban slum houses would represent conservatively about 20 per cent of the housing in the big cities and 5 per cent in other towns. Approximately 38 per cent of the urban population is in the cities and 62 per cent in towns. Therefore, a very conservative estimate of all the urban slum houses totally unfit for human occupation would be $103 \times 38/100 \times 20/100 + 103 \times 62/100 \times 5/100 = 7.8 + 3.2 = 11$ lakhs, i.e., total requirements of houses in urban areas during these 10 years would be approximately 88 lakhs out of which 11 lakhs would be for slums.

Urban Housing Survey

Results of Sample Surveys carried out by National Sample Survey Unit go to show that 50 per cent of the urban households fall in the income group of Rs. 1-100 per month, 40 per cent in the income group of Rs. 101-300 per month and only 10 per cent in the income group of over Rs. 300 per month. We can, therefore, reasonably expect that the income of most

of the slum-dwellers would be below Rs. 100 per month. In its 7th Round (October 1953 to March 1954) the National Sample Survey investigated housing conditions in 53 sample towns and 4 cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras. Of the 53 sample towns—

14	had	population	of	100,000	and	above
9	„	„	„	50,000	to	100,000
14	„	„	„	15,000	to	50,000
16	„	„	„	less	than	15,000.

In the urban areas studied during the investigation about 44 per cent of the houses had only one room, 28 per cent two rooms, 12 per cent three rooms and only 16 per cent four or more rooms. These findings briefly give the problem of housing in urban areas quantitatively as well as qualitatively. The requirements are so large that without waiting for the detailed statistics the most important job would be to go ahead with planned construction of houses with the maximum speed possible, within the available financial, material and personnel resources of the country.

Slum Clearance : Some Problems

In addition to the fundamental economic problem in tackling slum clearance in an integrated way, there is the problem of getting enough land in the urban areas. A very serious human problem also arises, because once people have settled down at a particular place which is generally near their place of work, it becomes extremely difficult to eject them to clear the slums. They generally refuse to accept even a better class of accommodation if they are shifted a long distance away. This is natural, because they find it expensive and time-consuming to cover long distances to reach their place of work. Slum clearance, therefore, becomes an economic, administrative and human problem. An integrated plan for slum clearance would accordingly require consideration of all these aspects. After the evolution of an integrated plan, the difficulties in the way of its implementation have also to be considered. The following important aspects in this connection deserve consideration :

- (i) Acquisition and development of suitable land for re-housing schemes for the slum-dwellers.
- (ii) Necessary administrative and technical set-up for organising and implementing the work of slum clearance.
- (iii) Evolution of proper workable schemes keeping in view the physical, economic and social requirements.

Slums and Slum Dwellers

Social surveys in some of the slum areas have revealed that following types of people generally reside in slums :

- (a) Lower middle class families who are forced to stay there for want of decent accommodation ;
- (b) Industrial workers ;
- (c) Poor class of casual workers ;
- (d) Squatters and beggars ;
- (e) Anti-social elements like pick-pockets, etc.

Physically, slums can be broadly divided into two categories :

- (1) Slums which consist of buildings constructed with durable materials but in poor state of habitation without all the essential services like water supply, drainage, etc., and
- (2) Horizontal slums where kutcha huts have been constructed without planning or essential services but with extreme congestion on open land.

It may be possible to salvage some of the buildings from the first category by providing windows for adequate light and ventilation, providing water supply and drainage and repairing the buildings as a whole, whereas dilapidated buildings will have to be removed and the area opened up to relieve congestion. In the second category of slums, the whole slum area has to be erased to the ground, replanned and rebuilt. It is desirable to plan such cleared areas for the housing of the original slum families ; otherwise their dislocation will be great and they will strongly oppose the implementation of

such schemes. It will no doubt become necessary to displace some families in order to relieve congestion but this displacement should be kept to the minimum, as most of the slum dwellers have their source of livelihood in the vicinity of the area where they stay.

Cost of Slum Clearance

A study of the various schemes prepared by the State Governments goes to show that rehousing of the slum dwellers is always a deficit proposition. It is desirable to keep this deficit as low as possible if big schemes have to be implemented. In view of this and in view of the different classes of people dwelling in the slums, it would be desirable to provide varying standards of accommodation for different slum dwellers in different towns. There can be three types of accommodation to cater for different needs:—

Type I may be pucca multi-storeyed structures which may be necessary for places where the land prices are very high.

Type II would be single or double-storeyed pucca structures. These would be suitable where land prices are not very high, but good accommodation is required to be provided.

Type III would be just developed plots with all essential amenities like water supply, drainage, roads, street lighting, etc., each slum dweller being allotted a plot with a washing platform connected with a drain and a shared or separate latrine.

A developed plot of approximately 1,000 to 1,200 sq. ft. with the necessary amenities mentioned above is estimated to cost about Rs. 1,000 per unit in big towns and Rs. 700 per unit in small towns. Under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme a permanent multi-storeyed tenement in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta cost approximately Rs. 4,500 including cost of land and its development. The cost of pucca structures of Type II has been estimated at Rs. 2,700 to Rs. 2,900 per unit including cost of land and its development. Due to the recent rise in the price of materials and the higher

cost of land in congested areas, the cost may perhaps increase now in the slum clearance scheme. It is, however, necessary to keep the costs as low as possible due to obvious reasons and especially to keep the rents within the paying capacity of slum dwellers after considering the 50 per cent subsidy.

On the basis of 50 per cent subsidy and rebate on departmental charges and portion of house-tax, the rents payable for different types of accommodation are given below :

	<i>Rent per month</i>
(a) For units costing Rs. 4,500 each	Rs. 17-8-0
(b) For units costing Rs. 2,700 each	Rs. 10-0-0
(c) For units costing Rs. 1,000 each	Rs. 3-8-0
(d) For units costing Rs. 700 each	Rs. 2-8-0

The Government and the local authorities will have to decide the type of accommodation which they should provide depending upon the price and availability of land, the local conditions, the rent-paying capacity of the slum dwellers and such other considerations.

The rent-paying capacity and the extent of displacement of slum dwellers seem to be the most important considerations in any Slum Clearance Scheme. It will be necessary to conduct proper socio-economic surveys to find out the occupation and income of persons residing in the slums so that systematic screening can be done and people with a certain amount of assured income are allotted pucca houses. Slum dwellers without any visible source of income may have to be shifted from their existing place of living. Developed plots where environmental hygiene is controlled can be allotted to such persons.

Short-term Measures for Slum Improvement

The process of clearing slum areas and rebuilding them with proper houses or with developed plots, even if pursued vigorously, may take several Five-Year Plans as the magnitude of the problem is enormous. It is, therefore, essential to adopt short-term measures also for improvement of living conditions in the slums. This approach may cover—

(a) Paving of narrow crooked lanes with bricks, stones or any other material.

(b) Provision of open drains to clear the dirty sullage water.

(c) Provision of common lavatories and washing places. If these three items are taken care of, then environmental hygiene in the area will improve and the danger of epidemic outbreaks be reduced.

Plenary Session No. 8

INTEGRATED PLAN FOR SLUM CLEARANCE-II

By

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Introduction

Slums and Their Conditions

In a lecture recently delivered at the University of London, Dame Evelyn Sharp, D.B.E., the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, defines a slum-house as "a house that is unfit for human habitation ; and the main factors which decide this are rotten brickwork and woodwork, serious structural defects, incurable damp, poor lighting and/or ventilation, absence of water supply, closet and bath, inadequate provision for storage and cooking of food. A combination of some or all of these result in a house unfit to live in".

As a definition of a slum-house the statement of the speaker could hardly be improved upon. We use the term slums, however, not invariably to denote *houses* unfit for human habitation ; we think in terms of large *areas* containing such houses, lacking the amenities and conveniences deemed essential for human health and safety. If I were to apply the definition given above of a slum-house to conditions prevailing in Calcutta, it would indeed cover a wide range of houses, structures or areas, isolated or contiguous, in the inhabited localities of the city. In the older parts of Calcutta amidst the winding narrow streets and alleys, it is not uncommon to come across hundreds of houses of varying heights and dimensions, often attached to one another, which are not only old and dilapidated but so dark, dingy and ill-ventilated that even with the utmost ingenuity, no improvement is practicable in them.

Then there are very large buildings, both old and new, in different localities—both in old localities, as also in areas newly built-up—where people live with their families in pigeon holes with scanty and common sanitary conveniences, cooking their food either in balconies or in living rooms, carrying on trade, business or vocation of multifarious kinds and at the same time rearing their children side by side. But the worst of all, wherein inhabit $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total population of the city and covering $\frac{1}{8}$ of the area of old Calcutta (32 square miles, excluding Tollygunge 8 square miles)—are the mud huts, single- and double-decker, in the “bustees” of the city. They are usually built on a mud floor, barely six inches high from the surrounding ground which very often gets inundated during the rains. A few pieces of bamboo, salhullahs and, in some instances, kutcha bricks form the roof support and framing. Roof coverings are usually pantiles, corrugated iron and sometimes even cut pieces of canister. Walls vary from ordinary mud-wall to corrugated iron sheets, spliced bamboos with mud plaster, durmah and even gunny bags. They have a height which ranges from 6 feet to a maximum of 10 feet. The floor space of these rooms ranges from 40 sq. ft. to a maximum of 100 sq. feet. The huts are so closely grouped together that their eaves touch each other and sometimes come one over the other.

The term “bustee” has a peculiar meaning under the Calcutta Municipal Act. A bustee means an area of land occupied by, or for the purposes of any collection of huts, the area being not less than 10 kathas (a katha = 80 square yards), and a hut in a bustee means any building, no substantial part of which, excluding the walls upto a height of 18” above the floor or floor level, is constructed of masonry, steel, or other metal. Individual areas varying between 10 kathas and 5,000 kathas or more and containing such mud-huts or mat-kothas are not contiguous to one another except in the fringe areas of the city. In the city proper they are superimposed over the metropolis in little patches and there are few localities which are absolutely free from such sub-human living. Besides these, there are also rows of such huts, even in main thoroughfares, partly used as shops and partly

as dwellings. All this is quite apart from the pavement slums, i.e., the wall shops where the shopkeeper's only shelter is the pavement. People who are compelled by circumstances to live in these places, not only have to struggle against poverty, but have to put up a continual fight for survival against disease, infection, epidemics and what not. It is not just the economic want; it is the want of fresh air, light and water—the basic needs for remaining alive. The problem exists in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Kanpur and Ahmedabad and, in fact, in most of the cities of the country. The slums in different cities may not be of the same pattern but the basic wants of the people living in these places are more or less the same, because what is want in Calcutta is also want in Bombay, what is unhealthy in Kanpur is also unhealthy in Madras. As I am not in possession of sufficient information regarding slum conditions in other cities, I have no other option except to base my observations on my knowledge about conditions in Calcutta, where the problem of slums is a gigantic one.

Magnitude of the Problem

The magnitude of the problem of slums encompasses a variety of conditions, namely, the dilapidated buildings scattered about the city, insecure buildings on the verge of collapse, little pockets of insanitary conditions in between areas improved as a result of the operation of improvement schemes, as also the characteristic one relating to the cluster of hutments in bustee areas as described above. But the problem of the bustees themselves being one of unusual proportions and being fraught with tremendous social consequence, will primarily engage my attention. In fact it is the problem of the bustee which is primarily agitating the mind of the local authorities as well as of the State Government. So far as the buildings are concerned which are insecure or insanitary, their removal appears to be well-nigh impracticable at this juncture, when the problem of rehousing and rehabilitation of bustee dwellers is there. In spite of this, some improvement in respect of the insecure or insanitary buildings may be expected as a result of the stricter application of the existing building rules and also by amendment

of the existing rules which has become a necessity. In any case, it will be a comparatively slow process ; but the problem of the bustees covering one-eighth of the area of the city and affecting one-fourth of the population must be given top priority in any scheme for slum clearance. This of course is quite apart from the question of Refugee Rehabilitation.

Pace of a Desired Programme

As regards the pace of a desired programme, any scheme for the removal or elimination of slums will ultimately depend upon the finance and technical skill available, facilities both legislative and administrative, as also the provision for alternative accommodation for the dis-housed population of the slum areas during the process of implementation of the housing schemes and their rehabilitation thereafter. Successive Municipal Acts regulating the construction of huts in bustees, though providing here and there for improving them by means of standard plans (none of which have so far been effective) appear to contain the basic assumption that huts are essential adjuncts of city life and so the ordinary rules applicable to the construction of masonry buildings are not applicable to the bustee huts for which separate provisions have been made. These rules are very liberal and apparently accept as inevitable the identical conditions which we are anxious to eliminate. In the acute scarcity of living accommodation utmost advantage is being taken of all the lacunae in the rules ; the liberality underlying the provisions is being exploited to a dangerous extreme in the construction of huts, both authorised and unauthorised. Moreover, a peculiar system of rating of bustees has placed them on a secure footing. The bustees which cover 1/8 of the area of Calcutta do not fetch more than 1/16 of the rate realised from the city as a whole, and judging by the total population that live in the bustees and make a living in Calcutta, the per capita incidence of the rate in bustees is practically negligible.

In fairness it should be recorded that some attempts have already been made towards a solution of the problem of slums in Calcutta. Since 1953 the Calcutta Improvement Trust have

undertaken a few schemes for the housing of industrial labour and also people in the lower income groups. They have already executed several such schemes. The State Government has also executed one scheme in the newly added Tollygunge area to accommodate refugees. The Port Authorities of Calcutta, again, have built a considerable number of multi-storeyed buildings containing flats to accommodate Class IV employees. Very recently, the Calcutta Improvement Trust has taken up a scheme to put up multi-storey tenement buildings in North Calcutta to rehouse the people of bustees affected as a result of C. I. T.'s operation in extending the Central Avenue towards the north in Baghbazar area and improving the lands abutting on the Avenue. But all these do not really touch the problem of bustees as such, with which in my view we are primarily concerned.

Taking into account the speed at which things are moving throughout the civilised world to provide congenial homes and in view of the fact that we in India have to make up a long leeway so as to enable us to keep at par with the rest of the world, I am strongly of the view that the work of tackling the slums of the city or, in other words, to provide to all our citizens homes congenial for growth should, on no account, be spread over more than four quinquennial periods. On the one hand it is necessary that the promoters of the plans should have the prospect of realising the results of their effort and planning during their lifetime. On the other hand, the enthusiasm of the public will also be aroused in support of the plans which the state or local authorities are anxious to promote, when they see the manifestation in actual results of the products of their labour and planning. When tangible benefits automatically manifest themselves in the growing up of the new generation as the work proceeds, many of the difficulties will disappear.

I am not at all pessimistic about our ability to implement such a plan provided we possess the determination to wipe out the problem. I am sanguine that as we proceed with our work difficulties will be less and less. Besides, with the implementation of an all round development pro-

gramme (National Five-Year Plan) covering so many aspects of human activities, the implementation of our plans will themselves resolve many of our difficulties. With the development of existing cities, building-up of satellite towns, and the improvement of villages and with the provision of easier means of communication between centres of population, trade and industry, it will be progressively easier to tackle the problem of slums as decentralisation is bound to follow. With the resulting change in economic standards, views and outlook will automatically change. There will be a general insistence on better living and readier appreciation of schemes of improvement.

Process of Implementation

At the initial stage of implementation of any programme for slum clearance, I am convinced that the private sector can play no important or decisive part. The owners of bustee lands are not in a position to undertake any development themselves. Even if they were, the fact remains that bustee dwellers who are perpetually subsidised would not be able to pay for the new dwellings the economic rent to which the owners would be entitled. Inevitably, the State will have to subsidise the required capital cost and the rents will have to be fixed at a level which will be within the means of the dwellers to pay. Now, if the local authorities were to base their taxes on the basis of the rents actually charged, they would lose a part of their revenue from rates, there being a substantial difference between the economic rent that could be charged for such accommodation and the rents that these dwellers would be actually paying. Naturally, the question of subsidies to the local authorities in respect of the deficiency in the rates will arise if amenities have got to be provided, which they must, at a level equal to the rest of the city.

As a prelude to the process of implementation, the State will have to take over directly the lands comprised in bustees. These should be taken over at the initial stages to suit the requirements of the 4 quinquennial periods envisaged. The actual execution of the work will have to be taken up in four

stages, district by district, or through any other convenient unit. The areas taken up for clearance should be contiguous to one another as far as practicable. The first priority should be given to pockets of insanitary conditions superimposed upon the city.

Naturally the question of compensation payable to the owners of the lands and to the hut-owners and tenants will arise—to the hut-owners (owners of structures on leasehold land) for their property and to the tenants for their rehabilitation, where necessary.

The question will also arise as to the principles on which the different interests involved in the slums should be compensated. So far as the owners of the land are concerned, they should be compensated on the basis of the “existing use value” of the land, i.e., on the net rental they are actually deriving from their bustee land. The question of compensating them for any alternative or potential user, i.e., on the basis of the present market value, does not arise. On the one hand, the cost involved to the public exchequer will be prodigious; apart from the land being perpetually committed to use as bustees under the tenancy Acts, no injustice would be done to them if they were compensated for their income actually at stake in the bustees.

The total rateable annual value of bustees in Calcutta is Rs. 1,25,00,000, the annual value of the huts in bustees being Rs. 81,25,000 and that of the land being Rs. 43,75,000. It appears that nearly 35 per cent of the total value is attributable to the land and nearly 65 per cent to the structures.

Capitalising the land value at 20 years' purchase the acquisition cost would work out to Rs. 8.75 crores, and capitalising the structures at 12½ years' purchase, the acquisition cost would work out to Rs. 10.15 crores. The total acquisition cost would be about Rs. 19 crores, say, Rs. 20 crores.

If we entertain any claim on the basis of the present market value, the cost would go up to something between Rs. 35 crores to Rs. 40 crores.

As the first preliminary to any programme of slum clearance it seems essential that the State should come face to face with the bustee problem by acquiring these lands which are used in a manner entirely in conflict with the fundamental requirements of a socialistic pattern of society as we envisage it.

It will be evident on a reference to Annexure B of the copy of the Five-Year Plan, 1955, of the Corporation of Calcutta, that it will require about Rs. 8 crores for construction of tenements, single- and double-rooms, for accommodating 40,000 people. On this basis we would require about Rs. 100 crores to convert all the existing slums into tenement buildings. In the first quinquennial period we would need about 30 crores to acquire land and to construct tenement buildings of the type envisaged in the Corporation's five-year plan.

In a big programme like this it is really the first five-yearly programme that will play a very vital part and will have direct effect on our next three quinquennial programmes. Successful execution of the first five-year plan will itself generate forces which will facilitate the working of the future programmes by gradually improving living standards, as also the economic standards of the people. In the working of the first quinquennial programme we shall have to count exclusively on State assistance, but as these programmes are gradually implemented along with the comprehensive plan for development of the country as a whole, conditions will be created which will attract the private sector, individually and collectively, into the field where the State will be playing the sole part in the beginning. After all, our object is to bring up the people to an economic level where they will be able to pay the economic rent for their housing accommodation, and as an increasing number of people reach that standard, the individual bustee dwellers who are now forced to stick to their tenancies in bustees or those who would be rehoused in tenement buildings will themselves look out for accommodation elsewhere carrying with it the right of ownership for the pride of ownership as also the advantages that generally go with ownership, large or small. The successful exe-

cution of the first quinquennial programme and the national five-year plan is bound to produce conditions, both socially and economically, which would necessitate modification in the character of subsequent programmes. As the first quinquennial period really matters, we should concentrate on it and see that the required materials are provided for the complete execution of the programme.

Adequacy of the Government Plan

It would appear from the second national five-year plan that altogether there is a total provision of Rs. 120 crores for all programmes of housing, and taking a most liberal view, not more than Rs. 60 crores will be available for the whole of India for the purpose of slum clearance and for purposes more or less allied to it. Strictly speaking, if we consider the purpose of clearance of bustees or slums, even this sum of Rs. 60 crores would not be available for the whole of India. As I have indicated above we may require something like Rs. 30 crores for Calcutta for the first quinquennial period. In this context the programme of the second five-year plan and the finances available for working it can hardly be deemed sufficient.

Finance

As regards the necessary finances our immediate concern is the first quinquennial period and it is quite clear that we would require about Rs. 30 crores. We understand, however, that in the second five-year National Plan only Rs. 8 crores have been allotted for the Calcutta area for the specific purpose of slum clearance. If only Rs. 8 crores be available for the Calcutta area, that would be no reason for abandoning the project. It is certain that a portion of the cost of the scheme will be recovered in the shape of sale proceeds of surplus land inasmuch as the hutments in the bustee areas being single-decker structures occupy more space than the multi-storeyed pucca buildings to be erected by replacement. It has been shown by calculation in Annexure B to Project No. VI: Slum Clearance of the Corporation's Five-Year Plan that about a third of the acquired land will be set free and

by spending a small amount on development it can be sold out at a much higher price than the cost of acquisition which, as I have already remarked, should be the present use value. It is not unlikely that the use value of the undeveloped land being almost half of the market value, the developed land will fetch three times the use value and thus recovery of the entire cost of the acquired land by sale of the developed surplus land is almost assured. Hence in effect at a later stage funds will have to be found out for construction only (which may change in type and patterns in future), though initially in the first quinquennial period the entire cost of the land and some cost of construction has to be made available.

In a gigantic task like this the vital point is to make a beginning, because as I have stated before the initiation of such a project itself will create forces and factors which ultimately will lead to its realisation. If the sum of Rs. 8 crores is only forthcoming, I would like to suggest that we go forward with acquisition of bustee-lands and also with construction of tenement dwellings, as envisaged now, within the means available. I would tentatively propose that six crores be allotted for the purpose of acquisition and two crores for construction of new dwellings. No doubt, as we proceed, constant enquiry and investigation would be required in response to changing circumstances keeping the broad objective constantly in view.

Conclusions

1. So far as Calcutta is concerned, we should concentrate on the clearance of the bustees in priority to the dilapidated and insanitary buildings.
2. The clearance problem should be tackled in the course of four quinquennial periods.
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3. Priority should be given to acquisition of bustee lands.
4. Compensation for land should be assessed on the existing use value.

5. The State should immediately acquire the bustee lands, even if clearance or construction work is not immediately taken up.

6. Our minimum requirement for the first quinquennial period is about Rs. 30 crores, whereas finance available would be Rs. 8 crores, presuming that necessary materials would be available. The first quinquennial programme should be adjusted accordingly.

7. For quick decisions and speedy execution a separate body should be created under a special statute which will co-operate with other existing authorities according to local conditions.

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Introductory :

The Seminar was organised by the Indian Conference of Social Work to make a comprehensive study of the slum problem in India and to formulate a plan for dealing with the prevailing situation in an adequate and vigorous manner. Representatives of the Central and State Governments, of local bodies and of employers and trade unions, as also sociologists, social workers, town-planners and public health officials, participated in the deliberations; and the Seminar had thus the benefit of all shades of opinion.

2. After the inaugural session on the 14th May, 1957, the Seminar divided its work into Plenary Sessions and Working Groups, each assigned one of five broad heads of study as follows :—

- (a) Social and public aspects of slum dwelling.
- (b) Minimum housing standards and slum improvement.
- (c) Positive steps for the prevention of slums.
- (d) Integrated plan for slum clearance.
- (e) Examination of slum clearance projects in Ahmedabad, etc.

The Plenary Session addresses were followed by general discussions in which all the delegates joined; and later in the day, the working groups took up detailed examination of their respective subjects. The discussions were throughout of a lively and stimulating character, and brought out both the expert's and the layman's views on a subject so complex in its ramifications. In the analysis of the problem and the remedies suggested, the outcome of the Seminar has been eminently satisfying. The following paragraphs give a brief account of the conclusions reached; the reports of the working groups themselves appear later.

Social and Public Health Aspects of Slum Dwelling :

3. The consequences of slum dwelling on the community are profound. The health of the individual is the first casualty;

the general death rate and the infantile mortality rate are abnormally high. Decent family life is virtually impossible; human degradation abounds. Facilities for healthy recreation are extremely meagre; so are educational facilities. In the result, the physical and intellectual advancement of the individual suffers. The squalid environment and houses unfit for human habitation, in fact, breed a slum mentality amongst the inhabitants.

The way out must involve not only an improvement in the physical conditions around but also a vitalising of the community in its social outlook. An intensive campaign of education, not merely in the three R's but in all the varied ingredients of good community life, must be launched. Such a campaign must cover the following important ingredients:—

- (a) Youth organisation and welfare.
 - (b) Training of personnel in the community for community services.
 - (c) Community health.
 - (d) Social education.
 - (e) Community recreation.
 - (f) Children's and women's welfare activities.
 - (g) Family and youth consulting services.
4. The organisational needs of such a campaign are:—
- (a) Urban Community Development Administrations under the Central and State Governments in appropriate Ministries and Departments to guide and co-ordinate field activity.
 - (b) A division of social services under each large local authority.
 - (c) A crop of housing supervisors-cum-community organisers, drawn from amongst trained social workers, in each new housing colony.
 - (d) Non-official community welfare organisations in townships and colonies, assisted by adequate grants-in-aid; and possibly an apex community welfare council.

It is believed that the results of a well-conceived programme of community education on the foregoing lines can, even in the short-term view, help to ameliorate many of the deleterious consequences of slum dwelling.

Minimum Housing Standards and Slum Improvement :

5. On the physical plane, effort must be directed to the prevention of future slums and the improvement, where this is possible, of existing ones. The first objective requires that certain minimum standards must be laid down and rigidly enforced for all new housing. The considerations involved are the availability of resources and the developing economic and social situation in the country. The question of building cost is important—though it is possible that this has all along been given undue importance. While some compromise with the ideal may be dictated by existing circumstances, the watering down of standards must be minimised by all possible measures to reduce building costs. Excessively rigid specifications now prescribed in many cities must be modified in a realistic manner; and standardisation and bulk manufacture of components must be resorted to. Savings, fully worthwhile, can be achieved in programmes involving thousands of houses if wooden doors, windows and other requirements are manufactured in bulk by public agencies or procured similarly on long-term contracts.

6. Subject to the foregoing observations, the Seminar took the view that the desirable minimum standard of accommodation for a family is a two-roomed tenement, comprising two living rooms, a kitchen and independent bath and water closet. If, temporarily, a reduction in standards is found to be inescapable, we should nowhere go below a self-contained tenement with a living room, kitchen, verandah, bath and water closet, so constructed, however, as to be capable, within a specified period, say 10 years, of being enlarged by the addition of another living room by:—

- (a) Converting three tenements into two or two into one; or
- (b) The construction of an additional room for which space may be left initially.

7. On the question of slum improvement, the first prerequisite appears to be a survey of old buildings in cities and formulation of a programme for the improvement, up to certain prescribed standards, of such of them as have a future life structurally of 15 to 20 years. Bombay has pioneered action on these lines and has evolved a plan for subsidising improvement to sub-standard buildings. Other cities are advised to follow this example as a matter of urgency.

In addition, action to improve the environment by providing better civic services, such as conservancy, drainage, water supply and electricity, should be taken in respect of undeveloped village-like settlements in and on the out-skirts of towns and cities. These improvements must, of course, be regarded as of a short-term character, pending the redevelopment of the areas and the provision of more decent houses and services.

Positive steps for the Prevention of Slums :

8. If we aim to prevent new slums from arising, it is essential, first of all, to ensure the proper maintenance of existing buildings. The reasons leading to the neglect of buildings must be properly studied and countered, for neglect inevitably leads to the deterioration of human habitations into slum-like conditions ; and when housing is so short, the importance of preserving existing facilities is paramount. Once circumstances conducive to good maintenance are created, local authorities must take effective steps for enforcing the observance of rules and regulations ; and if necessary, existing legislation on the subject must be amplified.

9. Secondly, new houses must be built on as large a scale as possible to fill the serious deficiency that exists. As one step in that direction, responsibility must be assumed by public bodies and private enterprise in the matter of housing a substantial proportion of their employees. A measure of compulsion must, if necessary, be applied to private employers for securing the discharge of this responsibility.

10. But above all, certain basic principles of new urban development must be prescribed and followed. These are :—

- (a) adequate country-wide legislation for town and country planning ;
- (b) the compulsory formulation in respect of each town and city of a Master Plan to regulate future growth, including the rectification of existing defects ;
- (c) prohibition on any new industry or establishment being set up within city limits, save in accordance with the provisions of the Master Plan ;
- (d) the location of large new industrial projects, as far as possible, in self-contained townships away from the present metropolitan areas ; and
- (e) the acceptance and implementation of the principle that all towns and cities with a minimum population of 50,000 should have an adequate, protected water supply, electricity and underground drainage and sewerage.

Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance :

11. The hard core of the slum problem lies in the great shortage of housing in the urban areas. If, therefore, the slums must be eradicated, the first need is for a sufficiently large programme of new housing. In this sense, the slum problem is an integral and inseparable part of the housing problem ; and new housing and slum clearance must go hand in hand. If such integration is secured, it should be possible to achieve significant results even with the present inadequate financial resources set apart for slum clearance as such. Integration of *all* public housing schemes requires :—

- (a) the enunciation of a National Housing Policy which ceases to regard housing as unproductive enterprise ;
- (b) the unified (as opposed to the present diffused) handling by Central and State Governments, through separate Ministries/Departments of Housing, of all questions relating to housing, town and country planning and slum clearance.

12. Integration will help also to speed planning and execution of schemes in the field ; for it would make possible the co-

ordinated development of virgin lands on a large scale with an eye to sundry requirements. Speed in execution must also be secured by a substantial decentralisation of sanctioning authority in respect of housing and slum clearance schemes. The Central Government would then work only at the policy level and prescribe minimum standards and ceiling cost. The State Governments would scrutinize and sanction schemes; and, for this purpose, would be required to equip themselves with competent technical personnel to the satisfaction of the Central Government. The execution of schemes should be left to local bodies or housing authorities, where they exist.

13. Dealing specifically with slum clearance, the Seminar expressed the view that the first step should be a scientific survey of the older or depressed parts of a city. The survey would study the magnitude of the problem and the classification of slums for purposes of improvement or redevelopment. Thereafter, pilot projects of both categories should be undertaken for execution in different types of slums; these would give needed experience for tackling larger clearance schemes in due course.

14. The execution of slum clearance schemes in a rational manner requires the enactment of legislation centrally or, at any rate, on a uniform basis throughout the country, providing for:—

- (a) a definition of slums;
- (b) the procedure for slum clearance (and improvement), so designed as to avoid procedural delays to the maximum extent;
- (c) the basis of compensation for acquisition in slum clearance areas, bearing in mind the intention underlying article 31 of the Constitution; and
- (d) the acquisition of vacant lands outside the clearance areas for housing the spill-over population and for other housing, compensation in such cases being pegged down, as in Bombay, to the market value of the land on a particular date (in Bombay, 1st January, 1948) and abolishing the solatium of 15 per cent. admissible under the Land Acquisition Act.

15. The execution of clearance schemes, involving the demolition of buildings and the redevelopment of cleared areas, must be preceded by the construction of suitable transit accommodation for the *ad interim* housing of the affected population. The overall responsibility for providing permanent housing to such people will be considerably minimised if they are given priority of allotment in all public housing schemes, subsidised or otherwise. Generally, however, it will be found that slum clearance schemes must be made eligible for the same loans and subsidies as the present subsidised industrial housing scheme.

16. Dealing with the financing of slum clearance schemes, the Seminar recommended that:—

- (a) Government assistance should be given for both improvement and clearance schemes;
- (b) the ceiling of cost per tenement should be prescribed on the basis of certain agreed minimum standards and local conditions, and must be reviewed every three years or with any material change in construction costs;
- (c) the Government scheme must also provide for the rehousing of dishoused persons, though their income may be above the level now prescribed; and this could be made possible by enlarging the scope of the Low Income Group Housing Scheme so as to permit construction for renting-out purposes also;
- (d) the present lapsing system of financial grants should be replaced, so as to ensure continued availability of sanctioned funds over a period of say three years; and
- (e) a cess should be levied on certain classes of employers, related to the number of employees not housed by the employers themselves, the proceeds being utilised for new construction or for cheapening rents.

The Seminar also made several other recommendations designed to facilitate or enable private enterprise to provide new houses and to adequately maintain existing buildings.

Examination of Slum Clearance Projects in Ahmedabad etc.

17. A factual examination of the progress made so far indicated that a good deal of spade work has been done and that a number of schemes are ripe for sanction and for execution. Local conditions have naturally dictated a different approach or emphasis. But handicaps imposed by deficient or non-existent legislation are hampering progress even in a limited sphere. Above all, there was a general impression that greater speed can be achieved only if suitable steps are promptly taken for decentralising authority for the scrutiny and sanctioning of schemes.

General :

18. Two conclusions of importance relate to the necessity of augmenting training facilities for social workers and town planners. In the scheme of orderly development of urban communities, these workers will have a large and important role to play. But, at present, facilities for training them are very meagre ; and urgent steps are necessary to establish new institutions in these subjects.

19. The Seminar concluded its deliberations in an atmosphere of great expectations derived partly from the unanimity of the conclusions reached and their practical nature. Moreover, the great volume of encouraging messages received from the highest in the land were regarded as indicative of a moment propitious for fruitful action. It was, therefore, thought desirable to make suitable arrangements for follow-up action ; and a Standing Committee of the Indian Conference of Social Work and a number of local committees in the large cities have accordingly been set up. These committees will be expected to press the conclusions of the Seminar on the various authorities concerned and to serve as a continuing forum for local discussion and action.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SLUM DWELLING

A General Concept of Slums :

1. Whilst definitions are desirable for the purpose of legislation and treatment of specific areas, a comprehensive scientific definition of a slum has often been attempted, but does not achieve unanimous acceptance because of the different historical backgrounds, nature and contents of the slums and the variations in the manifestations of the slum phenomena.

2. The following general description embodying the chief characteristics applicable to such areas as can be called slums is suggested for the purpose of analysis, classification and selection of specific areas in a city for the treatment of the slum problem.

A slum may be described as a chaotically occupied, unsystematically developed and generally neglected area which is over-populated by persons and over-crowded with ill-repaired and neglected structures. The area has insufficient communications, indifferent sanitary arrangements, and inadequate amenities necessary for the maintenance of physical and social health and the minimum needs and comforts of human beings and the community. There is a general absence of social services and welfare agencies to deal with the major social problems of persons and families, in respect of sub-standard health, inadequate income and low standard of living, who are victims of biological, psychological and social consequences of the physical and social environment.

Legal Definition of Slums :

3. In Bombay, a slum is defined as an area in which (a) the residential buildings are, by reason of disrepair or sanitary defects unfit for human habitation, or which, by reason of their bad arrangement or the narrowness or bad arrangement of the streets, are dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants of the area; and the other buildings, if any, are for a like reason similarly dangerous or injurious; and (b) the foregoing conditions can be effectively remedied by the demolition of all the buildings.

Causation of Slums :

4. (a) Slums arise when economic and political developments precede physical development, and there is absence of social organisation to promote adaptability to urban conditions and growth of social consciousness to contribute towards community organisation and development.
- (b) Lack of control over immigration and growth of population leading to over-crowding.
- (c) Absence of legislation and proper action to apply principles of town planning to all areas of the city, especially leading to the rise of mixed areas.
- (d) Lack of adequate public resources to promote comprehensive development of physical areas and adequate social services and amenities to the entire population.
- (e) Inadequate income of slum dwellers and their inability to pay the economic rent.
- (f) Inadequate and insufficient municipal administration.
- (g) Construction of large housing projects with sub-standard housing, amenities and services.
- (h) Absence of adequate housing regulations, and non-enforcement leading to absence of repairs and improper maintenance of structures and grounds.
- (i) Inadequate programmes of labour and community welfare in areas inhabited by predominantly labour populations.
- (j) Inadequate control over the growth of private landlordism, and ineffective personnel and programme of housing management and administration in areas under the control of various Housing Authorities.
- (k) Absence of health, education and community welfare services and welfare agencies in areas predominantly occupied by low income groups.
- (l) Higher prices and non-availability of important basic raw materials for house construction.

(m) Unplanned and haphazard industrial growth and location, leading to the development of industrial slums.

(n) Absence of inadequate and cheap transport facilities leading to the congestion of population near places of employment.

Social Consequences of Slum Dwellings :

5. (a) The serious consequences of slums on human health and physical fitness endangering growth, vitality and efficiency deserves the highest attention. Malnutrition and under-development, non-availability of pure and clean food articles, adequate space and facilities for cooking, and lack of storage facilities in a warm and tropical country are the first causes.

(b) Unsatisfactory sex life leads to and deteriorates human relationship, producing neurosis and psychological maladjustment to family life and environment.

(c) Family disorganisation is a consequence of the physical environment, economic conditions and family maladjustment and behaviour.

(d) Loss of status and dignity of the woman, with few opportunities for self expression in the family and community environment, leading to social disorganisation of the physical environment.

(e) Absence of health, play and opportunities for growth and education practically destroy the possibility for healthy and balanced development of the child.

(f) Absence of right physical and family background and education often lead to demoralisation of youth, gangsterism, delinquency and social vice from an early age. This factor is responsible for the loss of social efficiency on the part of the country.

(g) Slums and poverty are inter-related. Poverty leads to residence in slum areas. The consequences of slum life and poverty reduce earning ability and employability. The psychological consequences of poverty retard growth and lead to social vice.

(h) Whilst slum dwellers are generally mentally mature and are able to meet the practical problems of life, illiteracy and ignorance about health, sanitation, citizenship and the individual's responsibility towards family, society and nation impair their ability to deal with the complexities of urban life.

(i) There is a smothering of talent, skill and even genius in the slums due to the absence of adequate residential facilities and opportunities for cultural expression. Absence of physical recreation impairs health, prevents the release of energy and contributes towards physical and mental demoralisation.

(j) Social vices are evident in the slums in different degrees. Drinking, gambling, gangsterism and even prostitution are consequences of all aspects of slum life and poverty.

Classification of Slums :

6. The existing slums need proper classification in order that the introduction and maintenance of community services is facilitated. A nine-way break down as follows is suggested.

(a) Slums created by squatters (Squatters' slums).

(b) Slum nuclei in non-slum areas.

(c) Mixed slum areas including private, residential, casual or industrial structures, etc.

(d) Slums needing immediate demolition.

(e) Industrial slums.

(f) Working class residential houses under the control of Governmental and statutory or specific housing authorities.

(g) Employers' housing schemes which include slum conditions.

(h) Temporary slum areas such as displaced persons' settlements or camps.

(i) Temporary labour camps.

7. Each type of slum calls for a differential type of treatment by various agencies. The following are recommended for their classification :—

(a) A division of urban community organisation to function under the Department of Social Services or Health of Municipalities and other Local Self-Government bodies.

(b) Community Organisation Associations functioning with grants-in-aid from State Governments and Municipalities.

(c) Councils of Social Welfare Agencies created by co-ordinating welfare efforts of social agencies in the same area, helped by grants-in-aid.

(d) Community Welfare Councils created by the Community itself to organise Neighbourhood Settlements or Community Centres.

(e) State and Employers' Housing Authorities may include community welfare as an additional function entrusted to the authority.

(f) Grants-in-aid given by State or Municipality to suitable and regulated social welfare agencies dealing with social work, child welfare, women's welfare, youth leadership etc.

(g) Urban Community Development Administration functioning under the Ministry of Community Development in the Central Government; or a Department of Urban Community Welfare under State Governments.

Community Welfare Programmes & Social Education :

8. The ingredients of a total community development programme in the slums should be as follows :—

(a) Youth organisation and welfare.

(b) Training of personnel in the community for community services on a voluntary, part-time and full-time basis.

(c) Community Health comprising (i) Community physical fitness; (ii) health education; (iii) the treatment of the

problem of sub-health ; (iv) the provision of a minimum community medical service ; (v) the maintenance of vital statistics ; and (vi) the efficient functioning of the Public Health Department.

- (d) Social education.
 - (e) Community recreation.
 - (f) Activities pertaining to Health and Physical fitness.
 - (g) Women's welfare activities.
 - (h) Child welfare activities.
 - (i) Family and youth counselling services.
 - (j) Consumer and credit cooperative societies.
9. The contents of a total social education programme are as follows :—
- (a) Literary.
 - (b) Education for vocation, employment and improvement of family earning capacity.
 - (c) Sex education and education for marriage, family planning and parenthood.
 - (d) Health education.
 - (e) Education for household management.
 - (f) Education for citizenship and social participation in community and national life.
 - (g) Education for self-development, creative experience and culture.

MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR HOUSING & SLUM IMPROVEMENT

10. While discussing questions related to "Minimum Standards of Housing and Slum Improvement", it was held that precise minimum standards of housing construction are intended for new construction, as they cannot well be applied generally to existing houses save by complete demolition and courses not immediately expedient in all cases. Rebuilding, admittedly, large scale construction of new houses is one positive means of avoiding the creation of new slums and the gradual extinction of existing ones.

11. In regard to slum improvement, the approach should, in the circumstances, be by way of improvements in the environment the provision of amenities. To make the cost of such improvements worthwhile, these may be undertaken only in the case of findings with a useful further life of at least fifteen years. At the same time, it should be recognised that slum improvement is only a short-term measure and that these improved slums are not intended to be permanent habitations but must disappear when an adequate number of 'standard houses' have been provided.

12. No pretence is made that these and matters closely allied thereto involve any original study or investigations. They are subjects which have been under discussion for over a decade and many speakers in the Seminar even felt that past discussions on this subject have been out of proportion to the positive action taken to deal with this problem. What has however been attempted is an objective examination of the standards followed in different States and an appreciation of the adequacy or otherwise of standards already prescribed, taking into account the difficulties, if any, that have come in the way.

13. As with minimum standards, so with all other aspects of slum clearance, the question of cost is important—though some might feel that this has, all along, been given undue importance. The Seminar, therefore, felt that it should also consider possible ways of reducing the costs of house construction, particularly when, as will be seen later, financial

factors might compel, as a temporary measure, the adoption of standards somewhat lower than the accepted desirable minimum standards. The main, if not the only scope for reduction in cost is through standardisation and bulk manufacture of parts. The savings may not be as large as ardent advocates of mass production might hope for. But even so, savings, fully worthwhile, can result in programmes involving houses by the thousands, if wooden doors, windows and other fixtures can be produced cheaper, and Government or a public authority sets up its own workshop to produce these. Even when these are purchased through contractors, distinctly favourable terms can be had if bulk orders are placed for a period of some years. Timber could be supplied directly by the concerned Departments of State Governments. A case was reported in which, after the auctioning of timber to a contractor, another Department of the same Government bought timber from the contractor at several times the price, he himself had paid. The same considerations, to some extent, apply also to items like bricks, etc. But if savings are to materialise in practice, it is essential that the total housing programme, quantitatively, should be planned and clearly settled for a five-year period and that this should include sanction for commitments being entered into.

Dormitories :

14. As one of the ways of rational provision of accommodation, in the interests of economy, the Seminar advocates building of dormitories for bachelors or men living in cities without their families. This, to some extent, will make more regular housing accommodation available for families which obviously need them more. If this is to be ensured, care should be taken to ensure that single men do not surreptitiously get accommodation intended for families and to which they themselves are not entitled. The prospect of sub-letting for higher rents will always remain a temptation in such cases.

Water Supply and Sanitary Facilities in New Constructions :

15. As there seems to be still some doubt whether individual water connections and water closets are, in view of the cost, justified, careful consideration was given to this question. The

Seminar is of the view that it is absolutely necessary to provide these services in every family dwelling unit—exception being made only in the case of dormitories for bachelors. If a choice has to be made between a smaller living room and independent sanitary fittings or a larger room with common facilities, the former should be considered the lesser of the two evils. A visit to some blocks of one-room tenements further showed how much better living conditions would have been for the occupants if only each family had an independent tap and water closet. It also appears that there is scope for further reduction in the cost of sanitary fittings, if the earlier suggestion for bulk manufacture and bulk contracting are implemented.

16. After considerable discussion on whether a one-room tenement for a family should be permitted even as a temporary measure, the Seminar was unanimously of the view that the desirable minimum standard for a family is a two-roomed tenement. But as one-room tenements may have to be tolerated for some time to come, and it is hardly necessary to repeat all the arguments for and against this, it was felt that it would be realistic to suggest measures which would at least ensure that these one-room tenements do not remain in perpetuity.

Slum Improvement :

17. While the aspects to be considered have been mentioned earlier, it was noted that a systematic and complete study of this has not been made in most States. Even in Bombay, which has been a pioneer in the field, Regulations under Section 378-D* of the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act and a regular scheme of payment of subsidies for meeting part of the cost of improvements effected, are only just ready for implementation. In the circumstances, we can only recommend that other States also consider this matter urgently and make use of the Regulations and Schemes of the Bombay Municipal Corporation as a basis—though the need for adaptations to suit varying conditions in the other States is recognised.

* Please see Appendix I.

Recommendations :

18. Having considered the subject on the lines indicated above, the Seminar submits the following specific recommendations, all being unanimous.

I. Minimum Housing Standards

Development :

(a) The development of areas should be on the principles of neighbourhood units. A comprehensive neighbourhood plan shall include all necessary amenities like open spaces, community buildings, shopping centres etc.; adequate transport shall be provided at reasonable cost for to and from movement between the living area and work places. The reasonable size of a neighbourhood unit shall be somewhere about 3,500 to 5,000 persons.

(b) The desirable density of development appears to be between 100 to 125 persons per acre gross. This limit may not apply to central areas where densities may be higher.

(c) In preparing the development plans—rather layouts—upto 60% of the area proposed for development may be plotted, 40% of the area being covered by roads, open spaces including public parks and play grounds, and community buildings such as schools and day nurseries in areas where there are large numbers of working women.

(d) Where the general development is of ground or of ground and first floor only, the area of plot per unit of accommodation should be between 1,200 to 1,500 square feet (plots to be 50' x 30' or 40' x 30'). There should be integration of different income groups in each neighbourhood unit.

Minimum standards of Accommodation :

(e) The desirable standard should be :

2 rooms one of 120 sq. ft. and another of 100 sq. ft. a kitchen and verandah 120 sq. ft. a bath 16 sq. ft. and a W. C. 12 sq. ft.

If, however, high construction costs and consequent high rentals—beyond the economic paying capacity of low income groups—or other considerations such as scarcity of building materials, necessitate a lower minimum standard as a temporary measure, then the standard should be :

A living room 120 sq. ft.

A kitchen and verandah 120 sq. ft. (not less than 10' in any dimension).

(Note : If a second room is provided, the verandah could be dispensed with.)

A water closet 12 sq. ft.

Bath room 16 sq. ft.

A court-yard or terrace shall be provided, where development is limited to ground and first floor.

In cases where the lower standard is adopted, this should be on condition that within a specified period, not exceeding ten years, the accommodation should be enlarged by addition of an extra living room of 120 sq. ft. by : either converting three tenements into two tenements or two into one ; or by construction of an additional room to each unit of accommodation—for which space should be reserved at the time of initial construction itself.

Such conversions, as evident from plans adopted in Bombay, are both practical and feasible.

As far as possible, the units should be so planned that the living is comfortable for the occupant family. Rooms should be oblong rather than square and the kitchen should have a sink, a cooking platform with smokeless chulha and storage accommodation in the form of lofts and shelves and cupboards ; bath rooms should have a soap rack and hanger.

Dormitories :

(f) Rooms of 120 sq. ft. to accommodate not more than two persons ; cooking, dining, bathing and sanitary facilities should be common for a set of rooms.

II. Slum Improvement

Admittedly a short term palliative, 'slum improvement' should aim at improving the environment of an area or areas where a majority of dwellings are of a habitable standard but where the environment precludes promotion of public health measures. The improvements should include, inter alia, repairing and resurfacing of neglected streets and alleys, rehabilitating out-moded and perhaps unsafe school and community buildings, constructing sanitary sewers and storm water drains, providing facilities for water supply and refuse collection, opening up of traffic gaps or lanes for movement of fire fighting equipment and conservancy vehicles and to serve as accesses to certain dwellings, improved streets lighting, removal of noisy and offensive trades, bringing into existence open spaces and shopping facilities if they do not exist and construction of new housing on the vacant lands in the area.

As the problem has, so far, received inadequate attention, all State Governments or local authorities as the case may be, should give urgent consideration to the matter which may require legislative action. The measures adopted in Bombay could, with profit, be used as a basis. (For details see Appendix I.)

General

There is some scope for reduction of costs through manufacture of components in bulk. But this will be possible only if programmes and targets are fixed well in advance and for a period of years, say, five.

Housing surveys in slum areas will be necessary before any code of standards for improvements or for new construction can be permitted for a particular town or city. Such surveys should be undertaken but this should not hold up or retard improvement plans where they are already under consideration. Even where improvement programmes and surveys proceed simultaneously, adjustments can be made in the former on the basis of any new findings through the latter.

POSITIVE STEPS FOR THE PREVENTION OF SLUMS

19. The Seminar unanimously was of the view that the question of prevention of slums was inextricably intertwined with a positive programme of housing construction and that no effective or satisfactory solution for slum prevention was possible unless housing was openly and courageously accepted as a matter of very high priority.

Housing Policy :

20. In the light of this conviction, it was felt that it was high time that the Union Government declared its Housing Policy unequivocally so as to leave no doubt in any quarters as to the urgency of a national programme of housing construction. In a Welfare State, Housing should occupy a position of the highest importance, next perhaps only to food and health, but above every other social need of the people.

21. The declaration of such a National Housing Policy should be followed up immediately by the adoption and implementation by the Government of India, State Governments, Railways, Municipalities and other Statutory Bodies of adequate programmes of housing construction with a view to providing this basic need to at least 50% of their employees in receipt of monthly emoluments upto Rs. 300/-. Steps must also be taken to induce or compel the larger private employers—industrial and commercial—to provide residential accommodation for a substantial percentage of their employees.

Regulation of Industrialisation :

22. As an immediate step, it was felt that no new industries, offices or establishments should be permitted to be set up within city limits, save in accordance with the provisions of a Master Plan for city development and redevelopment.

23. The Seminar welcomes the decision of the Government to set up Industrial Estates under the Second Five-Year Plan, as such a policy would reduce further migration of rural population into already over-congested urban areas. These Estates which will have adequate provision of water, power,

sanitation, transport, communications and housing would be located either in rural areas or in suitably ear-marked areas in city limits to serve as satellite towns to take over the spill-over industrial activity and population. There should be a policy of creating green-belts to demarcate the existing city limits and the new townships to be developed. Such a policy has been adopted in other Western countries, particularly United Kingdom, with very beneficial results and the Seminar found no reason why similar advantages should not accrue in this country if we followed the same course.

Legislation in Town and Country Planning :

24. The Seminar also very strongly felt the need for comprehensive Legislation for Town and Country Planning:—

(a) to prevent further haphazard, unplanned and uncoordinated extension and growth of existing cities which in the past had been mainly responsible through inadequate housing facilities for the creation of slum conditions ; and

(b) to facilitate the growth of new townships on the basis of modern ideas of planning.

The new Legislation should impose a statutory obligation on all cities and large towns to prepare Master Plans to regulate their future development on pre-determined lines, If this is not done for lack of adequate monetary or personnel resources, the State Government should establish suitably trained and qualified town-planners to undertake such work on behalf of the Municipalities.

25. The Seminar advocated the acceptance of a new principle that all cities and towns with a minimum population of 50,000 should have adequate and protected water-supply, electricity and proper underground sewage system. If this is done, it should be possible after 10 years or so to provide progressively the above-mentioned facilities in all towns with a minimum population of about ten thousand. In this connection, there is need to augment the facilities currently available for the training of personnel suited for this type of work.

26. In consequence of the formulation of Master Plans it would be necessary to completely remodel the existing Building Bye-Laws which should be supplemented by the principle that constructional development of different localities in cities should be on the basis of neighbourhood units which ought to be governed by zoning regulations with definite specifications for users, open spaces, etc. In this connection, the Seminar was of the view that the whole approach of Municipal administration should change from the present *ex post facto* penal and prosecuting attitude to one of positive assistance in the construction of new buildings.

27. It was pointed out that either through lack of rules or through laxity of supervision a number of buildings degenerate or deteriorate into slums. It was, therefore, of very great importance that appropriate rules be framed and that they should be enforced with vigour and vigilance instead of the present indifference generated by sentiment, favouritism or other considerations. Experience has also shown that a number of landlords ignore notifications served on them to carry out necessary repairs. This deplorable state of affairs could be remedied by encouragement to Tenants' Associations in such cases to undertake the requisite repair work and charge it to the property in question.

28. Instances occur from time to time when structures in different parts of the city are destroyed by fire, flood and other calamities or are condemned for demolition as unfit for human habitation. Instead of the present practice of constructing new structures on the same site, it is suggested that under the Master Plan to be prepared, increasing advantage be taken of leaving either the affected space as a vacant unbuilt plot or change the user of the building, if necessary.

Social Education and Slum Prevention :

29. There is a general tendency to look at the problem of slum clearance from the physical or engineering angle only, ignoring its vital social or human aspect. If slum clearance work has to succeed, it is essential that the programme of intensive social education through all types of audio-visual methods should be undertaken to inculcate in the tenants a

keen urge to insist on better sanitary conditions and higher hygienic living.

30. A lively discussion took place on the need and usefulness of creating a cadre of trained and qualified Housing Supervisors-cum-Community Organisers in each Municipality. Their principle duties would be to look after the needs, improve human relationships, impart social education, help environmental adjustment and redress grievances of the tenants of every housing estate in different localities. These regional supervisors would thereby be able to discharge a very vital function so far neglected, viz., to promote a feeling of neighbourliness which has been so far deplorably absent in the cities.

31. In conclusion, it may be mentioned that there should be a continuous programme of surveys and research to keep the whole problem of slum clearance prominently before the public eye. With that end in view, appropriate departments of the Central and State Government, Universities, Schools of Social Work and other voluntary associations should be asked and encouraged to undertake periodic study projects of living conditions in cities to understand and assess the exact nature and extend of implications of different aspects of the problem so that early appropriate remedial measure can be taken.

32. Recommendations :

(a) Clear unambiguous declaration by the Union Government of a National Housing Policy giving to housing a very high priority.

(b) Government, Semi-Government and other public bodies to house at least 50% of their lower paid staff.

(c) Private Employers to be induced or compelled to provide adequate housing accommodation for their employees.

(d) Prohibition on any new industry or establishment being set up within city limits save in accordance with the provisions of a Master Plan.

(e) New industrial projects to be located, as far as possible, in self-contained Industrial Estates away from existing metropolitan areas.

(f) The vital necessity for having a legislation for town and country planning.

(g) Compulsory formulation in respect of each city and each town of a Master Plan to regulate its future growth and development.

(h) Effective steps for proper repairs and maintenance of buildings by private owners.

(i) Creation of a cadre of Housing Supervisors-cum-Community Organisers with clear and well-defined duties for the social welfare of the tenants and augmentation of training facilities for personnel of this type.

(j) The importance of periodic surveys and research to assess different aspects of the problem of slum clearance for adoption of appropriate remedial action.

INTEGRATED PLAN FOR SLUM CLEARANCE

Preamble :

33. The Seminar discussed the magnitude of the problem and generally agreed that as a very conservative figure we need to build eleven lacs of houses to replace those unfit for human habitation. A programme of that order will require an outlay of roughly Rs. 500 crores, and an additional Rs. 100 crores would have to be spent on improvement. It was agreed that the present allocation in the 2nd Five-Year Plan—Rs. 20 crores specifically for Slum Clearance was inadequate, but felt that if the authorities adopted the measures suggested by the Group for integrating slum clearance with general public housing schemes, it will be possible to achieve significant results even with the present inadequate allocation.

34. It was agreed that an Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance must include

(a) improving existing slums into habitable buildings or areas where such improvement is possible and economic and

(b) demolishing unimprovable buildings or areas and redeveloping them.

35. It was the consensus of opinion that a plan for slum clearance should be considered not merely as a matter of improvement, construction or rebuilding but that the human factor must also be regarded as an important element. There has been a tendency to consider slum clearance as the function of engineers and architects only. It must be emphasized that an integrated plan must be the work of Engineers, Architects, Town Planners, Sociologists, Social workers and Administrators.

36. At various stages of the discussion, the question of relative responsibilities for action was considered and it was agreed that the magnitude of the problem was such, both qualitatively and quantitatively, that no single authority could shoulder it by itself and that co-operative effort by the Central Government,

the State and Corporation Authorities and the full participation of the people affected by such projects was essential.

37. Any plan adopted by the authorities for slum clearance should ensure lasting results based on standards which can reasonably be expected to hold good for 25 to 30 years to come.

38. The recommendations on "An Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance" are as follows :—

Legislation :

(a) The execution of slum clearance schemes in a rational manner requires the enactment of legislation centrally or at any rate on a uniform basis through the country.

(b) Such a law must provide for—

(i) a definition of slums

(ii) the procedure for slum improvement and slum clearance. (The Bombay Law is suggested as a model for consideration, though some of the procedural delays involved could advantageously be cut out)

(iii) Compensation for acquisition in slum clearance areas. Compensation should be fixed in the light of the intention underlying Article 31 of Constitution. A simple basis would be to relate compensation to the rateable value as defined in various Municipal Acts of a property. The quantum of compensation for the acquisition of different categories of properties in slum areas may, following certain suggestions made in Bombay, be as follows :—

(c) The compensation should be 1.5 times the rateable value for the following :—

(i) for residential buildings declared unfit for human habitation ;

(ii) for cleared sites left undeveloped by owners after demolition of structures in consequence of clearance orders ;

(iii) for vacant lands (the rateable value being assumed as the value of a building, if any, that was standing on the land within the preceding 5 years) ;

(iv) in case of properties partly residential and partly non-residential, if the residential part is unfit for human habitation.

(d) The compensation should be three times the rateable value for residential and non-residential buildings not unfit for human habitation but to be acquired for orderly redevelopment.

(e) The compensation for small holdings, i.e. the properties having rateable value of Rs. 1000/- or less and belonging to widows, minors, the old and infirm, who have no other source of income, should be 4.5 times the rateable value of such properties.

(f) Separate legislation is necessary to empower the acquisition of vacant lands outside the slum clearance areas for housing the spill-over population and for other public housing, and should as in Bombay, peg compensation down with reference to the market value of the land on a particular date (in Bombay 1st Jan. 1948) and abolish the solatium of 15% normally allowed under the Land Acquisition Act.

National Policy :

(a) As a matter of national policy, it should be accepted that slum clearance and improvement should be considered as an integral part of the housing problem. Aspects of such integration should include the following :—

(i) The planning and execution of subsidised industrial housing and other public housing schemes on the one hand and slum clearance schemes on the other should be done by the various authorities in close co-ordination and co-operation.

(ii) Those affected by slum clearance schemes should receive priority of allotment in public housing schemes, subsidised or otherwise,

(iii) Further integration will be made possible by placing slum clearance on the same basis in regard to eligibility for loans and subsidies as subsidized industrial housing schemes ;

(iv) Integration should include planning and execution for the development of virgin lands and the construction of new housing estates.

(b) Considering the relative responsibilities for slum clearance and housing, it was agreed that the Central Government should work only at the policy level and prescribe the minimum standard and ceiling cost. The State Government should be in charge of the scrutiny and sanctioning of schemes by competent technical personnel to the satisfaction of the Central Government and the Municipality or Housing Authority should be in charge of the execution of schemes.

(c) Many of the difficulties that arise at present are the result of lack of co-ordination at the Governmental level, both Central and State. It is strongly urged, therefore, that immediate steps must be taken to integrate policy and action in respect of all housing, town and country planning and slum clearance by creating at the Centre a Ministry of Housing which should cover also Town and Country Planning and Slum Clearance. A similar Ministry or Department must be established in every State and assisted by a competent Housing Adviser supported by adequate qualified staff. Where today different Ministries or Departments deal with the several aspects of this problem in an un-coordinated way, it is essential that all responsibility should be located in the proposed new Ministry or Department of Housing etc.

(d) In connection with the preceding recommendation, there is a shortage of qualified Town Planners and it is urgently necessary to augment facilities for training such personnel by establishing 2 or 3 more schools of Town & Country Planning in the country.

Process of Implementation :

(a) The first step, in any integrated plan for slum clearance should be a proper scientific survey of the older or depressed parts of a city under qualified guidance. Such a survey may study the magnitude of the problem and the classification of slums for purposes of improvement or re-

development. The survey has value also as a basis for planning future housing needs.

(b) As early as possible, even while the survey is in progress, steps should be taken to actively educate the people living in the areas under survey to obtain their willing and active co-operation in the need for slum clearance as also to help and educate them to organise the community for living in such a manner, in improved or rebuilt dwellings, as will not lead again to slum conditions.

(c) Immediately after the survey, pilot projects should be taken up for execution in different types of slums. Schemes for both improvement and rebuilding with a view to gaining needed experience to deal with larger slum clearance problems should be undertaken.

(d) Considering the question of unauthorised hutments where squatters have built huts on open spaces belonging to the State, Municipality or private owners, it was agreed that Municipal authorities should be fully authorised and urged to remove such huts compulsorily.

(e) In some cities, there are pockets comprising old village settlements which may be either of huts or of a semi-pucca nature. These should be improved with certain basic services (i.e. water supply, conservancy, public health and medical relief facilities, schools, electricity, etc.) and an attempt should be made to enlist local participation in certain schemes of community development.

(f) When a survey is made, it will be found that some buildings and/or areas justify improvement and others require demolition and rebuilding. Adequate steps and powers for securing improvements must be taken by local authorities. It was felt that so far as the condemned buildings are concerned, authority should be given to the Municipalities or such other local authorities concerned to declare them so and to take steps for clearing and redeveloping them. The provision of transit accommodation as a preliminary to clearance must be prominently borne in mind; and permanent re-housing of the spill-over population must be arranged in a rational manner, e.g. with due regard to the people's wishes.

(g) Every clearance or improvement scheme, and indeed every housing project, must pay regard to the need for intensive social education and must provide the administrative and other machinery necessary therefor.

(h) A note of warning must be sounded against the present tendency in re-housing people cleared from slum areas. It is essential to promote housing in a cleared area for a cross-section of the community and not build up social segregation by allocating an area for one class of people only. Thus, in a given area, housing should be provided at different levels of rents also.

Examination of Central Government Scheme of Slum Clearance :

(a) Central assistance should be available for improvement schemes also and not, as at present, only for clearance schemes. Such assistance should take the form of subsidies in certain appropriate cases and loans for other developmental works.

(b) Subject to satisfactory administrative and technical machinery at the State level and also to the general policies of the Central Government, the scrutiny and sanctioning of actual schemes of slum clearance and housing should be in the interest of speed, amongst other reasons, be entrusted to the State Governments.

(c) The ceiling of cost per tenement prescribed by the Central Government should be based on certain agreed minimum requirements and circumstances (e.g. local economic conditions) and must be reviewed every three years or with any material changes in building construction costs.

(d) The Government scheme should also provide for the rehousing of people above a certain income in appropriate houses at standard rent. This can be done by enlarging the scope of the low-income group Housing Scheme so as to facilitate construction for purposes also of renting out. It should, in addition, provide for rehousing people of certain means (but within the income ceiling) in a tenement larger

than the minimum prescribed, e.g. in a two-living room tenement but on a rent somewhat more than that based on a 50% subsidy. Thus, standard rent on the extra cost involved in the additional accommodation could be charged besides the subsidised rent for the minimum tenement. It is also necessary that the income ceiling prescribed today should be reconsidered with reference to local conditions and should be revised, for example, from Rs. 250/- to Rs. 350/- in Bombay and similarly in other cities.

(e) It is necessary to replace the present lapsing system of financial grants and to ensure continued availability of sanctioned funds. The funds required for sanctioned schemes should be released so as to be available for expenditure within a period of three years. This course would introduce much needed flexibility in the execution of housing schemes. The preparation of schemes for sanction should, however, be based on sufficiently long-term considerations.

(f) Since in using up the amounts provided by the State and Central Governments the availability of materials is all important, Government should give special priority (through separate quotas) to slum clearance and housing projects in releasing controlled materials. In the present context of scarcity of cement and steel, Government should also discourage or prohibit the construction of wasteful or luxurious buildings.

Finance :

While the Seminar agreed that the problem of financing slum clearance is complicated, the following steps of value required urgent consideration :

(a) A cess of Re. 1/- per month per employee should be levied on all employers employing more than 20 employees in the larger towns and cities. This levy should be imposed in respect of employees for whom the employer has not himself provided housing accommodation. The proceeds should be utilised either for capital expenditure on new housing construction or for cheapening rents, especially in the context of raising housing standards and building construction costs.

(b) Steps should be taken to induce the private sector to participate in slum re-development and improvement in the following manner —

(i) Income tax and Municipal tax concessions should be extended for a certain initial period on all new dwellings whose monthly rental is not in excess of Rs. 100/-.

(ii) Loan facilities should be provided for Co-operative Housing Societies on a concessional basis as for small and medium scale industries, i.e. at a rate of interest not exceeding 3% and with the facility of an initial interest-free period.

(iii) Financial assistance should be given for large-scale repairs and improvements to old buildings lapsing into slum conditions. The necessity for urgently reviewing existing rent control laws as a means to encouraging rehabilitation of buildings cannot be over-emphasised.

EXAMINATION OF SLUM CLEARANCE PROJECTS IN AHMEDABAD, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, DELHI, KANPUR, MADRAS, AND POONA

39. The following is a list of points under which the schemes of the various cities have been examined. These points are as follows :—

- (a) Description of slums
- (b) Extent of slums and percentage of slum dwellers to the total population of the city
- (c) Historical factors contributing to the growth of slums
- (d) Slum clearance and slum improvement schemes :
 - (i) Schemes for acquiring and demolition of existing slums, redevelopment and rehousing,
 - (ii) Schemes for improvement of existing slums
- (e) Difficulties in implementing the schemes :
 - (i) Financial,
 - (ii) Administrative : at various levels of Government (Union, State and local)
 - (iii) Legal
 - (iv) Problems and reluctance of the slum dweller
- (f) Integration of slum clearance and Town Planning Schemes
- (g) Prevention of fresh slums
- (h) Evaluation of the schemes
- (i) Recommendations

Description of Slums :

40. It was found that the slums varied in nomenclature like chawls in Bombay, Katras in Delhi, Ahatas and Abadis in

Kanpur, Bustees in Calcutta and Cheries in Madras. Generally slums may be divided into two types—one consisting of huts and the other of pucca built structures.

Some States have formulated legal definitions of slums. Generally speaking, all the areas which are unfit for human habitation by reason of insanitary conditions, overcrowding or obsolescence of buildings have been considered as slums.

Extent of Slums and Percentage of Slum Dwellers :

41. It was found that the slum population goes up to as high as 50 to 60% of the total population in different cities. Precise figures of the slum dwelling population in each city are not available because no comprehensive surveys have been undertaken and there is no uniformity adopted in the definition of a slum.

Historical Factors Contributing to Growth of Slums :

42. It has been found that the rapid process of unplanned urbanisation has been accentuated by the growing industrialisation, increasing rate of migration from rural to urban areas, political factors like war and influx of displaced persons due to partition, periodic ravages of nature like famine, drought, etc. The slums have been created mainly due to the incapacity of the new migrants to pay the economic rent as also the great disparity between the rate of rise in population and that of increase in the available housing. The results have been overcrowding, growth of squalor, disease and insanitary conditions.

Slum Clearance and Slum Improvement Schemes :

43. It was generally observed that the slum problem did not attract adequate attention of the Government, local bodies or private individuals till after independence. Even though some schemes were developed to clear certain slum areas, there was hardly any recognition given to the problem of re-housing the displaced families. The result was that the early schemes cleared the areas, developed them, and mainly resold them to richer income groups or to commercial interests. It is increasingly been given due recognition.

Schemes for Acquiring & Demolition of existing slums, Redevelopment and Rehousing :

44. (a) Delhi started its slum clearance programme as early as 1937 with the establishment of the Delhi Improvement Trust. Out of the 8 Schemes, 5 were sanctioned. The Major scheme called the "Delhi Ajmeri Gate Slum Clearance Scheme" contemplates the displacement of 5000 families, out of whom 700 have so far been provided alternate accommodation at a distance of 2 to 4 miles. Five more areas have been cleared and about 1300 families have been rehoused. The economic rent of the newly built houses is Rs. 24/- per month but the subsidised rent actually charged is Rs. 12/- per month only.

(b) In Bombay, the Municipal Corporation has built since 1948, over 2500 tenements for its own employees as well as the poorer classes. The Bombay Housing Board, set up in 1947, has also built over 14,000 tenements for low income groups. The only tenements built during this period for clearing slums and rehousing are at Palton Road and number about 80. The Corporation has lately approved a redevelopment scheme for the 60 acres of slum area of Kamathipura where at present over 57,000 people live. The scheme involving the clearance of this area and the rebuilding of 6,000 tenements on the cleared area and another 5,000 tenements elsewhere for the spill-over population is estimated to cost Rs. 7 crores. An immediate pilot scheme in this area involving the demolition of 1073 tenements and their rebuilding estimated to cost Rs. 80 lacs is on the way. Transit accommodation of 454 tenements for the families to be dishoused by this scheme is already erected and the old houses are expected to be demolished within the next 8 to 10 months. The Corporation is also attempting to integrate its clearance scheme with the housing programme for industrial workers of the Bombay Housing Board. The new tenements to be put up by the Corporation would consist of a room 120 sq. ft., a kitchen 66 sq. ft. and a balcony of 40 sq. ft. Instead of the common sanitary arrangements at the rate of 2 W.Cs. and 2 baths for each 5 tenements originally proposed it is now intended to provide independent

bath and W.C. for each tenement. The cost of this new type of tenement will be about Rs. 5500/- and its economic rent approximately Rs. 42/- per month, but the subsidised rent is intended to be fixed at Rs. 22/ per month only.

(c) In Calcutta, some individual schemes have been completed by the Calcutta Improvement Trust and the Calcutta Port Commissioners but the progress has been held up in the absence of any co-ordinated authority. A Five Year Plan of clearance and rehousing estimated to cost about Rs. 8 crores has been prepared by the Calcutta Corporation for which sanction of the State Government is awaited.

(d) In Kanpur, of the 5 schemes involving slum clearance notified in the thirties one was completed, one partly finished and three smaller schemes remained unimplemented at the close of the War. There was no obligatory provision for rehousing the dehouseed population but 200 quarters were constructed and given on hire-purchase system. 2400 workmen's quarters were constructed by the Board between 1944-47 at a cost of Rs. 40 lacs with a monthly rent of Rs. 5/-. A number of quarters were taken up by dehousees but a majority of them were occupied by displaced persons at the end of 1947. While acquisition went on, slums could not be demolished for want of rehousing facilities, till the construction of labour quarters was started in 1952 under the subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme. Over 15,000 units have already been built and another 5,000 unit will be completed by the end of the current financial year. Since 1953, the Board has cleared 8 Ahatas and 2 Abadis involving about 2,000 families, about 60% of whom were industrial workers. A number of non-industrial dehousees have been given plots at rates varying from Rs. 3/- to Rs. 6/- per sq. yd. on an instalment basis. The Board has in hand schemes for clearance of 19 slum areas and in most cases acquisition is in progress. This involves over 21,000 families out of which over 10,000 families are non-industrial slum dwellers with an income below Rs. 175/- p.m. They are proposed to be rehoused in quarters to be constructed under the slum clearance scheme of the Government of India at a cost of about Rs. 3 crores. Plans for construction of these quarters have been prepared.

(e) The Ahmedabad Corporation has so far provided about 2,300 tenements for its own employees as well as for industrial labour. The Housing Board has also constructed about 8,000 tenements for industrial labour in Ahmedabad City. The Corporation has prepared slum clearance schemes costing about Rs. 11 crores for constructing 25,000 tenements. As a first step about 1,700 tenements will be constructed at a cost of about Rs. 70 lakhs. The schemes are under scrutiny by the Government of India.

(f) In Poona, the Corporation has put up over 1,200 tenements for housing its own low-income group employees. The Corporation has also prepared a Five Year Plan for slum clearance. Under it 2,000 tenements will be constructed at a cost of Rs. 60 lakhs. The schemes are awaiting sanction from the Government of India. However, the Corporation has started construction of 144 tenements at a cost of Rs. 5 lacs.

Schemes for Improvement of Existing Slums :

45. It has been realised only recently that slum clearance being a long-term project, certain improvements are imperative in the existing slums to relieve the inhuman conditions of living.

(a) In Delhi, the Delhi Improvement Trust, the Delhi Municipal Committee, and the Bharat Sevak Samaj were entrusted with this work and they so far completed it in 190 Kattras. The improvements have included provision of filtered water-taps, electric lighting of the courtyard, provision of flush or general type of latrine and drainage, paving of courtyard and constructing verandahs of corrugated sheets and some essential minor repairs. The average cost of improvement per Kattras has come to about Rs. 5,000/-.

(b) In Bombay, the improvement programme visualises provision of 50% subsidy with a maximum of Rs. 500/- for each house for the provision of additional facilities like building a flush latrine or opening up windows etc. At present, a survey is in progress which is expected to be completed within about 3 years.

(c) In Calcutta, improvements are proposed to be made in 14 Bustees, mainly at the owner's cost.

(d) In Kanpur, the Board has Ahata bye-laws which can compel the owner to provide minimum amenities to the Ahata dwellers. A special officer was appointed for the improvement work and about 3 lacs of rupees have been spent. However, it has been found that the owners are averse to carrying out improvement and prefer to pay the fines. The realisation of money spent on improvement of Ahatas was also found to be difficult.

(e) Madras is laying stress on improvement of existing slums. So far 31 slums have been improved at a cost of Rs. 30 lacs.

(f) In other cities, it appears that no special steps for improvement of slums have been taken except by way of giving amenities like water supply, drainage, sanitation, etc. under the existing Municipal regulations.

Difficulties of Implementing the Schemes :

46. These have generally been financial, administrative, legal and those faced by the slum dwellers to move to new areas :

(a) Financial :

It was found that the process of acquiring, developing, and rebuilding a slum area is uneconomic for the local bodies. The recent Government of India's plan of giving 25% subsidy and 50% loan has eased the situation to some extent. Still the rentals to be charged from the rehoused slum-dwellers are high in proportion to their average income. It would be reasonable to estimate their rent paying capacity at a ceiling level of 15% of their monthly income.

(b) Administrative :

Among the administrative difficulties it has been found that in some cities there are over-lapping authorities to deal with the problem of clearance and development which makes concerted action almost impossible. There is also lack of co-ordination between the different levels of Government, i.e.

local, State and Central. The result is that the time taken for preparing and sanctioning a scheme ranges anywhere between 2 to 3 years. The execution of course would take much longer.

(c) Legal :

Land acquisition proceedings take an unduly long time. The procedure for demolishing structures after issuing notices etc. is unnecessarily cumbersome. Though section 31 of the Constitution has recently been amended so as to avoid payment of heavy compensation for acquisition of slum properties, no corresponding amendments have been moved at the State level. Only the Union Government has recently enacted the necessary legislation for the Union territories.

(d) Problems of the Slum Dwellers :

Last but not the least is the reluctance of the average slum-dweller to move out from his present abode. The reasons are not far to seek. His main source of income is at a place nearby and moving out to a distant place involves not only more money but also more time and inconvenience. Moreover, the transport arrangements have not kept pace with the growth of cities.

Integration of Slum Clearance and Town Planning Schemes :

47. It was found that slum clearance schemes in all cities except Calcutta, were in conformity with the Town Planning Schemes. Calcutta has no statutory Town Planning laws except a loose form of zoning rules provided in the Municipal Act which are ineffective in practice.

Prevention of Fresh Slums :

48. It was observed that though armed with powers to demolish unauthorised constructions most of the Municipal authorities have found it difficult to use them on human considerations as long as alternative housing accommodation was not forthcoming for the slum dwellers. However, there is general awareness that in future no unauthorised constructions should be permitted and that effective steps should be taken to demolish such structures forthwith.

In Delhi and Calcutta, flying squads have recently been organised to deal effectively and expeditiously with fresh unauthorised constructions.

Evaluation of the Schemes :

49. In general, it can be said that the problem of the slum dwellers has come to the forefront only very recently. The focus of the earlier schemes has been mainly on dealing with a very small percentage of slum dwellings by demolishing them without giving attention to the problem of rehabilitating the dishoused persons. The schemes at present under execution also do not deal with more than a very significant proportion of the total number of slum dwellers.

50. However, detailed plans for clearing the existing slums or improving them wherever possible are under preparation in all the cities. Plans for some of the cities like Delhi, have been approved by the Central Government which has made available the necessary financial assistance to them. Plans of other cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona and Calcutta have yet to be sanctioned by the Central Government. The total quantum of financial assistance forthcoming from the Union and State Governments and the Local authorities is by no means adequate to solve the problem within the next few years. The total provision under the 2nd Five-Year Plan for slum clearance projects is Rupees 20 crores only. If appreciable progress is to be made much larger allocations are necessary. The schemes disclosed that the problem of social education of the slum dwellers has not received adequate attention. It is hardly necessary to stress that unless proper education is given to them, even the new or improved localities would soon degenerate into slums.

Recommendations :

51. The following recommendations are made apropos the examination of various slum clearance schemes.

(a) As far as possible the existing structures in slums should be demolished and new decent houses put up for the slum dwellers as near their existing places of residence as possible.

(b) There are undue delays in preparing and sanctioning the schemes. A machinery should be created by which this delay can be avoided and schemes prepared and sanctioned expeditiously.

(c) Essential building materials should be made available on a priority basis and at reasonable rates to the agencies in charge of executing slum clearance schemes.

(d) In some States it becomes difficult for the Municipal authorities to evict the tenants or to recover the arrears of rent from them without recourse to a court of law. Necessary powers should be given to the Municipal authorities to recover arrears of rent or to summarily evict defaulting tenants.

(e) Multiplicity of authority at the local level should be avoided. There should be only one authority in charge of the slum clearance and housing schemes for a city.

(f) Research should be carried out for cheapening the cost of construction of houses.

(g) The climatic conditions in different parts of the country are so divergent that it is not possible to lay down the same standards of housing accommodation for the entire country. The scrutiny of the plans and estimates of the scheme of each city should therefore be at the State level.

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION RULES REGARDING IMPROVEMENTS TO BUILDINGS UNFIT FOR HUMAN HABITATION

“In the Bombay Municipal Corporation Amendment Act, 1954, two new Sections 378-A and 378-B have been included empowering the Corporation, either to require the owners of buildings used for human habitation to execute such works or carry out such alterations as are considered necessary to render the buildings fit for human habitation, or to order their demolition if they are not capable, at reasonable expenditure, of being rendered fit for human habitation.

2 In order to implement the provisions of these Sections, the Act empowers the Corporation, under Section 378-D, to frame regulations for determining standards for fitness of such buildings. The standards of fitness to be made applicable to the old buildings, a large number of which were built when there were no building bye-laws, cannot naturally be as rigid as those enforceable under the existing building bye-laws, as the objective of the new Sections is to improve the living conditions in old sub-standard buildings, by providing facilities of water supply, ventilation, means of access, safety of structures, etc. In taking a view as to the fitness of a building for human habitation, the following considerations are important:—

- (a) Good state of repair and freedom from dump and rot.
- (b) Adequate size of rooms and tenements.
- (c) Natural lighting and ventilation for every room.
- (d) Adequate water supply laid on inside or near the tenements on each floor.
- (e) Internal or otherwise readily accessible water closet and bath room on each floor.
- (f) Internal *nahani* or sink in every kitchen.
- (g) Satisfactory facilities for preparation and cooking of food in every kitchen.

- (h) Proper drainage system within the premises.
- (i) General sanitation of open spaces.
- (j) Provision of electric lights wherever possible.

3. The accompanying draft regulations have accordingly been framed and are proposed to be made applicable to all old buildings in the City whether in slums or other localities.

4. In accordance with what has been under consideration for sometime, it has been arranged to make a survey of all old buildings in the City, especially those in A, B, C and E Wards and parts of D, F and G Wards, in order to obtain a correct picture of the existing situation regarding housing accommodation in the City. This survey will furnish details regarding the physical condition, the type and the extent of accommodation in these old buildings, deficiencies of essential services, etc. Apart from providing invaluable data for formulating a programme for slum clearance schemes and for new house building projects, the survey will also reveal the number of buildings capable of being rendered fit for human habitation by taking action under Section 378-A and of buildings which must be demolished by taking action under Section 378-B.

5. Financial difficulties, the disproportionately high cost of repairing very old buildings, and excessive wear and tear due to over-crowding are the main factors which have contributed to bring many old buildings to their present state of disrepair. The salvage of a proportion of these buildings does not now appear practicable and they will have to be demolished. Other buildings, although regarded as unfit for human habitation as judged from present standards, could be rendered fit by improvements, as their structural condition is relatively satisfactory. An all-round effort must be made to retrieve them as far as possible. In this connection, a practical way of giving an incentive to owners to undertake additions, alterations, improvements and conversions in pursuance of the provisions of Section 378-A would be by offering them an 'improvement subsidy.'

6. These 'improvement subsidies' will be on the lines of grants-in-aid of improvements and alterations, which local

authorities in U.K. are empowered to make under the Housing Act, 1949, and Housing Repairs and Rents Act, 1954, in order to subsidise current building costs and make many old buildings habitable. Such subsidies must necessarily be subject to certain specified conditions. It is suggested that the grant of improvement subsidies should be governed by the following :—

- (a) Any building for being eligible for a subsidy must provide satisfactory housing accommodation for at least 15 years after essential improvements, alterations and conversions have been carried out for bringing it up to the minimum standards.
- (b) Subsidy will be paid only for housing accommodation made available for letting and not that intended for sale.
- (c) Properties in Scheduled Clearance Areas will not be considered for a subsidy. Only buildings in other areas, and used primarily for residential purposes, will be considered eligible for a subsidy.
- (d) Subsidies will be available to any owner who is willing to improve the existing accommodation in his building to bring it up to the required standards for the general benefit of occupants, on a voluntary application from the owner or an application in pursuance of the service of Notice under Section 378-A.
- (e) The amount of subsidy will be not more than 50 per cent. of the cost of improvement and/or conversion, or Rs. 500 per tenement so improved or converted, whichever is less.
- (f) As the subsidies are intended for the modernisation of old buildings, they will be available only for improvements and conversions and not for ordinary repairs and maintenance.

7. The following items of improvements and/or conversions will be eligible for the grant of subsidies :—

- (a) Providing adequate water supply facilities inside or near the tenements on each floor.

- (b) Putting in a bathroom or water-closet wherever these are inadequate or non-existent.
- (c) Converting to a water-closet system from a privy system and connecting to main drainage.
- (d) Providing a *nahani* sink or a cooking platform in kitchens.
- (e) Works carried out for removing any fundamental defects in a structure, such as—
 - (i) changing the levels of ceilings, floors or roofs in order to get a proper ceiling height for rooms,
 - (ii) putting in a new staircase of adequate modern standard to replace an old one.
- (f) Providing adequate open spaces for the lighting and ventilation of rooms and the opening up of chowks.
- (g) Making new windows or enlarging the size of existing small windows to improve natural light and ventilation.
- (h) Enlarging the sizes of rooms or tenements to adequate standards.
 - (i) Converting a non-residential building into self-contained units.

8. The following further conditions will govern the Subsidy Scheme :—

- (a) Plans and estimates for the proposed works must be submitted to the Municipality for approval through a licensed surveyor.
- (b) The amount of subsidy in respect of the expenses incurred for the purposes of the execution of any improvement and/or conversion works will be determined by the Municipality, after the plans and estimates are approved and will be related, in all cases, to the actual expenditure incurred as determined by the municipality on the planned works. The approved of these plans and estimates and the determination of the actual expenditure incurred is proposed to be entrusted to the Planning Engineer, proposals

about whom have been separately submitted to the corporation.

- (c) Subsidy will be paid either after the whole work is completed or by instalments during the progress of a work to the extent of not more than 50 per cent. of the estimated cost of the work done up to that time.
- (d) The subsidy in whole or in instalments will be paid on condition that the works are executed to the satisfaction of the Municipality and that the new accommodation will be always kept fit for human habitation by regular ordinary repairs and be available for occupation as dwellings by tenants.
- (e) No sub-letting shall be resorted to by the landlord in respect of the improved tenement for which a subsidy is granted.
- (f) Sanction of the Municipality for the subsidised work must be obtained before commencing the work. The subsidy will not be given for work already done without such sanction.
- (g) The rent of the improved or converted dwelling will be fixed under the Rent Act taking into account the character and condition of the dwelling after conversion or improvement and the amount of money the owner has spent on such works from his own pocket. The subsidy will be excluded from consideration for fixing the maximum rent.

9. Approval of the Works Committee and the Corporation is now requested (1) to the accompanying regulations framed under Section 378-D of the Act, for determining the standards of fitness for improving sub-standard dwellings, and (2) to the payment of subsidy to the extent of 50 per cent. of the expenditure incurred by the owners being made from Municipal Funds in approved cases.

10. A provision of Rs. 10 lakhs is envisaged in the Budget Estimates of 1957-58 for the payment of subsidies under this Scheme.

11. This may please be treated as "Urgent Business."

Draft regulations under the newly enacted Section 378-D of the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act for determining the fitness of existing buildings for human habitation, above referred to :—

Preamble :

“These regulations” shall apply to existing buildings for determining their fitness for human habitation. An existing building is “Unfit for human habitation” when it does not comply with the existing bye-laws in force and may be considered fit for habitation when it is made to comply with these regulations, to the extent demanded by the Municipal Commissioner.

Expressing Terms :

In the construction of the regulations hereinafter contained, the words and expressions used shall have the meanings respectively assigned to each or collectively to them, as the case may be, as per the definition of terms in Section 3 of the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act and the interpretation of terms mentioned in the Building Regulations and Bye-laws enacted under the provisions of Section 461 of the Act, unless such meaning is repugnant to, or inconsistent with, the context or subject-matter in which such words or expressions occur.

In addition to the interpretation of terms mentioned in Section 3 of the Act and in the Building Bye-laws framed thereunder, for the construction of these regulations, the following words and expressions shall have meanings assigned to them :—

“Existing Building” means a building existing on the date on which these regulations come into force.

“Habitable room” means a room constructed, adapted or used for human habitation, such as, a living room, bed room, kitchen, etc.

“Open air space” means a space unbuilt upon, without covering and open to the sky.

“Sanitary defects” include lack of air space or of ventilation, inadequacy of living space, darkness, dampness, absence of adequate and readily accessible water supply or sanitary accommodation or of other conveniences, inadequate paving or drainage of open spaces, passages or accesses.

“Site” includes not only the land actually covered by the building, but also the land at the front, rear and sides of such building required to be left open and the words “Inseparable part of the site” means that part of the site, which is the property of the owner of the land, on which the building stands.

A person shall be deemed to do, or omit or fail to do, any act or thing mentioned in these regulations when demanded, when he does, or omits or fails to do such act or thing, either in the capacity of an owner, agent of an owner, contractor, builder, structural designer, architect or engineer or person in-charge of any building construction or alteration work.

Means of Access :

(1) Every building shall have a means of access to such building, unless it abuts on a street, on a pathway not less than six feet in width from a street to the door of such building, such pathway to be so long as it is used as a means of access to the building, kept, levelled and paved and accessible at all times free from any obstruction.

Level of plinth :

(2) Every building shall have the whole of its lowest flat or ground floor at least 1'-6" above the level of the centre of the street on which the building abuts or 1'-6" above the ground within a distance of five feet of such building.

Every plinth shall be kept in good repair and reasonably watertight.

Walls :

(3) Every exterior wall shall be free of holes, breaks and other conditions which might admit rodents, rain or damp-

ness, to the interior portions of the walls or to the interior spaces of the building.

Flooring :

(4) Every water-closet, urinal, washing or bathing place and water room and every portion of the ground floor and every part of each floor, and every communicating passage and verandah on each floor will be laid or paved with stone-slate or non-absorbent tiles laid in cement or cement coba or other durable materials impervious to moisture, and shall be easily cleanable.

Front and rear open spaces :

(5) When a building does not abut on a street, the Commissioner may insist on front and rear open spaces of at least 5'' in width for the entire front and rear of the building.

Open air space and ventilation of rooms :

(6) At least one side of every room (including every kitchen room) in a building shall abut throughout its entire length on an open air space or on a verandah or communicating passage abutting on open air space of minimum width in accordance with the following scale:—

Minimum width of open air space throughout the entire length of room or rooms	Where height of building (above plinth), adjoining the open airspace does not exceed
8 feet	22 feet
10 feet	44 feet
12 feet	55 feet
14 feet	66 feet

Provided, however, where more than one side of a room abuts on an open air space not less than 5 feet in width, the minimum width of each of such open air spaces may be reduced by 4 feet subject to a minimum of five feet. The open spaces so provided shall be free of all encroachments or projections excepting cornice of a width of 9''.

Dimensions of rooms :

(7) Every habitable room shall have a clear superficial area of not less than 100 square feet and shall not be of a

Every exterior window shall be kept in good repaired condition, and its shutters shall properly fit within its frame.

Every door when closed shall properly fit within its frame.

Every window when opened shall be held in open position by window hardware hinges and latches and tower bolts of doors and windows shall be in good condition.

Every window on the south and west sides of the room shall be protected by a weather frame of at least 2'-6" width properly supported.

Through ventilation :

(10) In a back to back room in addition to any other means of ventilation required by these regulations, every such room shall have a ventilator of at least three square feet in area near the top of each of two of the walls of such room and such ventilators shall be, as far as practicable, opposite to each other. In the case of an upper room or rooms in the room, one of such ventilators may be a ridge ventilator or ventilating tile or tiles.

Requisites of kitchen :

(11) Every kitchen shall be provided with a *nahani* in good working condition with a water tap and shall be properly connected to the drainage system as per drainage provisions of the Act and the rules and regulations framed thereunder, provided that in every separate kitchen of a double-room tenement or of a tenement containing more than two rooms, there shall be a bath room the minimum internal dimensions of which shall be 4' × 4'.

Staircases :

(12) Every principal staircase in a building shall be of fire-proof construction and of a minimum clear width of 2'-6" with treads in no part less than 10" and risers not exceeding 9" and shall have a hand rail of not less a height than 3 feet securely fixed.

When a staircase construction is winding at places or a staircase is of a winding type the width of the tread shall be

measured at 18" from the smaller end of tread and shall be 10".

Every flight of a staircase and the hand-rails shall be firmly fastened and shall be maintained in good condition.

No flight of a staircase shall have rotting or deteriorating supports.

Treads of every flight of a staircase shall be sound and securely fastened in position.

Ventilation of staircase :

(13) Every principle staircase in a building shall have an aggregate area opening of 12 square feet on each floor in such of the wall or walls of the staircase room as abut on an open air space of not less than 6 feet in width.

Passages and corridors in buildings :

(14) Every passage in a building shall be adequately lighted and ventilated from an external open space to the satisfaction of the Commissioner.

Every corridor in a chawl shall be kept open to the open air at each of its ends. Every such corridor of more than fifty-five feet in length shall have at intervals of not more than fifty-five feet an opening of not less than six feet square communicating wholly with the open air.

Provision of Lights :

(15) Every staircase, common passage, corridor or lobby and every common water-closet, bath room, urinal and washing place shall be adequately lighted at night by an adequate number of electric lights or by any other lighting system.

Sanitary accommodation :

(16) Every building shall have—

(a) adequate water-closet accommodation and washing places ; and

(b) a supply of water for domestic use adequate for the use of and readily accessible to persons by whom the building is occupied.

greater depth than 20 feet from the side abutting on the open air space provided for its ventilation. No habitable room or a part thereof shall be used for the purpose of a kitchen unless the superficial area of such a living room is more than one hundred forty square feet and a portion is partitioned off by a wall not more than 5'-6" in height. The portion thus partitioned off shall have an area equal to one-third the area of the living room.

Provided, however, if a room is exclusively to be used as a kitchen, it shall have an area of 60 square feet.

The width of a room used either as a living room or as a kitchen shall not be less than 7 feet on the side abutting on an open space left for its air and light.

Height of rooms :

(8) Every room (including every kitchen room) in a building except a room in the roof shall not in any part be less than 8'-6" in height from the floor to the ceiling.

Every room in the roof of such building shall have a minimum height of not less than 5'-6" and an average height of at least 7'-6" when the roof is a pitched one. In case of a flat or terrace roof, the height shall not be less than 8'-6".

Means of ventilation of rooms :

(9) In the side of every room (including every kitchen room) abutting on the open air space or on a verandah, or gallery or passage abutting on an open air space left under regulation No. 5 shall be provided for the purpose:—

- (i) a window or windows having an opening of not less than one tenth of the floor area of the room ; and
- (ii) an aggregate opening of not less than one seventh of the floor area of the room consisting of a window or windows and a door.

Such openings provided as per this rule shall, under no circumstances, be covered or closed by mattings, tarpaulins, etc.

The adequacy of sanitary accommodation should be as per Municipal Building Regulations and Bye-laws,

Provided, however, that it shall be competent for the Commissioner to reduce the requirements as the exigencies of a case may demand.

(17) In every building of single room tenements, there shall be provided one water-closet, one closed bath-room (of at least 16 sq. ft. area) or urinal (of at least 9 sq. ft. area), one general washing place (of at least 24 sq. ft. area) with two water taps and one metal dust bin (of adequate size and with a close fitting cover) for every four single room tenements.

Every such general washing place on any floor if not otherwise covered on top shall have a roof over it.

(18) In every building of double-room tenements, there shall be provided one water-closet, one closed bath-room (of at least 16 sq. ft. area) or urinal (of at least 9 sq. ft. area), one general washing place (of at least 24 sq. ft. area) with two water taps and one metal dust bin (of adequate size and with a close fitting cover) for every three double-room tenements.

Every such general washing place on any floor, if not otherwise covered on top, shall have a roof above it.

Drainage :

(19) Every means of drainage, every water-closet, *nahanī* sinks, washing place, bath-room, urinal and all sanitary appliances in a building shall be in good repair.

Water supply lines :

(20) Water supply lines shall be in good repair and located so as to be free from contamination.

Roof :

(21) Roof and roof gutters shall be watertight and free from defects which admit rain water into the building.

Wall plaster, etc. :

(22) The outer surface of every external wall shall be either cement pointed or plastered with cement mortar so as to make it impervious to moisture.

The inner surface of every external wall and both surfaces of every internal wall shall be plastered with lime or cement mortar.

Every external surface of a wall, or ceiling or of any wood work in every building shall be kept in a wholesome and sanitary condition and shall be colour washed, oiled or oil-painted.

In matters not specifically mentioned in these rules, the Building Rules and Regulations shall apply.

Power to waive or modify requirements :

Notwithstanding anything contained in these regulations, it shall be in the discretion of the Commissioner to modify in respect of a building any dimensions or requisitions prescribed by any such regulations if in his opinion the enforcement would be unreasonable in relation to any particular case, but subject to such conditions, if any, as he may think fit."

APPENDIX II
SOME SELECTED PAPERS

AN INTEGRATED PLAN FOR SLUM CLEARANCE

By

DR. J. F. BULSARA

It is taken for granted, for purposes of discussion, that the clearance of slums at least in the capital cities of the fourteen larger reorganised States of India will receive a high priority both in the overall Central and decentralised State planning, and that it will have a higher priority still, with regard to capital or industrial cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Amritsar and Delhi.

Government Responsibility

The immense magnitude of the problem is by now well-understood. It should be, therefore, clear that slum clearance programmes cannot be relegated as the sole concern of the Municipalities of the respective cities. The State and Central Governments should have a definite part to play by way of active assistance through providing finances and helping in the process of implementation of the accepted programmes.

Financial Contributions

The formulation of concrete programmes of slum clearance should be the concern primarily of the city Municipalities ; but the State and Central Governments should provide help of one or more experts, such as Town Planners or Sociologists in case some Municipalities need them. The programmes should include a five-year plan of slum clearance with a detailed financial forecast. These should be scrutinised at one or more joint meetings of the representatives of the respective Municipalities and the State and Central Governments. The State and Central Governments should thereafter decide what *subsidy* each should give towards the expenditure of slum clearance over a five-year period. The city Corporation will simultaneously announce its own *contribution* over a five-year period of implementation.

Loans

Since the raising of *loans* would be an inevitable step in the financing of the expensive programme of slum clearance, the financial forecast should include the item of a *co-ordinated programme of raising loans* in the country and outside over the plan-period. This will have to be dovetailed into the total programme of development finance for the country as a whole. The question of financial implications is considered later in this paper.

Procedure of a Practical Programme

(1) The first step in a practical programme of implementation would be a fairly accurate *survey* of the number of slums in the city and their *classification* into a few easily intelligible categories; say five at the most. The five categories should be listed according to the *intensity of slumminess and the number of children under 12 and total population involved*. The worst slums according to this combined criterion would fall in the first category and therefore to be tackled first.

(ii) After the survey and classification, a *selection* of the three smallest slums in the first category may be made with a view to the practical handling of the programme of slum clearance. The smaller number is suggested with a view to gaining much-needed experience, so that avoidable wastage may be prevented, and the least hardships may be caused to the dwellers if they have to be shifted temporarily. The financial, socio-economic and communications implications of slum clearance would also be better grasped after working on three small, easily manageable slum areas. This may occupy about a year.

Questions of Policy

(i) Immediately a programme of slum clearance has been decided upon, the question of the policy to be followed will arise. This policy will have to be thought out *very carefully* and arrived at after adequate consultations with the representatives of the owners of properties and of the dwellers in

slum areas. Some of the main considerations in evolving a policy would be the following:

- (a) That owners of land and houses will be given reasonable compensation.
- (b) That those who are willing to rebuild according to the plan prepared or approved by the Municipality will be allowed to do so.
- (c) That if there are several owners of properties in a small area, they will be permitted to combine in a joint stock concern or a co-operative enterprise, in order to develop their properties according to the plans prepared or approved by the Municipality.
- (d) That those who are willing to develop their properties as above would be allowed loans at a reasonable rate of interest, repayable over a period of 20 years, on the mortgage of the property.
- (e) That the dwellers would be accommodated as near the place of their work as possible during the interim period and re-housed, as far as possible, in their original locality, if they so desire.

(ii) Another part of the policy will relate to the actual improvement and rehabilitation of the slum area into a normally healthy locality. Here the main considerations in evolving a policy of re-development would be the following:

- (a) That the improvement of the living conditions of the dwellers would be the guiding factor in slum clearance.
- (b) That the vital consideration should be the time factor, i.e., how quickly a slum area could be cleared.
- (c) Having safeguarded the reasonable interests of the owners of land and houses and of their living children or grandchildren, as in (i) above, the method of development should depend upon the two criteria in (a) and (b) above, of sub-para (ii).

(iii) Thus various methods of clearance and rehabilitation may be followed, viz., the encouragement of private, joint

stock or co-operative enterprise, or Municipal, Government or semi-autonomous corporation enterprise, or a combination of two or more methods, as the case may be. Full powers should be available to the Municipality to follow any of the above recognised methods of clearance and re-development. The vested interests may be protected up to the life-time of the *living* owners, living children or living grandchildren, but the right to benefits out of slum property should not extend to unborn generations. The benefit of income should, in no case, be larger than the last ten years' average. The interests of the poorer of the property owners living on the income from rent may be protected.

(iv) As far as possible, at least the same number of persons should be accommodated in the redeveloped area as were living there before it was taken up for development; and a larger number, if possible, after fully providing essential amenities like open space, playground, educational and shopping facilities, dispensary, etc. This could be done by *vertical expansion* as far as permissible, bearing in mind that no lift facilities would be provided in such housing. The maximum number of upper storeys should, therefore, be three in such housing.

Expediting Slum Rehabilitation

Another item to be borne in mind in rehabilitating a slum area is the *pace* with which this is done. This should be the quickest, permitted by all the circumstances. Over these circumstances, the improvement authorities should have fairly full control. Slum clearance should not be done at the leisurely pace of building new houses or developing new sites. The clearance of every slum area should take the minimum time possible. A *special technique of rehabilitation* should therefore be developed, suitable to the urgency of the project. To give a few examples, the final site plan and lay-out should be complete and approved by all the parties concerned before the demolition work is begun. Demolition should not be wholesale in a condemned area, but partial or piecemeal, so as to displace the least number of persons at a time. The housing should be erected rapidly, with plumbing, electric

installation and piping works done simultaneously with erection, and not one after another as suited to the convenience of each contractor. As much machinery should be used as possible, with a view to expediting the housing construction. The doors, windows, sanitary fittings and other parts should be standardised and mass produced with the same end in view as also to reduce costs.

Other Components of an Integrated Plan

(i) *Education of Slum Dwellers.* There are other essential components of an integrated plan of slum clearance which need to be considered and given attention to simultaneously. *The most important of these is to prevent the same population from slipping back into slumdom.* A part of this danger would be obviated by providing improved housing, but that is not all. Highly improved housing can be reduced to slums by bad living and insanitary habits. *The people's education in better living is indicated and has to be assiduously pursued.* Trained social workers with this slant should be asked to work among the dwellers right from the moment it is decided to redevelop a slum area. The dwellers should be explained why their area has been taken up for improvement and what are the targets aimed at for attainment. This educative work should be done even when the dishoused dwellers are housed in a temporary transit area. It should continue for some time in the rehabilitated area until the living habits of the people have been transformed.

(ii) *Provision of Essential Amenities.* It follows that no slum area should be taken up for clearance unless the Municipality is in a position to supply in the rehabilitated area all the essential requirements or civic amenities in an adequate measure. The minimum of these should be *water, lighting, sanitary conveniences, conservancy, schooling and recreation.*

Improvement and Prevention

There are nearly 90 slum areas in the city of Bombay. There may be a larger number in Calcutta. There may be an equally large number in each of the other cities of India

in proportion to their populations. The three governmental authorities may not be able to find the resources to tackle the eradication of all the slums in their respective cities within a reasonable period of time. The programme may have to be spread over five to six five-year plans, i.e., over nearly 25 to 30 years. It is therefore necessary to do two things immediately, viz., (a) To improve the physical and living conditions in the existing slums, and (b) To work strenuously to prevent new slums from growing.

Improving the Existing Slums

(i) This work must be given the highest priority. A pilot slum improvement scheme should be framed and tried out in five selected slum areas with the help of Municipal officers appointed for the purpose, and working in collaboration with voluntary social workers and representative committees of local slum areas. Their work must be simple, viz., (a) To keep the locality clean externally, (b) To keep the residential premises clean internally, (c) To provide the wanting civic amenities such as water supply, conservancy, adequate sanitary conveniences, and lighting, (d) To provide a Community Centre on the basis of self-help, (e) To organise recreational facilities, and (f) To provide minimum medical care.

(ii) It would be unwise to tackle slum improvement unless and until the Municipality is in a position and prepared to provide at least adequate water supply and conservancy services to the area. For, if these essentials are not provided, the enthusiasm of the dwellers for improvement will be dampened immediately, and the good effect of preliminary publicity and spade work will be lost both on the dwellers and the voluntary workers. Besides providing the required facilities and services as in (i) above, the local improvement committee, the voluntary workers and the officials should extend their work to the general social education of the population, the foremost item of which will be the inculcation of the habit of cleanliness of person, premises and surroundings, and abatement of all nuisances which add to the squalor of slum areas. The word '*slum*' should be scrupulously avoided

in naming the area or the local committee, or designating the officers.

(iii) The work on five pilot areas should continue for one year, by which time sufficient information and experience will have been gathered to launch in the second year a campaign of similar improvement work in the entire city. This work of improvement should on no account be delayed further, nor should only five slum areas be taken up at a time each year for improvement. For, there is nothing to commend the continuance of slums and the improvement work cannot brook delay. Minimum amenities, services and improvement activities should be undertaken in all the slum areas in the city in the second year, after the dwellers have been informed, local improvement committees organised, and voluntary welfare workers allotted to the areas.

Preventing New Slums

The tragic accompaniment of the growth of cities in Asian countries is the constant increase in the number of slums. By the time the ninety odd slums of Bombay are improved or eradicated, if present conditions of growth are allowed to persist unchecked, there are bound to be numerous new slums arising in the expanding city. Unless, therefore, very vigorous steps are taken to prevent new slums from arising, most of our efforts at improvement will be nullified or neutralised. A Section of Slum (Depressed Area) Improvement and Eradication Department should, therefore, devote itself to prevent new slums from arising or multiplying. This could be done by enforcing the existing legislation against squatting and unauthorised occupation or construction, as also by a timely checking of sub-standard areas being worsened through the neglect of sanitation, over-crowding, inadequate conservancy and water supply, in disorderly habits of the populace, etc. A mobile squad of the Department should keep a careful watch throughout the city and see to it that new slums are not permitted to develop. That is the only way we can hope to make a substantial dent in the difficult problem of slum clearance within a reasonable period. Besides, it is a truism which needs no emphasis or repetition that preven-

tion is better and more economical than cure, and that a stitch in time saves nine.

Training and Education

If a systematic pre-planned effort is to be made to cure the canker of slums, systematic training and education of the officers, voluntary workers and local leaders will have also to be undertaken. Besides, a general awakening will have to be effected amongst the inhabitants themselves. These training courses need not be too elaborate. They may be as short as one to four weeks according to necessity, together with a provision for recurring refresher talks and conferences ; whereas the education of the general public should be continuous through talks, exhibitions, competitions and shows, with the help of all available audio-visual material. Mobile Street Kiosks, showing appropriate automatic films with the interspersing of some musical and filmic entertainment, for an hour or longer at convenient evening hours, right in the heart of the slum areas, would afford an excellent medium to educate the general public. The expenditure incurred on a few good, attractive shorts on various aspects of slum life and the value of improvement and cleaner living would be more than repaid. These could be repeated in 90 to 100 localities of the city, and with appropriate dubbing in fourteen languages in several cities of India. In any case no officer or worker should be without proper orientation as to the methodology, approach, public relations and popular participation aspects of slum clearance and improvement.

Targets and Evaluation

The targets and objectives will have to be fixed for every five-year plan, and it will have to be seen to that a small machinery of evaluation is provided in the Scheme to appraise the results from time to time. In the first five-year plan, the appraisal should be annual. Thereafter, it can be biennial or triennial according to availability of personnel and resources. In any case, the ultimate target for either the total eradication of slums or their radical improvement should not be set beyond a maximum of six five-year plans, i.e., one generation,

for the larger cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur and Ahmedabad.

Financial Considerations

(i) It is not the task of individuals to make a forecast of the financial implications of a very complex scheme like slum clearance. There are so many calculable as well as incalculable and imponderable factors involved that it will be almost impossible to forecast with any precision or near approximation the total amount of expenditure, which may have to be borne by the local Municipality and the State and Central Governments. Whatever the magnitude of the expenditure involved, it has also to be clearly understood that in the final analysis, it is the adult worker, entrepreneur and professional, who will have to bear the entire burden of setting right the mistake, innocent or otherwise, of our forefathers and contemporaries. The standards that we set will, therefore, have to be very cautiously and carefully thought out, with the full understanding of our capacity to bear the expenditure within a single generation of thirty years, if that target of achievement is accepted as a reasonable one. Whereas the *level* and *pace* of improvement will be thus set according to our existing financial income and capacity to spare and spend, we will have to apply one corrective to that legitimate, cautious conservatism in setting the norm and pace of improvement. This corrective will have to be the fact that housing and amenities standards of today will be outmoded in the next thirty years, and that they will become almost obsolete or contemptible in the next sixty to eighty years, which will be the normal life of an average brick house. We will thus have to strike a mean between our present capacity and future expectations and err a little on the liberal side, knowing also that we are building for a relatively equalitarian community in view of our accepted socialistic pattern of society. Thus, for a family of three to five, we would think of providing today *at least* one room and kitchen, with separate sanitary conveniences and a small verandah or open space. The one living room should be large enough to be partitioned off into two, when the children of opposite sexes grow to the consciousness of their separate sex and individuality. The

kitchen in such a family should be large enough to accommodate a small raised platform, on which the members may sit down to dine, and in the lower hollow of which inevitable necessities could be stored. This presupposes a considerable amount of sociological study of the ways of living of people of various tastes, traditions and habits, and a purposive research into the logistics of space utilisation and convenient gadgets, and the economics of costs. Such studies and surveys should have preceded the Slum Clearance Projects, but it is earnestly hoped that they will at least be contemporaneous or simultaneous hereafter.

Ad-Hoc Provision

(ii) In view of the complexity of the problem and the fact that few of us are gifted or even concerned enough to be able to look a generation ahead, we will have to fall back on the usual device of finding out what we can spare for slum clearance from our limited annual incomes—meaning by 'we', the Municipality, and the State and Central Governments. At least for the first five-year plan, we will have to specify ad-hoc amounts to be spent on the two types of schemes to be undertaken, viz., *Slum clearance and redevelopment and Slum improvement*. Much greater caution and deeper calculations of cost accounting will have to be applied to the more expensive and complicated process of *slum clearance*. The other process of *slum improvement* is relatively child's play compared to the complexities of the former, the only precaution necessary being to see that you spend wisely by fixing priorities and evaluating the results, so as to get the maximum benefit in proportion to the expenditure incurred. It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things to allocate larger amounts for *improvement* than for *outright clearance or demolition* at least in the first one or two-five-year plan periods. Once the ratio of burden becomes clearer, the planners can increase their tempo of clearance.

Liberal Provision Necessary

(iii) One factor must, however, be emphasised that since the greatest single evil arising out of slums is the dete-

rioration of physical life and degeneration of moral and aesthetic values, i.e., the general degradation of our own kith and kin, we must be prepared to spare liberally for *slum improvement*. This is because human beings and especially young children and growing youths are concerned, and these are our greatest assets. Whatever amounts we set apart initially for the purpose, they should be continuous and made available over the entire first five-year period. Moreover, the amounts should progressively increase in the successive plan periods. A cut in show, finery, ostentation, or non-utilitarian activities will be amply justified until we are able to get rid of these social cankers from our cities, of whose boasted civilization slums are the loudest and most legitimate accusers as well as disturbers. Tentatively, one would like to propose that from the second year onwards, the amount to be spent in slum clearance and improvement in Bombay and Calcutta should not be less than one crore of rupees, subscribed by the Central and State Governments and Municipality in the proportion of 50, 25 and 25 per cent respectively.³

Attacking Root-Causes of the Evil

(i) Planning slum clearance would indeed become ludicrous and self-defeating, if we did not attend *simultaneously* to the *root-causes* that give rise to slums. Thus rural-minded people, not used to cooperative living in a restricted space, cause slum conditions, often unconsciously. There should be definite *education* in clean living in crowded wards imparted to all children in schools, youths in colleges, factories and workshops, and adults in their work places and homes. This should be specially imparted to all new-comers to the cities, devising general and specific educative methods and techniques to suit various conditions. If the civic authorities and more fortunate citizens want that city people may live well, it is their essential duty to see that the minimum physical wherewithals of living well are provided to all the citizens. This means that they cannot avoid slums, if they do not control the *indiscriminate influx of people* into cities, and do not care to find the houseless incoming strangers and dishoused citizens

¹ Vide also paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 above.

a proper shelter in a proper place. It is such an elementary duty of every civic authority that it needs no stress or elaboration. In a society planning goals and objectives of better life, chaos can have no place, unless the goals are meant merely to be slaves to conscience or lip-service. So, the unregulated flow of unemployed or unemployable rural or urban folks of all ages from an established habitat into the impersonal and, therefore, baffling environment of the city is an aspect of our life that needs intelligent regulation, if we are to avoid more slums, more human misery and greater social unrest. If we do not tackle this aspect of city growth, we will end up in creating more slums and nullifying all our work of slum clearance. In short, we must build our cities intelligently and imaginatively with a positive plan and purpose, viz., better living and higher civilization. We cannot any more afford chaotic sprawl as in the past. We must set an optimum limit to the size of every city and where necessary plan more satellite towns.

Housing for Increasing Population

(ii) For the same reasons, the planned provision of adequate housing, at rents within the economic reach of various income-groups is also another aspect of town-planning and city building, which the authorities must look into simultaneously. This will have to be encouraged on various bases, by now well-known to civic authorities, viz. :

- (a) encouraging larger employers of labour to provide sanitary housing for their own workers by offering them inducements ;
- (b) encouraging earners of steady incomes to build individually-owned housing or on a cooperative principle, by providing land and loans at reasonable rates, with easy conditions of repayment over a twenty-five to thirty-year period ;
- (c) encouraging Housing Societies to undertake large-scale housing on a cooperative non-profit-making basis by providing loans at low interest rates, and building materials at reasonable cost ;

- (d) encouraging housing research and production of materials with a view to bringing down costs ;
- (e) opening training institutions and apprenticeship schemes for training various types of artisans and craftsmen ; and
- (f) undertaking direct construction or providing subsidies to entrepreneurs to build houses for low-income groups in the transitional period, with a view to bringing down the economic or market rents based on a net four to five per cent return on outlay.

Population Control

(iii) Population control may appear a far cry from slum clearance to those who have not given thought to the causes which aggravate the economy and disturb the social equilibrium of communities in technologically backward countries. What is perhaps not understood is that the western populations multiplied in numbers simultaneously with the growth of industrialisation and wealth. Even then, the European societies had two safety-valves to check the evil consequences of a rapid increase of population—one being very costly continuous warfare, killing off periodically several millions, and the other being *lebensraum* in the wide world, which they colonised. The Asian countries have not only increased to gross overcrowding on a rural and agricultural economy, but they are further multiplying their populations without having these two safety-valves at their disposal. The result is that, with the provision of medical services and social and civic amenities in towns and cities, we have lowered our death and infant mortality rates precipitately. Our populations are, therefore, growing at an alarming pace in cities, because of the vastly enhanced chances of survival under protective public health and social services. These amenities are gradually spreading to rural populations. We are thus multiplying much faster than the pace of our industrialisation or our per capita productivity. We have, therefore, to apply a conscious check on indiscriminate growth of population. If a farmer and his wife have ten children and they lose six by high infant mortality, the surviving four are far better off in the rural economy than the artisan

who has six children, four of whom survive, but who cannot do anything productive until the age of fourteen or sixteen, because prohibited by law to work for wages, or baulked of gainful employment by the exigencies of a money economy and market competition. Part of the problem of slums in Asian cities has thus been self-perpetuating. Intelligent handling of our destiny means a far-sighted check on unwanted and un-supportable progeny. For this again the citizen needs both proper education and easily available facilities to master his circumstances with the aid of science and knowledge.

Zoning and Depopulation

Since Bombay and Calcutta are heavily congested cities, and the worst of the slum conditions cannot be eradicated or improved, unless some of the obnoxious trades and surplus populations are removed from various quarters of the city, a systematic policy of creating satellite towns in the neighbourhood of Greater Bombay will have to be pursued.

A detailed survey will have to be made of those trades which could be carried on, without loss of custom or personal hardship, at a distance from the city, in properly planned and developed suburban areas or satellite towns. Inducements will have to be offered to these trades and families or single individuals engaged in them, to shift within a stipulated period to such well appointed and in some ways attractively planned new town areas. A number of noisy manufacturing trades could thus be carried on outside the city and the finished products transported to it by arranging regular rail, road and sea transport at reasonable cost. *Zoning* will have to be done and enforced not only in various parts of the city according to their optimum use, but also in the smaller slum areas, so that the activities of congestion, noise and stench may be lessened and removed. This will have to be pursued as a long-range policy of improving overall living conditions in the cities, and will apply equally to the non-slum areas.

Legislation

The efficient tackling of the problems of slums will require adequate legislation. The civic Corporations and the Executive

Officers will have to be invested with adequate powers to deal with all emergencies, so that expensive schemes may not have to be held up in the midst of development for avoidable formalities. These powers will no doubt be used with discretion and sympathy and in a democratic manner. But they will have to be such as to enable the authorities, vested with slum clearance and improvement, to go ahead with their important task unhampered by trivialities. The work of relieving large-scale human degradation should not be held up for the sake of trivial formalities, or for ensuring the profits or status quo of a few individuals. They could be persuaded to see the greater good of the larger numbers.

An Advisory Committee

Since slum clearance deals with human beings and not merely with their lands or dwellings, a democratic procedure should be established to deal with the problem from the start. A small Advisory Committee of the representatives of the Corporation, land-owners, house owners, and slum dwellers, together with two or three enlightened citizens of liberal and progressive outlook, may be formed to consult with and advise the Chief Executive or Administrative Officer, who is entrusted with the formidable task of improving and eradicating slums within a single generation. This will engender confidence in the working of the schemes and will considerably help to expedite their execution as there will be popular support behind democratically devised measures of quick improvement.

POSITIVE STEPS FOR PREVENTION OF SLUMS

By

C. R. DESAI

While considering the steps to be taken for the prevention of slums in future, it is necessary also to consider whether the existing slums can be improved, so as to stop their bad effects. For this purpose, it is necessary to understand the causes of slums, their effects and the efforts made in the past and those being made now, before considering the steps for their prevention.

The main reasons for the incidence of slums in any place generally are :—

- (a) Hutments built by vested interests to exploit the situation for rack-renting, due to large influx of rural population for gainful employment in the area.
- (b) Old houses constructed more than 50 years ago, according to the then existing laws of the local authority but now deteriorated into slums.
- (c) Bustis, Ahatas and Cherries created by Vagrants.
- (d) Connivance of the local authority in not checking their growth at the proper time.
- (e) Allowing industrial growth in cities, in spite of absence of arrangement for housing the labour employed in the industries.
- (f) Absence of planning.

They are dealt with serially as under :—

(i) Hutments built by vested interests to exploit the situation for rack-renting due to large influx of rural population for gainful employment in the area :

With the advent of the industrial era and the growth of textile centres and other cities in India in the latter part of the nineteenth century, large numbers of people migrated from

the rural areas to such centres for gainful employment. The industry by itself did nothing to cater to their housing needs. The workers, therefore, started living in tenements built in the neighbourhood by certain vested interests. The second World War, especially, brought in its wake greater influx of people into the cities, on account of the increased industrial activity and the boom in the other allied trades and occupations in the Cities. This caused unprecedented congestion in the already existing short housing accommodation in these cities, resulting in the enlargement of slum areas and in their continuance, under the pressing demands on other fronts, due to the emergency caused by war conditions. The war, therefore, aggravated the problem, to such an extent that it presented unforeseen difficulties. The land in the city's developed areas was costly and carried with it high incidence of rent. The landlords, therefore, spent the minimum on the super-structure in order to bring the rent within the rent-paying-capacity of the people occupying these structures. They used sub-standard building materials, without any regard to the minimum requirements for healthful living, and further utilised every inch of land space for their construction, thereby bringing into these areas a very high import of housing density. The lack of sanitary conditions, excessively dense population and haphazard and ugly layouts, without any open spaces or regular access, came to be the revealing features of these areas. This is one reason for the growth of slums.

(ii) Old houses constructed more than 50 years ago :

The number of houses constructed more than 50 years ago, though conforming to the regulations of the local authorities as obtaining then, are today regarded as slums judged from their lack of open spaces and the nature of their construction. Then, there are houses which though built to proper specifications have been neglected to an extent that they have become irreparable. In spaces adjoining these houses constructed in conformity with the regulations and also well maintained, new constructions, not well-planned, have been introduced, with the result that the original old houses have become slums. Even today, there is the type of a building commonly known as 'Chawl'. The chawl consists of

several rooms in a row with a common corridor on one side, and common sanitary conveniences, providing a bathing place and a latrine seat, for a group of 6 to 8 tenements. Sometimes, there are rooms on either side of the common central corridor. The rooms are generally small, usually not more than 10' x 10' and each of them is used as a combined living room, kitchen and bedroom. The accesses are inadequate and insanitary. They are often so dark that they have to be artificially lighted even during day. They have insufficient ventilation and, perhaps in some cases but for the door, there is no window or ventilator provided. The construction is mostly of G. I. Sheets, whether corrugated or plain and other locally available cheap building material.

(iii) Bustis, Ahatas and Cherries created by vagrants :

A study of some of the slums, particularly those situated in the central areas of the city, will reveal that originally many of them were not slums, but they deteriorated subsequently, due to over-crowding. Similar to the chawls of Bombay, the slums in other industrial cities in the country have their peculiar characteristics, depending upon the local conditions. The structures may comprise of bamboo matting walls, or mud walls with thatched roofs, etc. ; but they all have more or less a similar layout, with insanitary conditions around them. These slums are known by various names in various places. They are known as *Bustees* in Calcutta, *Ahatas* in Kanpur and as *Cherries* in Madras. These are built of salvaged material of all kinds like Kerosene-tin sheets, rags, canvas, timber pieces and all kinds of other odds and ends, joined together to form an enclosure. They have no ventilation and the entrance is so low as cannot be negotiated without stooping low. These are unauthorised structures somehow or other continuing to exist.

(iv) Connivance of the local authority in not checking their growth at the proper time :

The tenements mentioned above were built on lands given by the local authority or the owner on lease, who did not impose particular building regulations regarding leaving suffi-

cient curtileges and access, etc., which are being conferred today. Not that this was done deliberately, but because the need for such restrictions was probably neither felt then nor envisaged. This disorderly growth of the city, allowed without check, has also tended to continue and has been responsible for the rise of slums in certain parts. As a result, in certain cases areas earmarked for residential purposes and those earmarked for recreational grounds have been invaded by slums.

(v) Allowing industrial growth in cities where no arrangement for housing labour is possible :

For want of proper planning, industry and business have invaded residential areas in cities and given rise to congestion in areas, where provision for housing of labour is not possible. This has caused slum conditions.

(vi) Absence of Planning :

All the above is the net result of bad or no planning. Slum conditions result from all kinds of errors, principal amongst those being lack of foresight and absence of planning. The proper approach to slum clearance requires, therefore, that the projects be considered within the framework of a Master Plan for the city and its regions, with zones intended for different defined urban functions. The city of today is largely a product of modern machine development and industrialisation. While land prices are still low, new factories are built near the city, followed by a cluster of cheap dwellings around them. Factories sought cheap sites and often found them in unhealthy places. Cheap housing followed industry, regardless of the conditions of the site. This sort of dangerous unplanned development must be stopped. The location of factories or workshops near the residential areas constitute a hazard. Factories destroy trees, contaminate the streams and create refuse heaps in the locality.

Due to the absence of control on the location of industrial sites, it is seen that cities have become above all factories and centres of trade. Nearly all cities have grown on this basis, with factories, office buildings and shops, springing up end-

lessly through the urban area, no matter where and how. To prevent the rise of slums in future, residential areas should be planned as self-contained neighbourhoods and preserved from the dangerous influences of factories and workshops.

Effects of Slums on the Community

Countless city children are confined to their own neighbourhood and have only city pavements to play. They pay a tragic toll of injury and death in traffic. The adults too who were and are forced to stay in these insanitary conditions become the victims of disease and squalor. In course of time, the impact of environment deforms their personality, giving rise to a particular class of people who are even today known as slum-dwellers. Like the slums, these people also carry the germs of disease, corruption and crime into the cities' neighbouring populations and are a standing menace to the safety and welfare of the city people in the region in which they exist. They cause excessive expenditure on crime prevention, correction, prosecution, punishment, juvenile delinquency, fire and accident protection and other public services and facilities. The slums are, therefore, a curse to the health and life of the city and are a constant drain on the administration. They exist like parasites on the life-blood of the law-abiding citizens and are a drag on the potential productivity of the nation. They are a challenge to the modern civilization and their existence has shocked the people, who have had occasion to see these conditions in some of the industrialised cities in India, like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Kanpur. The eradication of slums had, therefore, been recognised as a paramount need of our times and constructive planning for prevention of the same in future is also the most imperative need.

Past Efforts to Clear Slums

Slums have been growing in our midst as has been stated above, since the latter part of the 19th century. In the year 1898, an Improvement Trust was set up by the Government of Bombay, to tackle the slum problem, with a view to suppressing the outbreak of plague in the city of Bombay at that time. The Trust was assigned the task of reconstructing

the city on sanitary lines. This Improvement Trust, on the basis of what is known as positive planning, acquired wholesale the badly congested areas, cleared them completely and re-developed them with new roads, open spaces and building plots. The Trust also acquired vacant land for controlled expansion of the city. Rigid controls as regards the number of floors, heights of buildings, open spaces around buildings, etc., were imposed under the lease terms. The Trust was later amalgamated with the Municipality somewhere in 1933. The Bombay Municipal Corporation could not undertake any new development scheme, and it was considered that the wholesale acquisition of slum areas was beyond the financial resources of the Corporation, and, therefore, it was suggested that legislation on the lines of the British Housing Act, 1936, should be enacted and the Corporation armed with adequate powers to :

- (i) Issue clearance orders to owners of structures in slum areas without any compensation ;
- (ii) Frame proposals for re-development of those areas.

This was mooted in 1939. Shortly afterwards, the Second World War broke out ; the matter, therefore, was shelved and no further progress made in slum clearance in Bombay City. After the war, the acute housing shortage again attracted the attention of the authorities. Efforts were directed not so much towards clearing slums, but towards alleviating the housing shortage and they have tended in many respects to improve the slums. The local authority of the place had its hand full with other measures for the amelioration of conditions of the city's population. Another local authority, called the 'Bombay Housing Board', was, therefore, created but sadly enough due to the partition of India, it had to do the job of providing shelter both to the displaced persons who came to India as a result of the partition and simultaneously to deal with the housing shortage. It has constructed about 16,000 tenements for families of industrial workers and a few for families of Low Income Groups and as many as 25,000 for the displaced persons. Had it not been for these constructions, the whole city would probably have deteriorated into a big slum.

In other big cities of India also, Improvement Trusts or Development Boards, etc., have been formed with the same object, and they have been functioning indifferently mainly on account of paucity of funds.

Difficulties of Clearing Slums

(i) The post-war years brought in a depression in the general economic condition of the people who resent any improvement, which would cost them more than they could afford. Looking to the poverty of the people living in slums, and their inability to pay any rent, it is felt that there will be quite a few families who, in spite of the prospect of being given better and sanitary dwellings, will not like to move from slums.

(ii) Besides financial considerations, there may be personal attachments to the slum dwellings, to an extent that certain persons will like to continue to live in the filth and squalor of the areas, as they have no better outlook on life and matters.

(iii) Some of the people, though they may be able to pay rent, might not like to move from existing accommodation for various reasons, such as, occupational opportunities and conveniences.

(iv) Large-scale building is not possible due to the difficulty of obtaining cheap building materials, because of the development projects under execution, requiring huge quantities of building materials.

(v) Monied people who usually were investing their surplus money in buildings have at present no desire to invest money in buildings, due to various restrictions and rent controls.

(vi) There is paucity of finance in general required for building purposes.

Considering the problem as a whole the following steps are necessary to prevent slums.

Steps for Prevention of Slum Dwellings

(i) Assessing the exact need for the slum clearance and selection of sites.

- (ii) Planning and provision of transport facilities.
- (iii) Educating the slum dwellers on the need of healthful living.
- (iv) Fixing up a time limit for completion of these projects.
- (v) Legislative measures.
- (vi) Provision of adequate finance.

Assessing the Exact Need

The local authorities should undertake a census and a survey of the slum areas in the respective cities and list them, according to the extent of squalor and sordidness and the type of treatment needed to be given. For example, certain slums may require wholesale clearance, others may require renovation and remodelling of houses, and yet a few may be such where opening out of light and air passages within the dwellings will improve their aspect considerably. The local authority must also take up immediately, the formulation of plans and layouts for these areas within the scope of Master Plan for the city, and the respective zones intended for different urban functions should be defined. Laying down a target date will be another important and essential requirement. The whole aspect of clearance of slums and rehousing should be assessed in detail and a fixed time limit should be specified for the completion of the task as a whole. This is necessary as it is well-known that slums have a tendency to persist for generations.

The work of slum clearance is a stupendous task and like all chronic ills requires systematic, effective and heroic measures for its successful eradication. No single remedy would, therefore, be sufficient. What is required is that the whole aspect should be tackled on all possible fronts. Measures to be adopted will vary from slum to slum and much will probably depend on the co-operation that is extended by the people, living in these slums, to the local authority entrusted with the task.

Briefly speaking, the activity regarding the clearance of slums would have to be canalized through the following measures :

(i) Assessing the number of slum dwellings and the number of families requiring re-housing ;

(ii) Classifying the slums and defining definite remedies in respect of each ;

(iii) Setting out a time limit within which the task is required to be completed.

As regards the physical measures to be taken, improvement of the existing conditions will be the most favoured one, as it will be least costly as against wholesale eradication and reconstruction. The extent to which the individual slum dwellings are susceptible to improvement will have to be determined in advance and such improvements as may be advised will have to be carried out with the least delay. In certain cases, where the landlords are public spirited and co-operative, they may voluntarily agree to carry out such improvements as may be advised by the local authority. In other cases, they may not readily agree to do so. In the latter case, more stringent measures may have to be employed. In any case, a certain measure of compulsion will be necessary as the time factor is an important consideration in improving the conditions of these slum areas. Optional measures would certainly not be helpful as anything left to the option of the landlord will be more often ignored.

In certain cases, the slum will have reached such a state that improvement will not be of any use. In fact, some even believe that slums cannot be remodelled at all. Their particular insalubrity results from narrowness of streets and from lack of or insufficiency of interior courts. Owing to these facts, the living rooms of these houses are almost without light, so that they become excellent depositors of virulent disease germs, transmitted to them by the occupants and the visitors. The only remedy in such cases is the demolition of the infected houses and putting up sanitary dwellings surrounded by open areas, so that air and sunshine can penetrate into living rooms without hindrance. Their total removal would, therefore, be the most desirable thing from the point of view of positive planning. In this case, the local authority will have to acquire the entire area, and demolish

the dwellings for reconstruction. Where the authority is armed with powers of ordering demolition without payment of compensation to the landlords, the structures will have to be condemned. Condemnation will have to be discretionary, and care will have to be taken to ensure that redevelopment and reconstruction are within the reach of the economic scope of the individual. This will largely depend on the financial assistance that the local authority or the Government will be able to give, if required. Condemnation is a convenient expedient but it is not likely to bear fruit if reconstruction is not planned and executed simultaneously.

Under given conditions, a house can be said to last for so many years. There is generally a very rough approximation and normally houses have been observed to be existing for much longer periods than they were originally designed for, and vice versa. Continued observation, for some years will give a clear indication whether a house is fit for occupation or not. A house which does not give requisite protection from heat, cold, rain and vermin should not be considered fit for occupation. It will be necessary to determine these statistics periodically, so that the suitability of a house at the end of a particular span of life could be determined. There are conditions of overcrowding, which cause a house to be obsolete. Indiscriminate division of living rooms, additions and alterations causing overcrowding and imposing of such loading conditions on the structure for which the structure is not designed also render a house obsolete. All such factors as cause deterioration within a dwelling and render the house unsafe for human habitation require to be determined and suitable methods and standards will have to be evolved to determine the quality of obsolete houses. Methodical observations in respect of the following conditions in the case of dwellings and their surroundings will be necessary :

- (i) Lack of light and sunshine (bad ventilation) ;
- (ii) Lack of fresh air and ventilation ;
- (iii) Lack of privacy and isolation ;
- (iv) Lack of play areas ;
- (v) Lack of plants and trees ;

- (vi) Lack of yard space ;
- (vii) Undue proximity of traffic ;
- (viii) Poor plumbing ;
- (ix) Insanitation.

Regarding assessing the exact need for housing of slum dwellers, it has been the general experience that the slum problem has very rarely been approached in all its magnitude. Official maps, while indicating the areas commonly regarded as slums and selected for clearance, ignore many sections of the city, which might justifiably be considered as slums and which should be included in the clearance programme and rehousing. It will, therefore, be necessary to assess the exact needs of housing in this behalf, before embarking upon the programme of rehousing. After assessing the correct needs, suitable sites will have to be selected for construction of houses. More often than not, there has been a tendency to locate rehousing projects on wrong sites, principally due to high land values. The low cost of land has generally induced the authorities to locate the rehousing projects at these places, with a view to providing cheap housing for the slum dwellers. It has, however, to be remembered that a housing scheme cannot possibly be good if the initial error of selecting the wrong site is committed and this error cannot be compensated by any plan or layout. The selection of the site and the extent of land area influence the design of houses. As a consequence of the limitation of the land area and its high values, the so-called built-in slum makes its appearance. This is a typical product found in almost all cities the world over and consists of storeyed buildings, comprising several floors. Blocks of such buildings are constructed in rows with little space for recreation and parks, etc. Each building comprises a number of tenements. In these built-in-slums, because of the valuable land surface, a high density population becomes an economic necessity. In spite of the criticism levelled against this type of construction, it will be seen that it has been adopted all over the world in one or the other form. It should, therefore, be seen that while planning for rehousing in the areas, adequate measures

are taken to control the environment, in a manner so as to effectively prevent these areas from degenerating into slums.

Planning and Transport

It will be seen that the location of factory buildings in residential areas, found today in almost all cities, is a menace to the health and the safety of the City's population and should, therefore, be definitely condemned. It will, therefore, be desirable to remove within a determined period the industrial establishments from their present haphazard set-up within the city, to zones to be selected for their location as per the Master Plan of the City. In the meanwhile, no expansion in the existing industries should be permitted and no new industry should be allowed there. For removing factories and workshops (with the exception of small industries), all possible measures for inducing them to move to suburban areas should be adopted. Land may be offered to them at a cheap rate. Facilities for locating them nearer rail heads, roads and harbours as well as principal transportation routes, should be provided, and provision of essential services should be assured. To achieve this, the industrial zone should be physically connected efficiently with the commercial and residential zones, so as to facilitate quick transportation and movement between the zones. This will offset many of the objections which the industrial concerns may have to their removal from the existing sites within the city. Perhaps achievement of this objective will take quite a considerable time, but as an immediate measure, it is absolutely necessary to prohibit any expansion of the existing industrial establishments within the city. At the same time, new industries should be located only in the respective zones outlined for them in the Master Plan, so that they develop the areas selected for them.

Removal of the industries from their existing locations within city limits, where they enjoy all facilities and conveniences of cheap and quick transport, will present formidable difficulties, and is likely to meet with the stiffest resistance from the influential vested interests. Measures taken should, therefore, aim at securing the maximum co-operation

of the industries, keeping in view the fundamental necessity of eliminating the slums with the least possible delay, in the larger national interest.

Educating the Slum Dwellers

The people should be made alive to the dire necessity of removing the slums or rehabilitating the areas according to the basic requirements of healthful living. An intensive and continuous propaganda by way of literature, posters and pictures, depicting the evil of slum dwellings within the city should be planned and executed. This will also go a long way in preventing the rise of new slums. It is the people who create the slums, though partly the cramped and squalid conditions in which they are forced to live by indifferent landlords are responsible for their aggravation. People should be educated in the art of close co-operative and healthy living.

Fixation of Time Limit

A more serious problem is that of the time factor involved. It will be obligatory to assess the time that will be taken in completing the rehousing programme. This will be needed to plan and regulate the development in a series of years and to check upon it from time to time. The time factor will give the rate of rehousing required per year, and the finance that will have to be provided to meet the cost annually.

Legislative Measures

Legislative measures required to arm the local authority with necessary powers to enforce demolition of slums, etc., should be comprehensively considered and enacted after taking into account the desirability of providing for all measures needed, namely, compulsory acquisition of sites and premises at suitable rates, forcible removal of persons to new areas, and supply of rations during temporary stay, etc., till they gain employment.

Finance

Successful implementation of housing projects requires that the finance required for the execution of these schemes should be correctly assessed. No rehousing programme can

be based on doubtful finance. It must be understood that the industries and the individual capitalists are not going to play their part and their contribution should not be counted upon. It is common knowledge that the various Improvement Trusts that were established in the past in various cities in this country to tackle the problem of slum clearance foundered on the rock of finance. Slum clearance and rehousing involve colossal sums for acquisition of slum areas and in the construction of sanitary dwellings for the slum evictees. In this respect, all slum clearance and rehousing undertakings are deficit schemes and unless sufficient funds are made available from public revenues by Government, it is not possible for any statutory body like an Improvement Trust, a Development Board, or a Slum Clearance Board, to carry out the requisite schemes with any measures of success. To rehouse a million people living in the slums of any industrial city of India, funds to the extent of Rs. 100 crores will be needed. It will be impossible for a Corporate Body in the City to find all this money. Even the provincial revenues would not be able to meet such a huge demand. Financially the problem is beyond the capacity of the provincial government and has, therefore, to be adequately backed by National Finance in a suitable manner. Thus the rehousing of the slum population requires to be tackled on a national scale and the policy as may be adopted will require to be backed by a system of subsidies and loans.

The Government of this country is no doubt keenly alive to this problem. The scheme for the housing of industrial workers which has been given the requisite priority in the National Plan, backed by a subsidy to the extent of 50% of the estimated cost of the house and 50% in the form of loan to the State Government, is making a notable contribution in the programme of slum clearance in the country. In any slum area, the industrial population being more than half, it gets relief progressively, as housing colonies under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme of the Government of India are put up in a City. The remaining less than half in a City slum consists of low-income groups who cannot afford to pay economic rent, and in many cases, even the

subsidised rent. It is, therefore, imperative that the Government of India should devise ways and means to formulate a housing scheme for low income groups on the same basis as for the industrial workers, so that implementation of the schemes of Subsidised Industrial Housing and Low Income Group Housing can be efficiently and effectively co-ordinated with slum clearance and rehousing of slum dwellers, and a wholesale clearance of a slum area achieved. The Government of India should find out the needed funds for this purpose.

If this is not done in time, and the housing for the low-income groups is neglected any longer, the problem of slums and their clearance will become increasingly difficult of solution and large sections of urban population will be forced to continue to live in sub-human conditions, with consequent evil effects on the national character and economy.

SLUM CLEARANCE*

By

SHRI P. P. AGARWAL, I.C.S.

Definition

Slum is an over-crowded residential area consisting of badly constructed old buildings having the worst type of sanitary facilities so as to be a menace to the health, safety and morality of the occupants and the neighbouring areas. The houses are usually built back to back and are so jammed that there is insufficient light and air. The rooms are without windows and ventilation. There are no open spaces and children play in narrow streets. There is over-crowding in the rooms and two to ten persons live in every single-room-tenement. One pipe caters to the needs of many families. Heaps of garbage and rubbish are collected in the by-lanes and near the houses. Latrines are awfully dirty, and they attract swarms of flies. The whole area is dark, damp and miserable.

2. Presence of old buildings does not by itself make slums. There are cities, with buildings constructed a century back, which are not slums because of the fact that the residents, the landlords and the municipalities have taken proper care not to allow the occurrence of the common characteristics, i.e., neglect, accumulation of filth and insanitary conditions, which make a residential area a slum.

Causes of Slums

3. Slums are not a new problem. Ancient records show that slums existed in Grecian and Roman towns. Parts of these towns had very narrow streets where sunlight could hardly reach. The ancient slums had many things in common with modern slums, except that the latter are the outcome of industrial revolution. Different inventions revolutionised the methods of production. Rapid development in

* The views expressed in this note are the personal views of Shri P. P. Agarwal, I.C.S., and not those of the Planning Commission or the Government of India.

the means of transportation brought a closer inter-communication between villages and cities. The factories attracted a large number of unemployed persons who began to concentrate in the cities. This resulted in over-crowding.

4. The increased demand for houses due to the influx of population into cities resulted in high land prices and increased rents. The workers getting low wages could pay only small rents. Allured by high profits the landlords began to sub-divide their old houses into small portions for purposes of letting out and created over-crowding. Curtailment of expenses for repairs aggravated the already existing bad housing conditions. There were no adequate municipal laws to exercise control over factory sites or to check the growth of slums. The indifference and neglect of municipalities towards the maintenance of adequate services is also one of the factors causing slums. Many areas will cease to be slums with a little care on the part of municipalities in respect of sanitation, etc.

5. The habits and ignorance of the tenant have also a great influence on the matter. One of the factors responsible for the growth of slums is, for example, the desire of the labourers to reside in the neighbourhood of their place of employment. This is chiefly to avoid the inconvenience and cost of transportation. In short, the low paying capacity of the labourers and the increased demand for houses resulting in high land prices are chief causes for the existence of slums.

Consequences

6. Housing is a basic human need. "To fulfil the moral and spiritual functions of the family, a house is necessary for privacy and for the growth of family affection." Few environmental factors are more closely connected with the morals and health of the people than housing. The slums where women and children spend most of their day and men at least half, influence not only the health of the younger generations but also their manners and morals. Bad housing is responsible for immorality, crime, low intelligence, tuberculosis, respiratory diseases, infant mortality, rheumatism,

measles, and maternal mortality. Allen Pond who carried out a survey on this subject observes as follows :

“People who live in good housing are in the main healthier than those who live in sub-standard dwellings. For certain diseases, notably the enteric infections and tuberculosis, morbidity and mortality rates for those who live in sound sanitary structures are significantly lower than for families and individuals living in sub-standard housing. Sharp differences in respiratory diseases rates have been demonstrated as being related to degree of room crowding. Recent reports of the relationship of physical environment to draftee rejection rates for specific physical defects have also focussed attention on the cumulative effects of bad housing.”

7. The insufficiency of light, fresh air and proper food are the chief cause of tuberculosis. It has been estimated that mortality from tuberculosis is of the order of 300 deaths per lakh in urban areas and 100 deaths per lakh in rural areas. Dr. Francis Patinger, an authority on T.B. has made the following observations :

“The danger of bacterial contamination is much greater in stagnant air than in live air. In the confined air of houses, bacteria live for a prolonged period. It is well-known that patients occupying a small space in crowded and poorly ventilated rooms have little chance of overcoming tuberculosis. They fail to obtain the stimulating benefit of open air, and consequently, the functional capacity of their body cells is low.”

8. Our slums with foul air and dirty surroundings added to lack of sunlight, are the places where tuberculosis finds the most favourable conditions for its development.

9. Rheumatism is closely associated with damp houses, which are a common feature of our slums. The National Health Survey of the United States revealed a marked increase in pneumonia with increasing degrees of over-crowding, particularly in the poorest people. It was observed that for the poorest group, the pneumonia rate was about 60% higher at

densities over $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ per room than it was at densities of 1% less. Over-crowding has a great effect in the spread of pneumococcal infection among children. Measles have got close relationship with over-crowding. The disease not only starts from slums but also takes a heavy toll in that area. Density of children is an important factor in the spread of measles. Whooping cough is another misery of bad housing conditions. There has recently been a great decline in these diseases, and improvement in the housing conditions is one of the greatest causes for the decline.

10. Infant mortality is very high in slum areas. 70% of the infants under one year that die annually, belong to one-room tenements. The lack of windows and sunlight and utter insanitary conditions are responsible for this high death rate. Campwell and McKinley in their studies show that bad housing conditions are intimately related with infantile deaths. Surveys regarding over-crowding in relation to child mortality were carried on in England by Bradford Hill in 1937. He states that "the Registrar-General . . . has concluded that the mortality of young children from the principal causes of death in the country boroughs is more closely associated with the proportions of the population living in over-crowded conditions." Though there are no definite statistics to prove the direct effects of bad housing on material mortality, it can be safely said that they have got a great bearing on the maternal mortality. Slums poison the health of the children at the very source. Deprived of the five points expressed by Florence Nightingale which are essential in securing the health of the houses, i.e., (i) pure air, (ii) pure water, (iii) sufficient drainage, (iv) cleanliness, and (v) light, the children grow into weaklings and become disease carriers.

11. Drinking, immortality and crimes are usually associated with slums. Absenteeism is largely due to bad housing conditions. Due to lack of space and privacy, a number of labourers leave their families behind in villages and live alone in slums. Deprived of the joys of family life, they become home-sick and run away to their homes every now and then. Disparity in sex ratio leads to prostitution, crimes and many other vices. Many suffer from venereal diseases. A

number of slum-dwellers find their places either in hospitals or in prisons.

12. One of the important factors on which the efficiency of a worker depends is housing. Persons living in dark, damp and ill-ventilated houses do not feel the same freshness and energy as a man living in open air. This reduces the worker's efficiency and consequently his wages. It will not be an exaggeration to say that bad housing is one of the causes for industrial unrest. The general experience is that bad housing causes untold sufferings and miseries.

Steps for Clearance of Slums

13. Slums are a vast problem. Not only is a considerable sum required for clearing the slums, but economic, social and sentimental considerations of slum dwellers have also to be taken into account. Almost every big town, irrespective of the fact whether it has factories or not, has got slums. Though total slum clearance cannot be effected in all the towns all at once, a beginning can be made everywhere. To achieve this, we can divide the work into the following three categories :

- (1) Slums which can be made suitable for healthy living if some *improvements* are carried out ;
- (2) Slums which are so bad as to require complete demolition ;
- (3) Prevention of slums in residential areas that are likely to become slums.

14. Before taking up any slum work, it is essential to survey all the slums to know under what category they fall. It is a condition precedent for any successful slum clearance programme. Each state should have a department for this purpose and every municipality should survey its areas carefully. Voluntary bodies and research institutions can also play their part in this field. This will tell us what sort of treatment different areas require. This will also enable us to make a programme for the whole country.

Slums Requiring Improvement

15. There are slums which can become worth living if some improvements are effected. This class of slums requires improvement by way of provision of light, pure water supply, latrines, drains and fresh air. Windows and ventilators can be made in the existing houses and loans may be provided by Government for the purpose, the remaining services being provided by the municipality. The surveys will show that a good number of slums will cease to be slums, with these measures.

Slums Requiring Complete Demolition

16. The conditions in the second class of slums will be such that nothing but complete demolition would wipe out the evil effects thereof. This involves several difficulties. The first obstacle is the high cost of acquisition. These slums are usually owned by a number of persons and the price of the land and the structures thereon, howsoever ugly and old, have to be paid. Moreover, the slum dwellers do not want to move away from these slums due to the fear that their social and economic life will be dislocated. These fears are to some extent right. This class of slums usually do not have so much area as to accommodate all the old slum dwellers after demolition. A portion of them, and if necessary, all may have to shift to new areas. This may even cause inconvenience, if the new areas are a bit far from their place of work. But these disadvantages weigh little as compared to the advantages gained by good housing. At the same time, every effort should be made to rehouse them near the existing slums. While constructing houses for slum dwellers, it must be kept in mind that the cost and the type of construction should be within the paying capacity of the slum dweller.

17. Clearance of this type of slum will definitely take time. To facilitate the removal of slums expeditiously and economically, suitable legislation in big cities and towns will be necessary. For the purpose of preventing further deterioration in the conditions prevailing in private katras and slums and for speeding up progress in the implementation of slum improvement and slum clearance works, the Slum Areas

(Improvement and Clearance)* Act, 1956, has been recently passed by Parliament. This Act applies to all the Union territories except Andaman and Nicobar and other islands. Rules under the Act have been framed and the Act has been brought into force in Delhi this year. The Act provides *inter alia* for the following matters :

- (1) The power to declare any area a slum area ;
- (2) Power to require improvement of buildings unfit for human habitation ;
- (3) Power to enter private premises and to carry out improvements at the cost of the owner, if the owner refuses to carry out the same within a stipulated period ;
- (4) Power to order demolition of buildings unfit for human habitation ;
- (5) Power to effect eviction from slum areas ;
- (6) Power to remove offensive or dangerous trades from slum areas ;
- (7) Summary powers to obtain immediate possession of land for the purpose of slum clearance and for payment of compensation thereof.

18. The Act is a comprehensive one and in many respects is an improvement on the Slum Acts passed by some State Governments. In many big cities, there are no powers for either entering the slum areas for the purpose of providing basic amenities like water supply, latrines, etc., or for acquiring slum properties and for demolishing dilapidated houses. There is a great need for suitable legislation in other States on the lines of Delhi.

Prevention of Slums

19. The third class of residential areas do not in fact belong to the category of slums but if their growth is allowed without any control, they are likely to become slums. Such types of residential areas are found all over the country. The best thing to prevent these slums is strict enforcement of municipal laws. Unauthorised construction should be dealt with

a heavy hand. Master plans laying emphasis on zoning should be prepared for the towns which are large or are likely to become large in the future. This will prevent over-crowding to a great extent. Many cities have expanded towards the outskirts of their built-up areas, the expansion having taken place in an uncontrolled manner. Very often, a city's expansion is not followed up with the necessary provision of services, community buildings and other kinds of amenities. The responsibility for the preparation of master plans should be shouldered by State Governments.

20. It will be useful if a study of existing municipal by-laws is undertaken to see how far they are helpful for the prevention of slums.

21. Another important measure to prevent the growth of slums is to check the influx of people from rural areas to cities in search of employment. There is heavy pressure on agricultural land in villages. If small-scale industries are started in villages many persons can earn their bread there. This will help a lot in preventing the growth of the slums.

22. Some sort of control in regard to the establishment of new factories in big towns is also called for. Efforts should be made to disperse the industries if possible and to discourage further localization. The tragedy of Kanpur, Calcutta, Ahmedabad and other big cities should not be permitted to happen in other towns.

23. No effort will be successful in removing slums unless slum dwellers are trained towards better living. It has been observed that well-laid out areas inhabited by labourers are kept in awfully dirty conditions. Children attend the call of nature in the streets and rubbish is collected near the doors. For the education of slum dwellers, establishment of training centres is necessary. By training centres, we do not mean a regular training course but the propagation of those principles which are conducive to better and clean living. Social workers can do a lot in this field. 'Voluntary organisations like the Bharat Sevak Samaj have already started work on these lines in Delhi. It has been seen that with a little

persuasion, the co-operation and participation of slum dwellers for improvement and clearance programme can easily be enlisted. The establishment of small reading rooms, dispensaries and the provision of playgrounds will go a long way in improving the habits of the residents. Social workers have a vast field for action in slums where poverty and immortality are at their worst.

24. A lot can be done by screening films and publishing literature which may depict the havoc created by slums and the way towards better and cleaner living. Periodical talks should be organised and a residents' association in slums formed. Representatives of the latter may carry out inspections regarding cleanliness and may give awards to those who have kept their homes and surroundings clean. This will arouse a competitive spirit towards better living among slum dwellers.

Housing Standards for Re-housing Slum Dwellers

25. A housing standard for slum dwellers cannot be described in fixed terms because of the vast differences of climate, customs and economic conditions in our country. Whereas multi-storeyed tenements may be suitable in Bombay and Calcutta due to high land values and certain other factors, single-storeyed houses may be more desirable for other places. What is regarded as an adequate standard of comfort has to be determined by local economic conditions, levels of incomes, of course taking into account the long term increases in the real incomes and the changes in tastes and social conscience that may develop in the slum dwellers with the general development of economic prosperity in the country. However, a house must necessarily cater for certain basic needs of human beings. The most important among these are adequate light, ventilation, sleeping accommodation, open space to relax, separate cooking place, good sanitation and protection. A house should also provide for some measure of privacy in order to fulfil the moral and spiritual functions of the family. Finally, it should be a part of a community with congenial surroundings and a sense of neighbourhood and friendliness.

26. Views have been expressed by different authorities and institutions on the subject of a suitable standard for re-housing slum-dwellers. These views have mainly been derived from the housing standards adopted by Western countries, which provide for a living room, a kitchen, a bath room and lavatory plus as many bed rooms as the number of adults or children above the age of five in the family. In fact public authorities in Western countries are offering big subsidies to local authorities for gaining this standard for re-housing people. But India cannot afford this at the moment. Besides, the climatic differences between the Western countries and India are great. This warrants quite a different housing standard for Indian people. We have also to look upon a suitable standard of housing based upon the rent paying capacity of the slum dwellers on the one hand and the capacity of the State to subsidise these projects on the other.

27. Since the standard must depend upon the rent paying capacity of slum dwellers, their income has to be balanced between their needs of housing accommodation and their other requirements in respect of food, clothing, etc. The income of slum families ranges from Rs. 30/- to Rs. 70/- per month. This income would provide for payment as rent of approximately Rs. 5/- in the family budgets of slum dwellers. We have, therefore, to think of a housing standard which must be based on this return as rent. However, if we add to this rent-paying capacity a proportionate subsidy of Rs. 5/- from public funds, we can obtain a standard of housing in realistic manner based upon a rental of Rs. 10/- p. m. If we wish to express an ideal rather than what is possible or practicable, we can, of course, soar as high as we like. But those standards will never have any basis on reality or practicability even if the entire revenues of the State are devoted to that objective.

28. Besides, if we look at the housing needs in the light of climatic conditions of India, we have to do away with the concept of provision of a number of rooms. What is more necessary is provision of some courtyard where the children can play and the women and old folk can sit and relax. In fact the need for open space is greater in India during the

major part of the year than even for a living room. This point will be further strengthened if we take into account the shortage of building materials which the country is facing at the moment.

29. There is, of course, no reason for being unduly despondent in the matter of housing standards for slum dwellers in India even on the basis of our apparently poor financial position. We can find a suitable standard of housing for them within their means if we forget the western standards and try to formulate Indian standards according to climatic conditions here. For this purpose we have to see to the necessities in respect of a desirable housing standard and try to cross out the comforts and luxuries which we cannot afford at the moment. Among the necessary items are the provision of a room, a kitchen-cum-store, a small courtyard, and a washing place. Latrines and water taps may be provided jointly for two to three houses. There is no doubt if this problem is set before our architects and engineers, there will be no dearth of designs of houses which can be constructed and let out within a sum of Rs. 10/- p. m. The construction can be done by the use of local building materials and limited amount of bricks and cement and weather-proof rooms can also be provided within this limited means.

30. A house to be suitable for living must also be placed in proper surroundings. The density of houses should not be more than 65 per acre in Bombay and Calcutta and 30 per acre in other up-country towns. Each colony should be so planned as to be more or less self-sufficient in respect of schools, playgrounds, parks, shopping areas, dispensaries, etc.

31. To sum up, action for improving the slum conditions in the country may be initiated on the following lines :—

- (1) Municipalities and State Governments should conduct surveys of Slum areas in all big cities and classify them into the following three broad categories :—
 - (a) Slums which can be made suitable for healthy living if some improvements are carried out ;
 - (b) Slums which require complete demolition ;

- (c) Residential areas which are likely to become slums if preventive measures are not taken.
(Paras—13 & 14)
- (2) As for slums requiring improvements, Municipalities should provide them with services like water supply, drainage, light etc., at reasonable cost. Loans may be arranged for the owners for making other improvements in the houses. (Para—15)
 - (3) In regard to slums requiring complete demolition, efforts should be made to re-house the slum dwellers at/near the old slum sites, rent being within their paying capacity. (Para—16)
 - (4) All State Governments should enact legislation on the lines of the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956. (Paras—17-18)
 - (5) State Governments should undertake to prepare Master Plans for all big cities. (Para—19)
 - (6) Municipal Laws should be strictly enforced and unauthorised construction dealt with a heavy hand. (Para—19)
 - (7) A study of existing Municipal by-laws may be undertaken to investigate how far they are helpful in preventing slums. (Para—20)
 - (8) Small scale industries in villages should be encouraged, so as to check the influx of people to towns. (Para—21)
 - (9) Control in regard to the establishment of new factories in big towns should be imposed so as to bring about suitable dispersal of industries. (Para—22)
 - (10) For changing the habit of slum dwellers, periodic talks should be arranged by Voluntary Organisations. Films and literature on the subject may also be produced. (Paras—23-24)
 - (11) Standards for rehousing slum dwellers should be based on the rent paying capacity of slum dwellers and local climatic conditions. (Paras—27-28)

- (12) A room, a kitchen-cum-store, a small courtyard, a washing place and common latrines are recommended as minimum standards for rehousing slum dwellers. (Para—29)
- (13) Each colony should provide for schools, play grounds, parks, shopping centres, dispensaries etc. The density of houses should not be more than 65 per acre in multi-storeyed constructions in Bombay and Calcutta and 30 per acre in other up country towns. (Para—30)

MINIMUM HOUSING STANDARDS AND SLUM CLEARANCE

By

SHRI S. H. GODBOLE

Slums have got to be cleared. An ideal slum clearance programme would be one that contemplates complete demolition of structures constituting the slums and replanning the areas according to modern notions of healthful living standards. Such a redevelopment programme will create many new problems major among them being:—

1. Heavy capital investments.
2. Accommodation of displaced families during the progress of the development.
3. Accommodation for the overspill.

Under the existing conditions capital investments to the tune required will not be available. Also it would be almost impossible to procure building materials and skilled building labour in the quantity required. The projects of slum clearance and redevelopment after complete demolition of structures would therefore be very costly and long term measures.

The practical solution would be to retain reasonably good structures within the slum area and improve them. Structures absolutely uninhabitable should be pulled down and the redevelopment plan should properly integrate the old and new structures.

As a guide to the improvement of old structures and construction of new ones, healthful for living and within the economic means of the families occupying them, standards will have to be laid down specifying the minimum requirements of space planning and of social, physical and economic living.

Such a code of standards would differ according to conditions prevailing in a particular slum area. However, there are certain minimum requirements for human habitation irrespective of any other considerations, and the code of

standards should specify these minima giving guidance for necessary variations when and where required.

Where projects include both improvement of old structures and construction of new buildings, the standards should deal with them separately as conditions will naturally differ.

The Standards

Many authorities including the Central Government and the State Government have discussed the problem of minimum standards. The more important ones are:—

1. Those laid down by the Central Government for the subsidised Industrial Housing Schemes. The Central Government desires construction of either single room quarters or 2 room quarters.

The single room quarters to include:—

- a living room of 120 s. ft.
- a kitchen-cum-verandah of 72 s. ft.
- a bath room of 16 s. ft.
- a latrine of 12 s. ft.
- a court yard of about 300 to 400 s. ft.

If the latrine is a flush latrine it could be shared by two quarters.

The 2 room quarter to include:—

- a living room of 120 s. ft.
- a bed room of 96 s. ft.
- a kitchen-cum-verandah of — s. ft.
- a cupboard of 12 s. ft.
- a bath room of 16 s. ft.
- a latrine of 12 s. ft.

The development density to be 20-25 (single-storied) quarters per acre gross making a density of about 100 persons per acre gross, taking the average size of the family to be 5.

2. The Report of the Housing Panel for Greater Bombay states:

“The minimum covered floor area per family tenement should not be less than 250 square feet, i.e., no family

tenement should be smaller in size than 250 s. ft., exclusive of the verandah and W. C. and not more than 4 persons should be permitted to live in such tenement.

On an average the minimum covered floor area per person should be 60 square feet in the family tenement and where the number of inmates in a family exceeds 4, tenements of correspondingly larger accommodation should be provided. The panel would suggest tenements of 360 and 420 square feet of floor space for families of 5 to 6 and 7 to 8 persons."

After stating that a tenement should have at least 2 living rooms and a kitchen, a water closet, a 'nahani' with water tap and a loft for storage, the Panel desires a tenement to have the following additional amenities :—

1. A built-in cupboard,
2. A shower in 'nahani',
3. A small 'mori' for washing in kitchen,
4. A raised platform for fireplace with a hood or chimney to carry away smoke and a hollow underneath the platform to store fuel,
5. Pegs for hanging clothes,
6. Shelves in the kitchen, and
7. A minimum of 3 electric lights in each of the smaller tenements.

Regarding the improvements to the old structures the Panel desires that :—

"The existing one room, and one room and kitchen should be so remodelled wherever possible as to allow for the minimum floor area of 250 square feet per tenement and provide for the amenities proposed above.

The houses to be constructed in the city should consist of a ground floor and three upper floors and the terrace should be made accessible to the residents so that in the hot weather they can sleep thereon (if not too costly some portion of the terrace may be covered with a low pitch-

ed roof for protection against the inclemencies of weather so that it can be used all the year round).”

3. Bombay Municipal Corporation allows construction of single room and double room tenements to be utilized as family dwellings.

The single room tenement requires construction of a living room of 120 s. ft., a kitchen of 60 s. ft. with a nahani or mori 3' x 3', a W. C., a bath and a washing place to be shared by 4 such tenements.

The double room tenement requires construction of a living room of 140 s. ft., a kitchen with a nahani of 100 s. ft., a W. C., a bath and a washing place to be shared by 3 such tenements.

The Environmental Hygiene Committee commenting on single room tenements in Bombay in their report of 1949 states :—

“If a single room house is absolutely unavoidable it should have a floor space in the living room at least 200 square feet in our opinion, and there should be a separate kitchen of at least 50 square feet”.

Of the three standards mentioned above the one as laid down by the Central Government for subsidised Industrial Housing and the one laid down by the Bombay Municipality are operative and observed.

Apart from the above requirements almost all standards specify minima regarding ventilation, sanitation and environmental cleanliness such as :—

1. Window openings of $1/10$ or some such fraction of room area.
2. Cross ventilation.
3. Providing dustbins for garbage.
4. Providing common washing place with taps per specified number of families.
5. Providing electric lights in staircase rooms and common passages.

6. Providing proper ventilation and lighting for passages and staircase rooms.
7. Providing pure water for drinking and water for other domestic use through direct taps and storages.

The standards also lay down conditions regarding air and light for each living room, each bed room and kitchen.

The other standards have regard to open spaces and social and economic requirements such as gross density planning of schools easily accessible, marketing facilities and shopping centres within easy walking distances and recreation facilities in the form of open parks, play grounds etc.

Since many of the slum areas are sufficiently big constituting neighbourhoods with population between 1,000 to 5,000 or even more all these standards should be necessarily specified.

In this paper I intend discussing only standards regarding dwelling accommodation of the tenement and necessary amenities attached to dwellings such as the number of latrines, bathrooms, washing places etc.

Of the standards mentioned above only two as laid down by (1) Central Government and (2) Bombay Municipal Corporation are operative.

The standards for single room quarters by Central Government and single and double room tenements by Bombay Municipal Corporation fall far short of normal requirements, yet such tenements are coming up in numbers. Construction of single room quarters on Industrial Estates as single storey units are not so harmful but construction of single room tenements, and double room tenements in multi-storied buildings with sanitary accommodation in common as required by Bombay Municipality are definite slums of tomorrow.

These quarters specify minimum living room space of 120 s. ft. The kitchen 60 s. ft. is extra. But the kitchen cannot be used as a living room even during the night for retiring as kitchen furniture in the form of cooking platform, nahani etc., use up most of the 60 s. ft.

These quarters also fall short of space requirement since they are to be occupied by the average family of 5 persons. It may happen that some families consist of newly married couples, while others have 2 children ; some might have more dependents including the old father and/or mother and a sister and/or brother. Accommodation in single room quarters for newly married couples and even upto the time they have one child is ideal and sufficient but for larger families it will not be sufficient.

The double room tenement under existing Bombay Municipal Corporation Laws could be better used, if verandahs are provided on both sides so that every room could be used as a bed room during night time and both have separate entrance.

Also the double room and single room tenements when constructed in multi-storied structures usually have one staircase and common access through verandahs. The privacy of the tenements, except the side ones, cannot be maintained. It is necessary that living rooms and bed rooms open directly on open spaces and windows could be kept open maintaining the privacy of the rooms. If the verandah is at a different level so as to keep window level still pretty high above normal eye level, privacy could be maintained. This will require additional steps to get to every living room and also some space to accommodate these steps. The merits of such arrangement as regards cost shall have to be worked out.

In this case, other standards will have to be discussed under the Bombay Municipal Laws. A kitchen needs less of open space than that required for the living or bed room. In case the kitchen is to be used as a bed room, (this can be done only in case of a double room tenement where the kitchen is 10 s. ft.), more of open space will be required on which the kitchen shall abut. Such a change in planning is essential in chawls with double room tenements, if healthful living conditions are to be ensured.

A 2 room quarter as required by Central Government appears to be normal for bigger families. The bed room could

be occupied by the head of the family while the living room could be used by unmarried dependents such as children, father and mother.

It would be better that some sort of shifting is organised. The expanding family shifts to a bigger accommodation when required.

However, there appears to be a necessity for a third type of quarter with one more room, or a sort of additional sitting out covered space of say 8' x 9' or about 72 s. ft. This could be used as a study or children's room.

I would suggest that any Local Authority or Government taking up a housing project, should undertake a survey of family sizes in slum areas and construct three types of quarters—the proportion to be decided on the outcome of the survey.

These three types will be:—

1. Single room consisting of a living room and a kitchenette.
2. Two room with a living room, a bed room and a kitchenette.
3. Three rooms with a living room, a study, a bed room and kitchenette.

If the costs of three rooms are economically prohibitive, then the building could have a sort of attached extra accommodation, in the form of a students' hostel or dormitory (without kitchen) where dependents of the nature of high school going children could be accommodated. This sort of accommodation has to be separate for boys and girls.

The economic outlay for schemes may considerably change and the total costs may rise. However, advantage could be taken of money savings, the head of the family meeting the extra costs. The head of the family could spare by way of deposit a certain amount which he usually deposits with a private builder in the form of loan or even "Pugdi". This deposit is to be returned when the family changes its

accommodation, either leaving the area totally, or changing over to other accommodation within the same area.

As regards sanitary accommodation, it is best to have individual latrines for each quarter. Sharing of latrines causes considerable inconvenience to families. An individual latrine can be kept clean by one family, but it becomes nobody's business when used by all people. So it is necessary to provide some common urinals in every building used by children, when at play, and visitors.

Bathrooms have got to be separate, washing places can be common. The municipal requirement of a common bath is not at all justifiable, considering our social requirements. Mostly the family uses the small nahani for bathing, which is not at all good. I would recommend that the nahani should not be provided, a sink in the kitchen would be sufficient.

Lastly, the kitchen should be provided with necessary kitchen furniture, including the cooking platform with sink (as mentioned above) and storing accommodation in the form of shelves and lofts.

Improvements to Old Buildings

The main things to be improved are :—

1. Increasing accommodation of living areas,
2. Providing adequate sanitary facilities,
3. Providing increased ventilation wherever necessary,
4. Providing cross ventilation wherever necessary, and
5. Providing kitchen furniture and storing place.

I shall only discuss improving living conditions as regards increased living space and sanitary facilities.

Most old buildings have a single room which serves as both the living room and kitchen. Now increasing accommodation means allocating 2 rooms per family. Such an action would considerably reduce the accommodation available. This is not desirable as it may enhance the problem of finding accommodation for the overspill aggregate to almost half the number of families now occupying the buildings to be improved.

It would be worthwhile in this connection to adopt the recommendations of the Housing Panel (mentioned above) of covering the terrace and increasing accommodation for residents. This terrace would be divided into two parts one for female and the other for male members.

Such a change may reduce open spaces providing air and light, if four or five adjoining buildings are to be maintained and improved. However, this is a matter of detail.

Regarding sanitary accommodation most of the buildings have common latrines and baths, in insufficient numbers. It is desirable that more latrines should be constructed. If the Local Authorities purchase these buildings and improve them, latrines should be provided on the basis of the number of users occupying the building.

Every room also needs a nahani, connected properly to the underground drainage system. In many of the buildings, the nahanis are very small. The small nahani cannot be used for bathing, as is generally done by female members. Nahanis should be bigger than the size required say 3' x 3' each.

The above suggestions and discussions are mostly in regard to buildings in slum areas of Bombay. The observation of slum areas in other cities will be interesting.

This paper discusses only living accommodation as regards the area and sanitary facilities; other necessary details should be discussed before finalising the code.

SLUM CLEARANCE SCHEMES OF THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION

By

N. V. MODAK

The City of Bombay which is described as 'Urbs-Prima in India' has, like all similar cities in the world, its own problems of slums. The clearance of these slums has been occupying the Corporation's attention for over the past three decades and yet far from finding an effective solution to the baffling problem, slums are multiplying in number and character, making the solution still more difficult and distant.

Bombay's slums are a product of the sporadic development of the city at a time when there were no proper rules and regulations for orderly development. Added to this is the abnormal growth in the population as a result of expanding trades and industries, resulting in over-crowding, particularly during the 2nd World War and post-war periods. Economic considerations have also, in no small measure, aggravated the situation.]

Due to these reasons, the demand for housing increased beyond expectation. This demand was met almost wholly by private enterprise. The buildings were erected by land-lords purely with a profit motive with little regard for healthy living of the tenants. Prior to 1910, the minimum standards as regards open spaces for lighting and ventilation of rooms under the Municipal Building Regulations were very meagre. A substantial revision in the Building Regulations was first made in 1910; and further revisions took place in 1919 and 1946.

Bombay's slums thus have their origin in the period prior to the earlier part of this century. In buildings erected prior to 1910, almost all rooms had little or no light and ventilation. Moreover, the accommodation in such buildings was frequently inadequate and sanitary and other conditions were deplorable. With the growth of industry and population, the

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Bombay's slums thus have their origin in the period prior to the earlier part of this century. In buildings erected prior to 1910, almost all rooms had little or no light and ventilation. Moreover, the accommodation in such buildings was frequently inadequate and sanitary and other conditions were deplorable. With the growth of industry and population, the

value of land went on increasing and multi-storeyed dwelling units commonly known as chawls came into existence for putting the available land to optimum use. Even with the increase in land values, due to lack of satisfactory transport facilities, there was hardly any shift of the working class population to cheap lands in outlying areas of the suburbs as people always preferred to live closer to their places of work. This resulted in over-crowding of dwellings and excessive densities of population in the central localities of the City. With the passage of time and due to neglect of timely repairs, buildings deteriorated and ultimately the localities of such buildings gradually developed into slums.

Bombay's slums are dark, dirty, overcrowded and without adequate open spaces for natural light and ventilation. Some of them have no proper means of access. Many holdings are uneconomical to be built over in accordance with the present rules. Some have an intermixture of commercial, industrial and residential users. Many dwellings are two, three, four and even five storeyed with shops on the ground floor. A large number of buildings in the slum areas were built when there was little or no control on construction of private buildings in respect of open spaces, means of access, area of living room etc. A good number of these buildings have now finished their useful life and are overdue for demolition.

There are also slums consisting of *katcha* structures which can be termed as 'hovels' rather than houses. These are mostly located in the northern areas.

The City Improvement Trust (now merged with the Bombay Municipal Corporation) first undertook the work of opening out slums to a certain extent through street improvement schemes, such as Princess Street, Sandhurst Road, Lamington Road, etc. But after the merger of the Trust with the Bombay Municipal Corporation in 1933, hardly any work on slum clearance could be taken up by the Corporation on account of financial difficulties in the pre-war depression period. However, the Corporation had its attention focussed on this problem of eradication of slums. For this purpose a small Section was attached to the Engineering Department,

which carried out a general survey of the blighted areas and designated 85 localities in the city as slums. This Section also prepared schemes for slum clearance under the powers then existing under the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act for some of the worst slums such as Marine Lines, Kamathipura and certain other areas.

These schemes had, however, ultimately to be deferred as it was considered that the procedure involved was cumbersome, dilatory and also expensive. It was later on decided to amend the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act suitably on the lines of the English Housing Act 1936 to secure adequate powers for the Corporation with a view to facilitating the clearance of slums more expeditiously and economically.

The amendments to the Municipal Act referred to above were passed in 1954, after which a beginning was made in this direction by undertaking for execution, a pilot scheme covering a small area in the heart of the City. By this, it is intended to demonstrate to the slum-dwellers the actual benefits of improved living conditions. It will also help the Corporation to ascertain the adequacy and practicability of the new provisions of the Municipal Act against the background of local conditions before extending their programme.

The amendments to the Municipal Act provide for dealing with slum areas in two ways, viz. by declaring them as (i) Clearance Areas or (ii) Redevelopment Areas. They also provide for taking action for improvement or demolition of individual buildings unfit for human habitation, and also for demolition of obstructive buildings.

The primary object of a slum clearance scheme is to make available to the slum dweller better living accommodation, according to modern principles of sanitation, safety and living conditions. The success of the scheme, therefore, depends substantially upon the alternative housing accommodation that can be provided. Such accommodation has to be generally in the slum site itself or as far as possible in areas in the vicinity of the slums to be cleared, unless of course other sites more convenient to the displaced population can be found.

For the purpose of the pilot scheme, a slum area ad-measuring about 60 acres known as Kamathipura, one of the most thickly populated slums, abounding in buildings which are old, deteriorated and insanitary, has been selected. Due to financial and other considerations this whole area cannot be taken up for immediate action. It will, therefore, be tackled in gradual stages extending over a period of years, depending upon the availability of funds and the speed with which new houses can be built for the families that would be dishoused. So far as the slum dwellers inhabiting this area are concerned, a large majority of whom belong to the low-income group, private enterprise is unable to meet their alternative housing needs, since a slum dweller is usually not in a position to pay the economic rent of a tenement charged by a landlord. Responsibility for their housing has, therefore, to be borne by the Corporation.

In the existing layout of Kamathipura, there are too many streets running parallel to each other, with rows of buildings huddled up between them and with narrow house gullies at the back of these buildings. The buildings are predominantly residential and are unfit for human habitation on account of structural deterioration and sanitary defects. The majority of the houses have very narrow frontages with only the front rooms facing streets deriving satisfactory light and ventilation. The holdings are also too small to permit of buliding structures thereon in compliance with the present standard of regulation, unless a number of them are grouped together ; this is not a feasible proportion as owners would not ordinarily come forward to purchase or sell their buildings for this purpose. New development of the area, therefore, seems possible only if the Corporation acquires these holdings and executes constructional and other necessary developments on large sites made available.

The area is also lacking in amenities like public dispensaries, libraries, welfare and health centres.

A survey of the bare physical conditions of the buildings in Kamathipura has revealed the following position :

No. of Bldgs.	Bldgs. due for immediate demolition	Bldgs. having future life of less than 10 years	Bldgs. having future life between 10 & 15 years	Bldgs. having future life between 15 & 25 years	Bldgs. having future life of over 25 years	Bldgs. in sound condition or recently constructed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1092	153	280	153	291	148	67
Percentage	14%	25.6%	14%	26.6%	16.7%	6.1%

The results of the Survey are also graphically shown on a plan No. SL/2 of 6-12-1955. Based on a study of the physical condition of the buildings as aforesaid and of the various deficiencies of the area a layout plan for the improvement of the area as a whole on neighbourhood principles has been prepared (vide Plan No. SL/3 of 1-12-1955). According to this plan, the whole area has been divided into 14 sectors. The plan is elastic and capable of modification to suit the conditions obtaining in future. It envisages closing down of a number of roads so that contiguous blocks of land of large size are available for constructional purposes and for the provision of parks and open spaces. Thus, open spaces covering a total area of about 9,180 sq. yds. for recreational purposes are proposed to be scattered over the whole area in such a way that they will be *within easy reach of the public*. The two main roads viz. Shankarrao Pupala Road and Manaji Rajuji Road will be widened to 60 ft. The main shopping centre is proposed at a place segregated from the residential areas. A number of shops will also be provided on the main roads such as Shankar Pupala Road, Manaji Rajuji Road and Bapty Road. No provision for a school building has been made, as one already exists in the locality. However, the question of earmarking some suitable site for a High School in future is kept in view. Sites have also been proposed for a Welfare Centre, Health Clinic and Library etc. The complete development of the whole 60 acre area is estimated to involve provision of alternative accommodation to over 11,000 families in new buildings on the same area and other areas to be found. The cost of implementing the plan is estimated roughly at Rs. 7 crores as given below :

	Rs. in lakhs
1. Development of 60 acres of land including additional sewerage facilities	20
2. Land for the construction of 5,400 tenements consisting of 200 sq. ft. each on the basis of 35 sq. yds. per tenement	67
3. Construction of 5,400 tenements (4 storeyed) ..	260
4. Land for the creation of open spaces	6
5. Land for the construction of public buildings ..	2.5
6. Construction of public buildings	15
7. Acquisition of land and construction of 5,000 tenements on land outside the scheme to accommodate the spill-over population	325
Say Rs. 7 crores	Rs. 695.5

Taking into consideration the magnitude of the problem and the huge financial outlay, the work of clearance and development will have to be carried out gradually by stages. Moreover, there are a number of buildings interspersed over the whole Kamathipura locality, and have yet a long life to run and do not warrant immediate demolition. Six small areas in Sectors marked B, G, K, M, of the layout plan, as were found appropriate for the initial action with special reference to the deteriorated condition of the buildings therein have been selected for being tackled as Clearance areas in accordance with the new provisions of the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act. The programme is expected to be completed within a period of three to five years. Out of the six sites to be cleared, five will be utilised for construction of new buildings (marked in pink colour on the plan) and one in Sector "G" is a portion of the Central Park. The total number of buildings comprised in these six areas is 77 and the number of families which will be dishoused in their clearance, is 1,073. It is proposed to rehouse 532 families in Kamathipura area and the spill-over of 541 families will have to be housed on suitable

sites elsewhere in the vicinity with the exception of industrial workers for whom accommodation will be found in tenements constructed by the Bombay Housing Board as recently decided by the State Government.

Brief details of each of these six areas are listed below :

(1) Proposed Clearance area in Sector "B"

The area admeasures	1173 sq. yds.
No. of buildings in the area	5
Residential	4)	
Non-residential	1)	
No. of families dishoused in the area	..	36
No. of families of industrial workers included in the above figure	2
No. of tenancies occupied by Prostitutes		23
Other users : shops etc. housed in residential buildings	5

(2) Proposed Clearance Area in Sector "B"

The area admeasuers	1210 sq. yds..
No. of buildings in the area	7
Residential	4)	
Non-residential	3)	
No. of families dishoused	67
No. of families of Industrial workers included in the above figure	17
Other users : Shops etc. housed in residential buildings	4

(3) Clearance Area in Sector "G"

Area admeasures	2188 sq. yds.
No. of buildings in the area	19
Residential	17)	
Non-residential	2)	
No. of families dishoused	215
No. of families of Industrial Workers included in above figure	79
Other users : Shops etc. housed in residential buildings	12

(4) Clearance Area in Sector "K"

Area admeasures	3817 sq. yds.
No. of buildings in the area	33
Residential	27)	
Non-residential	6)	
No. of families dishoused	229
No. of families of Industrial Workers included in the above figure	29
No. of tenancies occupied by Prostitutes		66
Other Users: shops etc. housed in the residential buildings	21
Temples in the area (proposed to be preserved)	2

(5) Proposed Clearance area in Sector "M"

The area admeasures	3335 sq. yds.
No. of buildings in the area	7
Residential	5)	
Non-residential	2)	
No. of families dishoused	345
No. of families of Industrial Workers included in the above figure	88
Other users: shops etc. housed in the residential buildings	42

(6) Proposed Clearance area in Section "M"

The area admeasures	1736 sq. yds.
No. of buildings in the area	6
Residential	6)	
Non-residential	nil)	
No. of families dishoused	181
No. of families of Industrial Workers included in the above figure	34
Other users: shops etc. housed in the residential buildings	14

Out of the 1073 families which will be dishoused as a result of the clearance of these areas, 532 families are proposed to be accommodated permanently mostly on the cleared sites and on a Municipal piece of land in Kamathipura. The remaining 541 families will be housed elsewhere.

The cost of clearance and redevelopment of the six areas is estimated at Rs. 80 lakhs as detailed below :—

	Estimated cost in lakhs Rs.
1. Development cost of 13,500 sq. yds.	1.00
2. Land for the construction of 532 tenements and a part of garden in Section "G"	7.00
3. Construction of 532 tenements	28.00
4. Construction of 541 tenements including acquisition of land outside Kamathipura Area	40.00
5. Improvement to the existing sewerage system	2.00
	<hr/>
Say Rs. 80 lakhs	78.00

As a first step therefore towards the clearance of the Kamathipura slum, the Corporation have approved of the general layout of the whole area and to the same being implemented by stages and also declared two small areas, in Sectors "K" and "G" referred to above as "Clearance Areas". The site in Sector "K" after demolition of the existing buildings is required by the Corporation for rehousing of the dishoused persons and the site in Sector "G" for a garden as per the general layout plan of the area. It was therefore decided to acquire all the properties in the area and then secure their demolition by the Corporation. The procedural requirements laid down under the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act for this purpose such as preparing Compulsory Acquisition Order, inviting and considering the objections from the landlords of the properties affected and the final approval of the orders by the Corporation have been completed. The Compulsory Acquisition Orders have been submitted to the State Government for confirmation. When the orders are confirmed, steps will be taken for the acquisition and taking over possession of the properties. The whole procedure from declaration of the area as a "Clearance Area" to securing the demolition of the properties is expected to take about 2 years.

As far as possible, alternative housing for the dishoused population will be provided either in the Kamathipura area itself or on the nearby sites which the Corporation proposes to acquire. As the construction of the new permanent buildings will take some time, the Corporation had undertaken construction of 454 tenements in two transit camps consisting of ground floor structures to house the dishoused families temporarily until they can be shifted to permanent houses. The majority of the tenements in the two transit camps have been completed.

As regards permanent housing lands in Bombay, particularly in the expensive central parts where the slums exist, buildings have to be multi-storeyed. Moreover, the density of population in the slum area is as high as 1,000 persons per acre and large areas of land will be required to house the spill-over population. The standard height adopted for buildings is 4 storeys. Three buildings comprising 208 tenements are proposed to be built immediately on the clearance site K-1 and on the Municipal land at Sukhalaji Street. The building will be of R.C.C. frame construction. The standard tenement proposed will have a floor area of about 275 sq. ft. It will be a self-contained unit with a living room, a separate kitchen and independent bath room and lavatory. The cost per tenement inclusive of the cost of land and development is estimated at Rs. 5,250. The economic rent of the tenement is likely to be about Rs. 45.

From the data collected from two typical areas of Kamathipura 60% of the people are found to pay rents varying from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per month for a single room tenement on an average of 100 sq. ft. area. The average family income in the two areas works out to Rs. 130 per month. Most of the population will not be in a position to pay the economic rent, even if the cost of construction is brought down to the lowest viz., Rs. 5,250. Rents will therefore have to be concessional. The Government of India under their scheme for financial assistance to State Governments for slum clearance and improvement projects, contemplates the grant of (i) 25% of the approved cost of a project as subsidy, provided that the State Government concerned contributes an equal amount of match-

ing subsidy from their own resources, and (ii) 50% of the cost as loan at the usual rates of interest. The Bombay Government has further held consultations with the Municipal Commissioners of the Corporations of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona on the question of the matching subsidy and have tentatively decided that the same should be borne equally by the respective Corporations and Government. The initial slum clearance proposals of the Corporation have been forwarded to the Central Government in connection with the question of subsidy. In the event of the subsidy forthcoming as anticipated, it is expected that the rent per single self-contained tenement can be fixed at about Rs. 25 per month.

Apart from the consideration of the question of slums comprising privately owned properties entailing the use of requisite legislative powers, the Corporation have tried to make progress in the matter of clearance of the slums existing in the form of 'Patra' sheds on some of their own lands. In accordance with this object, plans for two such Schemes were drawn, one at Palton Road and the other at Haines Road. 82 families living in insanitary conditions in the 'patra' sheds at Sabu Siddique Street off Palton Road were temporarily shifted to Municipal tenements in Sewri Wadala Estate and the cleared site was utilised for the construction of a 4-storeyed R.C.C. frame building providing for 26 shops and 82 single-room tenements. The area of the single room is 200 sq. ft. consisting of 120 sq. ft. living area and 80 sq. ft. of kitchen. Common sanitary accommodation on the basis of one W.C., one bath room and one washing place for every 4 tenements as per building Bye-laws has been provided. The original tenants have been re-housed in these tenements. The cost of construction is Rs. 4,72,000 approximately and a rent of Rs. 27 per month is being charged per tenement. The other scheme at Haines Road involves the re-housing of the 385 families at present living in insanitary sheds. It is proposed to take up the work of demolition of the sheds after the construction of new buildings on the adjoining Municipal site and complete the construction work on the cleared site in stages until the whole of the 'Patra' slum at Haines Road is cleared.

The large-scale Municipal housing projects to be taken in hand shortly, though not directly related to slum clearance, will, in a certain measure, indirectly help to ameliorate the lot of the citizens of Bombay, who have, at present, to live in near slum conditions in various parts of the city.

MADRAS CITY'S SLUMS AND THEIR CLEARANCE

By

D. BALASUNDERAM

In Slum Improvement Scheme, a slum has been taken to mean hutting areas with squalid surroundings. In such areas huts are erected in haphazard manner without any proper access. These areas are not provided with even minimum amenities. Protected water supply is absent. Drainage arrangements do not exist. The access to houses, if at all there is any, is through narrow lanes. In short, the entire surrounding is not conducive for decent living. Even though such areas mentioned above have been taken up for improvement under Slum Improvement Scheme, we have to enlarge the definition of "Slums" to include groups of houses built in a sub-standard manner where large number of families live in small crowded areas without adequate essential services and with poor environmental hygienic conditions. Actually, some of the crowded built up areas are even worse than the hutting areas.

Definition of a slum is difficult and what will constitute a slum will depend upon the economic condition and the standard of living of the persons living in a particular area. What is not considered a slum now may be treated as slum after a few years. At present it has been decided to treat only over-crowded filthy hutting grounds which are a source of danger to public health and safety and cause inconvenience to neighbourhood by reason of the area being low-lying, insanitary, squalid or otherwise, as a 'Slum'.

The slums came into existence as part of the present-day urban life. Originally hutting colonies of domestic servants sprang up near the residential localities. Most of such areas were populated by Harijans. Even though they did not have sanitary facilities, the position was not so bad as at present, because of the existence of big open spaces all round these areas. The position deteriorated very much after the War.

Due to lack of demand for labour in rural areas there has been a regular flow of population to urban areas in search of employment thinking that there is vast scope as there are large industrial and trade concerns. Failure of monsoon and other conditions prevailing in rural areas have also contributed to this flow. They came to urban areas and began to occupy the available open spaces. Whatever may be the condition of the sites, huts were put up. Even road-side pavements were not free from such encroachments. What was started as an encroachment soon developed into crowded hutting areas.

Any vacant land was an open invitation for the persons to squat. It was taken advantage of. They never waited for sanction but simply began to occupy unauthorisedly and slowly the situation developed out of all proportions, when it became impossible to evict them either by persuasion or by entreaty or even by coercion. Taking advantage of this anomalous position, some of the unscrupulous persons began to style themselves as agents of Corporation and other Government Bodies and began to allot sites, which they had no right to do. Ignorant persons began to give money to these persons and thought that the huts have been put up by them with the permission of the authorities concerned. Only when the Corporation authorities tried to evict them did they realise that they have been duped. But still they resisted all attempts to evict them. Encouraged by the inability of local authorities to liquidate slums as soon as they sprang up more areas began to develop by leaps and bounds. Public property soon became no one's property and a small encroachment by a desperate desperado became a colony. Soon the positions changed and persons living in slum areas came to feel that it is the duty of the Government to make them the owners of lands which they have occupied unauthorisedly. They also felt that these areas should be developed and provided with amenities. In the present set up, the authorities are not able to prevent the slums and, if the situation is not to become worse, stern action has to be taken. At least springing up of new slum areas should be prevented.

Social Consequences of Slum Dwelling

The existence of slums is a blight on society in a metropolitan city as the socio-economic condition of the slum dwellers is very unsatisfactory and it has its own effect on the rest of the population. Without proper education and good influence, the dwellers of slums soon become a prey to all vices. Slum dwellers are found to be morally depraved, which is a direct result of the living conditions prevailing in slums. The slum dwellers also become a prey to diseases, vices, and, in short, a blot on society. The recent elections also revealed that the slum dwellers fell an easy prey to propaganda with disruptive tendencies. It is impossible to assess the harm that can be caused to the slum dwellers unless conditions prevailing in slums are improved.

Examination of Blighted Areas in Slums

A civic survey of the slums in the city of Madras was taken about three years back for preparing a general comprehensive scheme for improving the living conditions of the slum dwellers. The civic survey included collection of information regarding the population, number of families, the earning capacity and the source of income of the inhabitants, etc. The Census revealed that there were 311 slums, of which 56 were on Government lands, 49 on Corporation lands, and 206 on private lands. The total population living in slums was estimated to be more than 2,51,000, i.e., 1/6 of the population of the city of Madras.

Out of the total 2,50,000, 1,50,000 are adults and 19,724 are school-going children. The average extent of a slum is about 3 acres and the population in each slum ranges from 72 to 445. The minimum and maximum density per acre in a slum varied from 145 to 960 persons, i.e., from 30 to nearly 200 families per acre. The economic condition was found to be very poor and the average income ranges from Rs. 15 to Rs. 60 per month.

The hygienic conditions prevailing in the slum areas such as to make slum dwellers an easy prey to epidemic diseases like cholera, small-pox, etc.

Prevention of Slums

Prevention of springing up new slums in urban areas is possible only if stringent legislation is enacted and vigorous action taken against the encroachers. Owners of lands who allow haphazard development, without proper lay-out and without providing sufficient amenities should be prosecuted and summary action taken to remove the huts and other sub-standard dwelling places. However, it has to be remembered that under the present democratic set up, such rigorous steps could not be taken without the Government coming in for lot of criticism. Slogans will be raised that the poor and the down-trodden are oppressed at the instance of the wealthy. If the living conditions especially in urban areas are to be saved, legislation should be passed and development of new slums prevented at all costs. It is desirable that notification must be made that all slums springing after a date will be liquidated as per law and the dwellers of such slums should not expect the Government to come to their aid. It will be incumbent on the part of the owners of such lands to improve the living condition, such of those who do not fall in line with those requirements should be prosecuted and summary action taken to liquidate the slums according to law. The Government of Madras have already taken up legislation on these lines but unless the present flow of the people from the rural areas coming to the city in search of employment is reversed, the springing up of new slums cannot be completely prevented. It has also to be borne in mind that the slum problem is a human problem and it is not possible to be ruthless.

The rural development schemes sponsored by the Government should also be made attractive and the development of rural areas undertaken to satisfy the needs of the rural population and induce them to continue to live in the same areas and not migrate to the city. The employment and the conditions of living in the rural areas must be improved. To improve the living conditions in the city the industrial concerns which employ larger labour force should be made to construct houses for their employees whether they be permanent employees or temporary ones. If the scope of the

Industrial Housing Scheme with Government aid is enlarged, it will have a beneficial indirect effect on slums.

Slum Clearance and Slum Improvement

The question is whether the slums are to be cleared *in toto* or whether improvements have to be effected in the present location itself. Complete clearance of slums is not practicable, as it will also involve shifting of the entire slum dwellers to the new areas to be acquired and developed at a heavy cost. The financial commitment will also be heavy. It does not mean that all the slum dwellers will be allowed to remain in the present locality itself. This is not possible as the density of population in slum areas varies from 30 to 200 families per acre. This will mean that only a portion can be housed in the present location and the remaining will have to be shifted. This will mean that slum areas will be improved to rehabilitate the maximum number in that locality itself while the surplus de-housed families are to be removed and accommodated in the near areas where all amenities have been provided.

The main fact to be considered is that both these slum areas and the new areas for accommodating the surplus de-housed families should be made into a decent place of living and each family should be allotted with a minimum area to live in. For this purpose, the main criterion is that the density of the population should be restricted. In addition, there should be adequate protected water supply, drainage facilities, street lighting and wide roads metalled and asphalted making the surface dust free. It has been suggested that to prevent such removal and rehabilitation elsewhere, tenements must be constructed. But it is found from experience in this part of the country that storied tenements are not suited to the ways of living of slum dwellers. It may be necessary that tenements may be constructed at one or two places but this has to be discouraged taking into consideration that the slum dwellers do not keep the tenements in a sanitary condition and such tenements soon develop into slums with the living condition even worse than that prevailing in slum areas. But success of slum improvement scheme will depend on how far

the slum dwellers react to the scheme now proposed and agree to move to new areas which are little distant from their work spot.

To encourage the slum dwellers to move to new areas and enable them to erect their own abode, thatties and other roofing materials have been given free of cost. The scheme prepared by the Corporation has suggested that the materials worth about Rs. 150 may be given to each family. This is in line with the proposals made by the Central Government. Plans will be prepared and given to slum dwellers and they will be asked to construct their huts in accordance with the standard plans. Construction of huts in new colonies with adequate renovations is essential, if the areas are to develop on proper lines. Whatever may be the initial reaction of the slum dwellers, it is felt that these slum dwellers will soon learn the advantage of living in healthy surroundings and agree to move to new areas. Sense of ownership will create a sense of pride which will help in maintaining the colonies in good and healthy condition. If once they get accustomed to healthy ways of life, filthy surroundings will not be tolerated and they will continue to keep the colony in good condition and soon the colonies may develop into ideal places to live in. Once this condition is achieved the slum improvement can be treated as solved. Persons living under such conditions will automatically become useful citizens with a healthy outlook.

For the construction of houses and to maintain the colonies, formation of association on co-operative society lines will be of great help. It will also foster in them a spirit of self-reliance which will have to be encouraged if the ultimate aim of the slum improvement scheme is to be achieved.

Magnitude of the Problem

It has been accepted that slum improvement is a difficult problem and unless it is tackled vigorously, substantial results may not be forthcoming. As stated earlier 1/6th of the entire population of Madras live in very bad slums. Perhaps it is true of other cities also. It is found that even in advanced countries like U.S.A. the slum problem exists. More people

live in areas which are equally bad but which are not considered as slums at present. Preparation of a scheme for rehabilitation is comparatively easy. Great obstacle is expected when the rehabilitation of dehousing families in areas which are distant from the present place of dwelling is taken up. The failure or success of the scheme will depend on these. Slum dwellers have developed a sense of attachment for the place and they also feel if they are moved to new areas which are necessarily to be a little distant from their places of work, their earning capacity will be affected. They have felt so much accustomed to the living conditions prevailing in slum areas that they do not feel any drastic change in living conditions necessary. They do not at all feel that a higher way of life is necessary. Some even feel that their position enables them to expect concessions from the Government.

Perhaps, fresh problems will arise as soon as the scheme is taken up. Therefore, it is necessary that the scheme must be capable of being altered to suit the conditions which may vary from place to place and from colony to colony, but whatever may be the difficulty, the housing of slum dwellers under healthy conditions should not be given up. Restricting the density of the population should also be insisted on.

The selection of new areas will also be another problem and unless sites are far from the work spot, it is likely that the slum dwellers may refuse to move to new places. As a large portion of the entire scheme funds is to be used for acquisition of slum areas and new lands for housing dehousing slum dwellers, a great responsibility is placed on the persons in charge of slum improvement scheme to see that the funds placed at their disposal are spent usefully and well. The acquisition of slum areas is also an important matter if the Madras Slum Improvement (Land Acquisition Act) 1954 is enacted by the Government; it will perhaps help the acquisition of slum areas. The main benefit of the enactment of this Act is that the slum areas become the state property free from all encumbrances once the area is declared a slum and the legislation also gives powers for the Government to acquire slum areas at a reasonable cost. Till the Act is

actually enforced and a few slums acquired, the actual allotment of sites to various persons will also present problems and unless the allotment is restricted to bona fide slum dwellers and safeguards made to prevent sub-letting of plots as the middlemen will exploit the position and become landlords on slum areas. Experience has shown that certain unscrupulous persons with influence somehow manage to get sites allotted to them under various names. They acquire rights on other plots exploiting the debt-ridden slum dwellers. This will have to be prevented and if such activities are not checked, the slum improvement scheme instead of solving the problem will only enrich a few persons, while the slums instead of disappearing will spring up on new areas. It has been suggested that vigorous steps should be taken against such activities. It is suggested that allotments may be made through the Association formed in each area and controlled and retained by the Association and Corporation in respect of transfer of plots. The improvement of slums is a big and a continuing problem and it may not be possible for municipal authorities to undertake this scheme without the aid from the Central and State Governments. The question of finance may be dealt with separately later.

Programme

The slum improvement scheme has to be taken according to the programme and it has to be spread over to 10 to 15 years. Of course, it is not possible to say that complete success will be achieved in that period. As stressed earlier what is not considered a slum may have to be treated as a slum in 5 to 10 years' time and any scheme now prepared will have to be formulated with far sight. Of course, there may be opposition and protests will be made while attempts are made to shift slum dwellers to enable the creation of healthy living conditions with minimum standard and unless standards are fixed and adhered to so that the energy and money spent may not become a waste. Whatever work is done in the first or second year may give us information regarding the right lines on which slum improvement problem has to be tackled and based on such experience, it may be necessary that the scheme may have to be recast but there should be

no change in the fundamental principle regarding the minimum standards. To enable the complete appreciation of the problem, the initial works have to be taken up.

- (1) Census of slum areas including the pavement dwellers.
- (2) Detailed enquiries regarding the trade, the place of work and the earning capacity of slum dwellers.
- (3) A detailed survey of slum areas to enable the preparation of topographical sketch.
- (4) Preparation of lay-out and estimates for improving the areas in accordance with the lay-out for reconstituting the slum areas.
- (5) Selection of proper sites for rehabilitating dehousing surplus families.
- (6) Preparation of detailed lay-outs and estimates for developing the areas to be acquired.

This will have to be followed by :

- (1) Starting acquisition proceedings of slum areas and also new areas for developing colonies to receive surplus families.
- (2) Preparation of list of slum dwellers and the agreements taken from the slum dwellers to enable the allotment of slums both in new and low areas.
- (3) Formation of Local Committees.
- (4) Allotment of sites.
- (5) Helping the slum dwellers to settle by starting co-operative societies, etc.

The success of the scheme will depend upon the co-operation received from the slum dwellers and personal contacts with the leaders in slum areas is essential. In executing works, the slum dwellers may be given an opportunity to provide free labour. This may instill in them a sense of pride and will constitute an incentive to keep the developed areas in healthy condition. It is likely that obstacles may be encountered in the beginning, but once the slum dwellers realise the

advantage of dwelling in healthy atmosphere full co-operation of the slum dwellers may be expected.

As far as the Madras Corporation is concerned a civic survey was taken up for preparation of a general scheme costing Rs. 4.19 crores for the improvement of 311 slums. It has been decided that the Corporation and Madras City Improvement Trust will accomplish the improvement of the slum areas and the work has been shared between these two organisations. The Corporation has taken up the improvement of slums in northern portion of the City which constitutes two-thirds of the scheme. The Corporation has prepared a scheme for improving 6 slums costing about Rs. 24 lakhs during the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan period. The Corporation share of funds for improvement of slums in North Madras during the Second Five-Year Plan period is nearly Rs. 112 lakhs. They are not sufficient to make much progress.

Adequacy of the Government Plan

The scheme prepared by the Madras Corporation is in general agreement with the scheme prepared by the Central Government and it has been decided that each family should be given a site between 600 to 1,000 sq. ft. but it is felt whatever may be the area of individual plot, the density in area should not be allowed to exceed 25 to 30 per acre. It has been decided that all amenities be provided such as individual flushout latrines and enclosed bathing place for each family, public water taps, roads with a minimum of 20 ft. with a paved way of 8 to 10 ft. which will also be metalled and tarred. Street lights should be provided. The slum dwellers will be asked to put up raised earthen platforms of 300 sq. ft. over which the slum dwellers can put up their huts according to the standard plan to be given by the local authority. The huts should be constructed detached from one another with open space all round. Sufficient open spaces will be reserved for recreational facilities and also for constructing community centres, child welfare centres, schools, dispensaries, parks with radio, etc. For providing all these the amount of Rs. 1,000 fixed for each family will not be ade-

quate. If the cost of providing recreational facilities and community centres is taken into consideration the cost will be nearer Rs. 2,000 per family. Unless the community facilities are given, the colony will not become attractive. The Government have indicated that only about 175 lakhs will be for slum improvement schemes of Madras. It is felt that this amount is hardly sufficient to push through the scheme and make any appreciable progress.

Finance

The slum improvement scheme tries to improve the living conditions of a good proportion of the citizens and hence is costly. It is not possible for the Corporation to undertake the financial burden of socio-economic upliftment scheme unless the Central and the State Governments come to the rescue by giving adequate and liberal subsidies and loans, without which such an important scheme cannot be pushed through. The Union Government have already decided to grant fifty per cent of the total cost of the scheme as loan and twenty-five per cent as subsidy and a matching subsidy by the State Government. It has been suggested that the Corporation can realise rents, i.e., amounts to cover up its share of expenditure. It was found impossible to realise such rents. It has been suggested that the Corporation will have to meet from its resources cost of putting up community centres like child welfare centres and dispensaries. As already indicated the cost for all this will be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1,750 per family as envisaged by the Government. The Corporation may get a maximum of Rs. 600 per family as subsidy and an equal amount as loan. The cost of providing the community facilities will be about Rs. 500 per family including the cost of land to be set apart for this purpose from its own resources, and it may be necessary to apply fresh loans for this purpose. This will mean that for a scheme costing Rs. 1,750 per family, the subsidy will be about Rs. 600 and loan requirements will be Rs. 1,100 to 1,200 per family. On this basis during the Second Five-Year Plan period the Corporation may have to raise a loan of more than Rs. 40 lakhs for providing community facilities in addition to a loan of Rs. 56 lakhs and grant of Rs. 56 lakhs promised by the Gov-

ernment. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period only about one-third of the entire scheme would have been completed. If rents are to be charged to cover up the repayment charges, it will be about Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per family per month. If it is remembered that the allottees will have to meet the cost of putting up and maintaining the huts, the impossibility of the proposal will be appreciated. Actually the rents realised from some of the colonies developed by the Corporation is in the order of Re. 0-8-0 to Re. 1 and these amounts are only nominal and do not even cover the cost of maintenance of the amenities to these colonies. Even if we decide to collect a maximum of Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 from each family, the Corporation cannot hope to realise any amount for repayment of loan. At present no subsidy is promised for the portion of expenditure for putting up community facilities. It is felt that the State Government should aid the Corporation by giving substantial grants for provision of such facilities without which the colony will not be an attractive and healthy place to live in.

Conclusion

It is gratifying to note that the Government have been alive to the responsibility of improving the slums. All the schemes along with the stress on Block Development under National Extension Scheme and the problem of Slum Improvement Scheme will be tackled to a great extent during the course of the next ten years. Whatever may be the difficulty confronting us, it is imperative that this scheme should be pushed through with zeal. The officers responsible for executing this scheme should dedicate themselves to their work and they can very well feel a sense of satisfaction that they are engaged in an ameliorative measure which will enable the down-trodden to occupy their rightful place as healthy useful citizens of India.

APPENDICES III TO XI

- III. NOTE ON PROCEDURE
- IV. EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE
- V. BRIEF REPORT ON SEMINAR EVALUATION
- VI. DAILY PROGRAMME
- VII. LIST OF PERSONS FROM WHOM THE MESSAGES
WERE RECEIVED
- VIII. VOTE OF THANKS
- IX. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS
- X. BIBLIOGRAPHY
- XI. MESSAGES

APPENDIX III

NOTE ON PROCEDURE

Purpose :

The purpose of the Seminar is to make a comprehensive study of the problem of slum dwelling and slum clearance and to devise ways and means of tackling the problem with the assistance of experts.

Participants :

The participants to the Seminar have been specially invited from the following category of persons :

1. Executive Officers of Municipalities and Improvement Trusts.
2. Representatives of selected Municipal Bodies.
3. Town Planners.
4. Architects.
5. Engineers.
6. Public Health Engineers.
7. Housing Board Officials.
8. Public Health Officers.
9. Social Scientists—Economists, Sociologists and Psychiatrists.
10. Social Workers.
11. Representatives of Employers.
12. Representatives of Property Owners.
13. Trade Union Representatives.
14. Representatives of Central Government.
15. Representatives of Planning Commission.
16. Representatives of International Organisations.

PROCEDURE OF SEMINAR DELIBERATIONS

(a) Directors of the Seminar :

Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S., Municipal Commissioner for Greater Bombay will be in overall charge of the Seminar as its Director. He will be assisted by Shri Brij Krishna Chandiwala of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, Delhi who will be the Associate Director.

(b) The Seminar will have two formal Plenary Sessions. The first of these will be the inaugural ceremony on 14th May, 1957 and the second will be the formal closing session on 20th May, 1957 where the Director's report will be presented to the public. Both these meetings will be held at the C. J. Hall, Bombay and the programme will be as under :—

Inaugural Session : (Time : Evening)

1. Welcome Address by Smt. Hansa Mehta, President ICSW.
2. Inaugural Address by Shri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay.
3. Director's Address on the Working Paper of the Seminar by Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S.
4. Messages to the Seminar by Smt. Mary Clubwala Jadhav, Hon. General Secretary, ICSW.
5. Vote of Thanks by the Associate Director Shri B. K. Chandiwala.

The Formal Closing Session : (Time : Evening)

1. Director's Report on the Seminar.
2. Address by the invited guest.
3. Vote of Thanks.

Deliberations of the Seminar :

On the mornings of 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th, there will be two plenary sessions every day : each followed by a general discussion as under :

9 A.M. to 9-30 A.M. : Plenary Session I.

9-30 A.M. to 10-15 A.M. : Discussion on the Address.

10-15 A.M. to 10-30 A.M. : Break for Tea.

10-30 A.M. to 11-00 A.M. : Plenary Session No. II

11 A.M. to 11-45 A.M. : Discussion on the address.

The lunch recess will be from 11-45 A.M. to 12-30 P.M.

Thereafter (from 12-30 P.M. to 2-30 P.M.) the Seminar will meet in five working Groups. The plenary sessions have been so arranged that two subjects will form the basis of a Working Group. In other words, the subject matter of each of the first four Working Groups has been extended into two plenary sessions for each Working Group as given in the programme.

WORKING GROUPS :

There will be five Working Groups as under :

Group No. 1—Social Aspects of Slum Dwelling.

Chairman : Shri Kanji Dwarkadas, Bombay.

Rapporteur : Dr. M. S. Sabnis, Chief Officer, Children's Aid Society, Bombay.

Group No. 2—Minimum Housing Standards and Slum Improvement.

Chairman : Shri V. K. R. Menon, Director, International Labour Organisation, India Branch, New Delhi.

Rapporteur : Shri S. H. Godbole, Consulting Engineer, Bombay.

Group No. 3—Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums.

Chairman : Shri K. N. Sreenivasan, Mayor of Madras.

Rapporteur : Shri S. V. Utamsingh, Chief Personal Officer,
Associated Cement Co., Bombay.

Group No. 4—Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance.

Chairman : Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S., Director of the Seminar.

Rapporteur : Shri John Barnabas, Bombay.

Group No. 5—Examination of Slum Clearance Projects in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Kanpur and Ahmedabad.

Chairman : A. S. Naik, I.C.S., Commissioner.

Rapporteur : Shri J. S. Mathur, Delhi School of Social Work,
Delhi-8.

Each Working Group will have a Chairman and a Rapporteur and about 10 members either nominated by the Director or elected at the first business meeting.

The notes of discussion at the Plenary Session will be recorded by the respective rapporteurs of the Working Group.

Steering Committee :

At the first business meeting of the Seminar a Steering Committee may be appointed consisting of the following :

1. Director of the Seminar (Chairman).
2. The Associate Director.
3. Working Group Chairman (5).
4. Working Group Rapporteurs (5).
5. The Executive Secretary

with powers to co-opt.

This Steering Committee may meet on 14th May 1957 and as required thereafter to review reports of the work done at the Plenary and Working Group meetings and refer unsolved questions back to the respective Working Groups for reconsideration as also to co-ordinate the thinking of various Working Groups.

This Steering Committee may also consider all other matters re. management of Seminar campus, etc.

All delegates and observers have carefully studied documents sent to them in advance and have made marginal notes for their own participation of discussions. Since plenary session addresses have been circulated in advance the speakers need not read the script but may speak for 30 minutes using notes.

Public Relations :

We have appointed two Hon. Public Relations Officers. Their duties will be as under :—

1. Releasing two press notes daily one for evening and Dak edition of papers and the other for next morning's edition.

2. To assemble and prepare material for publishing Proceedings of the Seminar.

The Rapporteurs are requested to give about 500 words summary of morning meeting (discussions only) and about the same length of a press note in the evenings to the Public Relations Officers.

Final Report of the Director :

On the morning of 19th May, 1957 all the five Chairmen and Rapporteurs will prepare a final report of their Working Group meetings in (2,000 words) and also submit a list of unanimously accepted Recommendations suggested by their Group. These must be turned in at the Seminar office by 12-30 P.M. on the 19th May, 1957. If it is not possible to give the full report at that time, only recommendations may be given and the full report submitted by 5-00 P.M. the same evening.

There will be a meeting of the Steering Committee at 3-00 P.M. on 19th May, 1957 when the outline of the final report of the Director will be considered and settled.

Next morning, the final report of the Director will be presented to the Plenary Session for discussion and approval and later formally announced at the closing plenary session at 6-15 P.M. on 20th May, 1957 in the Sir C. J. Hall, Bombay-1.

Editorial Committee :

The Steering Committee shall appoint a Committee consisting of not more than three persons to help the Director in editing material for the Proceedings Report of the Seminar. This Committee may meet as required during the Seminar and give a final copy of the mss. for proceedings on 21st May, 1957. If necessary, the Committee members may stay over for a day after the Seminar to complete the job.

Evaluation Committee :

The Steering Committee may appoint a Committee consisting of three to five members to evaluate the work of the Seminar from all angles and present a report at the last Plenary Session on 20th May, morning. A questionnaire for the purpose may also be issued.

Daily Bulletin :

As far as possible a daily bulletin will be published each morning to acquaint the participants of the deliberations of the various Working Groups previous evening, any announcement re. change in programme, notifications, etc., of interest to the Seminar.

Seminar Library :

The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, where the Seminar will be held has an excellent library on Social Sciences and attempt will be made to collect a number of books on Slum Clearance and have them placed at the reserved shelf for reference and study by the delegates.

Evening Programme :

So far we have been able to organise the following evening programme :

1. On the evening of 15th May, 1957 at 6 P.M. the Governor of Bombay is giving a Reception to the Delegates and Observers to the Seminar and invitation cards will be issued accordingly.

2. On 16th and 17th evening between 5-15 and 8-15 P.M. we will be visiting some of the slums in the City of Bombay.

3. On 18th evening there will be a Film Show from 7-30 P.M. onwards and, if possible, we will try to arrange a trip to Powai and Vihar Lakes.

4. We are arranging a farewell dinner on 19th night at the Juhu Hotel.

Important : All delegates and observers are requested to read carefully the Daily Bulletin every morning so as to get fresh information or any change in programme of the Seminar and other information of interest to them.

APPENDIX IV

EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

(All delegates and observers attending the Seminar are requested to fill in the enclosed questionnaire and return it to the Secretary of the Seminar by 9 A.M. on Sunday, May 19th, 1957.)

1. Do you consider the preparations made in developing the programme of the Seminar were satisfactory?
If not give your suggestions.
2. Are you generally satisfied with the Programme contents and organisation of Plenary Session addresses and Working Groups?
If not give your suggestions.
3. What are your comments on:
 - (a) Selection of Participants
 - (b) Number of Participants
 - (c) The venue of the Seminar
 - (d) Dates of the Seminar
 - (e) Duration of the Seminar
 - (f) Level of discussions
 - (g) Programme of entertainment
 - (h) Institutional visits
4. What is your evaluation about the Souvenir of the Seminar?
5. What do you feel about boarding and lodging arrangements made for the delegates?
6. Have you established useful contacts with other delegates during your stay here?
7. What do you think about the publicity organised for the Seminar?
Was it adequate or inadequate?
8. What are your suggestions to follow up the recommendations of the Seminar?
9. Any other comments or suggestions you may have to improve future Seminars organised by ICSW.
10. Any other comments.

Name

(Please write legibly).

APPENDIX V

BRIEF REPORT ON SEMINAR EVALUATION

1. Owing to various reasons, the Evaluation Committee set up by the Steering Committee, of which Shri B. K. Chandiwala was the Chairman could not meet except once when the questionnaire was finalised.

2. The following brief report on the evaluation of the Seminar is based on the replies received from the participants. Of a total of 55 delegates and observers 31 persons returned the questionnaire form, duly filled in. On the basis of those replies the following report emerges :

(a) Pre-Conference Preparations :

About 84% of the participants feel that the Seminar was very well-planned or satisfactorily planned. A couple of persons were not happy with the change in the Seminar Programme and a few felt that inauguration speeches were too long and boring.

(b) Programme Contents :

About 75% of persons found the programme contents generally satisfactory while 4 members felt that there was overlapping in the areas of discussions of the various Groups and one of them felt that the Programme should have been planned by a Group of Experts. Another member felt that no thought was given to the selection of objectives as against mere formulation of general policy.

(c) Selection of Participants :

About 60% of the members felt satisfaction with the selection of various categories of participants and some of them stated that it was very judicious and well balanced. However, there were some comments regarding inadequacy of the number of women participants and inclusion of representatives of local organisations engaged in the slum clearance work.

As regards the number of participants a majority of members felt that the number was reasonable and satisfactory while 4 or 5 persons felt that it should have been more.

(d) Venue of the Seminar :

A large number of people felt that the venue of the Seminar was far away from the City while 9 members found it ideal and one of them has suggested that the Seminar should have been held in a place like Poona.

(e) Dates and Duration of the Seminar :

12 people had no comments to make as regards the dates of the Seminar while 11 felt that it should have been held some time during winter and 5 people felt that the dates selected were agreeable.

As regards the duration of the Seminar, 12 members were of the opinion that the duration was correct while 11 had no comments to make and 6 felt that the duration should have been shorter.

(f) Level of Discussion :

About two-thirds of the members felt that the level of discussion was excellent, very high or at expert level while two members said it was fairly high, one had no comments to make and two felt that the level of discussions could have been better. Among the general comments on this subject, it has been stated that there was some repetition and overlapping in discussions and that a few people monopolised the platform at a number of sessions.

(g) Entertainment Programme :

As can be expected, a large number of people have no comments to make and felt that the entertainment programme was rather inadequate and more attention should be given to this in future organisation of such Seminars. A number of suggestions have been made regarding arranging a picnic or keeping a day free for informal contacts during the course of any future Seminars that may be organised.

(i) Visits :

About one-third members felt that the visits organised in connection with the Seminar were good and useful while an equal number felt that they were inadequate and should have been supplemented by visits to institutions and new housing schemes in Bombay. 4 persons had no comments to make on this subject.

(j) Souvenir :

There was a general consensus of opinion that the Seminar Souvenir was very well-brought out and has been a very useful publication. Some members have suggested that, if possible, an annual volume like this may be brought out to publicise the problem of slums from time to time. Two members had no comments to make and 4 had minor suggestions to make in this connection.

(k) Boarding and Lodging :

About two-thirds members felt that boarding and lodging arrangements were excellent and the rest had no comments to

make as they did not avail of the facilities. A number of persons have paid handsome compliments to the work done by volunteers in this connection.

(l) Contacts :

About 75 per cent persons state that they have been able to make useful contacts during the Seminar while six opined that they have not been able to make enough contacts primarily because of lack of time for such informal contacts.

(m) Publicity Organised for the Seminar :

More than three-fourths members felt that the publicity organised in connection with the Seminar was excellent and adequate while a couple of them had no comments to make and a few felt that it was inadequate.

(n) Any Other Comments :

1. More than half the participants have in one way or another suggested the setting up of a permanent Steering Committee, Advisory Body or a Panel to follow up the work of the Seminar. A suggestion has also been made that Regional Committees or Local Committees may be organised as Vigilance Groups to promote slum clearance in various important cities of the country. The next suggestion pertains to waiting on the Prime Minister, Government of India and the State Governments to present them the findings of the Seminar and to make a personal request for implementation of the same. Suggestions have also been made that the Indian Conference of Social Work should be associated with the Institute of Town and Country Planning and such other bodies to promote housing and slum clearance activities and that wide publicity should be given to the findings of the Seminar and copies of the Recommendations should be sent to the Central and State Government and all important Municipalities in the country.

Many other minor suggestions pertaining to composition of Working Groups on a more systematic basis and election of Plenary Chairmen from among the delegates have also been made.

It has also been suggested that the Government should appoint Housing Committees in towns and cities and that in future Seminars all literature on slum clearance schemes of all State Governments should be publicised and that the Government of India should take more active interest in Seminars of this kind by deputing a number of delegates.

The Indian Conference of Social Work has also been requested to set up a Division on Housing and Slum Clearance.

A few members also felt that the transport arrangements made for the Seminar were not satisfactory and that in any future Evaluation Questionnaire, the identity of persons should not be insisted upon.

Although there was no provision in the questionnaire to elicit opinion as regards the usefulness of the daily bulletin, from a personal discussion with a number of delegates and observers one is inclined to believe that these daily bulletins proved to be of great value in keeping touch with the work of various groups of the Seminar.

APPENDIX VI

DAILY PROGRAMME

Seminar Venue : Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Sion-Trombay Road, Chembur, Bombay-38.

Delegates Camp : Students' Hostel, Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

Inaugural and Closing Sessions—Venue : Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Bombay-1.

Monday, 13th May 1957—Arrival of Delegates.

Tuesday, 14th May 1957

	Programme	Venue
9 a.m. to 10.00 a.m.	Registration of Delegates and Observers.	C. J. Hall, Bombay.
4.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m.	Business Meeting (Finalising Procedure and Forming Working Groups) Forming Steering Committee	- Do.-
6-15 p.m. to 7-30 p.m.	Inaugural Session.	- Do.-

Welcome Address : Smt. Hansa Mehta (President, ICSW).
Inaugural Address : Shri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay.
Director's Address : Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S.
Messages : Smt. Mary Clubwala Jadhav, Hon. Gen. Secretary, ICSW.
Vote of Thanks : Shri Brij Krishan Chandiwala, Associate Director.

Wednesday, 15th May 1957 : Plenary Sessions : TISS, Chembur.

Chairman : Shri M. C. Shah, Minister for Local Self-Government, Bombay.

Rapporteur : Dr. M. S. Sabnis, Chief Officer, Children's Aid Society, Bombay.

9-00 a.m. to 9-30 a.m. : Plenary Session No. 1.

Subject : Social and Public Health Aspects of Slum Dwelling—I.

Speaker : Shri C. Govindan Nair, Jt. Director, Town Planning, Madras.

9-30 a.m. to 10-15 a.m. : Discussion.

10-15 a.m. to 10-30 a.m. : Recess.

10-30 a.m. to 11-00 a.m. : Plenary Session No. 2.

Subject : Social and Public Health Aspects of Slum Dwelling—II.

Speaker : Dr. B. H. Mehta, Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.

11-00 a.m. to 11-45 a.m. : Discussion.

11-45 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. : Lunch recess.

12-30 p.m. to 2.30 p.m. : Meeting of Working Groups.

6-00 p.m. : Reception at Raj Bhavan.

Thursday, 16th May 1957 : Plenary Sessions : TISS, Chembur.

Chairman : Shri S. K. Wankhede, Minister for Planning, Development, etc., Bombay.

Rapporteur : Shri S. H. Godbole, Consulting Engineer, Bombay.

9.00 a.m. to 9-30 a.m. : Plenary Session No. 3.

Subject : Minimum Housing Standards.

Speaker : Shri S. B. Joshi, Consulting Engineer, Bombay.

(Shri R. N. Joshi will deputise.)

9-30 a.m. to 10-15 a.m. : Discussions.

10-15 a.m. to 10-30 a.m. : Recess.

10-30 a.m. to 11-00 a.m. : Plenary Session No. 4.

Subject : Slum Improvement.

Speaker : Shri N. V. Modak, Special Engineer, Bombay Municipality.

11-00 a.m. to 11-45 a.m. : Discussions.

11-45 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. : Lunch recess.

12-30 to 2-30 p.m. : Meeting of Working Groups.

Friday, 17th May 1957 : Plenary Sessions : TISS, Chembur.

Chairman : Shri Shantilal H. Shah, Minister for Law and Labour, Bombay.

Rapporteur : Shri S. V. Utamsingh, Chief Personnel Officer, A.C.C., Bombay.

9.00 a.m. to 9-30 a.m. : Plenary Session No. 5.

Subject : Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums—I.

Speaker : Shri S. K. Gupta, I.C.S., Chairman, Calcutta Improvement Trust.

9-30 a.m. to 10-15 a.m. : Discussion.

10-15 a.m. to 10-30 a.m. : Recess.

10-30 a.m. to 11-00 a.m. : Plenary Session No. 6.

Subject : Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums—II.

Speaker : Shri K. N. Misra, Village and Town Planner, U.P.

11-00 a.m. to 11-45 a.m. : Discussion.

11-45 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. : Lunch recess.

12-30 p.m. to 2-30 p.m. : Meeting of Working Groups.

2-30 p.m. : Visit to slums.

Saturday, 18th May 1957 : Plenary Sessions : TISS, Chembur.

Chairman : Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Finance Minister, Bombay.

Rapporteur : Shri John Barnabas, Bombay.

9-00 a.m. to 9-30 a.m. : Plenary Session No. 7.

Subject : Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance—I.

Speaker : Shri C. B. Fatel, Housing Adviser to Government of India, New Delhi.

9-30 a.m. to 10-15 a.m. : Discussion.

10-15 a.m. to 10-30 a.m. : Recess.

10-30 a.m. to 11-00 a.m. : Plenary Session No. 8.

Subject : Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance—II.

Speaker : Shri B. K. Sen, Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta.

11-00 a.m. to 11-45 a.m. : Discussion.

11-45 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. : Lunch recess.

12-30 p.m. to 2-30 p.m. : Meeting of Working Groups.

2-45 p.m. : Film Show.

Sunday, 19th May 1957 : TISS, Chembur.

9-00 a.m. to 10-15 a.m. : Report of Working Groups.

10-15 a.m. to 10-30 a.m. : Recess.

10-30 a.m. to 11-45 a.m. : Final Reports of the Working Groups.

11-45 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. : Lunch recess.

12-30 p.m. to 2-30 p.m. : Discussion on Recommendations.

8-30 p.m. : Farewell Dinner at Juhu Hotel, Juhu.

(Bus will leave TISS, Chembur at 7-15 p.m.)

APPENDIX VII

LIST OF PERSONS FROM WHOM THE MESSAGES WERE RECEIVED

1. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, New Delhi.
2. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, New Delhi.
3. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, New Delhi.
4. Shri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay, Bombay.
5. Shri K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow.
6. Shri A. J. John, Governor of Madras, Madras.
7. Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Governor of Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal.
8. Shri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar, Patna.
9. Shri C. M. Trivedi, Governor of Andhra, Hyderabad.
10. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Union Minister for Health, New Delhi.
11. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Minister for Finance, New Delhi.
12. Shri Morarji R. Desai, Union Minister for Commerce, New Delhi.
13. Shri G. L. Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, New Delhi.
14. Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Minister for Works and Housing, New Delhi.
15. Shri K. N. Singh, Governor of Punjab, Chandigarh.
16. Shri P. Deshmukh, Union Minister for Agriculture, New Delhi.
17. Shri Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister, Bombay.
18. Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, West Bengal, Calcutta.
19. Shri B. R. Mehdi, Chief Minister, Assam.
20. Shri S. Nijlingappa, Chief Minister, Mysore.
21. Shri M. L. Sukhadia, Chief Minister, Rajasthan.
22. Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Finance Minister, Bombay.
23. Shri Shantilal H. Shah, Minister for Law and Labour, Bombay.
24. Shri S. K. Wankhede, Minister for Planning and Development, Bombay.
25. Shri D. G. Gupta, Minister for Labour, Bombay.
26. Shri B. J. Patel, Minister for Housing, Bombay.
27. Shri V. P. Naik, Minister for Agriculture, Bombay.
28. Shri M. Fakhi, Minister for Agriculture, Bombay.
28. Shri M. C. Shah, Minister for Local Self-Government, Bombay.
30. Shri A. P. Jain, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, New Delhi.
31. Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow.
32. Sardar-i-Riyasat, Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu.

APPENDIX VIII

VOTE OF THANKS

By

SHRI B. CHATTERJEE
Secretary of the Seminar

We have come to a close of what may be considered a very significant week in the history of Slum Clearance in the country. You have just adopted the final report of the various groups which deliberated on various aspects of the problem of Slum Clearance during the week and I am sure you will agree that useful, concrete and constructive work has been accomplished. From all accounts, this Seminar has been a unique success and will in many ways help to focus attention on and solve the problem of Slum Clearance and Slum Improvement. I am sure, you are with me when I say that the major credit for thorough planning and efficient deliberations must necessarily go to Shri P. R. Nayak, the scholar-administrator who guided the destinies of this Seminar as its Director. We all know that he is a very busy official and it speaks a good deal for his enthusiasm for Slum Clearance and genuine humane feeling for the slum-dwellers that he found so much time to devote to the planning, organisation and execution of the Seminar to its minutest details. Personally, I have enjoyed working under his guidance and it has been a very rich and satisfying experience. On behalf of the Indian Conference of Social Work and on your behalf and mine, I wish to convey to him our sincere feelings of gratitude and thanks for all that he has done to make this Seminar a great success.

I must also take this opportunity of placing on record our gratitude and thanks to Shri Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Bombay, who inaugurated the Seminar and was At Home to the Delegates.

Our special thanks must go to our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and our beloved Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, our learned Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and all other dignitaries in the country who encouraged us in our work by sending inspiring messages.

I must not forget Shri Brijkishan Chandiwala, the Associate Director of the Seminar, who endeared himself to all of us by his unassuming manner and sincere feeling on the question of slum clearance.

I must now say a few words regarding the help we received from Prof. A. R. Wadia, the Director of Tata Institute of Social

Sciences. Without his co-operation it would have been difficult to hold the Seminar in this beautiful campus. It may have been felt by some that the site of the Seminar was rather removed from the City ; but I am convinced that we could have found no better place for serious deliberation than the precincts of this pioneer institute for social work training in the country. We are particularly obliged to all the staff of the Tata Institute, especially Shri A. V. R. Nayudu, the Establishment Officer ; Mrs. Johnson, the Matron ; and Shri B. Trivedi, the Librarian, who helped us in many ways and tried to make us comfortable here. A special word of thanks is due to the volunteers who have done an excellent job and have earned the gratitude of all whom they served so sincerely and well.

Despite the excitement over a new budget, we have been able to receive considerable attention from the Bombay Press and I must thank all the editors and newspaper correspondents who made it possible for us to broadcast the message of the Seminar to the wider public.

I must also thank the authorities of the All-India Radio and the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India for the facilities they extended in this connection.

A Seminar like this costs money and it was not possible for us to secure the necessary grant-in-aid from the Government of India for this purpose. Fortunately, we received some help from the Governments of Andhra, and Bombay and the Municipal Corporations of Ahmedabad, Bombay and Calcutta were also kind enough to sanction a grant-in-aid. We hope that these Corporations will continue to give us financial assistance in case we are called upon to do any continuing work in connection with slum clearance. It was indeed a bright idea of ours, which made possible the publication of a "Souvenir" on the strength of income derived from advertisements ; and I am grateful to all those industrial and commercial houses who have given us donations for advertisements, the surplus amount of which was utilized towards the organisation of the Seminar. We are also thankful to a number of advertising firms who waived their commission in respect of advertisements secured for us.

We have always counted the four Sectional Chairmen—Shri Kanji Dwarkadas, Shri V. K. R. Menon, Shri Sreenivasan and Shri A. S. Naik as our own and they have fully extended their help during the week. These gentlemen brought to bear on the Seminar their rich experience and administrative acumen. Likewise, I must also thank the eight Plenary Session speakers who contributed their addresses which served as the foundation (frame of reference) for the discussions at the Seminar.

We are also grateful to Shri M. C. Shah, Minister for Local Self-Government ; Shri S. K. Wankhede, Minister for Planning, Development and Industries ; Shri Shantilal H. Shah, Minister for Law and Labour ; and Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Minister for Finance who gave us benefit of their experience and guidance as Chairman of Plenary Sessions.

As you know, the main burden of co-ordinating the thinking of the Seminar, recording its deliberations and preparing a useful report depends on the hard work which the Rapporteurs have to put in. If the reports presented this morning are as good as they are, a good deal of credit must go to the intelligent and hard work put in by the five Rapporteurs, namely, Dr. M. S. Sabnis, Shri S. H. Godbole, Shri S. V. Utamsingh, Shri John Barnabas and Shri J. S. Mathur.

I must also express my gratitude and thanks to those State Governments, Municipal Corporations and organisations who have deputed delegates and observers to the Seminar and to all the participants for taking an active interest in the deliberations. International organisations such as the UNESCO and ILO deserve our special thanks in this connection.

Most of you have appreciated the Souvenir of the Seminar ; this has been the result of hard work put in by the three Hon. Public Relations Officers, namely, Shri N. A. Mistry, Shri S. Seshadri and Shri Joseph John. They have ungrudgingly given us their valuable time for the preparation of this Souvenir and for Public Relations Work in connection with the Seminar. In this connection, I must also thank Shri Sitaram Jaiswal who prepared the cover page design of the Souvenir and the Manager and workers of the Wagle Press and Process Studio and the Usha Press and the Express Block Co., for undertaking various rush jobs for the Seminar efficiently. I must also thank the British Information Service for the loan of films, books and pamphlets for the Seminar Library and United States Information Service for providing useful books and documents for the Seminar. Our thanks are also due to Shri Nanak Motwane of the Chicago Radio who has given us the loan of 8 new Table Fans free of cost to make the stay of delegates in the Institute Hostel more comfortable, as also for making loudspeaker arrangements at the inaugural session.

I take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the work done by a number of officers of the Bombay Municipality who helped us in many ways in making this Seminar a success.

Last but not least, I extend a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Wahabuddin Ahmed, Hon. Associate Secretary of the Indian

Conference of Social Work who personally supervised the Hostel and general Campus arrangements of the Seminar and made an efficient job of it which is only to be expected of a national commissioner of the Girl Guides in India.

I feel I must record our appreciation of the services of the office staff of the Indian Conference of Social Work and Shri R. B. Raymond and Shri Balkrishna who helped us in the Seminar office. They had to work very hard during the week in the absence of adequate staff.

I have taken all possible care in putting on record the services of all those who have helped us in one way or other in making the Seminar a success. In case I have inadvertently omitted any individual or institution, I hope they will overlook the omission and accept our gratitude for their part in that success.

APPENDIX IX

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

A. DIRECTOR

1. Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S.,
Municipal Commissioner,
Bombay Municipal Corporation, Bombay-1.

B. ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

2. Shri Brij Krishan Chandiwala,
Convenor, Delhi Pradesh,
Bharat Sevak Samaj,
Theatre Communication Building,
Connaught Place, New Delhi.

C. PLENARY SESSION CHAIRMEN

- (i) Shri M. C. Shah,
Minister for Local Self-Government,
Bombay.
- (ii) Shri S. K. Wankhede,
Minister for Planning, Development, Electricity and Industries,
Bombay.
- (iii) Shri Shantilal H. Shah,
Minister for Law and Labour,
Bombay.
- (iv) Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta,
Finance Minister,
Bombay.

PLENARY SESSION SPEAKERS

No. 1—Social and Public Health Aspects of Slum Dwelling—I

3. Shri C. Govindan Nair, Jt. Director of Town Planning,
Old High Court Building, 1st Line Beach, Madras-1.

No. 2—Social and Public Health Aspects of Slum Dwelling—II

4. Dr. B. H. Mehta,
Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences,
Sion-Trombay Road, Chembur, Bombay-38.

No. 3—Minimum Housing Standards and Slum Improvement—I

5. Shri S. B. Joshi, Consulting Engineer,*
Joshiwadi, Manmala Tank Road, Mahim, Bombay-16.

No. 4—Minimum Housing Standards and Slum Improvement—II

6. Shri N. V. Modak, Special Engineer,
Bombay Municipal Corporation,

Mercantile Bank Building,
Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay-1.

No. 5—Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums—I

7. Shri S. K. Gupta, I.C.S., Chairman,*
Calcutta Improvement Trust,
10 Netaji Subash Road, Calcutta-1.

No. 6—Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums—II

8. Shri K. N. Misra, Town and Village Planner to Government,
Government of Uttar Pradesh,
Lucknow.

No. 7—Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance—I

9. Shri C. B. Patel,
Housing Adviser to Government of India,
Ministry of Works, Housing and Supplies,
Government of India, New Delhi.

No. 8—Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance—II

10. Shri B. K. Sen, Commissioner,
Corporation of Calcutta,
Central Municipal Office, Calcutta.

D. WORKING GROUP CHAIRMEN

No. 1—Social Aspects of Slum Dwelling

11. Shri Kanji Dwarkadas,
Modern Manor, Altamont Road,
Bombay-26.

No. 2—Minimum Housing Standards and Slum Improvement

12. Shri V. K. R. Menon, Director,
International Labour Organisation,
India Branch, Mandi House, New Delhi.

No. 3—Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums.

13. Shri K. N. Sreenivasan,
Mayor of Madras,
Madras Municipal Corporation,
Madras.

No. 4—Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance

- (1) Shri P. R. Nayak, Director.

**No. 5—Examination of Slum Clearance Projects in Ahmedabad,
Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur and Madras.**

14. Shri A. S. Naik, I.C.S.,
Municipal Commissioner,
Poona.

E. SEMINAR SECRETARY

15. Shri B. Chatterjee, Executive Secretary,
Indian Conference of Social Work, Bombay-1.

F. RAPPORTEURS

Working Group No. 1—Social Aspects of Slum Dwelling

16. Dr. M. S. Sabnis, Chief Officer,
Children's Aid Society,
83 Lady Hardinge Road, Mahim, Bombay-16.

Working Group No. 2—Minimum Housing Standards and Slum Improvement

17. Shri S. H. Godbole, AMPTI (England),
Medows House, 39 Medows Street,
Fort, Bombay-1.

Working Group No. 3—Positive Steps for the Prevention of Slums

18. Shri S. V. Utamsingh, Chief Personal Officer,
Associated Cement Cos. Ltd.,
121 Queen's Road, Bombay-1.

Working Group No. 4—Integrated Plan for Slum Clearance

19. Shri John Barnabas, Abbas Building,
Jalbhai Street, Charni Road Junction, Bombay-4.

Working Group No. 5—Examination of Slum Clearance Projects in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur and Madras

20. Shri J. S. Mathur, Lecturer,
Delhi School of Social Work,
Delhi-8.

G. DELEGATES

I. Executive Officers of Municipal Corporations

21. Shri D. Balasundaram, I.A.S.,
Municipal Commissioner,
Madras Corporation, Madras.
22. Shri M. M. Patel,
City Engineer,
Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation,
Ahmedabad-1.
23. Shri Deva Raj,
Executive Officer II,
Municipal and Development Boards,
Kanpur, U.P.
24. Shri Priyo Bhusan Guha,
City Architect,
Calcutta Corporation, Calcutta.

25. Shri H. H. Manchigiah,*
Corporation Engineer,
Bangalore Municipal Corporation,
Bangalore.
- (14) Shri A. S. Naik, I.C.S.,
Municipal Commissioner,
Poona.
- (1) Shri P. R. Nayak, I.C.S.,
Municipal Commissioner,
Bombay.
26. Shri M. A. Quraishi, I.C.S., Administrator,
Municipal and Development Boards,
Kanpur, U.P.
27. Shri K. M. Kantwala, Municipal Commissioner,
Municipal Corporation, Ahmedabad-1.
- (10) Shri B. K. Sen, Commissioner,
Calcutta Corporation,
Central Municipal Office, Calcutta.
28. Shri B. N. Seth, Secretary,
Municipal Committee, Delhi.

H. ENGINEERS

29. Shri C. R. Desai, Housing Commissioner,
Government of Bombay, Bombay-1.
30. Shri R. N. Joshi, Consulting Engineer,
Bombay.
- (5) Shri S. B. Joshi, Consulting Engineer,
Joshiwadi, Manmala Tank Road, Mahim, Bombay-16.
- (6) Shri N. V. Modak, Special Engineer,
Bombay Municipal Corporation, Bombay.

I. TOWN PLANNERS AND IMPROVEMENT TRUST OFFICIALS

31. Shri M. Fayazuddin,
Chief Town Planner, Government of Andhra Pradesh,
Hyderabad Dn.
- (8) Shri K. N. Misra, Town and Village Planner to Government,
Government of U.P., Lucknow.
- (3) Shri C. Govindan Nair,
Jt. Director of Town Planning,
Madras.
32. Shri T. J. Manickam,*
Director,
School of Town and Country Planning,
New Delhi.
Alternate—Shri L. R. Vagale,
Asstt. Professor,
School of Town and Country Planning, New Delhi.

J. PSYCHIATRIST AND SOCIOLOGIST

33. Dr. J. C. Marfatia, Jaya Mahal,
French Bridge, Bombay-7.
(4) Dr. B. H. Mehta,
Tata Institute of Social Sciences,
Bombay-38.

K. ECONOMIST

34. Dr. D. T. Lakdawala,
Department of Economics,
University of Bombay, Bombay-1.

L. SOCIAL WORKERS

- (19) Shri John Barnabas,
Bombay-4.
(2) Shri B. K. Chandiwala, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Delhi.
(Associate Director).
35. Shri G. G. Dadlani,
Faculty of Social Work,
M. S. University, Baroda.
(11) Shri Kanji Dwarkadas, Bombay-26.
(20) Shri J. S. Mathur,
Delhi School of Social Work,
Delhi-8.
(16) Dr. M. S. Sabnis, Bombay.
36. Shri K. R. Thakkar, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Bombay.
(18) Shri S. V. Utamsingh, Bombay.

M. REPRESENTATIVES OF CORPORATIONS

37. Shri T. D. Gaikwad,
Member, Advisory Council,
Poona City Municipal Corporation, Poona.
38. Shri A. K. Hafizka, (Rep. Bombay Municipal Corporation),
Reay House, Ormiston Street,
Apollo Bunder, Bombay-1.
39. Shri M. Harris, (Rep. Bombay Municipal Corporation),
Patanwala Mahal, 3rd Floor, Connaught Road,
Opp. Victoria Gardens, Bombay-27.
40. Shri M. Radhakrishna Pillai,
Representative, Madras Municipal Corporation,
Ripon Building, Madras.
(13) Shri K. N. Sreenivasan,
Mayor, Madras Municipal Corporation,
Ripon Building, Madras.
41. Shri Rameshwar Prasad Golwara,*
Dy. Mayor, Patna Municipal Corporation, Patna.

N. REPRESENTATIVES OF TRADE UNIONS

42. Shri Raja Kulkarni,
Mill Mazdoor, Patel Terrace, Parel, Bombay-12.

O. REPRESENTATIVES OF EMPLOYERS

43. Shri V. B. Kulkarni,
Publicity Officer,
Millowners' Association, Elphinstone Building,
Vir Nariman Road, Bombay-1.
44. Shri Dahyabhai Patel,
Representative, Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay-1.

P. REPRESENTATIVES OF PROPERTY OWNERS

45. Shri L. S. Dabholkar, President,
Property Owners Association,
Rajabahadur Mansion, Bruce Street, Bombay-1.

Q. PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICERS

46. Dr. T. B. Patel,
Director of Public Health,
Government of Bombay, Poona.

R. PUBLIC HEALTH ENGINEER

47. Shri S. V. Desai,
Public Health Engineer,
Bombay Municipal Corporation, Bombay-1.

S. REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

- (12) Shri V. K. R. Menon, Director,
International Labour Organisation,
New Delhi.
48. Prof. C. N. Vakil,
Director, Unesco Research Centre,
Post Box No. 242, Calcutta.

T. REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

- (9) Shri C. B. Patel, Housing Adviser,
Government of India, New Delhi.
49. Shri P. P. Agarwal, I.C.S.,*
Jt. Secretary, Planning Commission,
Government of India, New Delhi.
Alternate—Shri S. K. Chaturvedi, Research Officer,
Planning Commission, Government of India,
New Delhi.

U. OBSERVERS

1. Smt. Jer Gobhai, Representative,
Bombay State Women's Council, Bombay.
2. Shri Rusi S. Khambatta,
Chartered Architect and Town Planner, Bombay.
3. Shri T. L. Kochavara, Y.M.C.A., Bombay-1.
4. Shri Sri Manohar, Architect and Town Planner,
Town Planning Organisation, New Delhi.
5. Mrs. G. McCoy, American Embassy, New Delhi.
6. Dr. Smt. T. B. Mehta, Welfare Officer,
Bombay Port Trust, Bombay.
7. Smt. P. N. Nariman, Social Workers' Association, Bombay.
8. Miss N. B. Sidhwa, Executive Secretary, Bombay City Branch,
ICSW.
9. Shri S. Susainathan, Jt. Hon. Secretary,
Guild of Service Information Bureau,
Madras.

Hon. Public Relations Officers

1. Shri S. Seshadri, Marg Publication, Bombay.
2. Shri N. A. Mistri, Public Relations Officer,
Bombay Municipal Corporation, Bombay.
3. Shri Joseph John, Public Relations Officer,
Bombay State Road Transport Corporation,
Worli, Bombay-18.

* Did not attend.

APPENDIX X
A BIBLIOGRAPHY

SLUMS

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APPENDIX XI

MESSAGES

Rashtrapati Bhavan
New Delhi
April 3, 1957

I welcome the idea of the Indian Conference of Social Work organising a Seminar on Slum Clearance. Clearing of slums, which is an important part of the programme to provide reasonable amenities to city dwellers, has to be executed in practice and not merely planned. I am glad that the forthcoming seminar will lay emphasis on the practical aspect of this problem in Bombay City. The example of Bombay, which is the second largest city in India, will serve to inspire and guide the people living in smaller towns where slums exist. Let me hope it will be realised that the presence of slums is incompatible with our efforts to improve living conditions in our cities. I wish the forthcoming Seminar on Slum Clearance all success and hope that it will stimulate popular interest in tackling this problem.

(Sd.) RAJENDRA PRASAD

I am glad to know that a Seminar on Slum Clearance is going to be held in Bombay. I hope that it will produce practical results. I am little afraid of seminars, which deal with questions in an academic and impersonal way. The slum problem is, above all, a human and personal one.

To visit a slum has been for me always a most painful experience which has pulled me out of my normal life. Many years ago, a visit to the Kanpur slums haunted me for a long time afterwards. In Bombay, and here in Delhi, I have also seen some of these slums and felt the same shock.

I know that this question, like any other, cannot be approached from the point of view of sentiment and we have to deal with it in a practical way. But I do think that sentiment in this matter and a feeling of anger that such things exist is important. It is not much good saying that this is the result of industrialisation and factories and the like, or of giving some other reasons for them. The point is that we should feel that these slums are a continuing disgrace to each one of us.

Some good work has been done no doubt, but a very great deal more remains to be done. Sometimes, grandiose schemes are outlined and then, for lack of money, nothing or little is done.

It is better perhaps to have a simpler approach which can be given effect to than to dream of big things which never take shape. In a country having a cold climate, the problem of slums is more difficult than in the greater part of India. What people require in India, except for some time in the North, is not so much building but fresh air and fresh water and lighting and drainage. That appears to me far more important than heavy structures that may be put up. Structures and buildings are, of course, necessary, but they take second place in my thinking. What is much more important is fresh air, water, lighting and drainage. Buildings can grow gradually. I have sometimes found buildings put up with no adequate arrangements for water or drainage or latrines or lighting. That, I think, is the wrong way.

While we discuss and argue about the problem of the slums, the people living in them continue to face their miserable and unhappy existence. Are we to leave them where they are till we have finally evolved some major plans and till we have collected enough money for the purpose? I think that, apart from these schemes, which no doubt are desirable, an immediate approach should be made to supply these first necessities, in so far as this is possible. Thus, water, lighting, latrines and drainage should be supplied even in existing slums, pending the implementation of a bigger scheme.

Here in Delhi, we have been trying to do something during the past year or more. There is a big scheme for the refashioning and replanning of the whole of Delhi. But we decided that we should not wait till then and that we should give such amenities as were possible immediately. The Health Ministry, the Delhi Municipality, the Improvement Trust and the Bharat Sewak Samaj co-operated to this end. So also the Rehabilitation Ministry, for there are many hundreds of thousands of refugees in Delhi. The work of these various organisations was co-ordinated to some extent by the Special Delhi Authority that has been created. I cannot say that this work has resulted in a great change, but it has brought considerable relief to the dwellers in the slums or to many of them. Meanwhile, we are trying to plan for better days.

The Second Five-Year Plan has put many heavy burdens upon us and we have to be careful about our expenditure. Nevertheless, the Government of India is very keenly aware of this slum problem and intends to help, in so far as it is possible for it, in the removal of these slums. I wish the Seminar on Slum Clearance success.

New Delhi
March 21, 1957

(Sd.) JAWAHARLAL NEHRU