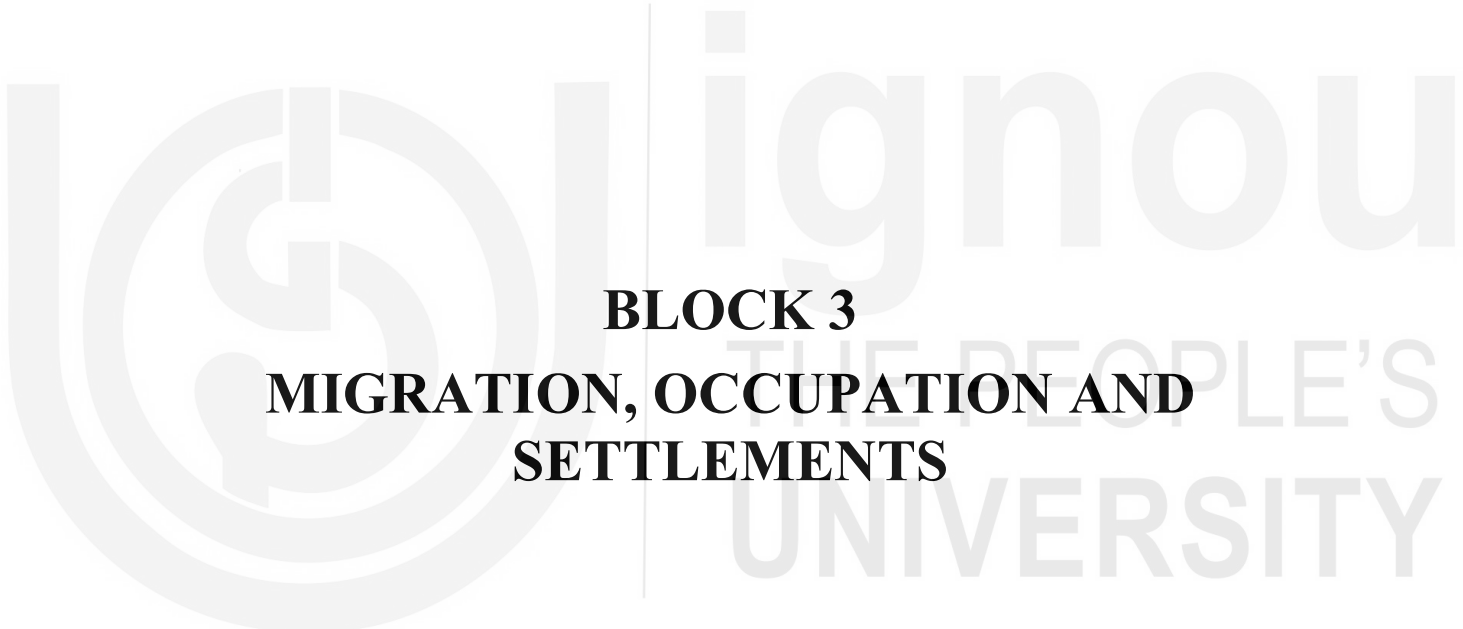


The background of the page features a large, light gray watermark of the IGNOU logo and the text 'IGNOU THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY'. The logo consists of a stylized 'G' inside a circle, with the text 'IGNOU' and 'THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY' to its right.

BLOCK 3

MIGRATION, OCCUPATION AND SETTLEMENTS



UNIT 8 MIGRATION*

Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Understanding Migration
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*Written by Dr. T. Gangmei, Delhi University, Delhi

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to;

- Define the concept of Migration;
- Discuss the Sociology of migration;
- Explains Reasons for migration;
- Discuss Types of migration; and
- Gain some insights on the patterns of migration in India and a global overview of migrants and their consequences.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Block on perspectives in urban sociology you had learnt about urban issues like Ecological Spatial, Political Economy Network and Cultural. In this Block on Migration, Occupation and Settlement. We have discussed concrete issues such as hi.....

Movement is an integral part of human existence. A large number of movements like commuting to and from the place of work, travelling for business or pleasure etc. are of temporary nature while some other movements are relatively of permanent nature and involve a change of residence from one place to another place. These movements which result into the change of the place of residence of the individuals are treated as migration. Though social, cultural, political, personal and natural forces have a bearing on migration, viewing it as an economic phenomenon receive special attention. Political prosecution and forced migration are part of the non-economic factors turning many people into refugees and internally displaced persons. Thus migration covers a vast swathe of areas which could be kept under the rubric of non-economic domain of migration. The long-term and growing body of evidence on migration and mobility shows that migration is in large part related to the broader global economic, social, political and technological transformations that are affecting a wide range of high-priority policy issues.

8.2 UNDERSTANDING MIGRATION

Migration refers to the movement of people from one geographical location to another, either on a temporary or permanent basis. It can be applied to persons, and family members, moving to another country or region to improve their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family. The United Nations defines migrant as an individual who has resided in a foreign country for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate. Under such a definition, those travelling for shorter periods as tourists and business persons would not be considered as migrants.

Migration is a selective process affecting individuals or families with certain economic, social, educational and demographic characteristics. People migrate in response to prevailing conditions and the reasons for it differ from one individual to another. Agricultural labourers, especially in smaller villages away from towns and cities, are generally unskilled workers carrying on agricultural operation for the centuries old traditional wages. In some parts of India, agricultural labourers are migratory, moving in search of jobs at the time of harvesting, this type of migration influenced by many reasons (Uma & Madhu, 2013).

In pre-colonial times, the reasons for the migration of populations were mainly for religious and trade purposes. Migration, on account of military movements, also played an important role. People also travelled in search of pastures with their cattle. Nomadic migration, even for short distances, was an important feature outside the Gangetic valley. This practice is still found in some parts of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh located in central India and is one of the earliest forms of circulation in the history of human migration (IOM, 2015)

When the British came to India, the old feudal order was breaking up. The fall of the Moghul Empire produced political chaos and disorder in many parts of India. But even so, India in the eighteenth century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country, and Indian hand-loom were supplying the markets of Asia and Europe. However, in the face of machine-made garments produced in the mills of Lancashire and Manchester in Britain, the Indian fabric (both silk and cotton) and allied industries (carding, dying and printing) could not survive. As a consequence, India experienced deindustrialization and a large number of the artisan class and their dependent families migrated to the countryside. Thus, India during the second half of the eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth century experienced urban to rural migration unlike many European countries that underwent massive rural to urban migration during the same time. As a result, cities and towns declined and languished and people became more dependent on agriculture. The economic hardship and economic disturbances were other important reasons for the migration of people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (IOM, 2015)

8.2.1 Migration: A Sociological Concern

Migration is an equilibrium process which reduces regional disparities at different stages of development and a process which is as old as human civilization. Migration including refugee flows, asylum seekers, internal displacement and development induced displacement has increased considerably in volume and political significance since the end of the cold war. It has become an integral part of human relationships and is closely linked to current processes of global social transformation. This makes it as important for sociologists to develop empirical research and analysis on migration as it is to include it in their theoretical understandings of contemporary society (Dineshappa . S. & Sreenivasa K N, 2014).

Activity 1

Discuss the origin of your family or community/ class in terms of migration with a few elderly relatives. It is found that people, especially those in the cities in India have migrated from elsewhere. Write a note on “The Roots of my family and discuss with other friends at your study center

It is quite obvious that migration is at the heart of early sociological concerns. Auguste Comte’s view that humankind gradually evolved from a theological, to a metaphysical and finally to a scientific state was based on the idea that greater concentrations of people led to higher and higher stages of civilization. Emile Durkheim was also concerned with the break-up of rural, ‘mechanical’ solidarity consequent on the migration to the cities. Urban concentrations produced a new and more specialized division of labour. He emphasized economic changes at the expense of understanding the moral and legal basis of the new order. Instead of mechanical solidarity, based on obedience to custom and tradition, urbanized societies required ‘organic’ solidarity, rooted in a mutual need for each other’s services.

Marx was probably the first of the great nineteenth-century thinkers to see migration as a more violent process. Detaching the peasant from the soil for industrial purposes was a traumatic business. As he saw it: ‘great masses of men [were] suddenly and forcibly moved from their means of subsistence, and hurled on to the labour market as free, unprotected and right-less proletarians’. The expression ‘free’ proletarians alluded to Marx’s idea that labourers were now free from their own means of production and subsistence and ‘free’, but of necessity required, to sell their remaining possession, their labour power, in the market.

8.2.2 Migration and Social Structure

There are profound relationships between migration and social structure, reflecting the varieties of migration types, the complexities of social structure, and the reciprocal ways migration and social structure are interrelated over time, in different societies.

Goldscheider, C (1987) highlights the historical experience of western nations, wherein, migration has been associated with industrialization and economic development, concern has been expressed that migration to the cities of third world countries results from the ‘pushes’ of rapid population growth and economic stagnation in rural areas. Far from being associated with economic growth and development in the third world, it has been suggested that migration there causes poverty and unemployment in urban places (Goldscheider, C. 1987).

However, India’s social organization is known for the institution of caste based hierarchical arrangement of social groups where status is determined by birth argued Bhagat, R.B (2018). Each social group lived in a spatially demarcated area to be identified with the level of purity and pollution hence, Indians were less mobile. The traditional system of procuring agricultural labour tied to land and landowners was prevalent in India. This system of caste relations which was both social and spatial was known as *Jajmani*

System which kept the agrarian laboring classes immobile. On the other hand, the privilege of mobility was confined to the Brahmins (priestly castes) and Vaishyas (trading castes) principally, who moved to provide priestly services and the trade of goods respectively. The traditional *Jajmani* system has been giving way to urbanization as opportunity of salaried jobs and wage labour in cities and towns are unfolding.

In 1931, the inter-provincial/state migration of India stood at 3.6 per cent compared to 23 per cent in the United States in 1940. Davis, K. attributed this fact to the prevalence of the caste system, joint families, traditional values, the diversity of language and culture, the lack of education and the predominance of agriculture and semi-feudal land relations in India. Largely, Indian migration is predominantly a 'within state' phenomenon.

Broadly two types of migration could be identified namely permanent and semi-permanent based on change of usual place of residence. There is another type of migration which is of seasonal and temporary nature and the migrant is not expected to change the usual place of residence. NSSO (2010) defines a seasonal or temporary migrant as "a household member who has stayed away from the village/town for a period of one month or more but less than six months during the last 365 days for employment or in search of employment. This is also called short term migration- a dominant form of migration from rural areas.

Migration Rates by Types of Migration and Social Groups in India (per 100 population)

Social Group	Permanent/Semi-permanent (Based on change of residence)		Seasonal and Temporary (No change of residence)	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Scheduled Tribes	23.8	36.5	49.0	6.5
Scheduled Caste	26.0	33.7	29.9	6.7
Other Backward Castes	25.5	33.1	23.9	6.5
Others	28.1	37.9	18.0	4.3
Total	26.1	35.4	26.4	5.5

Source: 64th National Sample Survey 2007-08, unit level data.

The above table shows that permanent and semi-permanent migration does not vary much across social groups but seasonal and temporary migration is higher among the Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes- the socially disadvantaged groups. Seasonal and temporary migration largely occurs in the rural to urban migration stream. The Planning Commission (2013) suggested the need to undertake state-centric surveys to capture the flow and pattern of migration to the various sectors, particularly the construction sector. Seasonal and temporary migration has been increasing in recent times. Recently there has been an effort to provide livelihood security to the rural

population through the launch of a massive rural employment programme under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) 2005. Rural workers are provided by the Central Government with 100 days of employment on demand at the real wage rate of 100 rupees per day (Patel, 2018).

8.3 FACTORS/ REASONS: WHY DO PEOPLE MIGRATE?

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another. Emigrants leave their country, while immigrants enter a country. People have different motives for migrating such as; economic reasons (to find work, escape famine, etc.), social reasons (for a better quality of life or to be closer to family or friends), political reasons (to escape cultural/political/ religious persecution or war), environmental reasons (natural disasters such as flood, drought). For migration to take place there are usually push factors and pull factors at work.

8.3.1 Push Factors

Push factors are the reasons that make someone decide to move. This is their own experience of life in one place which gives them good reasons to leave it. Often push factors are negative things such as unemployment, crop failure, droughts, flooding, war, poor education opportunities or poor services and amenities.

In India people migrate from rural to urban areas mainly due to poverty, high population pressure on the land, lack of basic infrastructural facilities like health care, education, etc. Apart from these factors, natural disasters such as, flood, drought, cyclonic storms, earthquake, tsunami, wars and local conflicts also give extra push to migrate.

8.3.2 Pull Factors

There are pull factors which attract people from rural areas to cities. The most important pull factor for majority of the rural migrants to urban areas is the better opportunities, availability of regular work and relatively higher wages. Better opportunities for education, better health facilities and sources of entertainment, etc., are also quite important pull factors.

8.4 TYPES OF MIGRATION AND THE EMERGING TRENDS AND PATTERNS OF MIGRATION IN INDIA

Many people choose to migrate. However, many other people have no choice and are forced to leave their homes. We shall consider some of the types of migration below:

8.4.1 Rural-rural migration

The **rural-to-rural migration** stream restricts to shorter distance movements as compared to other rural-urban migration streams. In developing countries like India, **rural-rural migration** is still dominant, roughly accounting for 62 percent of all movements in 1999-2000. It is evident from the study from the 55th round (1999-2000) of the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), that in India the flow of rural-rural migration is substantially higher (61 percent) compared to all other streams. NSSO in its 64th round (2007-2008) reported that rural-rural migration was the dominant migration stream, accounting for nearly 62 percent of the total internal migrants, followed by rural-urban migration stream which constituted nearly 20 percent of the total internal migrants. The analysis of census data in different Southeast and South Asian countries also observed that rural-rural migration is the dominant stream followed by rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural (Ansary, R. 2018).

8.4.2 Rural-urban migration

The classic push and pull forces that resulted in people from poor regions migrating to richer rural and urban locations still exist and may even be accentuated with rising population pressure and deteriorating land. After the liberalization of Indian economy, **rural-urban migration** accelerated which pushed more numbers of rural people to metropolitan areas to seek better employment opportunities (Ansary, R. 2018).

In the 2011 Census, the rural-urban migration flow slid to the third position in respect of significant stream of migration (32.15 million migrants) because of the phenomenal increase in urban-urban migration. In rural areas, appalling poverty, unbearable unemployment, low and uncertain wages, uneconomic land holdings and inadequate facilities for education and other services work as push factors. Hence, rural-urban migration is an outcome of lucrative opportunities available in urban areas (Ansary, R. 2018:356).

In the 2011 Census, Maharashtra is still one of the most desirable destinations for rural migrants, flowing either from other states (inter-state) or from other districts within the states (intra-state). Haryana accounted for 1.05 million rural-urban migrants. The emergence of Gurgaon city and the influence of the National Capital Region generated vast number of jobs in the urban informal sectors in the State. In Gujarat, 3.14 million migrants reported that they moved from rural-urban. The story of rural-urban migration in the southern states is also interesting. The Gulf countries in Middle-East Asia attract a substantial number of migrants from South India, creating a vacuum for unskilled/semi-skilled labour in the State. However, the process of urbanization and industrialization created new job opportunities in the urban informal sector. As a result, people from remote villages located in North India (Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand), East India (West Bengal and Odisha) or even from the North-East India (Assam and Manipur) started to flock to the southern states to work in the urban informal sector (Ansary, R. 2018:357). Among the southern states, Andhra Pradesh has the highest number of rural-urban migrants, accounting for 2.43 million followed by

Tamil Nadu (2.24 million). Although migrants collectively constitute a small part of the total population of the North-Eastern states as compared to the rest of the Indian states, interestingly, the states of Assam, Mizoram and Nagaland reported exceptionally high numbers of rural-urban migrants than urban-urban migrants at the all India level. States in Central India (Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh) and East India (West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand and Odisha) also reported a higher number of rural-urban migrants than urban-urban, except for West Bengal (Ansary, R. 2018: 358).

8.4.3 Urban-urban migration

In the 2001 Census, **urban- urban migration** stream accounted for 14.3 million migrants and was the third- most significant migration stream after rural-rural and rural-urban. But in the 2011 Census, the urban-urban stream registered growth rate of urban-urban migration was 130.3 percent, higher than any other migration stream. This flow is caused by both push factors of urban areas (reclassification of villages into urban or small towns) and pull factors of urban areas (large cities). The increasing job opportunities in major cities as compared to towns gave rise to the urban-urban migration stream in India. The growth rate of urban-urban migration in India is registered at 130.3 percent. As per state level analysis, the increased levels of urbanization have been usually fueled by a sudden increase in the number of Census Towns (CTs) which resulted in a sudden increase of urban-urban migration. According to Census of India 2001, the state of Maharashtra accounts for 5.93 million urban-urban migrants and holds the top rank at the national level (Ansary, R. 2018). But the State has reported a slow rate of urban-urban migration growth (78.4 percent) in the last decade as compared to the southern Indian states. Tamil Nadu occupies the second place with the urban-urban migration volume at 4.36 million. In the northern part of India, only Uttarakhand reported the highest volume of urban-urban migrants (3.14 million) among the rest of the states. The state of Punjab reported 1.10 million urban-urban migrants. Uttarakhand accounted for a 200 percent growth in the urban-urban migration stream over the intercensal period. Interestingly, in all other major states of Central India and North-East India, the absolute increase in urban-urban migration is lowest than the rest of India. Thus, the northern region which has a higher percentage of rural population pushes people to flock to urban areas far away from their native place.

8.4.4 Urban–rural migration

The **urban-rural** (counter stream or reverse movement) stream has the lowest volume of migrants accounting for 11.45 million. However, there has been a considerable increase in this stream during the period between the 2001 and 2011 Censuses. (Ansary, R. 2018: 349).

The outbreak of covid-19 hit the reality of a migrant worker's existence is much more complicated than those sharply defined numbers. However, not all migrants were equally affected. The Covid-19 worst-hit were a class of migrants who were compelled to migrate from urban-rural areas. The most vulnerable segment is the seasonal migratory population, who were also the most impacted in the COVID lockdown (2020) triggered wave of return

migration. It is estimated that that short term and circular migrants in the informal wage economy could number between 60-65 million, with 40% of these migrants employed in the construction sector and 15% in agriculture. The rest are engaged in manufacturing, transport, and other services. Migrants (with their families) are generally preferred at workplaces because of their docility, flexibility, and cheaper labour costs, which makes them an easily exploitable class of workers.

Table 1. Migration streams in intercensal period (million) in India

Migration streams	Volume in million		Growth rate (in percentage)
	2011	2001	
Rural-Rural	69.1	53.3	29.6
Urban-Rural	11.4	6.2	84.6
Rural-Urban	32.1	20.5	56.8
Urban-Urban	32.9	14.3	130.3

Source: Census of India, 2011 (Provisional Migration Table)

Check Your Progress 1

1. Define migration and mention why it is a sociological concern.

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2. List the different types of migration.

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3. Explain what is meant by push factors leading to migration.

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8.5 PATRIARCHY, GENDER AND MIGRATION

Migration has been an age and sex selective process as men are believed to be the breadwinners across many societies. Patel (2018) argues that the institution of patriarchy determined women's migration resulting due to marriage and the movement of family. But in the recent times there have been many social and economic changes such as globalization, changes in the structure of labour force and rising education leading to the growing share of women among both international and internal migrants. However, in India, gender relations are shaped by the institutions of family and marriage deeply

embedded within the institution of caste. Patel (2018) maintains that mobility of women was controlled and carefully planned within this system either through the normative structure such as patrilocal residence or in the name of safety and security of women. In more patriarchal society of north and north-west India, women were not allowed to move without a male escort, and also their movement is contingent upon the permission of the male members- be it father/father-in-law or husband. As a result, women's migration is dependent upon the movement of husbands or other family members. Marriage emerges as a predominant reason of migration. Further, women migrants were relegated to low skilled, less paid and less secure jobs of informal nature (Patel, 2018).

8.6 MIGRANTS AND THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

COVID-19 has emerged in a world tightly connected by local and international population movements, with more people moving for work, education and family reasons, tourism and survival than ever in the past. Since its outbreak in Wuhan, China, COVID-19 it has initially affected its neighboring countries, the United States and Europe. While the outbreak has since spread from these areas into other regions and back into East Asia, these patterns have resulted in many of the world's wealthiest and best-connected countries bearing the brunt of the early health impacts of the pandemic. Geographic position, relative level of wealth and international connections also make these countries attractive destinations for migrant workers, international students, asylum seekers and refugees. Though socioeconomic conditions affect COVID-19 impacts for both migrants and citizens, migrants may be particularly vulnerable to the direct and indirect impacts of COVID-19. Their ability to avoid the infection, receive adequate health care and cope with the economic, social and psychological impacts of the pandemic are contingent upon a variety of factors, including: their living and working conditions, lack of consideration of their cultural and linguistic diversity in service provision, xenophobia, their limited local knowledge and networks, and their access to rights and level of inclusion in host communities, often related to their migration status. Migrants living in overcrowded environments without adequate access to water and hygiene products, coupled with imposed lockdowns and closure of businesses have also translated in obstacles to using public spaces, community centres and private business, upon which migrants often rely for basic services (e.g. communications) and psychological well-being.

Activity 2

Examine the Newspapers, magazine and YouTube recordings of TV channels during the 2020 and 2021 period in India. Read the discussions, Doctor's warnings etc. and news of Covid 19 spread world over and in India.

Write a one page report on the sociological impact of Covid 19 in India in your own town or city "Discuss it with your Academic Counsellor and peer group at your study centres.

Lockdowns and border closure have sparked the return of migrants. Such movements create significant health risks both in migrants' home countries and communities and in locations in host and transit countries through which they travel. Ensuring that all groups of migrants, regardless of their status, have access to health care is a necessary condition for effective responses to the COVID-19 outbreak (WHO Europe, 2020).

8.7 CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION: COMPLEX AND EMERGING MIGRATION ISSUES

People tend to move from place creates both benefits and problems for the areas, people migrate from and migrate to. Consequences can be observed in economic, social, cultural, political and demographic terms. (Dineshappa. S. &Sreenivasa, K. N. 2014).

8.7.1 Demographic Consequences

Migration leads to the redistribution of the population within a country. Rural urban migration is one of the important factors contributing to the population growth of cities. Age and skill selective out migration from the rural area have adverse effect on the rural demographic structure. It causes of imbalance in sex ratio in the place of origin and destination of the migrants.

8.7.2 Social Consequences

Migrants act as agents of social change. It leads to intermixing of people from diverse cultures. It has positive contribution such as evolution of composite culture and breaking through the narrow considerations and widens up the mental horizon of the people at large. But it also has serious negative consequences such as anonymity, feeling of dejection, or fall in the trap of anti-social activities like crime and drug abuse.

8.7.3 Economic Consequences

A major benefit is the remittance sent by migrants. Remittances from the international migrants are one of the major sources of foreign exchange. In 2002. India received US\$ 11 billion as remittances from international migrants. Punjab, Kerala and Tamil Nadu receive very significant amount from their international migrants.

8.7.4 Environmental Consequences

Overcrowding of people due to rural-urban migration has put pressure on the existing social and physical infrastructure in the urban areas. This ultimately leads to unplanned growth of urban settlement and formation of slums. Due to over-exploitation of natural resources, cities are facing the acute problem of depletion of ground water, air pollution, disposal of sewage and management of solid wastes, housing problem, health, etc.

8.7.5 Political Consequences

Migration can have an impact on politics in both the places which people leave and those to which they move. Governments will have to make policies to attract migrants, to persuade migrants to return, or to limit migration to ensure that they have access to skills that they need.

8.8 MIGRATION AND MIGRANTS: A GLOBAL OVERVIEW

We have up till now focused on understanding the meaning, dimensions and types of migration. Now we will explain to you the global overview of migration.

8.8.1 IOM's Global Migration Data Portal

According to *World Migration Report 2020*, while international migrants may tend to gravitate toward high-income countries, their origins globally can be diverse. Some origin countries have high proportions of their nationals living abroad for economic, political, security, trade or cultural reasons that may be contemporary or historical in nature. For example, the Syrian Arab Republic has a higher rate of emigration than most other countries due to displacement caused by long-term conflict (*The International Organization for Migration*, IOM, 2020).

Capturing such attributes, i.e. **immigration status or policy categories** (such as students, highly skilled migrants, or refugees), is inherently difficult for several key reasons.

- a) A person's immigration status can be fluid and change quickly, arising from circumstances and legal/policy settings.
- b) countries have different immigration policy settings and different ways of collecting data on migrants.

8.8.2 Migrant workers

There were roughly 164 million migrant workers around the world in 2017. When compared with the global population of international migrants of working age - regarded as 15 years of age or older (234 million) - migrant workers account for 70 per cent. In 2017, 68 % of migrant workers were residing in high-income level countries - an estimated 111 million people. An additional 47 million migrant workers (29%) were living in middle-income countries, and 5.6 million (3.4%) were in low-income countries. Male migrant workers outnumbered female migrant workers by 28 million in 2017. As many as 99.6 million or almost 61 % of all migrant workers resided in three sub-regions: Northern America; the Arab States; and Northern, Southern and Western Europe (IOM, 2020). In the Gulf States, over 95 % of the labour force for construction and domestic work is comprised of migrant workers (IOM, 2020).

8.8.3 Refugees and asylum seekers

By the end of 2018, there was a total of 25.9 million refugees globally, with 20.4 million under UNHCR's mandate and 5.5 million refugees registered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) in the Near East. Unresolved or renewed conflict dynamics in key countries contributed significantly to current figures and trends. Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, Somalia, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, Eritrea and Burundi - accounted for roughly 16.6 million, or 82 per cent of the total refugee population. The significant decline in the number of refugees resettled in the United States of America was due to a substantial lowering of the refugee admission ceiling (the number of refugees admitted for resettlement each fiscal year) and enhanced security screening for refugees from "high-risk" countries (USA had almost 23,000 resettled refugees in 2018). Canada became the top resettlement country in 2018, with slightly more than 28,000 resettled refugees. (IOM, 2020).

8.8.4 The international Organization for Migration (IOM's) role in resettlement

IOM arranges safe and organized travel for refugees through resettlement programs, as well as for other vulnerable persons of concern moving through other humanitarian pathways. Beyond traditional refugee resettlement and humanitarian admission programs, more States are interested in or are currently carrying out other forms of admission, such as private sponsorships, academic scholarships and labour mobility schemes (IOM, 2020).

8.8.5 Stateless persons

Stateless persons are, by definition, in a vulnerable situation, as they are not recognized as nationals by any State. They face obstacles in accessing basic services - such as education, employment or health care - and can suffer discrimination, abuse and marginalization. While stateless persons are not necessarily migrants, their situations involving vulnerability and lack of rights may lead them to migrate, internally or across borders. In 2018, UNCHR reported 3.9 million stateless persons globally, the same global figure as in 2017. For the first time, UNHCR included Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh and IDPs in Rakhine State, Myanmar, in its 2017 and 2018 data of stateless persons, "in light of the size of this population and that they are in fact stateless as well as displaced". Bangladesh and Myanmar were the countries with huge populations of stateless persons. UNHCR notes a reported 56,400 stateless persons in 24 countries who acquired nationality or whose nationality was confirmed in 2018, especially in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Sweden, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Viet Nam. Identifying who is stateless is a necessary first step towards preventing and reducing statelessness worldwide, data collection remains a significant challenge (IOM, 2020).

8.9 MIGRATION AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

Although migration in general and rural to urban migration in particular is conducive for economic and urban transition, there are many challenges confronting migrants in urban areas. Bhagat (2015) highlights the negative attitude towards migration persists as well as a strong hostility towards migrants in spite of the fact that the Indian Constitution guarantees the right to move as a fundamental right under Article 19. Myron Weiner (1978) surveyed the nature of migration and presented three types of conflict in three distinct regions, namely Assam, Chotanagpur and Hyderabad. In Assam, the reason for conflict was the success of migrants while the natives failed; in Chotanagpur, the cause was unique where tribal members encountered migrants which led to their subjugation and displacement; and in Hyderabad, the basis of conflict was the effort to protect the middle-class *mulki* (natives) from the competing migrants. This process has been accelerated rather than diminished by economic development and modernization (Bhagat, R.B, 2015).

8.10 CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHALLENGE AHEAD

Migration should be viewed as a livelihood strategy of millions of Indian people and also for many to fulfil their aspiration. Today, migrants may be better able to make contributions to the socio-cultural, civic-political and economic contributions than they were in the last century largely because of the phenomenal improvements in development that have taken place in most countries, it is more important now than at any other time in contemporary period, to reflect on migrants' contributions to countries and communities around the world. Hence, migration policy needs to be embedded in the right based framework. Access to decent living conditions should also be included in migration policy. In migration policy a framework should be developed to minimise the negative aspects of migration and efforts should be made to harness the potential of migration for human development.

Check Your Progress 3

1. What has the World Migration Report 2020 mentioned.
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2. Why does ethnic conflict take place amongst the local and migrant people in India.
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8.11 LET US SUM UP

We began exploring the notion and significance of migration and attempted to examine through the sociological perspective. Various factors and types of migration along with the emerging trends and patterns of migration were discussed with specific reference to the Indian and the global context. A reference to the most current issues which emerged with the outbreak of Covid-19 leading to colossal migration of migrants taking an enormous toll on every reverse/every section of society is explored. And we finally concluded focusing on a few suggestions which we believe would be worth considering for societal development.

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8.13 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Migration refers to the movement of people from one geographical location to another; either on a temporary or permanent basis.

Migration is a selective process which affects different individuals, families etc. differently. It leads to bringing an _____ in societies in the different levels of development.

- 2) Push factor which lead to migration could be due to natural disasters like earthquakes, famine, droughts or spread of epidemics etc.
- 3) Types of migration are:
 - i) Rural – rural
 - ii) Rural – urban
 - iii) Urban – urban
 - iv) Urban - rural

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Migration is an age and sex selective process as we understand that generally men migrate to cities to get better employment as they are

supposed to be the head earners of the family. Patel (2018) says that patriarchy as an institution had influenced migration but this is changing due to other forces of change in society.

- 2) The social consequence of migration is that it acts as an agent of social change which leads to people interacting with each other. They often learn each others language; food habits; dressing style etc. Thus fusion of different cultures takes place.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) The world migration report 2020 believes that people migrate internationally across the globe to the higher income countries. These migrations are from countries of origin where higher population migrates or are living abroad for economic political, security etc. reasons.
- 2) Migration or movement of people from rural to urban or otherwise is a fundamental right ensured to all Indian citizens anywhere in the country as per our Constitution; Acceptability of different ethnic groups; visually different can create discontent in our society. Also, we find language food habits etc. moving of different cultural groups time to adjust.



UNIT 9 OCCUPATION*

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 The concept of Occupation
- 9.3 Occupational Structures in India
 - 9.3.1 Primary Occupational Structures
 - 9.3.2 Secondary Occupational Structures
 - 9.3.3 Tertiary Occupational Structures
- 9.4 Classification of Urban Occupations
 - 9.4.1 Street Workers
 - 9.4.2 Self-Employed Businessmen
 - 9.4.3 Factory Workers
 - 9.4.4 Organized Sector Workers
- 9.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 9.6 References
- 9.7 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- Define the concept of occupation;
- Discuss the terms work, task and skills;
- Describe structures of occupation in India;
- Differentiate between organized and unorganized sectors of occupation; and
- Provide the classification of urban occupations.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit on “Migration” we discussed about the meaning, nature and types etc of migration process. Here, we will explain about Occupation which is one very important reason for which people migrate from rural to urban areas and even from rural to another rural area.

Occupation, or as it is also called work, entails the activities that people undertake in their lives. This work on one hand, offers a means of sustenance

and on the other hand, it organizes the overall life of a person in terms of giving a sense of identity, organizing a day, creation of a working network and at the end of the day getting paid which is a vital need for survival. There are other latent functions attached to the work such as a means to go out of the house, using skills and in return developing them, and so on. Occupation is considered as an essential part of our lives. We make ourselves capable to take up a job; we appear before the potential employers; we perform our duties once employed and at the end of the day we receive a payment against the work we do and this payment is based on our achievements.

This unit will offer an insight into contextualizing the terms occupation, task, work and other inter-related terms which have been used either interchangeably or in linkages with the broader term occupation. The unit also unfolds the structural patterns of occupation in India by highlighting three occupational structures such as primary, secondary and tertiary. The last section of the unit deals with the classification of urban occupations into four types and sheds light on the ways in which these categories of occupations exist and are carried out by people in urban areas.

9.2 THE CONCEPT OF OCCUPATION

The term occupation is understood as a vague term which indicates a model that guides the human performance. To overcome the vagueness in the term, we need to look into the multidimensional aspects of occupation such as the occupational form and occupational performance (Nelson, 1988). Occupational form involves objective aspects such as materials, human context, characteristics of physical settings and other socio-cultural dimensions that influence one's perception of the activities performed. Occupational performance, on the other hand, refers to the act of doing which involves the actions guided by the existing occupational forms. Nelson (1988) states that the act of doing by a person can be understood only in relation to the occupational forms.

Work, which is the other term often used interchangeably with occupation, is a social activity which involves human performance influenced by the performance of others at a workplace. The social interaction that happens at a workplace involves the inculcation of a large set of skills which influences the way workers carry out their activities. The way workers are organized at a workplace determines the nature of work being done, the workers who are involved in the work, the work process and finally what they get in return to their work.

Occupations can generally be considered as a method of allocating labour which involves three fundamental occupational elements such as 'a particular group of people, a particular type of work and an organised body or structure other than the workplace itself' (Abbott, 1995). The group of people differ in terms of their experience, skills and gender. The second element, that is, the type of work can also be divided in terms of the activities, products, tools being used and the customers. In terms of occupations, there exists the classification of occupations and the division of people on the basis of their

similarities and differences are accordingly given similar or different roles and responsibilities. For example a set of people having same skills, same education and same experiences can be given similar tasks and responsibilities which may be different from the tasks and responsibilities of another set of people. Two terms which are related to the term occupation are the concepts of task and skill. For clarifications, a task refers to an element or a component of work activity which yields an output. The output can be in the form of both goods and services. On the other hand, skills entail the workers' capabilities to carry out certain type of work. There exists an exchange system in which workers use their skills to produce goods in exchange for the wages.

9.3 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURES IN INDIA

The occupational structure can be defined as the distribution or division of workers according to different occupations. There are at least ten occupational categories existent in India as per the Census of India report, 2011. These include cultivators, agricultural labourers, livestock, forestry, fishing and allied activities, mining and quarrying, manufacturing and processing in household industry, manufacturing and processing other than in household industry, construction, trade and commerce, transport, storage and communication; other services in both private or state owned formal and informal sectors.

Among these ten categories, the first three categories of cultivators, agricultural labourers, livestock, forestry, fishing and allied activities are considered as agriculture based occupations while as others are considered as non-agricultural occupations. All the ten categories of occupations can be divided into three broad structures such as primary, secondary and tertiary.

9.3.1 Primary Occupational Structures

Primary occupational structures involve the work of the labourers who directly use the natural resources extracted from earth to make a living. The examples of such natural resources extracted from earth include land, water, vegetation, building materials and minerals. These resources are used in various primary economic sectors such as agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, and so on. These kinds of jobs are carried out in the outside and for this reason they are also called as red collar jobs.

9.3.2 Secondary Occupational Structures

Secondary occupational structures include production activities such as manufacturing, construction and other small and large scale mining. There is the distribution of people into these various types of secondary occupations in the modern times. Manufacturing as a secondary occupation means production of goods by utilizing raw materials. These goods are produced at manufacturing units called as factories or industries. Considering the size of industrial units, there are two types of industries – small and large scale industries. The small scale industries include textile industries, shoe factories, printing press, furniture units, and so on. On the other hand, large scale

industrial units include steel factories, automobile industries, metallic units such as aluminium, copper, and so on. In these small and large scale industrial units, skilled people are involved in the process of production. The common activities that they engage in include construction of buildings, roads, bridges, dams, bus stops, parks, and so on. These kinds of works are a common activity in the urban spaces. In addition to the works mentioned, people in the secondary occupational structures also engage in gas factories, water and electricity departments, and so on.

In fact, secondary occupational structures attach value to the natural resources through converting raw materials into valuable products and this kind of occupational structure is often termed as blue colour job.

Activity 1

Talk to at least 10 people in your neighbourhood about their occupation. Ask them about its nature and how much value do they attach to it i.e. their work?

Write a short report on the basis of the information given by these people to you and share it with other learners at your Study Centre.

9.3.3 Tertiary Occupational Structures

Other than the two structures discussed already, there is yet another occupational structure existent within the economic system and this third occupational structure is called as tertiary occupational structure. This type of occupational structure has the potential of generating high employment opportunities. People engage in works at the tertiary level and the jobs at this level are different in nature than other two structures. This occupational structure is also called as service sector in which a number of services are provided by the workers involved in it. These services include services in hotels and restaurants; transport and communication services; banking and insurance services; business services as well as real estate services; services in public administration; and so on. In most of the developed countries, people engage in tertiary occupations at a very high rate than in developing countries. According to the World Development Report of 1983, around 45 to 50 percent of working people from developed countries were working in tertiary sectors. In India, only around 20 percent of the total working people were involved in tertiary occupations.

It is assumed that there will be an increase in the rate of economic development if people swing from primary occupational structures to secondary and tertiary occupational structures.

Check Your Progress 1

1) What do you understand by the term occupation?

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2) Mention some of the objective aspects of occupations?

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3) What is occupational performance?

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4) What is an occupational structure?

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5) There are three occupational structures in economic system. Name them.

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9.4 CLASSIFICATION OF URBAN OCCUPATIONS

The Census of India-1991 has defined occupation as “participation in any economically productive activity”. This sort of participation in an economic activity can be physical activity such as the actual work requiring physical strength or it can also involve mental activity such as effective supervision and direction of work. Occupation can also involve both paid and unpaid work. Unpaid work corresponds to the work done on a farm or in any family activity.

As we know, that India is an agricultural country. However the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of India comes from the urban areas because urban areas have more concentration of capital. For this reason also, urban spaces are called as the heart of employment opportunities available for every

individual. Occupations in urban spaces are available in abundance and there is undoubtedly no surprise to acknowledge the fact that most of the GDP is generated from urban areas. The sources of GDP in urban spaces are the various occupations that people undertake in order to make a living.

Now before we go into discussing various urban occupations, let us understand what living in urban spaces means? Urban spaces, precisely, refer to those areas in which there is a high density of population. These people have different means of income. So they undertake different occupations in urban spaces. Generally, the occupations in urban spaces are divided into four types, that is, street workers, self-employed businessmen, factory workers and those who work in organized sectors.

Activity 2

Visit the local market and speak to a shopkeeper about his business. Similarly approach a motor mechanic in the market and a street vendor about his work.

Compare the nature and work specification of each and write a note on “what is work”. Discuss it with others at your Study Centre.

9.4.1 Street Workers

Street workers or what is also called as street vendors are a vital organ of the economy of any country around the world. Street workers sell goods and offer their services at public places such as streets or other market places. They play an important role in shaping the informal economy of any country. In almost all the towns and cities across the countries, street workers can be seen working day and night on the streets. They are self-employed, for example, rickshaw pullers, vegetable vendors, cobblers, snack-sellers, tea-sellers, ice-cream sellers, etc. These street workers do not have or have limited access to formal markets. They are not entitled to any kind of support from the government for training or from banks for credit loans. So they are forced to work outside of the labour laws and other legal structures. Consequently, they often suffer poor working conditions.

Another significant issue concerning street workers is that they do not have a permanent location in terms of a shop or any other structure to sell their goods. Some of them live and sell their products in sheds, others keep moving from one location to another on bicycles. These street workers are mostly the migrants who have migrated from rural areas to earn an income.

Street working is an occupation existent in almost all the countries and India is no exception to it. In India, the proportion of street workers is around 2% of the entire population of a city (Bhowmik, 2005). Due to the increase in the migration of low-skilled people from rural to urban areas, there has been a decrease in the availability of employment opportunities within the formal economic sectors. This has tremendously contributed to the increased proportion of street vendors in many Asian countries including India. The declining of employment opportunities in private sectors coupled with under-payment and in pursuit of self-employment, those who were earlier employed

quit their private jobs so as to start working in cities as street vendors (Joseph, 2011).

9.4.2 Self-Employed Businessmen

Self-employment means doing something on our own to earn a livelihood. Street working is also a self-employed occupation. But in terms of business, self-employed businessmen include those people who have started their own business or enterprise and are the owners of their business, for example, the owner of a provisional store. Businessmen fall in both the organized and unorganized categories. In organized business, the accounts of the businessmen and also their economic affairs are recorded. In contrast to this, there are other businessmen who run a small enterprise, they are self-employed and therefore fall in the category of unorganized sector. Those in the latter category start their own business by making small investments and so they make low profits as compared to the businessmen who are in organized sector.

Business is considered as a challenging task because of the risk involved in it. One needs to have an excellent business mind which plays a vital role in its success. The application of the mind in the business enterprise is a key to deciding the fate of businessmen. People who wish to build their own career do so by opting self-employment. There are various other professions other than business that people undertake in urban spaces such as freelance work, performing arts, writing and so on. These are all typically the modes of self-employment.

9.4.3 Factory Workers

Another aspect of urban occupation is that of working in factories which is a major occupation of migrants in cities and towns of India. People who work in factories or any other manufacturing units constitute an unorganized sector of employment because these people are informally employed by the factory owners. Factory production in India has a long history and dates back to 1850s. During this time, goods were manufactured for export to the British. In colonial India, factories were established in Calcutta and Bombay (now being called as Kolkatta and Mumbai respectively). The reason to establish industries in India was because of the fact that production cost was low due to the availability of cheap labour. There were two reasons for the availability of cheap labour: one, because the country's economy was destroyed by the colonial rulers; and two because there was no regulatory mechanism for wages or work.

However after India attained independence in 1947, the regulation of industries started however the major changes took place in 1985 such as the reduction in the control of private sectors. Restrictions on foreign trade were also lifted. However in the informal sectors, workers did their jobs at the commands of their employers and they make a small income out of the work they do. Some of the common examples of this sort include sewers in cloth factories or labourers working as coolies. These sections of workers were hired by the employers and they were paid on the basis of their hourly works.

However the earning that they make out of it was insufficient for them to sustain.

9.4.4 Organised Sector Workers

Organized sector workers include those workers who work in sectors which are registered with the government. In organized sectors, employees' terms of employment are rigid and permanent or regular. There are various terms and conditions which make an employment sector an organized one. In fact, being considered as an organized sector is a difficult process as it requires proper registration with the government. Organized sectors are regulated by the government and they are liable to pay taxes also.

In India, a majority of urban occupations fall under the organized sectors in which workers perform according to the rules of the company. Common examples of employees working in organized sectors include marketing managers, civil engineers, doctors, and so on. These employees make high income on a monthly basis unlike the hourly work of wage based labourers. These workers enjoy multiple benefits given to them by the sectors they work in and these provisions are provided to them by the government through legal documents. Common examples of the benefits enjoyed by them include retirement plan, medical services and medical insurance, paid leaves, as well as other benefits.

Thus, as we have discussed, there are different types of jobs available in urban areas in India ranging from the street workers to employees in huge companies and corporations.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Define urban spaces?

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2) Occupations are classified into four types. Name them.

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3) Urban spaces are also called as

4) Who are street workers? Give examples.

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- 5) Point out a difference between an organized sector and an unorganized sector.

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9.5 LET US SUM UP

Economy in India is undergoing a major transformation in terms of people shifting from rural areas to urban areas in search for livelihood. Occupation or search for employment is the main reason for the migration of people from rural to urban areas. It plays a vital role in securing the economy of any developing country. In addition to this, employment is the main source of income for most of the urban population. In this unit, we discussed the general concept of occupation as well as what constitutes urban occupation. We also discussed the terms associated with or used interchangeably with the concept of occupation such as work, task, skills, job, and so on. The unit further offers an insight into what constitutes occupational structures and discussed the status of occupational structures in India by identifying three occupational structures such as primary, secondary and tertiary structures of occupation. The later part of the unit offers classification of occupation in urban spaces by categorising various occupations into four categories. These four categories include the street workers, business enterprise, factory workers and organized sector workers.

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9.7 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Occupation refers to the activities that people undertake for livelihood.
- 2) Some of the objective aspects of occupations include materials, human context, and characteristics of physical settings.
- 3) Occupational performance refers to the act of doing which involves the actions guided by the existing occupational forms.
- 4) Occupational structure can be defined as the distribution or division of workers according to different occupations.
- 5) The three occupational structures in economic system are primary, secondary and tertiary occupational structures

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Urban spaces are those areas in which there is a high density of population such as a town or city.
- 2) Street workers; Self-employed businessmen; Factory workers; and Organized sector workers.
- 3) The heart of employment opportunities.
- 4) Street workers are those workers who sell goods and offer their services at public places. Examples of street workers include rickshaw pullers, vegetable vendors, cobblers, tea-sellers, etc.
- 5) Organized sectors include those sectors which are registered with government and in which the accounts of the businessmen and their economic affairs are recorded. On the other hand, unorganized sectors include businessmen who run a small enterprise. These businessmen start their own business through making small investments. Thus they make low profits as compared to the businessmen in organized sector.

UNIT 10 SLUM*

Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Understanding Slum
 - 10.2.1 Defining Slum Identifying/ Categorizing the Slums
- 10.3 Urbanization and Slum Formation
 - 10.3.1 The Population of slums
 - 10.3.2 Dynamics and underlying causes of slum growth
- 10.4 Living and working conditions in slums
- 10.5 Urbanization and growth of slums in India
 - 10.5.1 Slums in India
 - 10.5.2 Slum population as a percentage of urban population
 - 10.5.3 Slum population in Million plus cities in India
- 10.6 Living standards and health problems of slum dwellers: Evidence from an Indian city
- 10.7 Slums and Urbanization: Universal and Specific aspects
 - 10.7.1 Slum health issues and child mortality
 - 10.7.2 Infectious diseases
 - 10.7.3 Under-nutrition and malnutrition
 - 10.7.4 Injury, accidents, and violence
 - 10.7.5 Mental health
 - 10.7.6 Non-communicable disease
- 10.8 Public Policy on Slums in India
- 10.9 Conclusions and the way forward
- 10.10 Let Us Sum Up
- 10.11 References
- 10.12 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to:

- Explore the meaning and definition of slums;
- Study various typologies of slums that exist across cities of different sizes;

- Examine the nature and extent of slums and factors responsible for growth;
- Describe living conditions of slum dwellers;
- Study the health and nutrition level and other related issues concerning slum dwellers; and
- Examine the various policy measures and programs initiated by the government.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Human beings are undergoing a radical transformation in their ecology. During the past two centuries, the proportion of the world's population living in cities and towns has grown from about 5% to more than 50%. This process of rapid urbanization, which started in Europe and North America after the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century, was accompanied by the development of large slums including famous examples, such as La Chapelle in Paris, France, the Gorbals in Glasgow, Scotland, and Khitrov in Moscow, Russia. The recent decades have seen massive urban growth in low-income and middle-income countries (LMICs) characterized by sprawling slums that are now home to more than half of the population in cities such as Mumbai, India, Nairobi, Kenya, and Mexico City, Mexico. This huge growth in slums has provoked increasing international interest, and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) specify a target to address the "plight of slums" (Ezeh, A.Oyebode, O. et al. 2016).

It is projected that the urban population in the world is likely to increase by 72% by 2050, evidently found that from 3.6 billion in 2011 to 6.3 billion in 2050. About 31.16% of the urban population is found in India and the number of million-plus cities increased from 5 cities in 1951 to 53 cities in the year 2011. This increasing trend of urbanization is the biggest challenge of the present century. Also, for the first time since independence, the absolute increase in the urban population was higher than that in the rural population (Nitin, M. Kisan, A. et al, 2021).

Rapid urbanization and human population growth especially in developing countries like India are crucial issues. Most of the urban centers in India have witnessed enormous growth particularly in terms of population (Sajjad, 2014). Massive slums have become major features of cities in many low-income and middle-income countries. Slums are unhealthy places with especially high risks of infection and injury and that children are especially vulnerable and that the combination of malnutrition and recurrent diarrhea leads to stunted growth and long-term effects on cognitive development. (Ezeh, A. Oyebode, O. et al. 2016). The urban environment is highly complex more than ever. Therefore, it should be noted that the existence of slums worldwide is not only a manifestation of mismanaged urban planning but also a sign that the slum is a crucial element of contemporary urbanization (Bolay, 2006).

10.2 UNDERSTANDING SLUM

Slum settlements have been in existence for a long time, in the sense that an individual other than the landowner has built houses with or without the consent of the landowner. But they were not illegal 'slum' settlements as we define and categorize them today. The term 'slum' is a more recent western-initiated development. This delineation of such informal or spontaneous settlements as slum settlements represented a growing change in attitude from outright hostility to that of support and protection. Urbanization poses several socio-economic and environmental problems for cities and one among them is the rise of slums (Goswami, S.& Manna, 2010).

A slum, argues Goswami, S., and Manna, is a compact area of overcrowded populations, poorly built congested dwelling conditions, an unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure, and lacking proper sanitary and drinking water facilities. Living conditions in slums have a direct impact on people's health. One of the major challenges that face urban planners globally is the proliferation of slums in urban areas and the host of health hazards that they bring along with their wake. However, the prolific spread of slums has been a rampant problem in urban areas worldwide. The living conditions in slums are usually unhygienic and contrary to all norms of planned urban growth.

10.2.1 Defining Slum

The definition of 'Slum' is complex in nature, which differs widely from global to the regional level. Generally, the slum is a kind of place with a large concentration of poor people, dreary livelihood, and inadequate basic services like water, sanitation, drainage, energy, transport, and others. Some organizations have modified the definition of slum according to their need.

The UN operationally defines a 'slum' as "one or a set of people living in the same house in an urban area who lack one or more facilities i.e., secure tenure, durable housing, sufficient living space, access to improved water and sanitation facilities"(Nitin, M. Kisan, A. et al, 2021).

A Slum, for Census, has been defined as residential areas where dwellings are unfit for human habitation by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of the street, lack of ventilation, light, or sanitation facilities or any combination of these factors which are detrimental to the safety and health. (Chandramouli, C. 2011).

However, the slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city. That is why little data is available on slums. Therefore, slums are neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high-density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities (Khan, R.E.A. 2010: 35).

10.2.2 Identifying/ Categorizing the Slums

For Census of India-2011, Slums have been categorized and defined as of the following three types:

- a) Notified Slums,
 - b) Recognized Slums, and
 - c) Identified Slums
- a) **Notified Slum:** All notified areas in a town or city which have been notified as 'Slum' by the State, UT Administration or Local Government, Housing and Slum Boards, etc. under any Statute, including the 'Slum Act,' shall be considered as Notified Slum.
 - b) **Recognized Slum:** All areas recognized as 'Slum' by the State / Local Government, UT Administration, Housing and Slum Boards, etc., which may not have been formally notified as slums under any statute, are classified as Recognized Slum.
 - c) **Identified Slums:** A congested area of at least 300 populations or about 60-70 households with poorly built congested sites, in an unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and a lack of proper sanitation and drinking.

Towns Reporting Slums in India: Census 2011

- a) Out of 4,041 Statutory Towns in Census 2011 Slums were reported from 2,543 Towns (63%).
- b) Total Slum Enumeration Blocks (SEBs) in Census 2011 is about 1.08 lakh in the country.
- c) The largest number of Slum EBs reported from Maharashtra (21,359).(Chandramouli, C. 2011).

Number of Slum Blocks by Type of Slums – India: Census 2011

There are 1,08,227 Blocks according to the 2011 Census, comprising of

- a) Notified Slums: 37,072
- b) Recognized Slums: 30,846, and
- c) Identified Slums: 40,309 blocks.

Households by Type of Slums – India: Census 2011

From the total 137.49 lakh HH we have

- a) Notified Slums: 49.65 lakh HH
- b) Recognized Slums: 37.96 lakh HH
- c) Identified Slums: 49.88 lakh HH

10.3 URBANIZATION AND SLUM FORMATION

The movement of a large number of rural migrants to the urban areas has far-reaching social implications in transforming the nature and character of urbanization in India. The migrants move into the city not only physically but also bring along their culture, style of life, values, etc. The new groups are trying to gain access to the city's socio-economic system, often by forming communities of their own, in competition with the old groups of more educated, skilled, and affluent urban dwellers who create dichotomies and tensions. The emerging urbanizing society is increasingly becoming a rural-urban environment, both as a way of life and physical form. It must be understood that the rapidly expanding urban environment is not taking shape as a simple projection of the economic and social structure of the past (Goswami, S. & Manna, 2010).

Urbanization has been recognized as a symbol of development as well as a burden over resources. The latter dimension is particularly so in developing countries since the process of urbanization is very rapid. The main reason for rapid urbanization is natural growth, migration from rural to urban areas, and small cities to large cities. It leads to many issues like haphazard urban growth, overcrowding, lack of essential services, ill health, unemployment, inadequate housing facilities, and others. Such problems in developing countries, especially in India, may become acute from its current state of being chronic (Nitin, M, Kisan, A. et al, 2021).

The understanding of the level of urbanization or its scale in developing countries are challenged by differences in the definition of urban and in turn, the lack of reliable data. Furthermore, the process of urbanization is far from homogenous across regions and swathes of territory that are wholly different in terms of economy and political structures. In many of the poorest countries, some cities are urban or metropolitan regions in terms of population sizes and territorial extent. Where local governments are in place, they invariably lack the financial and expert capacity to carry out the work needed to address urban problems. Consequently, there is a problem of representation of the local needs in particularly poor urban neighborhoods and it can be assumed that areas like the squatter and slum settlements often have little or no legal claims on the city or national governments (Ooi, G.L. &Phua, K.H. 2007).

Cities have become centers where vast numbers of people compete for the most basic elements of life: for a room within reach of employment with affordable rent, or vacant land on which a shelter can be erected without fear of eviction, for places in schools; for medical treatment for health problems or injuries, or a bed in a hospital; for access to clean drinking water; for a place on a bus or train; and for a corner on pavement or square to sell some goods—quite apart from the enormous competition for jobs. (Ooi, G.L. &Phua, K.H. 2007).

The urban growth rates in most parts of Asia are more rapid than that of the world. The estimates are that more than 60% of the increase in the world's urban population over the next three decades will be in Asia, mostly in China

and India, but also in Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Nine out of 23 cities with populations of more than 10 million people are in Asia. Similarly, Asia will have many cities projected to have more than a million people each. (Ooi, G.L. &Phua, K.H. 2007).

Many cities in the developing world have witnessed population growth in urban areas driven by economic development and are seeing rapid urbanization due to the push from the rural areas where drought and low farm productivity are driving migrants to cities. The concentration of economic development in a few cities and particularly the largest implies a population boom in very short periods that in turn severely test the coping capacity of city governments. One of the most visible outcomes of rapid urbanization has thus been the persistence and formation of slums. This is reflected in poor housing, urban infrastructural support, and social and reproductive health services (Ooi, G.L. &Phua, K.H. 2007).

10.3.1 The Population of Slums

The most recent UN-Habitat estimates for slum populations suggest that 881 million people lived in slums in the developing world in 2014, an increase from 689 million in 1990. The number of people living in slums is increasing and remains especially high in sub-Saharan Africa (56% of the urban population lives in slums) and southern and southeast Asia. It is estimated that by 2030, about 5 billion of the world's projected 8.1 billion people will live in urban areas. Of these, about 2 billion will live in slums, mainly in Africa and Asia. (Ezeh, A. Oyebode, O. et al. 2016).

Rapid urban population growth has outpaced the ability of city authorities to provide for housing and environmental and health infrastructure. Squatter and slum settlements have formed mainly because of the inability of city governments to plan and provide affordable housing for the low-income segments of the urban population. Hence, squatter and slum housing is the housing solution for this low-income urban population. The outcome has been one of the highest rates of death from infectious diseases among Asian cities. Low-income cities in South Asia and Africa are more vulnerable to environmental disasters such as floods and, hence, disease because of their fragile social infrastructure (Ooi, G.L. &Phua, K.H. 2007).

Counting people in slums: There are technical difficulties in the enumeration of slum populations; they are hard to reach group because householders are often absent; people can rent rooms by the night; illegal squatters can avoid surveys; census staff can be afraid to enter slums; and because some countries do not have a census. Many slum communities are not officially announced as residential areas and are therefore under-represented in censuses and national sampling frames. Even when data for the UN definition of slums are available for a nation, they are only collected every few years, so annual reporting of slum populations has to rely on estimates and projections. Projection of the future size of slums is further complicated by different rates at which slums are upgraded to non-slum across low-income and middle-income countries. (Ezeh, A. Oyebode, O. et al. 2016).

10.3.2 Dynamics and underlying causes of slum growth

The appearance of slums may be seen as a byproduct of the process of urbanization in a developing country like India. (Goswami, 2013). Urbanization can be prevented by the restriction of people's movement. For example, so-called pass laws restricted internal migration in many colonial countries, while the Chinese Government went further still by reversing the flow between countryside and city during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76). The removal of restrictions is typically followed by rapid urban migration as happened, for example, after the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888 (Ezeh, A.Oyebode, O. et al. 2016).

Once a population is free to move, they will be motivated or constrained by many factors. The increase or decrease in slum populations is a dynamic process including flows of people from the countryside and other city precincts, flows in the reverse directions, conversion of city districts and peripheral land sites to slums (and vice versa), and the balance of births and deaths (natural growth) in the slum itself(Ezeh,A. Oyebode, O. et al. 2016).

Check Your Progress 1

1) What is a 'slum'? Discuss

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2) How is it identified?

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3) Indian Census 2011 identifies the types of slums based on Toal 137.45 Lakh Households (HH) as

- A) Notified Slums.....
- B) Recognized Slums.....
- C) Identified Slums.....

4) Can urbanization and emergence of slums be prevented? Discuss.

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10.4 LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS IN SLUMS

Slums are usually formed close to areas where work is available. Population pressures cause the slum to push upwards (ie, storeys are added to dwellings) and outwards. Competition for sites close to places of work causes inflation in rents and land prices so that landlords in central locations can end up quite wealthy, whereas those at the periphery become progressively disadvantaged. Ezeh. A Oyeboode, O. et al. 2016).

Security of tenure is a key issue for slum households. Slums are often set up on unclaimed or municipal land. Authorities then decide whether or not to recognize the slum and confer residency rights on citizens (in India), such notified locations make up only about half of all slums. People with no rights have little incentive to invest in healthier homes and can be evicted without compensation. The injustice and inhumanity of these evictions are compounded by the plight of the displaced settlers who must move to new locations that are even more disadvantaged, in terms of access to the labor market and environmental safety, than their original slum habitat, again widening inequalities. People in slums can inhabit dangerous locations argues Ezeh (2016).

10.5 URBANIZATION AND GROWTH OF SLUMS IN INDIA

Slum existence worldwide and especially in developing countries is the manifestation of urbanization and consequent unplanned urban development (Bolay 2006). Most of the urban centers in India have witnessed enormous growth particularly in terms of population. The level of urbanization here has increased from 27.8 percent in 2001 to 31.1 percent in 2011 (Census of India 2001; 2011). For a fast-growing economy like India where most of its cities experiencing a consistent increase in urban population, the future welfare of city residents is heavily reliant on providing better living conditions and health prospects to the urban dwellers particularly to those who are living in a miserable and unhygienic environment. (Sajjad, 2014).

10.5.1 Slums in India

Slums are illegal urban settlements on public land and usually grow over some time and surround the city from all sides. Slums are more prevalent in the metros but are slowly coming up in other cities and towns of India also. One of the best-planned cities in India is Chandigarh in the north-west of the country, which is also being afflicted with slums in its periphery. The living conditions in the slums are sub-human, with little or no access to civic amenities like water, electricity, sanitation, etc. There is a constant fear of losing their home and meager belongings amongst the slum dwellers and they are many times thrown out by the civic authorities. Slums breed various types of anti-social activities, create environmental problems, and, more often than not, are havens for criminals (Sawhney, U. 2013).

In countries like India, where overpopulation is a major hindrance to growth, slums crop up in the vicinity of urban settlements within days. It is a vicious circle of rural poverty leading to migration in cities in search of a job, non-availability of respectable full-time employment hence poverty leading to these migrants building temporary shelter for themselves and later many of the following and using the vacant public space for building shanties and settling down. This further perpetuates poverty. In India most of the metros and other industrial and, of late, typically service towns and cities have slums around or at any other location within the city (Sawhneya, U. 2013).

10.5.2 Slum Population as Percentage of Urban Population

42.6 million population lived in slums in 2001. This constitutes 15 percent of the total urban population of the country. Maharashtra has the maximum slum population (27.3 percent) as a percentage of the urban population followed by Andhra Pradesh (AP) (24.9 percent) and Haryana (23.2 percent). In thirteen states/union territories of Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Chandigarh, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh (UP), Meghalaya, West Bengal, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, and Andaman & Nicobar Islands 10-20 percent of the urban population lives in slums. Kerala has the lowest percentage of slum population in the urban areas at 0.8 percent while Goa (2.2 percent) and Assam (2.4 percent) also have a low percentage of slum population. A well-planned city like Chandigarh (13.2 percent) has a high proportion of the population living in slums as there is huge migration from Bihar, Jharkhand, and UP in search of employment in the urban informal sector including construction going on in the periphery of the city(Sawhneya, U. 2013).

Slum population as percentage of urban population - Census 2001

State/Union Territory	Slum population Percentage of total urban population	State/Union Territory	Slum population as Percentage of total urban population
1. Maharashtra	27.3	14. Pondicherry	11.3
2. Andhra Pradesh	24.9	15. Jammu and Kashmir	10.7
3. Haryana	23.2	16. Tamil Nadu	10.4
4. Chhattisgarh	19.5	17. Gujarat	9.9
5. Meghalaya	19.5	18. Rajasthan	9.8
6. West Bengal	18.4	19. Uttaranchal	9.0
7. Delhi	15.7	20. Karnataka	7.3
8. Madhya Pradesh	15.1	21. Bihar	6.1
9. Punjab	14.0	22. Tripura	5.5
10. Andaman & Nicobar	14.0	23. Jharkhand	5.0

Islands			
11. Chandigarh	13.2	24. Assam	2.4
12. U.P	12.7	25. Goa	2.2
13. Orissa	11.4	26. Kerala	0.8

9 States/UTs viz Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu, and Lakshadweep have not reported any slum population in their cities/towns. 17.7 million slum population has been reported in the 27 cities with a million-plus population in 2001. Greater Mumbai Municipal Corporation with 6.5 million slum dwellers has the highest slum population among all the cities followed by Delhi Municipal Corporation (1.9 million), Kolkata (1.5 million), and Chennai (0.8 million). 7.4 million (17.4 percent) of the total slum population belong to the Scheduled Castes and one million (2.4 percent) to the Scheduled Tribes.

Activity 1

Visit a slum in your area and interview at least two adult members living there about-

- a) Region where they have migrated to the town/city
- b) Reason why they or him/her has migrated
- c) Are they better-off in the town/city from where they came from.

Write a note on 'slum' and its growth based on these findings and share with others at your study center.

10.5.3 Slum Population in Million Plus Cities in India

According to the census of 2001, there were 27 cities with more than one million population accounting for 60 percent of the country's urban population. Nearly 17.7 million people live in the slums in these cities which is about 41.6 percent of the total slum population in the country. In absolute numbers, Greater Mumbai has the highest slum population of around 6.5 million followed by Delhi (1.9 million) and Kolkata (1.5 million) (Sawhneya, U. 2013).

The size of the slum population in these cities is an indicator of the scale of migration that has taken place. 54.1 percent of the population of Greater Mumbai Municipal Corporation lives in slums which is the highest among million plus cities followed by Faridabad (46.5 percent) and Meerut (44.1 percent). Patna (0.3percent) has the lowest proportion of the slum population. The slum population is more than a quarter of the total population in Kolkata (32.5 percent) Nagpur (35.9 percent) and Thane (27.8 percent). Ludhiana (22.5 percent) and Surat (20.9 percent) have more than 20 percent of their population living in slums. There are only five million-plus cities with a slum population of less than 10 percent of the total population. The concentration of slum population in 27 large cities is evident from the fact that 41.6 percent of the country resides in these cities. Greater Mumbai Municipal Corporation alone accounts for about 15.21 percent of the total slum population of the country and more than one-third (36.6 percent) of the total slum population of

the million-plus cities. Four Municipal Corporations namely, Greater Mumbai, Kolkata, Delhi, and Chennai, together account for 25 percent of the total slum population of the country and around 60 percent of the total slum population of the million-plus cities (Sawhneya, U. 2013).

Slum population in million-plus cities- Census 2001

Name of the city	Slum population (percent)	Name of the city	Slum population (percent)
1. Greater Mumbai	54.1	14. Jaipur	15.9
2. Faridabad	46.5	15. Kanpur	14.4
3. Meerut	44.1	16. Vadodara	14.2
4. Nagpur	35.9	17. Ahmedabad	13.5
5. Kolkata	32.5	18. Nasik	12.9
6. Thane	27.8	19. Varanasi	12.6
7. Ludhiana	22.5	20. Pimpri-Chinchwad	12.2
8. Surat	20.9	21. Hawra	11.7
9. Pune	19.4	22. Bangalore	10.0
10. Chennai	18.9	23. Agra	9.5
11. Delhi	18.7	24. Bhopal	8.7
12. Indore	17.7	25. Lucknow	8.2
13. Hyderabad	17.2	26. Kalyan-Dombuli	2.9
		27. Patna	0.3

Top and Bottom 5 States Reporting Slum Households

Top five States Bottom five States

State	Proportion of Slum HHs to Urban HHs (%)
Andhra Pradesh	35.7
Chhattisgarh	31.9
Madhya Pradesh	28.3
Odisha	23.1
West Bengal	21.9

State	Proportion of Slum HHs to Urban HHs (%)
Chandigarh#	9.7
Gujarat	6.7
Jharkhand	5.3
Assam	4.8
Kerala	1.5

The proportion of Slum Households in Metros – 2011

Million Plus Cities	The proportion of Slum HHs to Total Urban HHs (%)
Greater Mumbai (M Corp.)	41.3
Kolkata (M Corp.)	29.6
Chennai (M Corp.)	28.5
Delhi Municipal Corp (U)	14.6
BBMP (M Corp.)	8.5

10.6 LIVING STANDARDS AND HEALTH PROBLEMS OF SLUM DWELLERS: EVIDENCE FROM AN INDIAN CITY

Households by Type of Census Houses

HHs (in %)

Type	Urban	Slum
Permanent	84.3	77.7
Semi-permanent	11.6	16.0
Temporary	3.2	5.3
Any other	0.9	1.0

Source of Drinking Water

HHs (in %)

Source of drinking water	Urban	Slum
1. Tap	70.6	74.0
1.1 From treated source	62.0	65.3
1.2 From untreated source	8.6	8.7
2. Well	6.2	3.0
3. Hand pump	11.9	12.7
4. Tube well / Borehole	8.9	7.6
5. Other sources	2.5	2.8

Availability of Bathing Facility within Premises

HHs (in %)

Bathing Facility	Urban	Slum
1. Have facility	87.0	81.0
(a) Bathroom	77.5	66.6
(b) Enclosure without roof	9.5	14.5
2. Does not have facility	13.0	19.0

Type of Latrine Facility

HHs (in %)

Type of latrine	Urban	Slum
1. Latrine within the premises	81.4	66.0
(a) Water closet	72.6	57.7
(b) Pit latrine	7.1	6.2
© Other latrine	1.7	2.2
2. No latrine within premises	18.6	34.0
(a) Public latrine	6.0	15.1
(b) Open	12.6	18.9

Availability of Kitchen

HHs (in %)

Availability of kitchen	Urban	Slum
Total	100.0	100.0
1. Cooking inside house:	95.8	94.1
(a) Has kitchen	77.8	65.3
(b) Does not have kitchen	18.0	28.8
2. Cooking outside house	3.7	5.4
(a) Has kitchen	1.6	2.0

(b) Does not have kitchen	2.0	3.4
3. No cooking	0.5	0.5

Fuel used for Cooking

HHs (in %)

Fuel used for cooking	Urban	Slum
1. Fire-wood	20.1	25.8
2. Crop residue	1.4	1.6
3. Cow dung cake	1.7	2.1
4. Coal, Lignite, Charcoal	2.9	3.9
5. Kerosene	7.5	14.0
6. LPG/ PNG	65.0	51.3
7. Electricity	0.1	0.1
8. Biogas	0.4	0.5
9. Any other	0.2	0.3
10. No cooking	0.5	0.5

Households Availing Banking Services

HHs (in %)

Availing Banking Services	Urban	Slum
1. Availing	67.8	53.2
2. Not availing	32.2	46.8

10.7 SLUMS AND URBANISATION: UNIVERSAL AND SPECIFIC ASPECTS

The slum is characterized by the precarious nature of its habitat. But it is much more than that: it can genuinely be seen as a 'hothouse' of cultural creativity, economic invention, and social innovation. Classic urban planning principles are based on comprehensive planning regarding land allocation, infrastructural organization, and decisions on technical services and networks. However, these actors resort to their emergency solutions to urban integration problems, and they do so at the micro-level at which these problems are posed – generally the plot of land, the house, then the district. In

most cases, the result is an individual or family construction on a plot of land which is occupied either illegally or by informal agreement, without being connected to the customary utilities.

Many slum households do not have piped water or lavatories. Pit-latrines contaminate the environment and the water supply is prone to contamination at multiple points. Homes are crowded and afford little privacy. Cooking and heating with solid fuels in confined spaces pollute the air with noxious fumes and particulate matter. Streets and lanes are unpaved with no drainage and are therefore converted to mud and stagnant pools when it rains. Garbage collects in huge, malodorous piles and often contains excrement. There is little open space where children can play safely or where adults can relax.

10.7.1 Slum Health Issues and Child Mortality

a) Slum Health: A Neglected Subject?

Slum health has received scant attention compared with rural health, urban health, and poverty and health; studies of slum health make up only a small proportion of studies of low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). For instance, only 2·8% of studies of LMIC on MEDLINE that stated where the study was done were based in a slum location. Only 7% of LMIC trials registered on the WHO Clinical Trials Registry Platform that stated where the trial was done were based in a slum location and many cases, slums were chosen as a convenience sample, for instance, to study the effects of a new vaccine, rather than to examine slum health or how to improve it. Additionally, slums are not identified as a determinant of health in the influential Global Burden of Disease report. (Ezeh. A Oyeboode, O. et al. 2016).

b) Health in Slums and Child Mortality

It is difficult to measure the life expectancy of people who live in slums because they move regularly and might return to rural areas to die. However, child mortality is easier to ascertain.

It is noteworthy that when children move to slums from the countryside they are most vulnerable immediately after their arrival, presumably because they have little immunity to the organisms in their new neighborhood. Higher infant and neonatal mortality in slum versus rural areas have been reported in Kenya, Ecuador, Brazil, Haiti, and the Philippines, although rural areas with especially high malaria exposures can have even higher child mortality rates than high altitude slums.

10.7.2 Infectious Diseases

Pit latrines with slabs qualify as improved sanitation in the WHO/United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Joint Monitoring Programme definition. However, such facilities are inappropriate in a crowded slum environment. Only 40% of the urban population in sub-Saharan Africa had improved sanitation, whereas 33% had piped water in their homes in 2015. The situation in slums specifically can only be worse. Gastrointestinal infections are highly prevalent in slums, and children younger than 5 years are

especially vulnerable. Two systematic reviews of cholera outbreaks in Africa identified slum neighborhoods as the usual source of the epidemic. Slum-dwellers perceive water and sanitation as their most pressing need. Accumulation of rubbish and poor housing provide breeding grounds for parasites and vectors of disease. Dengue fever is one of the few infectious diseases that is increasing worldwide.

10.7.3 Under-Nutrition and Malnutrition

Undernutrition is the leading indirect cause of childhood mortality and morbidity in sub-Saharan Africa. Recent surveys of food insecurity specifically in slums noted rates of 85% of households in Nairobi, 77% in northern India, and 74% in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Three reviews assessing diet and nutrition in slums all reported that people who live in slums were at a nutritional disadvantage compared with other urban residents. Under nutrition is associated with recurrent diarrhea in children, leading to stunted growth. A systematic review reports that across multiple regions (including the Democratic Republic of

Congo, Bolivia, India, Bangladesh, and Kenya) the rate of stunting in children residing in slums is higher than in non-slum urban or rural areas. Breastfeeding reduces the incidence of, and mortality from, diarrhea and pneumonia, and also reduces all-cause mortality rates. However, this is low in slums, partly because of the labor market.

10.7.4 Injury, Accidents, and Violence

According to a recent study in Nairobi in slums, 110 injuries accounted for 22% of all deaths in adults, more than 50% of all deaths in men younger than 35 years, and 69% of deaths in young men aged 15–19 years. More than half of all injury-related deaths resulted from assault, crime, and hence injury rates. A review on child health reported that pediatric burns are more frequent in slums than in non-slum urban, or rural areas, largely because of cooking methods.

10.7.5 Mental Health

The living and working conditions in slums predispose to stress, and stress leads to psychological disorders such as those reported in workers in garment factories in Bangladesh. We found one systematic review that reported that children living in slums have more behavioral and emotional problems than children living in rural or non-slum urban areas.

10.7.6 Non-Communicable Disease

Indoor cooking with solid fuels is a cause of respiratory disease in poor households generally, and the unsanitary conditions in slums are associated with up-regulation of inflammatory responses leading to a high prevalence of non-atopic asthma, in contrast to high-income countries where, according to the hygiene hypothesis, allergy results from excessive cleanliness

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) What are the universal and special aspects of slums? Discuss

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- 2) Why does life in slums increases child mortality?

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- 3) Fill in the blanks:

- A) It is estimated that by 2030 aboutbillion of world's projected 8.1 billion people will be living in areas.
- B) A review on child health shows that pediative burns are more frequent in than in non-slum urban or rural areas.
- C) We found one systematic review that proved that children living inface more..... than children in rural or non-slum urban areas.

10.8 PUBLIC POLICY ON SLUMS IN INDIA

An increasing pace of urbanization and the absence of affordable housing has resulted in the growth of slums in urban India. The Government of India (GOI) has been incorporating certain programs to alleviate poverty, create employment opportunities and encourage planned urban development in its public policy, yet there has been a fast emergence of slums in the Indian cities due to several factors (Sawhneya, U. 2013). The central government has also been channelizing funds received from international agencies to the states. There have been poverty alleviation and employment generation programs for rural as well as urban poor, but some policies/programs are framed specifically for urban slum dwellers. (Sawhneya, U. 2013). The first scheme under the name of 'Slum Clearance' was announced in the Second Five Year Plan of the GOI and consequently, all the state governments were required to set up the necessary organizations and enact legislation for the same. The Fourth Five Year Plan emphasized urban planning and decongestion of cities. A Scheme for Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums was undertaken in the Central Sector from 1972-73 to provide a minimum level of services, like, water supply, sewerage, drainage, street pavements in 11 cities with a population of 8 lakhs and above. Integrated

Low-Cost Sanitation Scheme was launched in 1980-81 to provide proper sanitation in the slums. The Seventh Plan explicitly recognized the problems of the urban poor and for the first time, and Urban Poverty Alleviation Scheme known as Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP) was launched. The Eighth Plan underscored the urgent need for urban development, environmental protection, and provision of basic amenities to the urban poor like drinking water, sanitation, education, and health services. National Slum Development Programme was launched in 1996 for improving the living conditions of the slum dwellers in the cities/towns. Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission was launched by the GOI in December 2005 to develop financially sustainable inclusive cities. As a part of JNNURM, Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) was launched to ameliorate the dilapidated living conditions of the urban slum dwellers. The GOI announced Rajiv Awaas Yojana (RAY) under the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA) in the budget of 2009-10 aimed at promoting a slum-free India within five years and with a focus to accord property rights to slum dwellers. (Sawhneya, U. 2013)

10.9 CONCLUSIONS AND WAY FORWARD

Migration from rural to urban areas is increasing at a very fast pace. The evidence of large slum populations in a large number of developing countries and particularly in rapidly urbanizing regions like Asia. The evidence discussed suggests that city authorities faced with rapid urban development cannot cope with the diverse demands for infrastructural provision to meet economic and social needs. There are several deficiencies in the programs launched by the Government of India (GOI) and how their implementation suffers from several roadblocks. The problems in implementation arise both from the people living in the slums, who lack sensitivity towards the benefits of improvement on the quality of their lives, and also the implementing agencies which are almost non-functional. The lack of political will to contain the problem compounds the issue manifold. There is a dire necessity for 'good governance' at all levels of the government. The ideal situation can be reached if an institutional framework for appointing a regulator for urban development can be worked out.

Activity 2

Read a book or watch a film based on how a village migrant adjusts to a city life and the types of problems they face. Discuss the topic with your peers at your Study Centre.

10.10 LET US SUM UP

In this reading, we examine the issues and problems of slums which emerged with urbanization. We have studied the definitions of slum and explored the various characteristics associated with it. We then proceed to learn how urbanization (through migration of people from rural to towns) leads to the formation of slums in cities thereby resulting in several social, psychological,

health, environmental issues, etc. We then discussed the universal and a specific context (evidence from Indian cities) while referring to the growth of slums and its impact on human society. We finally observed the various public policies implemented to wipe out slums in India.

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10.12 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Slum is generally a type of place where there is a large concentration of poor people living together. The Indian census defines slums as residential areas which are unfit for human habitation due to dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty construction or temporary structure etc.
- 2) Slums are identified by the following three categories; for eg. i) Notified Slums; ii) Recognized slums; and iii) Identified slums.
- 3) a) 49.65 lakh HH
b) 37.96 lakh HH; and
c) 49.88 lakh HH
- 4) Urbanization is the movement of large rural population making towards the urban areas. This process can be reversed by Government intervention; same times as in India during the pandemic a large number of labour/ migrants reverted back to their villages permanently or temporarily. Also China's pass laws are an example which controlled movement of people from one region to another.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) The universal and specific aspects of slums are that they are characterized by the precarious nature of its habitat poor unhygienic condition of living and often insecurity and crime. However; it can also be often seen as the 'hot house' of cultural creativity, economic invention and social innovation.
- 2) Child mortality in the slums increases because when people migrate from the rural areas to the cities they often are not adjusted to the organizers and unhygienic; catch diseases frequently.
- 3) a) 5 billion; urban
b) slums
c) slums, emotional problems.

UNIT 11 NEIGHBORHOOD AND GATED COMMUNITIES*

Structure

11.0 Objectives

11.1 Introduction

11.2 Neighbourhood and its Social Relevance

11.2.1 Choice of a Neighbourhood

11.2.2 Neighbourhoods and Social Cohesion

11.2.3 Neighbourhoods and Community Spirit

11.3 Neighbourhood in the Contemporary Times

11.4 Gated Communities

11.5 Critique of Gated Communities

11.5.1 Appropriation of Public Spaces

11.5.2 Lack of Social Harmony and Contact

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 References

11.8 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit you will be able to:

- Define the concept of neighbourhood and discuss its sociological relevance;
- Identify the factors that influence our perception of a neighbourhood;
- Analyse the effect of neighbourhoods in social interactions and collective actions;
- Review the conflicting arguments on the extent of community bonds in the contemporary neighbourhoods;
- Comprehend the concept of gated communities, their origins and characteristics; and
- Analyse the impact of gated communities in society.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous unit explained to you the phenomena of slums. In Urban Sociology, one other concept inevitably comes up in debates on social

cohesion and urban planning- is similarly, in the same vein, neighbourhood. The neighbourhood is not simply the immediate geographical area of one's place of residence. It has high relevance in Urban Sociology discourse. In this unit, we will try to gain insights into the social and physical attributes of "neighbourhood" by reviewing the arguments of urban scholars. Also, we will discuss the role our neighbourhoods play in our social interactions and how they facilitate collective actions.

The second half of this unit will introduce you to the concept of gated neighbourhoods. They are a relatively new yet widely used type of urban development that may be seen all over the world. We will go through its characteristics in detail before looking at its impact on urban societies.

11.2 NEIGHBORHOOD AND ITS SOCIAL RELEVANCE

The smallest unit of the neighbourhood is called "Home area" and it is the geography covered in 5-10 minutes' walk from one's home (Kearns and Parkinson 2001). As per this definition, the modern-day understanding of neighbourhood comprises the set of residences, public parks or local shops that are present in the vicinity of our homes. Though the neighbourhood is a territorially bound social entity, they are also webs of social networks (Forrest and Kearns 2001). The neighbourhood serves certain social functions.

11.2.1 Choice of a Neighbourhood

In his memoir, the celebrated Indian journalist Vinod Mehta described one peculiar feature of Delhi. He claimed that where you lived in Delhi determined who you are. Though this statement is debatable, urban surveys claim that neighbourhood represents one's social identity. Your address is a piece of social information (Goffman 1997). Like our occupation, physical, attributes, and personality, our place of residence is a cue for information about us. As per this understanding, people put in a lot of thought in choosing one's neighbourhood. The perception of a good neighbourhood is subjective and contingent on multiple factors. Some look for a quiet place while others look for a place close to the downtown. Some prefer to stay close to their place of work while others want to recede to the suburbs. An attempt to demarcate these parameters is futile. However, the scholar Brower gave three dimensions that determine people's level of satisfaction in their choice of neighbourhoods: ambience, engagement, and choice fulness (Brower 1996). Our neighbourhood should be a site that enables us to live our lives in comfort. Also, it is a source of status and self-esteem. Brower argued people should perceive their neighbourhood to be functional and aesthetically appealing. The term "engagement" refers to the potential for meaningful interactions. A neighbourhood that's hostile or dangerous is deemed non-attractive. It is why neighbourhoods with high crime rates are stigmatised. In urban areas, some neighbourhoods and ghettos face the stigma for their poor living standards. The members find the identity of their neighbourhoods limiting.

Brower argues that living in such places would make people perceive poorly about one's neighbourhood. Thirdly, people should have a choice in their neighbourhood. They must own the choice to live in a particular neighbourhood and realise they continue to have the same in choosing to stay or leave their neighbourhood, rather than ending up there (Kearns and Parkinson 2001). It makes people happy to know that their neighbours also choose to live in their neighbourhoods. Now, this last dimension is vital for urban planners. It explains why people hesitate to adapt to bureaucratic or market allocation systems where they have no choice but to move (Hastings and Dean 2003).

11.2.2 Neighbourhoods and Social Cohesion

Neighbourhoods are a source of social cohesion. It brings comfort, security, and identity. Moreover, they provide a sense of belonging to the members. We make our first social interactions outside the families in the neighbourhoods. Most of us made our first friend from our neighbourhoods, didn't we? Neighbourhoods provide opportunities for face to face interactions, bringing closeness to others (Casey 2013). Studies show that these interactions can be instrumental in building one's social capital. For example, Economic researches show that the success of home-run enterprises and micro-businesses can depend on the quality of one's neighbourhood relationships. The survey adds to the functionality of neighbourhoods by proving that the neighbourhood resources can bring success to one's business (Reuschke and Houston 2016).

But there is a difference of opinions reflected in the studies on social cohesion in the neighbourhoods. Community involvement and cohesion varies across classes and demographics. For instance, the youth was less involved with their neighbourhoods than their older generation (Bannister and Fyfe 2001). It could also be that as you live longer in a neighbourhood, you make more friends over the period (Sampson and Groves 1989). The more you live in a place, the more people you meet. On the other hand, neighbourhood ties along class lines inform that blue-collar workers and pensioners have more intimate ties with the neighbourhood than members with white-collar jobs. The reason could be that blue-collar members spend relatively more time outside in the neighbourhood. Such is the case with retired members. Meanwhile, the white-collar members spend most of their time in social circles outside the neighbourhoods (Henning and Lieberg 1996). Hence, the degree and quality of interaction in the neighbourhood can vary vastly across groups.

11.2.3 Neighbourhoods and Community Spirit

One of the numerous characteristics of neighbourhoods is their ability to facilitate collective actions. Due to the physical proximity of the members, neighbourhoods have increasingly become platforms for debates, discourses, negotiations and political actions. As detailed above, this characteristic can also vary over different classes. The community spirit among the members of the neighbourhood has been found high among the deprived classes. Those neighbourhoods showed high solidarity in the protection of their rights.

However, urban studies show that this unity stems from their struggle for sustenance (Burns and Taylor 1998; Friedrichs 1998). It is a spirit formed out of need rather than choice.

Check Your Progress 1

1) What is a “Home Area”?

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2) What are the dimensions proposed by Brower in determining people's perception of their neighbourhoods?

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3) Briefly describe why studies indicate an increased rate of social interactions in neighbourhoods for older people and blue-collar employees.

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Activity 1

If you live with your parents or grandparents, talk to them and identify the factors that influenced their decision to settle in the neighbourhood you are currently living. Critically analyse if those are useful parameters. Make a comparative description of the change in perception of both generations.

**11.3 NEIGHBORHOOD IN THE
CONTEMPORARY TIMES**

We discussed the parameters that influence one’s choice of a neighbourhood. In modern times, people look for a functional neighbourhood. Their rational choice of neighbourhoods reflects their geographical and social requisites- proximity to the place of work, access to public transport, presence of a good school in the neighbourhood, and social status of the neighbours. However, there is ambiguity regarding the extent of interactions in the neighbourhoods that we see today.

Urban scholars have differing opinions on whether the neighbourhood ties are diminishing or getting stronger. Conflict theorists have argued that the urbanisation and modern neighbourhoods undermine the community bonds and personal rapport shared in the traditional neighbourhoods. The relationships found in cities are impersonal, reciprocal, transactional, and momentary. The longitudinal surveys conducted in the US that spanned over decades found that neighbourhood ties are declining. The shared community spirit is absent (Parkinson 1998). More people, especially youngsters choose to socialise outside their neighbourhoods. Their peers or colleagues replace the social functions served by the neighbourhood communities for their parents and grandparents.

However, there are also opposing arguments. Some suggest that relationships and neighbourhood ties are not only strong but even better in the 20th century (Phillipson, Bernard and Ogg 2001). Scholars such as Castells and Fukuyama opine that the networks found in modern neighbourhoods only vary in physical form and not in value. With the advent of technology, neighbourhood interaction take place in indirect ways (Guest and Wierzbicki 1999). The conversations take place over a combination of personal and virtual interactions. They argue that the geographical limits of neighbourhoods as we understand are even expanding with the help of technology. Manuel Castells, in his notable work, *The Network Society*, vindicate that the neighbourhoods are not lost, they have only transformed. But he asserts that the locally based identities intersect with other meanings.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) How does technology affect the spirit of community bonding in contemporary neighbourhoods? Briefly explain.

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11.4 GATED COMMUNITIES

Building density is high in urban agglomerations. There are public institutions, residential buildings, public spaces, and universities, among other things. One of the booming structures in urban spaces in recent decades is the gated communities. Gated communities are new forms of urban habitat that challenges the urban spatial organisations. They are not just new forms of built structures but have social and political ramifications. In the following sections, we will try to understand the features of gated communities, what makes them appealing to the urban population, and their impact on society.

11.4.1 Origins

The privatisation of the neighbourhoods can be dated back to the 19th-century industrial cities such as Paris and London. The new industrial cities started seeking quiet and private enclosed neighbourhoods (McKenzie 1994). The trend of building secured neighbourhoods soon became popular in the west, especially in America. There is the influence of American suburbs in many of the urban designs seen today across the globe. However, they are not mere replications but carefully planned and executed by adapting to the local environment. Though the underlying objective of gated neighbourhoods remained the same- need for comfort and privacy- the regional adaptations point to the variance in nature and characteristics. For instance, the South African gated communities trace their roots back to the institutionalised racism and apartheid. Enclosed residences were historically built for and restricted to the affluent white officers.(Landman 2006). On the contrary, gated structures in Johannesburg were more inclusive and inhabited by all races and classes. They were conceptualised as an affordable housing option for urban dwellers.

11.4.2 Characteristics

Gated communities, often known as "fortified enclaves," are private, enclosed, and closely monitored areas of residence (Caldeira 1999). They are bound territories with adequate amenities to support the lives of their residents. Gated communities include gymnasiums, walkways, children's parks, day-cares, shopping centres, restaurants, recreation hubs, special zones for sports, swimming pools and more. These amenities differentiate a gated neighbourhood from an apartment complex or condominium. The gated societies thus resemble a mini-city within the city. The residents experience an urban life within the walls of the gated structures.

Research shows that the presence of gated communities as a preferred residential choice is increasing since the 1940s (Salah and Ayad 2018). Gated communities are appealing to people for a variety of reasons, according to urban researchers. The residents were inspired by security, privacy, quality utility services (gas, air, water), sanitation, aesthetics of buildings, clean environment, greenery, and round the clock surveillance, out of which the quality of residence and environment stood at the top (Koca and Kayılıoğlu 2017).

A key feature of gated communities is the presence of community associations. These associations are contractual and handle neighbourhood-level governance. An administrative body oversees the functioning of the association and the welfare of the gated society. It also oversees the property and establishes rules to govern the property. This body consists of members elected from the residents. The residents abide by the regulations framed by these associations and pay a stipulated fee to receive services from the association (Blakely and Snyder 1995; Webster, Glasze and Frantz 2002).

11.5 CRITIQUE OF GATED COMMUNITIES

The urban scholars suggest that the gated communities represent the extent of penetration of the ideologies of fear and security in society (Le Goix and Webster 2008). In cities, there has been an increase in the number of crimes reported. Violence, burglary, road rage, rape and mugging are some of the crimes that plague urban areas. As a result, urban dwellers are keen to guard their neighbourhoods in the face of growing threats of urban life. The growing popularity of gated communities reinforces city residents' and builders' emphasis on round-the-clock surveillance and security. Enclosed communities protect their properties via technology and personnel deployment. They reflect the growing fear and tendencies among the urban residents to guard their walls and keep threats out (Tuan 1990). Critics flag this as exclusionary in nature and detrimental to urban development. In the following sections, we will look at how the development of fortified walls leads to social segregation and spatial isolation. We will also discuss the key theoretical arguments made by critical theorists against the culture of gated communities.

11.5.1 Appropriation of Public Space

A major criticism against the gated communities has been the social and spatial polarisation caused by them in societies. Critical theorists alleged that fortified walls are instruments for the urban elites to exclusively organise their housing, consumption, leisure, and production (Marcuse 1997; Fainstein and Harloe 1992). They strive for and create a sanitary living environment free from pollution, litter, and urban crime.

However, the regions enclosed by gated communities are sometimes restricted to residents only. This includes the streets and sidewalks contained by the walls. With fortification, gated neighbourhoods allow for the privatisation of public spaces. This appropriation on of public spaces and resources by a group of urban residents is discriminatory against the other groups, especially the urban poor. As a result, urban spaces can be divided into parts that are accessible to the lower classes and those that are not. This leads to spatial segregation and a regime of urban development that is exclusionary and discriminatory (Thuillier 2005).

Marxist scholars attribute the rise of gated communities to the urban development that is inherently capitalistic. The capitalist nature of the city is represented in the city by distinct groups residing in different areas based on their socioeconomic position, increasing geographical segregation. The government legitimises this trend by incentivizing and encouraging the development of gated communities. In addition, the real estate developers are aware of the complex social and physical intricacies that drive the choice of their consumers and capitalise on them by creating an aura around the concept of gated communities. Gated neighbourhoods, then become a symbol of status and desirability.

11.5.2 Lack of Social Harmony and Contact

Discriminatory urban planning might cause friction and animosity between the different groups, disrupting social harmony. According to urban surveys, the advent of gated communities sparked feelings of envy and anger in the neighbouring community for the comforts and security enjoyed by the gated community's members (Roitman 2005). Moreover, gated communities inhibit the city from free interactions between the diverse social and cultural groups in the city (Caldeira 2010). There is little or no contact between the people living in gated communities and the world outside.

Studies have found that gated communities are preferred by higher income groups (Webster, Glasze and Frantz 2002; Beauregard 1997). As we have seen in the previous section on neighbourhoods, a criterion that determines people's choice of neighbourhoods is the perception of their neighbours. The fact that we seek out neighbours who live similar lifestyles to us has a homogenising effect. In the case of gated neighbourhoods, this is consequent in a socially homogenous space where residents come from similar socioeconomic statuses. Such homogenous spatial arrangements based on parameters such as race, ethnicity, income and social status leads to a polarised city. The scenario is aggravated when it leads to an uneven development pattern.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Briefly explain the Marxist argument against gated communities?

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- 2) How does the ideology of fear promote the development of fortified walls?

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11.6 LET US SUM UP

The purpose of this unit was to introduce you to the concept of neighbourhoods and their relevance in urban studies. In the first section "Neighbourhood and its social relevance" we discussed in detail the relation of neighbourhoods to one's identity, social status, social and physical needs. We learned about the importance of neighbourhoods in fostering social cohesion, community spirit and relationships among citizens.

We looked at several pieces of literature on shifting patterns of neighbourhood interactions in the next section. Are today's neighbourhood ties shaky? The section introduced both sides of the debate.

Then, we discussed gated communities- history and characteristics. Gated communities are a recent yet popular mode of urban development in modern times. We read about the factors that lead urban dwellers to choose gated communities as a neighbourhood option.

The last section introduced you to the major criticisms against gated communities. Even though gated communities are becoming increasingly popular around the world, urban scholars believe they promote spatial segregation and inequality in society. Gated communities were also found to be breeding animosity between the affluent and low-income groups.

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11.8 SPECIEMN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The home area is the smallest unit of the neighbourhood as the geography covered in 5-10 minutes' walk from one's home.
- 2) The dimensions proposed by Brower are ambience, engagement, and choice fulness.
- 3) Older people and blue-collar employees spend more time in the neighbourhood in comparison to other categories of residents. Hence, they are more familiar with their neighbourhoods and make more acquaintances there.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Technology enables virtual and new social contacts in neighbourhoods keeping the community bonds alive. Scholars such as Manuel Castells argue that technology has transformed the way people interact with each other.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Marxist scholars perceive gated communities as a phenomenon that reflects the capitalist form of urban development. Here neighbourhoods reflect separation between the different classes.
- 2) Fear of the urban threats compels one to guard their neighbourhoods with high walls and high-end security characteristics of gated communities.