

SOCIO ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF SLUM DWELLERS
A CASE STUDY OF BARTONHILL COLONY AND THEKKUMUDU SLUM IN
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, KERALA

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THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, KERALA

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of **Master of Philosophy** in *Applied Economics* of the
Jawaharlal Nehru University

Kalyany Sankar
M Phil Programme in Applied Economics
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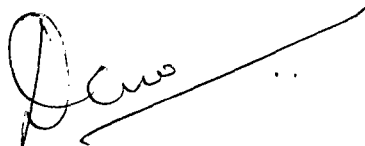
Centre for Development Studies
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I hereby affirm that the work for the dissertation "*Socio Economic Mobility of Slum Dwellers: A Case Study of Bartonhillcolony and Thekkumudu Slum in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala*" being submitted as part of the requirements of the MPhil Programme in Applied Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University was carried out entirely by myself. I also affirm that it was not part of any other programme of study and has not been submitted to any other university for the award of any Degree.

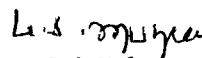
December, 2010

Kalyany Sankar

Certified that this study is the bona fide work of Kalyany Sankar, carried out under our supervision at the Centre for Development Studies.



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TO MY

PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS

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Needless to say, I'm solely responsible for all the errors that remain.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

SOCIO ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF SLUM DWELLERS A CASE STUDY OF BARTONHILL COLONY AND THEKKUMUDU SLUM IN THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, KERALA

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Rapid urbanization has been a worldwide phenomenon in the 20th century, in developing countries. As a result there has been a shift of the locus of poverty from rural to urban areas and this is known as the urbanization of poverty. Many studies point out that slums are the physical and spatial manifestation of urban poverty and intra-city inequality, although not all slum households fall below the poverty line. According to UN-Habitat (2003), the total number of slum dwellers in the world stood at about 924 million people in 2001, which represents about 32 per cent of the world's total urban population. There has been a growing global concern about slums, as manifested in the recent UN millennium declaration and subsequent identification of new development priorities by the international community. It is in recognition of the development challenges posed by the slums that Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) seeks to create significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. Capturing the multi dimensional aspects of changing socio-economic wellbeing in poor communities requires identification of both levels of poverty and types of vulnerability. In this context, the study seeks to understand the socio-economic characteristics of the slum dwellers and their prospects of upward mobility in Kerala's capital city, Thiruvananthapuram.

Slum-like human settlements are found in almost every town in Kerala especially in coastal areas; Thiruvananthapuram is one of the cities with most true characteristics as of any other slum of metropolitan city. The first slums in Thiruvananthapuram Corporation are having been formed in the years since 1940 subsequent to massive in-migration of landless people from rural areas and city suburbs and occupying puromboke (Common lands) or private ownership of land was to be granted to slum dwellers. However, it appears that several squatters who have been living in slums for three generation have not received pattayams (Land title). Consequently in Thiruvananthapuram there are two groups slum dwellers -one with land entitlements and the other, without the same. And despite the entitlements, the slums in the city have the same physical and socio-economic characteristics of slums as elsewhere. In this study we make an attempt to understand the dynamics of low human development of slums over generations in two kinds slums Thiruvananthapuram by taking the cases of Bartonhill Colony and Thekkumudu Bund Colony.

The study probed empirically into the question whether there has been an upward socio-economic mobility and identifies the key drivers of upward/downward mobility in the two selected slums. The study indicates that there been very little intra slum and inter slums socio-economic mobility. The further it ascertains that vicious circle of low human development in the slums is not due to lack of basic capabilities such as literacy or longevity, but because of their inability to translate these gains into upward mobility through which they could have purchased access to tertiary health care, and technical and higher education, which are crucial in maintaining and improving economic and social status of a community. The difference in land entitlements between the two colonies identified for fieldwork may not be a significant factor in determining levels of capabilities.

Key Words: Slums, Urban Poverty, Human Development

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The process of development in any society should ideally be viewed in terms of what it does for the underprivileged. It has to be assessed in terms of the benefits and opportunities that it generates for people and how these are eventually distributed. The concerns of human development namely creating an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives has been ignored especially in the context of the most vulnerable in the society.

Rapid urbanization has been a worldwide phenomenon in the 20th century, in developing countries. The year 2008 marked a watershed in the ongoing urban transformation in the sense that for the first time in history more than 50 per cent of world's population now live in the urban areas. In this era of urbanization of poverty is a very significant phenomenon and the relative lack of attention to urban poverty has aggravated deprivation in urban areas. One of the most enduring manifestations of urban poverty is the proliferation of slums and squatter settlements in cities.

According to UN-Habitat (2003), the total number of slum dwellers in the world stood at about 924 million people in 2001, which represents about 32 per cent of the world's total urban population. This report further point out that 43 per cent of the combined urban populations in the developing countries lived in slums, while in the least developed countries 78.2 per cent of the urban population was slum dwellers. The world's highest percentages of slum dwellers are in Ethiopia and Chad (99.4 per cent of the urban population), Afghanistan (98.5 per cent) and Nepal (92 per cent). Asia dominates the global picture, having about 60 per cent of the total world's slum dwellers in 2001, Africa had 20 per cent, Latin America and the Caribbean had 14 per cent of the world's slum dwellers, while Europe and other developed countries combined, had about 6 per cent (cited in Davis, 2006).

Table 1.1 Largest Slum Populations by Country

Country	Number (Million)	Per cent of urban population in slums
China	193.8	37.8
India	158.4	55.5
Brazil	51.7	36.6
Nigeria	41.6	79.2
Pakistan	35.6	73.6
Bangladesh	30.4	84.7
Indonesia	20.9	23.1
Iran	20.4	44.1
Philippines	20.1	44.2
Turkey	19.1	42.6
Mexico	14.7	19.6
South Korea	14.2	37.0
Peru	13.0	68.1
USA	12.8	5.8
Egypt	11.8	39.9
Argentina	11.0	33.1
Tanzania	11.0	92.1
Ethiopia	10.2	99.4
Sudan	10.1	85.7
Vietnam	9.2	47.4

Source: Davis 2006

Within the developing region, sub-Saharan Africa had the largest proportion of the urban population living in slums in 2001 (71.9 per cent) and Oceania had the lowest (24.1 per cent). In between these were South-central Asia (58 per cent), Eastern Asia (36.4 per cent), Western Asia (33.1 per cent), Latin America and the Caribbean (31.9 per cent), Northern Africa (28.2 per cent) and Southeast Asia (28 per cent). In terms of absolute numbers of slum dwellers, Asia dominated the global picture, having 554 million slum dwellers in 2001 (about 60 per cent of the world's total slum dwellers). Similarly, Africa had a 187 million slum dwellers, while Latin America and the Caribbean had 128 million slum dwellers and Europe and other developed countries had 54 million slum dwellers (Global Report on Human Settlements, 2003).

When we look at the Indian scenario, the proportion of population in the urban areas has grown from 18 per cent in 1961 to 28 per cent in 2001. The population living in slums accounted for 22.5 per cent of the urban population (Census of India 2001). Likewise, the National Sample Survey (NSS) data showed that the urban population below the poverty line increased from 60 million in 1973-74 to 80.8 millions in 2004-05. On the whole, according to census 2001, a total of 42.6

million people living in 8.2 million households have been enumerated in 640 cities/towns spread across 26 states and Union territories. The slum population constitutes about 4 per cent of total population of the country. Out of the total slum population, 7.4 million are Scheduled Castes (SCs) and one million are Scheduled Tribes (STs). The proportion of Scheduled Castes (17.4 per cent) is higher in the slum areas if compared to population of Scheduled Castes in non-slum areas (10.8 per cent).

There has been a growing global concern about slums, as manifested in the recent UN millennium declaration and subsequent identification of new development priorities by the international community. It is in recognition of the development challenges posed by the slums that Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) seeks to create significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. With the 'discovery' that half the world's population now lives in cities and that there are now one billion slum dwellers, cities have been recognized to be areas of poverty and squalor. It is now been widely recognized that the locus of global poverty is moving to the cities, a process now recognized as the 'urbanization of poverty'. Recently two strands of thinking on slums and slum dwellers have emerged—the optimism that the problem of inadequate shelter can somehow be resolved in the near future and the opposing cynical view that warns of impending catastrophe (Gilbert, 2009).

Hall and Hubbard, (1995) note that the slum neighbourhoods experience various socio-economic hardships. They are a concentration of social and economic deprivations, high population density, high numbers of broken families, high unemployment, and economic, physical and social exclusion. Davis, (2004) further observes that, slums, poverty and low human development are closely related and mutually reinforcing, but the relationship is not often direct or simple. The slum dwellers are "ghettoized" because of the biased perception of their existence in general and the lack of understanding of their very existence in the city space. Their holistic development should consider their existence in terms of their broader existence and not just as an issue of slums. Slum neighbourhoods have numerous economic, social, as well as infrastructure

problems. Slum dwellers lack proper housing, water and sanitation and are exposed to serious health risks, and have limited access to credit and the formal job market due to stigmatization and discrimination and to geographic isolation. Moreover, they have limited access to social and economic networks.

Many poverty studies in India also point out that slum areas have the most visible concentration of poor people and are the physical and spatial manifestation of urban poverty and intra-city inequality, although not all slum households fall below the poverty line. Capturing the multi dimensional aspects of changing socio-economic wellbeing in poor communities requires identification of both levels of poverty and types of vulnerability. In this context, the study seeks to understand the socio-economic characteristics of the slum dwellers and their prospects of upward mobility in Kerala's capital city, Thiruvananthapuram.

1.2 Positioning the Study

When it comes to social sector development, Kerala not only occupies a position far superior to that other States in India but also as compared to developing countries in general. According to Amartya Sen (1997:7-8)

'[T]he average levels of literacy, life expectancy, infant mortality, etc., in India are enormously adverse compared with China, and yet in all these respects Kerala does significantly better than China'

Development theorists have been keenly interested in Kerala as a state which, despite low GDP and per capita income, scores high on social indices such as birth rates, literacy and provision of social services. This unique pattern of human development in Kerala¹ has been well documented and discussed for decades now, and has been popularly christened as the *Kerala Model* or lately as *Kerala's Development experience*. The Kerala model can be viewed as a set of

¹ As opposed the popular notion that economic development precedes human development.

quality-of-life indicators² that put Kerala closer to high-income developed countries than rest of India. Implied in such a pattern of development is higher translation efficiency in terms of public action, and higher priority and precedence to the development of services such as education and health in response to organised public demand. (CDS, 2006). However, the fact that Kerala's achievements are laudable in many respects, some scholars have drawn attention to the model's shortcomings by highlighting its exclusions. The critical appraisals demonstrate that some of the basic aspects of the Kerala Model, such as land reforms, bypassed the poorest sections of the population (Krishnaji, 1979; Radhakrishana, 1983; Oommen, 1994; Mencher 1980; Franke and Chasin, 2000) and that caste privilege continues to influence access to education and employment opportunities (Sivananadan, 1979; Padmanabhan, 2010). Similarly Kurien (1995) notes that the 'Kerala Model' refers to 'average' situation and primarily the central tendency of the distribution of the indicators, is used by scholars to understand Kerala's development experience. Further, he points out that, as in all distributions, 'Kerala Model' also has its 'outliers'-communities that seem to have been left out. The Human Development Report of Kerala (2005) also has observes that one of the major failures of human development achievements of Kerala has been the persistence of social group differentials. In a study by Osella and Osella, (2000), they note that towards the end of 20th century, the benefits of social development are highly unevenly distributed and grounded in private investments and foreign remittances, as in government-led and grassroots-controlled reforms. Thus, now there has been an understanding among scholars that Kerala model depended upon particular indices and produced a generalised picture which overlooks the conditions of poverty still experienced by many sections.

² The life expectancy at birth of over 73 years in Kerala, well above the Indian average of 63.3 years in 2001, is in par with the Asian countries like South Korea, Malaysia and China. Kerala's male to female ratio, at 1.058 is comparable to that of Europe and North America. Further, Kerala is much ahead in universalizing elementary education. The state has consecutively remained first in the Human Development Index (HDI) in 1981, 1991 and 2001; but in terms of per capita income, it had been lagging behind all-India average until recently.

Slum³-like human settlements that exist in all the villages and towns in Kerala (Loyola Extension Services, 1993) are an incongruity to the high degree of human development and social sector achievements of the average population. The slum dwellers are thus an *outlier* community in the spatial sense in the Kerala's development paradigm. A Study published in 1995-96 by the Department of Town Planning of the state officially identified and recorded 37 slums in the city with a population of 48,490. The report also identifies 355 'slums like' housing areas within the city.

However, there are hardly any studies that seek to closely probe the socio-economic characteristics of the slum dwellers. The present study is to fill this gap. In order to fulfil the objectives the study pays attention to the factors affecting social and economic mobility slums dwellers in two slums in the city of Thiruvananthapuram.

1.2.1. The nature of slums in Thiruvananthapuram city

The literature related to slums of Kerala is meagre as compared to the metropolitan cities. Nonetheless, Chakco, (2003) remarks that, though slum-like human settlements are found in almost every town in Kerala especially in the coastal area Thiruvananthapuram is one of the cities with slums displaying characteristics common to those in metropolis cities. She finds that the nature of social structure in the slums is determined by caste and religion, ownership of assets, entitlements and power, including political power and social and economic backgrounds. Further the major determinant of the physical quality of the people is the level of education, type of employment, magnitude of income and expenditure nature of assets owned and social infrastructure. On the educational front she observes that there is no perceptible improvement above the school level where as the proportion of illiterates is declining steadily. Another study by Madhusudanan (2006) describes the social characteristics of slums in Kerala as majority of the slum dwellers backward communities and they being alienated from the social mainstream.

³ The UN-Habitat, report 'The challenge of slums' (2003), defines slums on the basis of five criteria involving physical, social, economic and political deprivation.

The earliest slums in Thiruvananthapuram Corporation came into being during the early years of 1940s, owing to massive in-migration of landless people from rural areas and city suburbs and occupying *puromboke*⁴ or private lands. Illegal occupation of government land, which began in a small way in 1940, had grown to the levels of full-scale slums by 1980. Though occupants were economically backward, not all of them were from backward castes. People from backward Hindu castes such as *Kakkalar*, *Mannan*, *Thandan* and forward castes such as *Nairs* were initial settlers during 1940s and 1950s. Several Christian and Muslim families also settled in these areas during this period. It is observed that a major proportion of early migrants have encroached and occupied government land, subsequent migrants either purchased land from pioneers or were forced to live in houses on lease or rent. An important dichotomy regarding the land ownership in slums in Thiruvananthapuram is that under the government purview of providing lands towards slum rehabilitation⁵ *pattayam* or document of ownership was given to some settlers, while a number of others were left out in this process despite the fact that several of these squatters had been living in slums for three generations. For instance, many families of this sort in places like Kuriathy, Puthencotta and Tagore gardens were not been given *pattayams*. (Madhusoodhanan, 2006).

Thus, in Thiruvananthapuram, (i) there are two groups of slum dwellers, one category with land entitlements and the other without land entitlements, and, (2) the slums in the city have the same physical and socio-economic characteristics of slums as elsewhere in India.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The study will fulfil the following objectives:

- To understand the dynamics of low human development of slums over generations in two slums i.e. a Slum with land entitlements and a slum without land entitlement in Thiruvananthapuram in detail.

⁴ Common lands

⁵ The State Government made efforts to improve the lives of the urban, largely lower-caste poor, through minimal grants of house-plots as part of the land reforms of the 1970s, and later through grant of land deeds to squatters.

- To ascertain the inter-generational improvements in capabilities of slum dwellers
- To document factors enabling/disabling the upward socio-economic mobility in the slums

The proposal raises two hypotheses that for empirical investigation:

- The vicious circle of low human development in the slums is not due to lack of basic capabilities such as literacy or longevity. They are rather due to their inability to translate these early gains into upward mobility, through which, they could have purchased access to tertiary health care, and technical and higher education, which in turn are crucial in maintaining and improving economic and social status of a community. The difference in land entitlements between the two colonies identified for fieldwork may not be a significant factor in determining levels of capabilities.
- Anecdotal evidence seems to point towards high levels of economic activities in and around slums, (some of which may be illegal), such that the income levels of many households are on the higher side. However, this too, may not translate into social upward mobility given the ghettoized atmosphere in slums/colonies.

1.4 The Idea of Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty (IGT)

The intergenerational transmission of poverty concept provides a useful lens, which explores poverty drivers, which persists throughout the life course, and transmits inter-generationally. We use Inter Generational Transmitted Poverty (IGT) framework here, in order to understand the low human development among slum settlers over generations by taking two slums in Thiruvananthapuram and document factors enabling/disabling the upward socio-economic mobility in the slums. However, this concept has been widely used in a *developed country* context, particularly the US. Since the last decade, a research group at the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) has been involved in building a framework for understanding IGT poverty bringing together the literature on the intergenerational transfer and adapting it in the

developing country context especially in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. The results of their work suggest that a range of structures, processes, and livelihood strategies can affect IGT poverty, a few are particularly important in developing countries: HIV/AIDS, migration patterns, socio-legal entitlement norms, labour market structures, and the presence or absence of social safety nets and social services. For the purpose of this study we adapt the basic framework used by CPRC to understand the dynamics of low human development in slums.

1.4.1. Understanding the IGT Poverty Framework

The Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) suggests that the tightest possible definition of chronic poverty would be inter-generationally transmitted (IGT) poverty. The intergenerational transmission (IGT) of poverty could be explained as, the private and public transfer of key deficits in assets and resources, from one generation to another. Intergenerational transfers can be through the transfer of physical and financial assets (e.g. savings, land, livestock etc) and through public policy and both public and private patterns of expenditure which affect human and social capital.

Bermant, (2008) opines that there could be transmission of poverty to younger generation from the older generation also. Positive transfers, policies and investments can break cycles of poverty, while negative process can result in the intergenerational transmission of poverty. These negative outcomes suggest that there is definite degree of disadvantage in the lives of those who have been disadvantaged from childhood (Kabeer 2003). Inter-generationally transmitted poverty is not transferred as, 'a package', but as a complex set of positive and negative factors that affect an individual's chances of experiencing poverty, either in the present or at a future point in their life-course (Moore 2005). Although, evidence around the world suggests that poverty in childhood increases the chances of poverty in adulthood, this is not always the case, and other factors including family structure, neighbourhood effects, and social isolation, while often related to economic disadvantage, can operate independently to affect well-being over the life-course (Boggess, Corcoran and Jenkins 2005). The factors influencing an individual's likelihood of being poor include both the 'private'

transmission (lack of transmission) of capital and the 'public' transfer (or lack of transfer) of resources from one generation to the next (e.g. through taxing the income of older generations to pay for the primary education system). These can be positive (e.g. cash, assets, positive aspirations) or negative (bonded labour, poor nutrition, gender discrimination) (Moore, 2005).

1.4.2. IGT of Poverty - Some Cues from the Literature

Research exploring the intergenerational transmission of poverty focuses primarily on the household and intra-household level. However, the household is not the only the main domain of IGT processes and a number of crucial contextual and structural factors either increase the likelihood of the IGT of poverty or mitigate it. Moore (2001) categorizes intergenerational transfers into different forms of capital viz., human, social-cultural, social-political, financial/material and environmental/natural. While the concept of IGT poverty is primarily used to signify the 'private' transmission of poverty from older generations to younger generations and therefore has special relevance to issues of childhood poverty; poverty-related to capital can also be transmitted from older generations to younger generations, and also within and between the 'public' spheres of community, state and market. Bird (2005), argues that governance, policy and delivery failures can also increase the likelihood of transmission of chronic and inter-generational poverty. Good quality health and education provisions are important instruments to limit the intergenerational transmission of poverty. However, anti-discrimination measures, combined with policies to improve the functioning of labour markets, have the potential to enable socio-economic mobility. In her later work, (Bird, 2007) classifies the factors influencing IGT as household and extra household factors and argues that discrimination and exclusion associated with class, caste, gender, religion and ethnicity are also known to affect poverty outcomes. Factors such as community and state level conflict, psychosocial determinants operating at the individual, household and wider levels are also extremely influential (Bird 2007).

In the IGT framework, childhood poverty has been treated as a prime cause factor especially within the household and intra-household level. For instance,

Yaqub (2002) exploring childhood poverty and its transformation into lifetime poverty points out that a range of factors increases the likelihood of an individual's poverty status are irreversible. Individual's aspirations and, how early life experiences influences it have been found to play a strong role, in the extent to which one is able to extract maximum benefit from opportunities over the individual's life course. Household composition can influence fertility rates, dependency ratios, access to productive assets and investment capital. These factors can in turn influence income; investment, savings and consumption; nutrition, health and education, and through these factors the likelihood that an individual will be chronically poor. Household composition can affect the material resources available to individual children and the extent to which adults are able, or wish, to invest time in childcare. This relates partly to the distribution of resources within the household. High dependency ratios can contribute to the intergenerational transmission of poverty by limiting children's human development and their subsequent earnings (Boggess, Corcoran and Jenkins 2005). In a study on IGT of poverty by Quisumbing (2007) conducted in rural Bangladesh, demographic and life-cycle, factors have been identified as important drivers of poverty. As per the study, high dependency ratio is an important factor. Higher proportions of children and older people were significantly associated with lower per capita consumption (ibid.). Households containing older people (over 55 years) are more likely to be chronically poor and the probability of never being poor decreased with the proportion of household members in the younger age groups. Having older household members would make the households vulnerable to shocks such as illness, death, and property division.

The quality and type of parenting and nurturing by care-givers has an important impact on the life chances of children and their socioeconomic outcomes during lifetime. Early childcare and nurturing, intellectual stimulation, and affection shape a child's behaviour, intellectual and social development and educational performance, influencing their later economic performance. Care-givers need sufficient education, time and support from their family and community if they are to provide children with both positive aspirations and long-term emotional

stability. Care-givers also need to be healthy and well-nourished, self-confident, autonomous and have control over resources and their allocation within the household (Bird, 2007). Having uneducated parents is associated with household poverty and increased risk of malnutrition and disease (Soto Bermant, 2008). A study by Quisumbing et al, (2010) focusing on Guatemala explores the effects of mothers' 'intellectual human capital' (cognitive skills as well as schooling attainment) and 'biological human capital (long-run nutritional status) on children's intellectual and biological human capital. It finds that maternal human capital is more important than generally thought. Maternal cognitive skills have a greater impact on children's biological human capital than maternal schooling attainment. These results imply that breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty, malnutrition and intellectual deprivation through investing in women's human capital may be even more important than previously recognized, and that we need to think about more than just women and girl's schooling.

In the literature health shocks have been identified as one of the key drivers of downward mobility due to the lost labour (wage income is the mostly sole source income for the poor) of the sick individual and their career. Illness also alters household dependency ratios and imposes new demands on the household, through the costs of seeking treatment. At their most severe, health shocks do not just impoverish but lead to the breakdown of the household as an economic unit (Pryer, Rogers and Rahman 2003). Grant (2005) in the background paper of the Chronic Poverty Report 2008-09 points out that poor individuals take longer to recover from extended periods of illness and the ill-health shocks are more often repeated for poor individuals. The high health vulnerability is because of their low health capabilities resulting from low nutritional status, hazardous living and working conditions, and inability to afford treat illnesses. During the periods of ill-health shocks, income and accumulation, reduced; expenditure and indebtedness increased, children were withdrawn from school, malnutrition increased. Illnesses, which are both severe and chronic, can be overall damaging the household consumption and well-being and illnesses, which are chronic and terminal, impose considerable distress on families.

Many studies show that education correlates strongly with adult income and socioeconomic status. A significant amount of literature has identified this as significant in IGT poverty (Marcus and Harper 1997; Boyden, Ling and Myers 1998; Moore 1999). A negative intergenerational impact of low educational clearly emerges – a vicious cycle of low education and socioeconomic mobility. Children who are unable to access education experience a negative transfer of low human capital, which is likely to be self-reproducing – to their children and are also, more likely to be poor. Studies done in developing countries tell us that the economic value of education will depend on the structure of the labour market and in many developing countries being literate will no longer get you better paid work: a secondary education is required. Children who complete secondary education are more likely to escape chronic poverty (Quisumbing, 2008; Bhargava 2003; Soto Bermant, 2007). In many instances, education on its own may not be enough to translate into higher income. This may require migration or drawing in favours from the household's social networks. Both may be more difficult for poorer households. Because of this, it is difficult to establish a direct correlation between educational achievement and socio economic mobility (Moore, 2001 in Soto Bermant, 2007). Therefore, the extent to which education translates into increased earnings depends on labour market functioning and on an individuals' access to the labour market. Uneven access to education reproduces social and economic inequality, and it is structured by gender, class, race, caste and location.

Such structural problems existing in the labour market, norms of entitlement surrounding gender, age and birth order are among other factors that affect parental investment in education. Many studies focus on differential parental investments in girls and boys of time and capital in education and training, health and nutrition, and general care. Particularly in South Asia, investments in girls are often significantly lower, although this varies both intra- and internationally (Bouis et al. 1998; Kabeer 2003). While Kabeer and Mahmud (2009) argue that contextual factors have an important influence on how parents

envision their children's future and how children themselves regard education.⁶ The hazards of daily life in slum environments, the limited range of job opportunities available and the absence of decent educational facilities all serve to undermine parental commitment and children's motivation with regard to education.

Older people have an important role in the intergenerational transmission of poverty, or in mitigating its transmission, through their ownership and management (or mismanagement) of assets, transmission (or non-transmission) of traditional occupational and other skills to younger generations. They also play a significant role in setting community and family norms, contributing income to the extended family and by helping alter dependency ratios and as caregivers (Moore, 2001). Most analyses of the intergenerational transmission of poverty focuses on transmission from parents to their children; nevertheless, transmission from the younger to the older generation can be important. Other household/ intra-household level factors discussed which negatively affect the IGT, include child labour, teenage pregnancies, adoption and foster care.

The intergenerational transmission of poverty is strongly influenced by structure of a society and economy, political economy, effectiveness of service delivery and willingness and ability of a society to tolerate inequality in opportunities and outcomes. Discrimination, social exclusion and adverse incorporation are forces, which act to replicate patterns of poverty. Conflict and insecurity within and between nations are powerful drivers of transitory poverty and in many cases create conditions where poverty becomes entrenched, chronic and inter-generationally transmitted. Low levels of social mobility can allow strongly different cultural norms to develop in particular socio-economic groupings, which then act with other factors to further limit social mobility. In the Indian context two significant determinants being caste and social networks. Although strict caste observance has broken down in some parts of India, the social and

⁶ This contrasts with societies like the Philippines, where girls are better educated and act as the family's insurers. If women become more able to participate in labour markets, the returns to their labour will rise and women's education may deliver more in financial returns and movement out of poverty (Quisumbing, 2008).

economic discrimination associated with caste still has a strong influence on inherited wealth and poverty, particularly in rural India. In 2001 there were 167 million people from scheduled castes (SCs) and 86 million people from scheduled tribes (STs) in India. Around three quarters of scheduled caste households are landless or nearly landless and over half rely on casual agricultural labour, partially explaining the high levels of chronic poverty amongst SC households (Thorat and Mahamallik 2005). Thus, being low caste or from a tribal or non-high caste group is strongly associated with poverty. The increased economic competition in market economies might be expected to encourage employers to recruit on an increasingly meritocratic basis. This would ostensibly end socially ascribed bias in appointments based on class, sex or ethnicity and increase opportunities for both upward and downward social mobility. However, this assumes effective meritocracy in a free market and ignores historical, cultural, political and institutional factors and embedded patterns that restrict full social mobility.

1.4.3 CRPC Framework and Methodology Adapted

Originally, the concept of IGT of poverty was developed and popularized in the context of US and later on studies about other developed countries were conducted. The core focus of these studies has been on income mobility and state dependence. In the US, much work on IGT poverty has been undertaken utilising large-scale, household level longitudinal data sets. In case of developing countries, a lack of multi-wave panel data sets has been a main obstacle to IGT poverty work. Baulch and Hoddinott (2000) points out that, only 12 of the 110 low and medium human development countries have household level data that allow economic mobility and poverty dynamics analysis. The majority of these studies spans less than five years or have only two waves of data. In contrast, they note that, in the American Panel Study of Income Dynamics data was collected annually over the 21-year period, from 1968 to 1989, and includes most of the adult children as respondents.

With the aim to facilitate the study of poverty dynamics in general and IGT poverty in particular, CPRC over the last decade has been making attempt to

build innovative research method and frameworks. As noted above since most of the developing countries do not have panel data on economic mobility, CPRC has explored various methodologies to capture the intergenerational transmission of poverty. Their work mainly has been in the direction to expand static datasets into longitudinal panel and cross-sectional surveys, as well as develop innovative qualitative research methods, such as life histories.

Davis (2006) presents an outline of how to use life history methods in chronic poverty research. His paper draws from life history interviews to investigate poverty dynamics in Bangladesh and considers life histories as a supplement to more quantitative approaches in poverty research. It explores how qualitative life history method allows the examination of temporal and spatial context of people's lives in a way that uncovers a number of social phenomena concealed by other methods. David uses a number of categories of life trajectory as a way of using longitudinal qualitative findings to inform social policy.

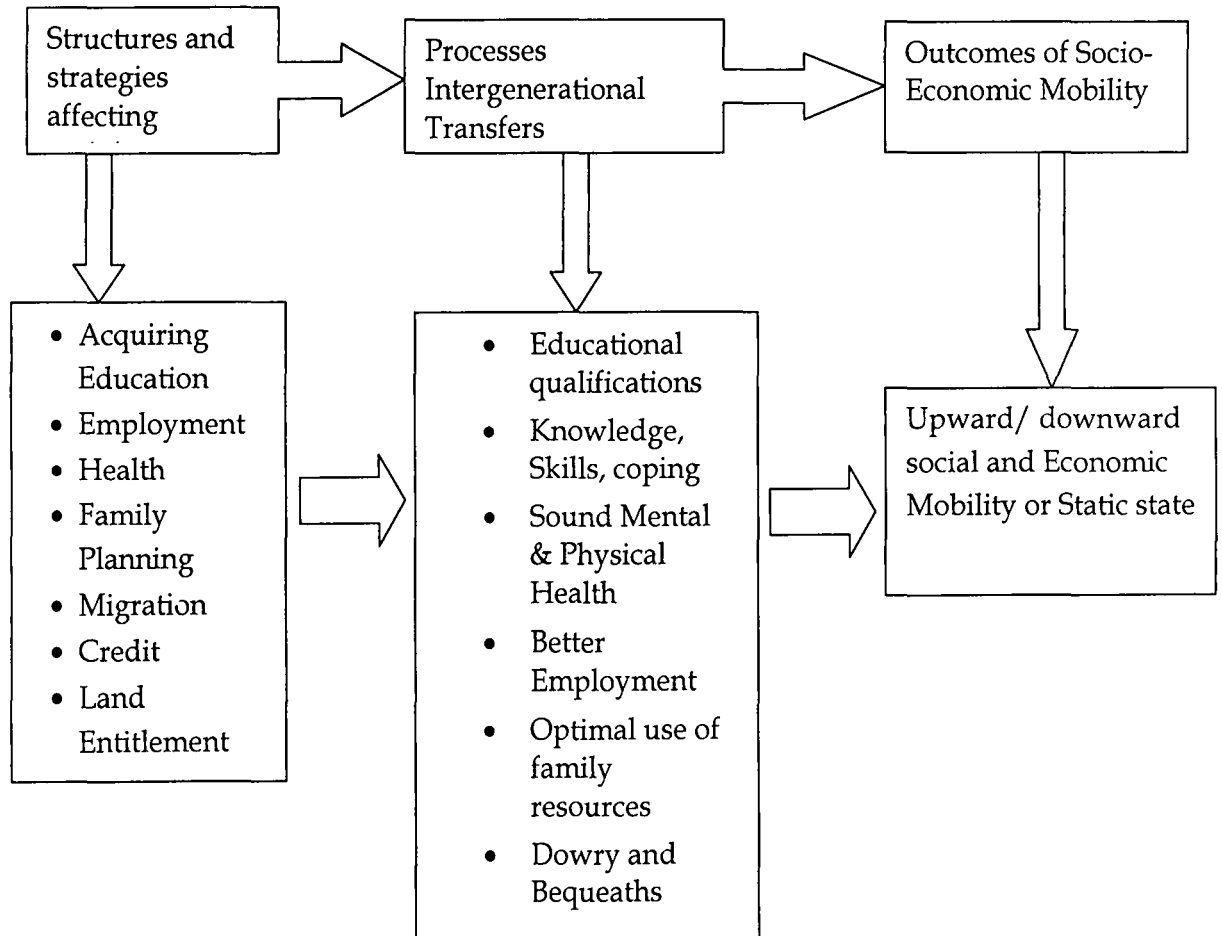
Miller (2007) puts forward a method of collecting family histories that would act as a means of linking those households from the panel studies with individual life histories. The family histories would augment information on the IGT of poverty in a number of ways. The paper describes the procedure used to construct a three-generation 'social genealogical' chart of the family and a strategy for interviewing individual family members cited across the generations of the family.

Da Corta and Bird (2008) use qualitative interview method to jog people's memories and collect data, which is periodically structured and rich in the types of detail necessary for the investigation of intergenerational transmission of poverty. Their paper uses recall method to create a panel data set of parent and child's economic status and to gather the link in qualitative data necessary to reach deeper understandings of changes in the panel. They also discuss the usefulness of smaller panels built on recall, which give the flexibility to gather data. Further, they outline the importance of gathering historical and contextual information through prior focus group discussion to enable individual and family histories to be contextualised in terms of key events and trends (politics,

economics, culture, health, conflict and climate) and the changing social and economic relations.

Based on the key issues identified in the IGT literature and the local level factors (Osella and Ossella, 2000; Kannan, 2000; Parayil, 2000), we propose to look into the intergenerational capability transfers within the following framework.

Figure 1.1: Intergenerational Transfer of Poverty



Source: Adapted from Moore (2001, 2005)

1.5 Fieldwork and Research Method

In this study, I have adopted a mixed strategy of using both qualitative and quantitative methods. There has been increased recognition among poverty researchers of the benefits from combining quantitative and qualitative research to help better understand poverty and inform policy. However, more recently there has been an upsurge of interest in using qualitative methods, particularly life history methods, to supplement knowledge gained from quantitative datasets

(Davis, 2005). Here, I first collected quantitative information through a structured questionnaire from 110 households selected randomly from two slums and I use qualitative data to supplement the quantitative information.

My field research lasted for about four months during 2009-10. The study used community level participatory exercises as well as survey of a sample of households. Focus group discussion, informal interviews, and observations have been utilised to collect information for the study. Data on key household characteristics for the study has been compiled from a survey carried out using a structured questionnaire on 110 households situated in two slums in Thiruvananthapuram during November and December 2009. The slums considered for the study are Bartonhill Colony (slum with land entitlements) and Thekkumudu Thottuvarambu (Thekkumudubund) Slum (Slum without land entitlement). I had also availed the assistance of field assistants (one from each slum) who were inhabitants of the respective slums for data collection. Besides this, my fieldwork also involved discussions with various officials of different State Government departments, officials of Thiruvananthapuram Corporation, Kudumbasree (who are currently involved in a project on conducting a slum survey for Kerala) and teachers in the schools (Government UPS, Kunnukuzhi and Government City High School) where the children from both the slums study. Besides this, I have used publications of various government departments and Reports on Slums by Census and NSSO.

1.6. Plan of the study

This study is organized in five chapters including introduction (Chapter 1). In Chapter 2 we engage with the literature on slums with regard to the process and formation, the Indian scenario and policies adopted. Chapter 3 provides a detail overview of the field sites. Here we construct a standard of living index for the two slums to understand the physical quality of life. In addition, we look into the quality of housing and the other physical aspects prevailing in the slums. In Chapter 4 we look into the factors affecting the upward mobility in the two slums by examining aspects of education, income and credit and employment. Chapter 5 concludes the study.

Chapter 2

Slums a General Profile: Engaging with Various Perspectives

2.1 Concept and Nature of Slums

In order to have a holistic understanding of underlying issues of what a slum encompasses, it is critical to know what the term signifies. The definition of a slum varies across studies contextually which reflects the different levels understanding and perception of the term by various groups of people ranging from academics across disciplines, policy makers, journalist or a layman. The first written appearance of the term was noted apparently in 1812 when it appeared in Vaux's *Vocabulary of the Flash Language*, and then slum was described as being 'synonymous with "racket" or "criminal trade" (Gilbert 2007). Prunty (1998) notes that the dictionary entries from the 1870s define "slums" as dirty, muddy back streets, and conjecture a possible German etymology, from *schlamm*, mire, as in the Bavarian *schlumpen*, to be dirty'. Although the term originated in Europe in the nineteenth century, presently the term 'slum' in popular usage refers to describe areas of low income housing. The *Oxford Encyclopaedic Dictionary* (OED) provides two definitions: 'an overcrowded and squalid back street, district, etc. usually in a city and inhabited by very poor people; and a house or building unfit for human habitation' (as cited in Hawkins 1991).

Ward (1976) defines slums as spatial units inhabited by the underprivileged sections of society, who dwell in extremely bad-clustered houses that were situated in unhygienic environment where people face severe lack of physical and social infrastructure. The above definition identifies certain distinct features of a slum. First, it grades the people living in a slum as belonging to the lower stratum of the society, underpinning their underprivileged status in terms of economic, political and cultural deprivation. The second feature is bad housing manifested in dilapidated structures. The third feature is overcrowding and people in slums live in clusters, which cause heavy congestion. It also brings out unhygienic environment conditions prevailing in slums. This definition also brings out lack of access to physical and social infrastructure. A slum thus defined and treated as a separate eco-socio-politico entity. Clinard (1970) argues

that a slum involves much more than the elements of inadequate housing, deficient sanitary and hygienic facilities, overcrowding and congestion by which the term is generally understood.

An alternative school of thought led by Gilbert argues that there are problems in identifying slums through a universal criterion, which fail, to recognize the important underlying character. First, the standards differ from place to place so what is considered to be a slum by poor people in one place may be regarded as perfectly acceptable accommodation by much poorer people in another. What is considered to be unfit clearly varies from place to place and from social class to social class. If a slum is a relative concept, viewed differently according to social class, culture and ideology, it cannot be defined in absolute terms in any universally acceptable way. Nor is the concept stable across time because what we consider to be a 'slum' changes over time. Such generalizations about slums fail to recognize the awkward exceptions and tend to reduce the lives of all poor people to the lowest common denominator. It distorts our understanding of the nature of poverty and policymaking.

Since late 1960s the term '*slum*'¹ has been replaced it with a gamut of terms, including informal housing, irregular settlement, spontaneous shelter, low income community, self-help housing. While the term 'slums' has come back in common use in both academic and policy making literature since the end of the 1990s, with the influence of international organizations and a number of scholars (Davis, 2007). Gilbert (2007) observes, that many multilateral agencies including UN, national and local governments, policy makers and authors (academic and non academic) apply the term slum with broad strokes that embrace any place that qualifies the (immediate) definition and any group of people that live there are automatically included. These sweeping generalizations imply that all slums are bad and everyone living in them must suffer from the debilitating subculture that slum life produces. The term 'slum' especially used for policy purposes is like the 'underclass' 'that lumps together a variety of highly diverse people who need different kinds of help' (Gans 1990).

¹ As the term was considered derogatory and carried negative connotations to it.

2.2 Slums: Process of Formation and Growth

Literature on urban development indicate that modern slums are an outgrowth of limited and distorted industrial development and unmanaged urbanization. The industrialisation and the concomitant commercialisation, results in the migration of labourers to the urban centres in search of employment.

Most researchers converge on the opinion that rural to urban migration has been a major component of urban growth in developing countries and both rural push (rural poverty related) and urban pull factors (concentration of secondary and tertiary sectors) are responsible for this phenomenon. A strand of literature which emerged especially since the publication of Ravenstesin's 'Laws of Migration', which identifies voluntary migration as a rational human behaviour has widely recognized that the rationale for migration is in response to the prevailing wage differentials between the locations. The two-sector model developed by Lewis (1951) and extended by Fei and Ranis (1961) asserts, that the modern (urban) sector would spur growth and attract unlimited surplus labour from the traditional (rural) sector. In the framework developed by Harris and Todaro (1970), the migration of labour to the urban centres despite the prevalence of unemployment in the 'modern' sector was explained by the life term earnings and the expected incomes of potential migrants. The surplus labour unable to gain entry in formal (modern) sector was generally found to be absorbed by the rest of the urban economy, loosely termed as the informal sector (cited in Mehta and Mehta 1987). The expanding body of Neo Marxist literature in Latin America of the 1970s and 1980s pointed to the exploitative relationship between the dominant 'formal' and 'informal' sectors of the economy. Urban poor typically depended on low paid, low skilled and unstable 'informal' sector employment (Eskstein, 1990). In the political economy framework of urbanisation the high and rapid growth of the urban economy is largely sustained on account of exploitation of informal sector. The low wages, absence of other benefits and social security is manifested in the form of urban poverty inadequate housing amenities, infrastructure and other civic amenities (Breman 1976; Mehta 1995). The genesis of slums in the cities, is mainly described under the purview of

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labour market principles, and models such as the Harris-Todaro and Stokes' theory (Mehta 1995). Slums in the view of urbanists of the 1960s and early 1970s were a temporary abode mainly for recent migrants, who benefited from living cheaply near principal centres of employment. Once the migrants established a footing in the city, it was believed that they would resettle in less centrally located, more spacious, physically and socially desirable peripheral locations. A general observation, however, is that although a newly rural migrant may find it easy to enter the informal job sector in the urban areas, a bulk of such people fail to progress into high wage and formal employment sectors.

Scholars starting from Turner in 1968 noted that slums offered relatively inexpensive, self made shelter and space for income generating activities. These settlements were also accepted in a more positive sense by the urban planners and governments even though they were initially resistant to it as a solution (at least a partial or short run) to the problem of housing of the poor. Also another important aspect was the supply of cheap labour. Such studies on low income settlements focused on units of production and distribution and not specifically on community of residence. There has also been an academic engagement with the social, economic, political and cultural life of urban poor and low income settlements. One prominent line of thinking in the west and Latin America is drawn from the culture of poverty and concepts based on stigma theories. In this approach the urban poor is treated as separate entity in the urban landscape having a marginalised and isolated life and culture characterised by social and economic disorganization devoid of middle class morality and culture. Lewis (1959) documented the social and informal organisation life of slum dwellers in Mexico and argued that they were trapped in a culture of poverty, a culture of despair that perpetuated poverty. Abrams(1946) and Eskstein (1990) notes that local traditions and social bonds in an urban slum kept residents from being upwardly mobile.

Academics, architects and planners who began to investigate the reality of life in the slums in the 1950s observed that, most 'slums' are homogenous in the sense that they contain both a mixture of housing conditions and a wide diversity of

people. Several hypotheses have been advanced to understand the slums dynamics. In these studies on slum formation changes in urban land use patterns and lack of housing space leading to overcrowding and improper maintenance have been commonly emphasized (Abrams 1946; 1964, Mangin 1967; Portes 1972; Turner 1967, 1969; 1976). Another presumption is that the slum develops surrounding the central business district (Gruene, 1963). The continuing existence of slums has also been explained by the fact that inhabitants cannot afford good housing and private enterprise will not supply it at prices they can afford (Abrahams, 1946). During the 1960s, Turner (1969) developed his well-known theory on the patterns of housing priorities among the poor in migrants in the third world cities in which he argues intra-urban geographical and socioeconomic mobility among new town dwellers underlies the priorities regarding housing. He identifies that poor migrants who enter urban places are most likely to find shelter in centrally located slum areas and gradually move to peripheral hutment areas, which will be improved later on. Upward socioeconomic mobility is driving force behind the spatial and physical dimensions of change according to Turner's theory. Charles Stokes differentiated between 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair'. According to Stokes (1962), slums are formed because of the capacity of urban economy for labour absorption is which limited ability or skill of workers. The 'slums of hope' disappear once labour is absorbed; on the other hand, the migrants without adequate skills for urban labour market are likely to end up in 'slums of despair'. Mangin (1967), through his work in Peru demonstrated that slum housing was in fact a coping mechanism for urban labour and constituted an important resource for them. The study suggested that all families irrespective of class have three basic housing needs: security, identity and opportunity. However, the study finds that the urban poor value proximity to job (opportunity) as the most important priority in the initial stage. The next priority was security of tenure (security) and their last priority was the quality of shelter (identity).

During the 1960s and 1970s a sizeable anthropological and sociological literature drawn from concepts like the culture of poverty, working class subculture and also marginality were developed in the context of urban poverty in the west and

Latin America. There are many debates regarding the concept of 'culture of poverty'. At one end of a continuum, there is a line of thought which believes that much if not most poverty is based upon the 'innate' characteristics of the poor, sometimes called the 'underclass'. This approach is linked to the notions of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, and tends to have highly racist and classist connotation. According to this view, any attempt to eradicate or alleviate poverty among the 'underclass' is doomed to fail. At the other end, there are those that believe that poverty emerges and persists solely because of socio-economic structures external to the value systems and behaviours of the poor. Lewis considers that 'cultures of poverty' exist based upon the ways in which the poor have adapted to and coped with poverty over years and generations. These values, beliefs and behaviours may have been useful and appropriate in the context of the structural impediments faced by earlier generations, but remain as obstacles to development among new generations although structures may have changed. The 'culture of poverty' becomes a poverty-related structure in itself. Because policy focuses on changing the behaviour of the poor, the role of poverty-related social, economic and political structures is underestimated and largely ignored. In the Indian context, sociological studies suggests that (Majumdar 1977; Roy 1995; Basu 1988; Shchenk and Dewitt, 2001) the pattern of community migration and settlement, the continuation of traditional caste occupation, cultural attachments with their places of origin facilitate the urban poor to maintain traditional ways of living along with urban pattern of life. Mitra (2003) in his study on occupational networks of slum dwellers in Delhi put forward the view that the rural migrants' decision to reside in a neighbourhood depends on caste groupings, the village of origin, and friends and relatives, apart from the proximity to work.

The most recent approach on slum dwellers is placing their vulnerabilities in the larger context of neo-liberal policies.² These policies lead to predominance of competition as a way of managing urban spaces (in which often the poor are left out) in contrast to the principles of redistribution held in earlier eras, and to the

² Neo-liberal policies are those interventions that seek to inscribe and/ or entrench market forms of relations in everyday practices (Harvey, 2007)

transfer of many authorities, that were typically in the hands of state, to non-state and quasi-state bodies such as corporations and non government organisations. Various scholars in the South who have begun to explore the impact of the advent of neoliberalism on city spaces have come out with initial finding that poor and the subaltern are grossely left out and pushed off the neoliberal city spaces. (Fawas, 2009; de Wit and Berner, 2009; Hall and Hubbard, 1995).

2.3 Engaging with Various Perceptives on Slums in India

The problems of slums and squatter settlements were discussed from 1950s onwards, with reports on the conditions of dilapidated housing conditions of large cities like Bombay (now Mumbai) appearing (Economic Weekly, 1955; Desai and Pillai, 1970). These writings gave detailed accounts of the living conditions of these settlements and also suggested the need for strong political commitment for their improvement. Except for a few, in the early period most studies on the problem of slums originated in government institutions including Census reports. The 1961 census, for instance, contained special reports on slums and substandard housing in major cities like Madras and Ahmadabad. Hans Schenk (2001) reflected upon that not many social scientists in India during 1960s and 1970s considered the subject of 'slums' as a relevant topic of research. Substandard housing as it was popularly considered was predominantly perceived as a problem which came within the framework of planned development strategy. Further, he notes that the trend report on geographical research in India published in 1972 by the Indian Council of Social Science Research did not contain single item on slums or substandard housing. Around 1970s influences the Latin American School of thought of 'Culture of poverty' (Oscar, 1966) were seen in Indian writings on slums. While some of the Indian authors subscribe to this 'culture of poverty' thesis (Venkatarayappa, 1971; Noor, 1983; Desai V. , 1995) others reject it (Weibe, 1975; Dhadave, 1989; Rao, 1990). Another influence in the studies on slums at this point in time were the studies on 'structural poverty' especially by Dandekar & Rath, (1971). Since then and especially the last two decades slums and slums dwellers have become the

subject interest among social scientists including economists, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers among others.

There have been perceptible changes taking place in aspects related to slums in India as elsewhere during last two decades. Most of the studies on slum are monographic and descriptive and mostly to understand the slum entity in a wider urban settings. These studies mostly probe into the demographic patterns; sociological aspects such as caste, religion, ethnicity, area of origin; economic aspects as income levels, consumption pattern, occupational characteristics; quality of housing and infrastructural amenities, tenure status and health status. Often these studies are placed in the context of ongoing or possible urban development schemes. Many Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and voluntary organisations work in India's slums. They work on a wide range of issues such as physical improvement of slums, income generation in general and specifically for women and children, education, health and sanitation, mobilising them for getting access to government programmes, obtaining tenure rights and many more vital problems.

The descriptive monographic studies on slum population probe about the composition of the slum population, their social, economic and demographic profile, physical conditions etc. Most studies are concentrated on the big cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, Hyderabad, Bangalore, and Ahmedabad and include mainly case studies on the socioeconomic profiles of the slums. Wieb's research on Madras (Chennai) (1975) brought out that the slum he had studied was not part of any subculture but just poorly endowed and exploited citizens, who were just as part of mainstream society as any other. Some of the basic demographic characteristics of slum households was studied by Nambiar (1990). He found that a slum family size in the slum was marginally smaller than a city household. Girls married early and stayed with parents. The importance of education was not adequately realised by the slum dwellers. Prathinidhi, Warrkar, & Garad, (1992) undertook a house to house survey in a slum community in Pune. They designated children as dropouts if they did not attend school for more than six months. They observed that in age group of 0-14 the

dropout rate was 9 per cent among boys while it was 7.9 among girls. Further, there was no difference in the level of education and level of household income. With regard to enrolment rates males had a clear dominance. Jha, (1986) attempted to negate the common stereotypes associated with slum settlements, arguing that the slum dwellers were not unwanted elements of the society, instead they comprised of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workforce on which the city population depended for survival and maintenance. Sandhu, (1990) briefly compared the housing amenities in two slums in Delhi and Amritsar. He looked into type and quality of dwellings, number of rooms, floor spaces and other housing amenities in the two slums. The study showed that living conditions are better in Amritsar. In similar lines Trivedi (1990) probed into, the gravity of excessive and dangerous overcrowding in single room tenements in unhealthy and insanitary surroundings in Ahmedabad.

Many studies on slum formation claim that the influx of poor rural migrants into the urban centres is the underlying process that leads to the formation and growth of squatter settlements. Halder (1995), in his study on slums in Calcutta points out that slums were largely a result of rural-urban migration owing to farm distress. The need for survival and subsistence led to the inflow of migrants into cities which had to do not have enough infrastructure. The result was the formation of urban slums in most of urban centres across India. Mitra(2003) analysed rural-urban migration as the basic macro factor influencing the growth of slums. Firstly, in developing countries with a predominant agricultural sector the decision of rural population to migrate to cities is usually triggered by crop failure and a fall in per capita availability of land or food, accompanied by a rise in rural destitution. Secondly, those engaged in low productivity activities strive to reach urban areas, because even though they may be placed in petty activities, the income they earn will be higher than what they would earn from agricultural employment. Besides this, Mitra (2003) considered concentration of industries in urban centres as well as the urban informal sectors as other macro pull factors. Networks of relatives, friends, co-villagers stay together form the individual and specific elements that contributes to slum formation.

Urban basic services especially their access and utilisation by the slum dwellers has been an important area of research not only for academics and policy makers in India but also for NGOs working on slums. The past experiences of urban governance and programme implementation have shattered the hopes for achieving a minimum standard of life for the poor through government policies and programmes. Local self-governments remain mostly starved of funds and technical skills, and suffer from poor management. This is topped the by widespread corruption and non-accountability of employees and public representatives - municipal councillors. Through politicians adopt populist measures to attract vote banks, they are not accountable for providing services. Ad hoc grants from state or central governments hardly made any dent. The end result was that basic services and infrastructure has remained poor in most urban settlements (Sharma & Bhide, 2005). Bansal (2007) notes that the financing of urban infrastructure has undergone rapid changes recently. The provision of basic services at free or nominal were considered as an important responsibility by the state before.

There has been a marked shift in policy and project level, post the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme and 73rd and 74th Amendment of the Indian constitution. These two organisational changes have been instrumental in transferring administrative and financial powers to the local bodies and private sector. A paper by Kundu, etal (1998) on urban amenities strongly critiques the approach of World Bank and other multi-lateral agencies which claim that the view of privatisation of services will improve urban systems. They also voice their concern against the stand of these agencies that there should be curtailment of government's budgetary spending on infrastructure. At the same time they note that the present system of allowing the bureaucrats (municipal authorities and urban development officers) to use power given to elected bodies did not serve the purpose of urban development. The authors are critical of both approaches and they argue that powers of urban bodies should be decentralised to elected members. Presenting evidence from community based projects in slums in Bangalore, Chennai and Mumbai, de Wit & Berner, (2009) argue that there is a inherent system of vertical dependency relation of municipal agencies,

donors and NGOs. They point out that it is well documented that the relation among poor are unequal and they are divided in terms of income, gender and ethnicity. In this article they draw attention to the fact that how these unequal relations are now getting reflected since various development schemes and projects increasingly transferred to the Local Bodies and Community based organizations. The urban poor now has to seek patronage and please the local leaders who are in charge of various development schemes and projects on slums for being enlisted in these projects. Therefore, for the success of the currently much hyped participatory approaches there should be a fair representation from the poor as efforts aimed at urban poverty reduction and delivery improvement depends critically on slums dwellers collective agency.

Another aspect that is well debated in judicial as well policy circles is land tenure and evictions of slums. Mahadevia (2006) notes that the reality of Indian mega and large cities over the last decade has been: forced evictions of slums, hawker removal, displacement of poor through infrastructure projects and speculative property markets, and displacement because of environmental hazards and political violence. She proves her point by citing the cases that in Mumbai, 90,000 to 94,000 slum units were demolished between November 2004 and January 2005. Demolitions continue. In Delhi, 27,000 families in the Yamuna Pushta area and about 1, 00,000 families all over the city were evicted from slums in last eight years. In Ahmedabad city, the Sabarmati Riverfront Development (SRFD) scheme will displace 30,000 households. Similar incidents of forced evictions are faced by slum dwellers in Chennai as noted by Coelho & Raman (2010)

Ghertner (2008) notes that since 2000, the pace of slum demolition in Delhi has increased starkly which according to his analysis is the direct outcome of the judiciary's expanded role in demanding slum clearance. The author further observes that the decision to demolish a slum was previously the almost exclusive domain of the Delhi Development Authority(DDA) , now have little say in determining the legal and political status of such settlements. The Delhi High Court ruling in a petition challenging the removal of industries from residential areas reiterated that those who encroach on public lands are like

pickpockets and therefore cannot have any right to alternative accommodation. The state government policy of providing alternate sites to dwellers in informal settlements occupying public land before evicting them has also been quashed by the Delhi High Court. Recent analyses of the courts' slum-related decisions have attributed the current round of slum demolition to a new anti-poor judicial orientation, the foundation of which they ascribe to a reinterpretation of the right to life guaranteed under Article 21 of the Constitution of India. Whereas the courts previously paid special heed to slum dwellers as an economically deprived and downtrodden population, these authors argue that the courts have elevated the lives and environment of tax-paying residents of formal residential colonies over those of slum-dwellers (Iyengar, 2006; Menon-Sen, 2006; Kundu, 2003).

Most of the slums are highly vulnerable to unhealthy conditions because they are mostly overcrowded, unhygienic and mostly in environmentally degraded settings. Moreover poverty, illiteracy and poor accessibility to health infrastructure make slum dwellers more susceptible. There are various studies looking into morbidity, malnutrition, and prevalence of HIV etc. Studies point out that health indicators like crude birth rate and infant mortality rates are worse in slum areas than the other parts of cities (Trakroo, 1994). Research carried out by Srikar & Majumdar (1995) in the bustees of Calcutta revealed that the nutritional intake of women was far below the Recommended Daily Allowance (RDA) and alarmingly low in the case of pregnant and lactating mothers. The analysis of dietary intake of children below five years also revealed it to be much below the ICMR standard. A paper by Gupta, Arup, and Kumar, (1997) on the health status of the slum dwellers in Delhi found very high rates of morbidity. The common illnesses found were those that resulted from factors such poor nutrition, hygiene, sanitation and housing. Conditions associated with TB were found in a large percentage of respondents besides high prevalence of other respiratory illnesses. They also infer that the prevalence tubercular infection can also be associated with the presence of HIV, especially since in their survey they found appalling levels of knowledge among the respondents on HIV/ AIDS.

Thus as we take a look into the writings on slums in India in the past few decades especially after the independence there has been a clear growing concern on slums from various circles apart from academics, the government, various multi-lateral agencies, Non Government Agencies and activists. These studies certainly contribute to a better understanding of the hardships faced by population who live in slums. As noted earlier most of the studies are basically case studies on a particular slum.

Slums are not a cohesive category of urban living and sweeping many issues under the carpet term of slums misses many underlying phenomena specific to each slum. Apparently, many differences exist between slums, those of age, location and land ownership and other attributes. It is important to recognize the fact that specific slum environments which exist in specific kinds of slums. Therefore, a comparative research can draw attention to the importance of these factors, and contribute to a better understanding and analysis of slums. These are the core questions which this study on socio-economic mobility on slums seeks to address.

The operational definition of a slum that has recently been recommended by UN-Habitat that aims for more accurate quantification and enumeration of slums involves five criteria involving physical, social, economic and political deprivation. An area that combines, to various extents, one or more of the following constituting a slum: (UN-Habitat 2003)

- i. Lack of access to an improved water supply
- ii. Lack of access to an improved sanitation
- iii. Overcrowding
- iv. Non-durable housing structures
- v. Insecurity of tenure

In the Indian official parlance, there are two operational definitions, which demark slums areas. The Slum Area Improvement and Clearance Act of Govt. of India in 1956 defines a slums as '*areas where buildings (a) are in any respect unfit for human habitation; (b) are in any reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty*

arrangements of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities or any combination of these are detrimental to safety, health or morale'. The above definition conceives of slums as areas of deteriorated infrastructure which affects, the wellbeing of people especially their safety, health and morale. The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) made the definition more precise later in 1980. The NSSO defined slum as: "An area or unit having 25 or more Katcha structures, mostly of temporary nature or 50 more households residing mostly in katcha structures huddled together or inhabited by persons with practically no private latrines or an inadequately protected latrine or water facilities."

2.4. The slum in Development Policies

2.4.1 The Global Initiatives on Slums

Over the past five decades, authorities in developing countries have adopted several strategies to tackle the problem of slums and informal settlements. There have been extensive revisions in the policy approaches towards slums from benign neglect, forced eviction and demolition, resettlement/relocation, programmes upgrading slums and most recently, the adoption of enabling strategies. In the early 1950s most of the developing countries adopted a policy of benign neglect. This approach was based on the notion that slums were an illegal but temporary phenomenon that would disappear with economic growth and countries followed a policy of providing low cost housing for the economically weaker sections. (UN-HABITAT 2003; Njoh 2003). Forced eviction relates to the removal of people from their homes or land against their will (Olds *et al.* 2002). In the case of slums, agents of the state forcibly carry out mass evictions, accompanied by demolition, adopted mainly between the 1970s and early 1980s. The next approach towards slums undertaken in mid 1980s and early 1990s was mainly of slum evictions but usually with a resettlement evicted households to alternative locations. One of the major hindrances in this strategy is that as most of the occupants did not have proper documentation of their occupancy there was lot of discrepancies on who got the actual benefits (Cheema, 1987). Furthermore, city authorities did not have the financial and technical resources to undertake such resettlement programmes fully. Mostly the plots and houses

provided in the new locations tend to be grossly insufficient and in distant locations, without adequate infrastructure and services. Given the failure of previous strategies to tackle the problem of slums and informal settlements effectively, in the 1980s many developing countries adopted programmes funded largely by the World Bank - to upgrade slum and squatter settlements. Upgrading programmes involves employing locality-based improvement strategies through the provision or improvement of basic services and physical infrastructure (Abelson 1996; World Bank 2000). Upgrading slums does not entail housing construction, but certain residents might be provided with subsidized loans to improve their dwellings. Though this strategy has been considered better than the previous programmes with greater policy and academic attention the slum improvement policies are under the review more than so ever. The growing concern has been that policies recommending low levels of investment that have been incapable of rectifying decades of neglect and deterioration, inability to address the more fundamental supply constraints of land, finance, and building materials weak institutional and financial mechanism; and the absence of any clear focus on poverty reduction (Abelson 1996; Okpala 1999; Werlin 1999; Gulyani and Bassett 2007).

In order to resolve these shortfalls and institutionalize the upgrading of slums, the World Bank and UN-HABITAT initiated two major programmes: the Cities without Slums (CWS) action plan and the Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF). The key objective of establishing SUF by UN-HABITAT in 2004 was mobilizing capital for the up gradation of slums by facilitating links among various local actors, and by packaging the financial, technical, and political elements of development projects. Another vocal strategy since the early 1990s has been centered on ensuring security of tenure to slum dwellers. This strategy advocates developing property rights, which, among others, entail the regularization of insecure tenure in informal settlements. A key assumption of this approach is that while residents of slums and informal settlements might not have legal title over the land, they might still undertake home improvements if they are confident that they will not be arbitrarily evicted. The World Bank and the UN-HABITAT have been at the forefront in promoting the security of tenure

approach. It has been seen as an alternative to forced eviction, and advocates the establishment of innovative systems of tenure that minimize bureaucratic lags and the displacement of the urban poor by market forces (UN-HABITAT 2003).

2.4.2. The 'Slums' in the Development Policy in India

In India, when rehabilitation measures were formally initiated during 1950s, the clearance of slums, after rehabilitating the people in alternate sites or in the same slums, was the pivot of the policy. The rehabilitation policies of the government are set in the larger context of a social and economic ambit aimed at achieving economic growth and social justice. The provision of better housing to those who are not able to afford was a major component of the rehabilitation measures of the government. The social housing schemes announced by the government of India were, therefore, integral to the rehabilitation of the people.³ Since 1970, the changes that have occurred in the slum rehabilitation policy of the government are two-pronged. First, the government has gradually withdrawn from its direct involvement in rehabilitating the people in slums. Instead, it has initiated programmes to provide basic services meant for improving the environmental condition of the people. Second, greater emphasis has been placed on private initiatives in the provision of housing and other basic services.

The first assault on the growth of slums was made in 1956 with the Slum Clearance Scheme or Slum Area Act 1956. In India, the slum clearance and the rehabilitation of slum-dwellers was started during the Second Five-Year Plan and continued till the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The Fourth Plan evaluated that the slum clearance scheme did not prove successful. As a result of many deliberations there was an understanding that the slum clearance could not be a successful policy option for the growing and multidimensional problems and hence policy

³ The social housing schemes include: the Subsidized Housing Scheme for Industrial and Coal Mine Workers (1952), and for Mica Workers (1953), Low Income- Group Housing (1954), Subsidized Housing for Plantation Workers (1956), Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme (1956), Village Housing Project Scheme (1957), the Middle Income- Group Housing (1959), Rental Housing Scheme (1959), the Land Acquisition and Development Scheme (1959), Provision of House-sites and Development Scheme (1959), Subsidized Housing Scheme to Economically Weaker Sections (1966), Provision of House-sites- cum- hut Construction to Landless Workers in Rural Areas (1971), and Environmental Improvement of Slum Areas (1972).

measures took a turn from 'clearance' to 'improvement' following the recommendations of the 6th Housing Ministers' Conference 1962 (Bapat, 1983).

It was realised that In-situ slum improvements are preferable to the policy of relocation and therefore the scheme for environmental improvement for the slums was formulated in 1972 which advocated a policy for basic infrastructure provision to the slum dwellers. The government, therefore, shifted the policy from slum clearance to environmental improvements. Also, by early 1970s the World Bank stepped into the financing of urban housing spheres having previously largely confined its loaning and development to public utilities to large scale infrastructural projects in irrigation and such like. Accordingly, the World Bank agreed in the early 1970s to provide massive financial assistance for the upliftment of the people living in slums in four major cities (Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai) on the condition of the incorporation of the three principles, cost recovery, replicability and affordability, into slum up-gradation/improvement schemes (Pugh, 1990). The Sixth Five Year Plan took into consideration the objectives of the International Year of Shelter for the homeless and recognized the poor environmental and insanitary conditions prevailing in the slums. It attached considerable importance to programmes for improving basic amenities in slum areas. Most of the policies till the Sixth Five Year Plan revolved mainly around the issue of housing shortage or the scarcity of shelter cum basic amenities.

The Study Group on Town Planning and Building Regulations appointed in 1981 pointed out that the legislations dealing with town planning and land acquisition have failed to provide a proper living environment for poorer sections of the society because land use controls deprived them of access to land by creating different value systems. The other aspects of government programmes aimed at providing shelter and basic amenities to urban poor can be judged from the performance of resettlement colonies. The two major lacunae of this programme were the scarcity of land and the location of these colonies in the outskirts of the city which dislocated them from their source of their livelihood. On the whole, until the Sixth Five Year Plan (FYP) (1980-85) the urban policies revolved around

aspects of the housing-cum-basic amenities programme, including slum clearance and slum improvement, and up-gradation and preparation of master plans, development of small and medium towns strengthening of municipal civic administration and so forth. After the sixth five year plan the government measures may be divided into two categories - policies designed to improve the condition of housing and basic amenities of slums, and employment programmes.

The Seventh FYP (1986-90) continued to lay emphasis on the Environment Improvement of the Urban Slums (EIUS) scheme (1974) and the Urban Basic Services Scheme (1986). In addition to this, Seventh FYP attached importance to the provision of gainful employment to the women and youth, raising earnings of those in low paid jobs, and stepping up productivity and earnings of self employed workers. Keeping in view the importance of some of the employment schemes introduced in the Seventh FYP and suggestions made by the National Commission on Urbanization (1988), the Eighth FYP (1992-97) laid considerable emphasis on the generation of adequate employment, the containment of population growth and the provision of safe drinking water and primary health care facilities. It aimed at small and medium towns. It emphasized Jawahar Rozgaar Yojana and the existing schemes of Self Employment Programme of Urban Poor (SEPUP). The Ninth FYP also noted that the problem of urban poverty was lack of productive employment and thus income, high rate of inflation and inadequacy of social infrastructure, all of which affects their quality of life.

Under the Tenth Plan schemes Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) were extended for providing affordable shelter and decent living and working conditions to the poor and for helping them to develop self-employment enterprises was initiated. The Swarna Jayanti Shahri Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY), was implemented to provide gainful employment to the urban unemployed (below the poverty line). Urban poverty alleviation and slum development has continued to be an important component of the Eleventh Plan. The Government of India has formulated a new scheme in the place of the

existing Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana and National Slum Development Programme under the Directorate of Local Bodies which has been made as nodal agency. The Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) aims at combining the existing schemes of VAMBAY and NSDP under the new the basic objective of the scheme is to provide adequate shelter and basic infrastructure facilities to the slum dwellers of the identified urban areas. Around 80 percent of the funds are provided by the Central Government, 10 percent is contributed by the State Government and 10 percent funds are raised by the Nodal/implementing agency from the financial institutions. On the other hand, a provision of 23800 lakh rupess has been earmarked for the eleventh five year plan so as to develop holistic slum development with a healthy and enabling urban environment by providing adequate shelter and basic infrastructure facilities to the slum dwellers of the identified urban areas under The Integrated Housing and Slum development Programme (IHSDP) Scheme.

2.4.2.1 National Slum Policy 2001(Draft)⁴

The National Slum Policy recognizes the fact that slum population is emerging as a significant proportion of the urban population in large Indian cities. The policy recognises the role of the urban poor (essentially slum dwellers) in contributing to the urban economy -directly or indirectly. The policy identifies the significance of enabling land entitlements to the squatted lands. The slum policy is shaped within the framework of the 74th Amendment (to the Constitution) related to the urban local bodies (ULBs). The Amendment seeks people centered development in urban areas (by devolution of powers and decision- making to the grass roots through the ward committees), reshaping the planning process for local orientation and augmenting financial resources of ULBs through setting up state level finance commissions. The Policy embodies the core principle that households in all urban informal settlements should have access to certain basic minimum services irrespective of land tenure or occupancy status. Under the Valmiki-Ambedkar Malin Basti Awas Yojana the scheme with Central Government subsidy of Rs 1000 crores and a loan component from HUDCO of

⁴ The Union Urban Ministry finalized the National Slum Policy Draft in April 1999 but till date the finality is missing.

Rs1000 to Rs 2000 crores, envisages construction of 4 lakh dwelling units for slum dwellers. This also incorporates upgradation of existing slum tenements and provision of basic amenities like water supply and sanitation.

2.4.3. Kerala Government's Various Housing Development Initiatives⁵

Having examined the changing policies in order to develop slums in India, it would be interesting to analyse changes in the State's policy regarding slums. Since the present study aims to examine the aspect of socioeconomic mobility of slum dwellers in Kerala in general and Trivandrum in particular, it may be pertinent to consider the policy changes to develop slums before we move on to analyse the conditions of slums. The policy of the Government of Kerala towards the rehabilitation of the people living in the slums has been changes drastically. The change from slum clearance to slum improvement has been necessitated by a shift in national policy. The Government of Kerala has, over the years, has given shape to numerous schemes for the rehabilitation of the people in the slums. The important measures of rehabilitation chalked out by the policy makers are slum clearance, assignment of house sites and distribution of "pattayams", provision of better housing and basic services to improve the living conditions of the people.

On the basis of the nature of the measures undertaken for slum clearance and the programmes envisaged by the government, the period from 1950 to 1970 can be roughly classified into three phases. The first phase, from 1950-51 to 1963-64, is characterised by the various slum clearance schemes. As per the direction of the Slum Area Improvement and Clearance Act 1956, enacted by the Government of India a total of 14 slum clearance schemes at an estimated cost of Rs. 36.05 lakh were scrutinised and approved by the government during the period. The second phase, from 1964-65 to 1967-68, is characterised by the schemes for building night shelters for pavement dwellers in different municipalities and corporations of the state. In the third phase from 1968-69 to 1974-75, the government has sanctioned no slum clearance schemes. (GoK 1963a)

⁵ This section is compiled by looking various policy documents and statements

2.4.3.1 *The measures of Rehabilitation for marginalized Sections*

The Kerala government's slum rehabilitation schemes are to be understood in the backdrop of various welfare schemes of the government envisaged for other marginalised sections because many these programmes overlap. From 1956 onwards, many attempts had been made to provide house-sites to scheduled castes (SCs), scheduled tribes (STs), landless agricultural labourers, rural workers, slum dwellers and other marginalised sections exercising the rules for the assignment of government land. (GoK, 1963b)

The provision of housing by the government for the marginalised sections in Kerala falls under four distinct heads (Cherunilam and Heggadi, 1987). First, there is the provision of housing to those who own their own land but do not own a house. The schemes initiated under this genre are known as general housing schemes intended to help individual families to build houses. Mostly this scheme benefitted the traditional fishermen who live in Kucha houses and landless "poramboke" dwellers. In this genre falls the schemes for "Kudikidappukar"⁶, who had been granted certificates of purchase under the Kerala Land Reform Act, of 1963. The housing scheme for beedi workers was implemented in 1991 intended to solve their acute housing problem. Similar housing schemes were launched for the plantation workers and the handloom workers who were placed in the schemes for Low Income- Group (LIG) and the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS), which were basically subsidized housing loan schemes.

Second, is the provision of housing on a collective basis to those neither who owned land nor house. The common nomenclature used for this is *colonization*. The scheme, implemented in Kerala, had three components: assignment of land, provision of grant and loan and rendering of supportive services. Specific colonization schemes were devised, over the years, for categories such as SCs, STs, fishermen, landless agricultural labourers, EWS and a host of similar categories. The former Harijan Welfare Department had been initiating colonization schemes for SCs and STs since 1956-57 to form large number of

⁶ Encroacher

colonies. The colonization scheme of STs by the Tribal Welfare Department (TWD) and Scheduled Tribe Development Department (STDD) has many variants: Tribal Pocket Developments (1969-74), Integrated Area Development Project (1974-75), Tribal Area Sub-Plan (1974-75), Hamlet Development (1980-81) and Intensive Habitat Development (1991) (GoK, 1996). The "One-lakh Houses" Scheme, announced in 1972, is a major attempt at providing housing for the landless agriculture labourers in Kerala. This scheme was a follow-up of land reform, and aimed at providing house-site-cum-huts to landless agricultural labourer families who had not received homesteads under Kerala Land Reform Act of 1963, amended in 1969. The Department of Fisheries, as part of its effort to tackle the housing problem of the homeless fishermen, attempted to form fishermen colonies. The Revenue Board took up four specific colonization schemes i.e., High Range Colonization Scheme, Wayanad Colonization Scheme, the Co-operative Colonization Scheme (meant for providing land for landless agricultural labourers and popularizing co-operative agriculture using forestland) and the Attappady Valley Development Scheme that envisaged the settlement of tribal families. (Nalapat, 1976)

The third was the rehabilitation of the people settled in government "poramboke" land and in the slums. The Scheduled Caste Development Department (SCDD) introduced a scheme in 1989 to rehabilitate SCs who were landless and homeless or who lived in rented buildings and in special slums. The Kerala State Housing Board has also been implementing since 1990-91 various projects for building Housing Complexes proposes to construct houses in clusters for the weakest among the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) - those who reside in the road, *thodu* and other *poramboke* areas. (GoK, 1991)

The fourth was the resettlement scheme, which provides alternate settlement to people de-housed either by natural calamities or forced eviction. The resettlement schemes are meant generally for re-housing individuals and families in particular circumstances or contingencies. Three such schemes, under the state provision of housing, are aimed at resettling agricultural labourers, allottees of forestland and fishermen. The scheme, named Settlement of the Landless Agricultural Workers

in Government *Poramboke* Land, was commenced in 1963 as a centrally sponsored one. It continued in the central sector up to 1968-69 and then was transferred to the state sector.

2.4.3.2 *Slum improvement schemes*

Slum improvement schemes are primarily aimed at raising the standard of living of the people of the slum especially the housing standards and infrastructure facilities on par with others in the mainstream society. Many schemes, both at the central and state levels, were formulated specially for improving the environment of urban slums, and implemented under different names, though content-wise, the different schemes remained more or less identical. The scheme "Urban Community Development Programme", started in India in 1957 and implemented by state governments and local bodies since 1970 with the financial support from the centre, aimed at providing basic facilities such as low cost sanitation, health services etc for the general public with community participation. The Slum Improvement and Site -Service Schemes were implemented by the state under the 20-point programme (GoK, 1984). The improvement of urban slums was included as one of the items of the Minimum Needs Programme. The Urban Basic Service (UBS) Scheme, introduced in 1985, was meant for providing safe drinking water and better sanitary conditions.⁷

During the period from 1977 to 79, the Government of Kerala took up three slum clearance schemes: the Chengal Choola Housing Scheme in Thiruvananthapuram (1977), the rehabilitation of slum-dwellers in Cochin (a scheme launched in 1978 to build 5000 houses for the slum dwellers in Cochin with in a period to 5 years) and Vadavathur housing scheme in Kottayam (a scheme inaugurated in 1979 for rehabilitating 44 poor families residing near Thottumala bridge at Kottayam). The Town Planning Department cleared 24 slum improvement schemes at an

⁷ Urban Basic Service Scheme, a UNICEF assisted urban programme, was taken up in 32 districts in 23 states and union territories in India. The towns of Alapuzha and Ernakulam districts were taken up under the UBS Scheme to provide basic facilities to at least 80% of the population in the project area by the end of 1989. The scheme was recast as Urban Basic Service Programme in 1989. The guidelines of the scheme were further revised in order to focus attention on urban poor and give greater flexibility for the scheme so as to have greater coverage and involvement of local communities and local governments. A total of 26 towns and 3 corporations in Kerala were brought under both the UBS and UBSP.

estimated cost of 104.29 lakh during 1981-82. The department scrutinised and approved 109 slum important schemes in various municipalities of the state at a total estimated cost of Rs. 138.16 lakh during 1983-84. The department also endorsed 69 slum improvement schemes in 21 local bodies at an estimated cost of 55.50 lakh benefiting a population of 15,000 during 85-86, and later cleared 31 schemes at a calculated cost of 24.66 lakh benefiting 7040 people. The department ratified 27 schemes in various municipalities of the state at a total estimated cost of 108.22 lakh benefiting a slum population of 33208 during 1987-88.

The National Slum Development Programme had envisioned schemes for the provision of housing to all the poor. This scheme aimed at the management of the basic services and other socio-economic facilities through community organisation and inter-agency co-ordination, aims at providing a package consisting of housing, nutrition, water supply, sanitation, education for women and children etc. The Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme (PMIVPEP), introduced in 1995, targets the urban poor. The People's Plan implemented in Kerala since 1995-96 has accorded top priority for the improvement of living conditions of the people in the slums. (Town Planning Report in Kerala, 1996)

In Kerala, the Directorate of Municipal Administration (DMA) is the agency which has been implementing the slum clearance/improvement schemes through corporations and municipalities. The government's strategy of rehabilitating the slum-dwellers, has adopted a three-fold strategy. The strategy involves (a) clearance of slums and the rehabilitation of the people (b) improvement of the condition of the slums and partial clearance of the slums and (c) improvement and prevention of the growth of further slums by taking adequate care to provide cheap and convenient plots. (GoK,1985)

The present which also probes the impact of these numerous measures in meeting the basic needs of the people living in the slums, assumes greater significance due to the fact that families have been living in the slums for generations, and quite a large number of schemes have been implemented in order to render them basic services.

Various ongoing Slum Improvement Programmes

- Integrated Housing & Slum Development Programme (IHSDP)

Integrated Housing and Slums Development Programme (IHSDP) was launched during 2006-07 aiming at the holistic development of slums in urban areas. The basic objective of the scheme is to strive for holistic slum development by providing adequate shelter and basic infrastructure facilities to the slum dwellers in the urban areas. The Programme was formulated by combining two schemes viz. Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) and National Slum Development Programme (NSDP). IHSDP is to be implemented in all towns and cities identified as per 2001 census except cities and towns covered under JNNURM. The scheme includes slum improvement, upgradation, relocation of projects including upgradation / new construction of houses and infrastructural facilities, like water supply and sewerage. Cost of land for such projects will not be provided under the Programme and has to be borne by the State Government. Housing should not be provided as free to the beneficiaries by the State Government. A minimum of 12% beneficiary contribution should be stipulated, which in the case of SC/ST/BC/OBC/PH and other weaker sections shall be 10%.

- Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM).

Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) is a sub-component of Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) and implemented through Kudumbashree. The duration of mission is seven years beginning from 2005-06. In Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi Corporations alone come under the scheme. The objective of the scheme is to provide basic services to the urban poor viz. housing, solid waste management, water supply, improvement of slums, construction and improvements of drains, sewerage, drainage, street lighting, health care etc. During 2006-07, projects having total cost of Rs.42.32 crores have been approved for Thiruvananthapuram and Rs.26.61 crores for Kochi Corporation. In 2007-08, projects involving a total cost of Rs. 125.88 crores have been approved for Thiruvananthapuram and Rs.104.45 crores for Kochi

Corporation. In 2008-09 projects having total cost of Rs.39.55 crores are approved for Thiruvananthapuram and Rs.4.59 crores for Kochi Corporation.

It becomes clear that the governments and various multilateral development agencies at the national, state and local levels have undertaken a variety of slum-improvements projects such as in situ development schemes, re-settlement activities and slum-clearance schemes with in a large variety of central and state government schemes. These activities only marginally impinged upon the vast and increasing problems of the slums given its scale and enormity.

Chapter 3

Bartonhill and Thekkumudu: Two Slums - A Profile

3.1 Growth of slums in Kerala

Kerala has modest levels of slum population as compared to other states in India but the poverty conditions of slum dwellers in Kerala are no different from slum those of dwellers elsewhere. The statistics division of the Town Planning department conducted surveys in 1985 and 1996 in urban slums in Kerala shows that here the total number of people and households in slums has been on the rise. According to Devi (1997) between 1985 and 1995-96, the area of slums, their absolute number, total population and the number of households have increased. The area under slums increased from 1167.14 hectares in 1985 to 1747.87 hectares (49.761) in 95-96; the number of slums from 705 in 1985 to 1169 in 1995-96 (82%, population from 278674 to 358012 (28.47%) and households from 45353 to 65953 (45.42%). The maximum largest number of slums identified in Kerala is in the Ernakulum District (339) and the lowest is in Kasaragod District (6). Growth of population in the slums was partly due to the natural growth of population and partly due to positive net in migration. The increase in the number of households in the slum was due to the creation of new families which causes congestion within the same house or overcrowded dwelling as new houses are added to the existing ones or the same house is partitioned for the use of many households.

In general, the status of slums in Kerala is considered slightly better than the other states in terms of living status and basic infrastructure. Nonetheless, about 80 per cent of the slum population lives on government land to which they do not own (Kasturirangan, 2006).

3.2 Slums: Process of Formation and Growth in Thiruvananthapuram

The sparse literature on the history of slum formation in Thiruvananthapuram traces it back to early 1940s. The study in this context done by Madhusudhanan (2006) classifies the people who migrated to the city in search of employment, during the early forties, into three categories. First, those from the rural and city suburbs, mostly *dalits*, who got government jobs (mainly lower grade jobs in

Thiruvananthapuram Corporation) and occupied the government *poramboke* land. Second, those who came to the city in search of better employment. The third group identified consisted of the workers who were brought from the rural areas as labourers for public construction works. The pioneering occupants encouraged many of their relatives to come to the city and occupy the land. The charity, offered by individuals in the form of land, often caused the landless to occupy it.¹ The Political support had been indispensable for occupation of the land, whenever there was any move on the part of the officials to evict the occupants, the attempt was either thwarted or the land was re-occupied with the political support. Also some of the migrants enjoyed the support of the political leaders for occupying the "*poramboke Land*". Thus, political influences helped the people to occupy or ensured their permanency of stay on the land. Moreover, government officials also favoured people close to them and permitted them to occupy the land or continue their stay there. The availability of social infrastructures particularly the access to education and health, was a major factor behind the migration of many people to Thiruvananthapuram city.

It could be noted that migration of the people to slums in Thiruvananthapuram city, over the years, did not follow any particular pattern or trend. According to the Benchmark Survey of Slums (Loyola Extension Services, 1993) different slums in Thiruvananthapuram Corporation were formed at different points of time. Slums in Chirakulam, Poundkulam, Karimadom came into being in the 1940s and 1950s whereas other slums near Sewage Farm and "Plamoodu Thodhu Varambu" were formed in the 1970s and 1980s.

The study also maps out the sequence of places from where people migrated to the slums, at first, the migration of the people was from rural and city suburbs. While the number of people migrating from rural areas has dwindled in course of time, the people from city suburbs have increased. The migration from other districts into Thiruvananthapuram was numerically greater than that from outside Kerala, but both constituted only smaller proportion of the total

¹ V. K. Pappan Nagar is a colony, formed out of the charity offered by a trust where landless dalits were brought from rural and city suburbs and settled in the land distributed by the Vivekandanda Asthramam. (Chacko 2003)

migration. The migration of people from one slum to another was nominal. Slum-wise analysis of the places from where the people migrated to the city depicts certain pattern. For instance, while in V. K. Pappan Nagar and slum near Sewage Farm, the majority of the people came from the neighbouring places: from the Sasthamangalam-Nettayam belt, and in the slum near Sewage Farm, they came from Valliakkadavu. In colonies such as Karimadom, Chirakkulam and Poundkulam, the majority of the people came from rural areas. It is also observed that within rural areas, the largest number was from Nedumangad-Kattakada-Neyyattinkara region. By considering all slums together it is Nedumangad from where maximum number of rural people migrated to Thiruvananthapuram (This is particularly true in the case of colonies such as Chirakulam, Karimadom, V. K. Pappan Nagar, and Poundkulam). Similarly, the place in the city from where the maximum number of families shifted to Poundkulam was Panavila. There are places outside Thiruvananthapuram district, from where people migrated, include Alapuzha, Ernakulam, Kasargod, Kollam, Kottayam, Palakkad, Pathanamthitta and Trichur. Karimadom is the colony to which largest number of people from outside districts migrated (most of them through marriage alliances) and the majority was from Kottayam. The neighbouring states from where the people migrated to slums are Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, the majority was from Tamil Nadu (to Karimadom), only a few families were from Andhra Pradesh.

Madhusudhanan (2006) in his study elaborately deals with the caste composition in the slums in Thiruvananthapuram. According to the study people belonging to castes, such as Cheramar, Muslim, Nadar, Nair, Ezhava, Sambava, Christian, Tandan, Viswakarma, Pandaram, Ganakar, Kakkalar, Mannan, Ayyanavar, were the first to settle down during the 1940-50 period. Then came Valluvar, Sidhanavar, Elavani and Yadavas during the 1960s. This was followed by Panar, Chemman, Vannan, Kodar during the 1970s. And finally Maravar, Vedar, Thevar, Moopnar and Reddiar came during the 80s. Caste-wise analysis shows that certain castes have migrated from certain specific areas or majority of them from a particular place. For instance, majority of the people, belonging to Nadar community, migrated to Karimadom and Sewage Farm, were from Kulasekharam in Tamil Nadu. The largest number of Sambava migrants to V. K.

Pappan Nagar was from Nedumangad (Vithura-Anad-Kallar region); Kakkalar from Kottayam and Tonnakkal, Nair from Olathani to Chirakulam, and Ezhuthachan from Palaghat to Poundkulam. Castes such as Chemman, Chettiyar, Konar, Maravar, Moopanar, Pandaram, Vannan and Yadava came from Tamil Nadu.

3.3 A Detailed Overview of two slums

Thekkumudu Thodu Varambu Colony

“Thekkumudu Thodu Varambu”² Colony, lies in a narrow strip of land on either side of “Kannammoola Thodu” situated between Kannammoola and Pattom wards of Thiruvananthapuram Corporation, has a history of 50 years. Initially the number of households settled along the banks of canal was just six, which gradually increased in number. The people, displaced from other parts of the city, and the women, who were brought to the city from the city suburbs for rendering domestic service to other households, were the main settlers of the land. A factor peculiar to the colony is that, it being a narrow strip of land and the dwelling follows the pattern of four intermittent clusters of houses. A major problem being situated on the banks of canal is frequent flooding and during every monsoon all the inhabitants have to take rescue in relief camps set up by the government. Another major trouble of faced by residents in this slum being situated on the bank of the canal is the unhygienic water which flows through it causing many health problems. There are no official records of the number of houses in this slum; the local slum leader testifies that there are 165 houses with door number from the city corporation.

Bartonhill Colony

This colony is situated on a steep slope of a hillock located near the Government Law College, Government Engineering College and IMG campuses near the Law College junction in Thiruvananthapuram. It is spread over an area of 10.86 acre with a population of 383 households. The majority of the initial settlers were from Scheduled Caste (mainly from Cheramar and Sambava communities) and Ezhava

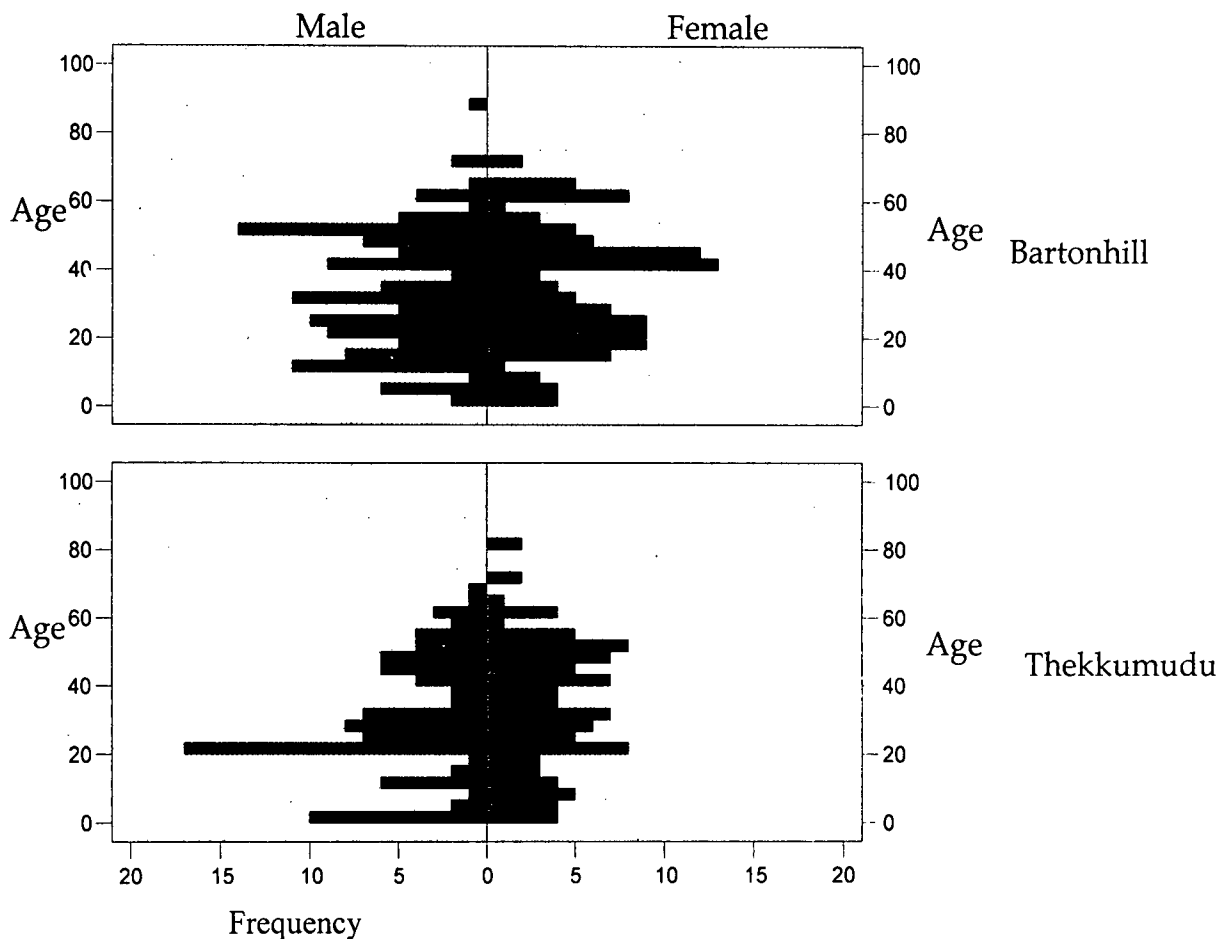
² It also known as Bund Colony

community. The pioneer inhabitants were last grade government employees who came from the suburbs. The inhabitants of the Bartonhill colony possess land ownership rights and fairly good infrastructural facilities.

Both these slums lie within a distance of half a kilometre. The people in Bartonhill colony have legal titles on the land whereas residents in Thekkumudu have encroached the land of the revenue department.

3.3.1 Population Characteristics

Figure 3.1: Age-Sex Distribution of the Sample in Both the Slums



Source: Field Survey 2009

The age distribution of the sample in the two slums by sex is presented in Figure 3.1. From the figure it can be observed that roughly the sample is distributed as 76 per cent adults of working age (15-59 years) in both Bartonhill and Thekkumudu, 17 per cent and 19 per cent children/youth (less than 15 years), and

7 per cent and 4 per cent in elderly Bartonhill and Thekkumudu respectively (more than 60 years). It can be inferred from the figure that demographic profile of the both the slums are similar.

3.3.2 Social groups: Religion and Caste

Here, we have analyzed distribution in slums in terms of social groups in Table 3.1 and 3.2. Table 3.1 shows the profile of the religious composition in the both slums. It is evident from the table that more than half (66.1 per cent) in the two slums are belonging to Hindu religion. And, in Thekkumudu one third of the total are Hindus, 20.51 per cent are from Christian and 4.6 per cent are Muslims where as in Bartonhill the Hindu population is still a majority but less as a share as compared to Thekkumudu slum (59.27) and Christian population on the other hand is high in Bartonhill which is at 40.72 per cent of total population and there is no person who is Muslim.

Table 3.1: Community Composition of the Sample

Name of the caste	No. of households	Percentage of Households	Slum	
			Bartonhill	Thekkumudu
Hindu	293	66.1	59.27(147)	74.9 (145)
Muslim	9	2.0	0 (0)	4.6(9)
Christian	141	31.8	40.72 (101)	20.51 (40)
Others	0	0	0	0
Total	443	100	100 (248)	100 (195)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

The table 3.2 shows the caste composition in both the slums i.e. Bartonhill and Thekkumudu slum. From the table it can be observed that in Bartonhill colony, around 30 per cent of the sample belong to Cheramar community followed by Sambava, Ezhava, and Nadar which represents 22.98, 18.1 and 10.5 per cent respectively, the rest of the communities represents less than 10 per cent of the population. In Thekkumudu slum, half of the population (51.28) belong to Cheramar community and 24.10 per cent belong to Sambava community. It is evident that in both the slums majority of the population is from these two castes and in Thekkumudu the representation is even higher. Our evidence of high representation of underprivileged in both the slums goes in tune with the existing studies.

Table 3.2: Caste Composition of the Sample

Name of the caste	Slum	
	Barton hill	Thekkumudu
Cheramar	74 (29.84)	100 (51.28)
Sambava	57(22.98)	47(24.10)
Ezhava	45(18.1)	8(4.1)
Tandan	0(0)	17(8.7)
Nair	6(2.4)	0(0)
Velakithala Nair	4 (1.6)	0(0)
Paraya	2 (0.8)	0(0)
Vellalapillai	0(0)	5(2.6)
Chakkala Nair	0(0)	2 (1)
Nadar	26(10.5)	3(1.5)
Latin Catholic	19(7.7)	0(0)
Roman Catholic	12(4.8)	6(3.1)
CSI	3(1.2)	1(0.5)
Muslim	0(0)	6(3.1)
Total	248(100)	195(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

It can be inferred from the above table that majority of the population belong to two specific castes: Cheramar and Sambava which are schedule castes in Kerala. The only upper caste enumerated was Nair. The Christian population mainly comprise of converts especially from the SC communities. A distinct feature of the SCs who embraced Christianity is that a vast majority of them are from the poorest sections (Clarke, Manchala and Peacock 2010). Pentecostal churches under pastors are very active in the both the slums. Pastors act as the mentors for them and able to direct charity to the followers and it has been become an important strategy for the social and economic mobility.

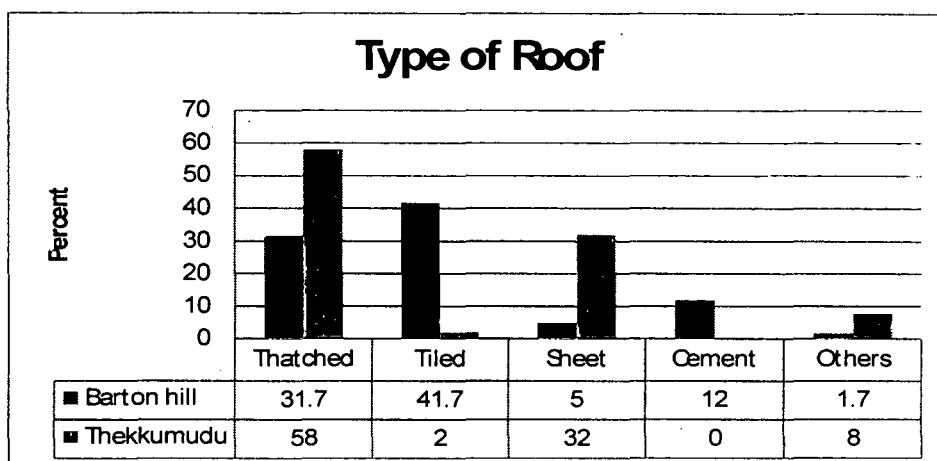
3.4 Living Conditions

Several studies in various slums of India reveal the poor living conditions which in turn lead to environmental degradation and unhealthy living surroundings. Chacko (2003), points out that the housing conditions and basic services like toilet facilities, drainage and sanitary arrangements are below the acceptable standards and these arrangements vary from one settlement to another depending upon the size and duration of the existence of the settlement, location in relation to urban service networks, physical characteristics of the site and political will in providing these services.

3.4.1 Quality of Housing

One way of understanding the condition of people living in slums is through understanding the living and sanitation facilities. For instance 51.8 per cent of households lived in permanent houses and 30 per cent in semi-permanent houses at all India level, the corresponding figures in Kerala were 68 and 21.6 percentage respectively (Nair and Gopikuttan, 2006). However, it is observed that at the lowest ladder of socio-economic hierarchy have failed to construct durable houses. The state's high accomplishment in human and social sectors development is well reflected in the general housing situation of its mainstream society.

Figure 3.2: Type of Roof

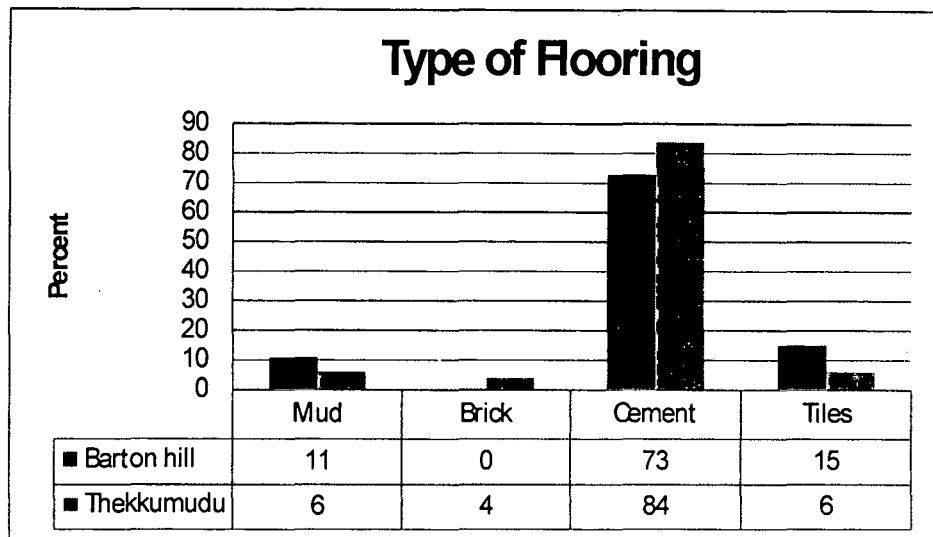


Source: Field Survey 2009

In this light, we try to analyse the housing amenities of people living in both Bartonhill and Thekkumudu slums. Figure 3.2 depicts the type of roof in the slum population. In Thekkumudu slum more than half of the population live in thatched houses while the remaining other half lives in houses with sheet roofs (32%) and tiled (2%) roofs. Whereas, in Bartonhill colony near about 42 per cent of the population live in houses with tiled roof, 31.7 per cent lives under thatched roof, 12 per cent lives under concrete roof and 5 per cent lives in houses with sheet roof. It is important to note that there more investments in houses of in Bartonhill colony. In Thekkumudu Slum there is not even a single concrete house. The results of the study by (Field 2005) in Peru, indicate that strengthening property rights in urban slums has a significant effect on residential investment:

the rate of housing renovation rises by more than two-thirds of the baseline level. The bulk of the increase is financed without the use of credit, indicating that changes over time reflect an increase in investment incentives related to lower threat of eviction.

Figure 3.3: Type of Flooring



Source: Field Survey 2009

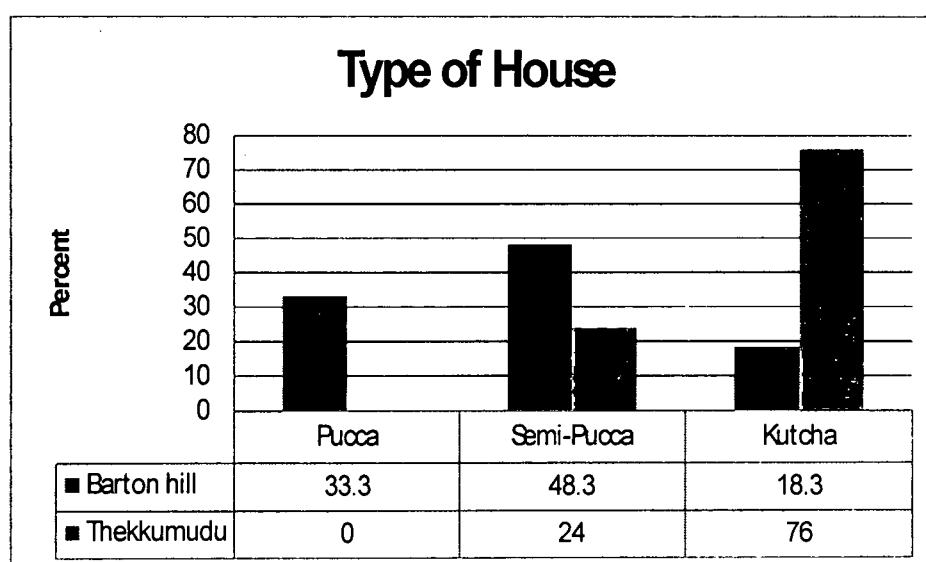
Figure 3.3 shows the type of flooring of the houses in both slums. From the figure it is clear that around two third of the population live in houses with cement floor in both the slums 73 per cent for Bartonhill and 84 per cent in Thekkumudu respectively. Among others, 15 per cent live in houses with tiled flooring and 11 per cent of the population live in houses with mud flooring in Thekkumudu 6 per cent live in houses with houses with mud flooring another six per cent lives in tiled and 4 per cent lives in brick floored houses.

In figure 3.4 we have shown the type of house in which people live in both the slums to understand the structure of houses. From the figure we can infer that, while none of the residence in Thekkumudu slum live in pucca house, 33.3 per cent of the households live in pucca³ houses Bartonhill colony. Similarly, it can also be noticed that 76 per cent of the households in Thekkumudu slum live in

³ Pucca structures are those with both roof and walls made of pucca materials such as cement, concrete, oven burnt bricks and other such building reinforcement materials. Katcha structures are those with both roof and walls made of kucha (non-pucca) materials, such as mud, thatch, bamboo, tents, etc. Semi-pucca structures are those with either roof or walls, but not both, made of pucca materials.

katcha houses where as 18.3 per cent households in Bartonhill Kucha houses. The high prevalence of Kucha houses in Thekkumudu slum can be understood in the light of the theory that predicts a straightforward relationship between individual property rights and incentives to invest in land. Besley (1995), Banerjee, Gertler, and Ghatak (2002) provide evidence that lack of property title affects agricultural investment demand. Analogous to the rural setting, fear of eviction in urban squatter communities implies discounted returns to investment in housing and infrastructure. As with farm inputs, the quality and not just quantity of housing is predicted to rise with expected duration of tenure, implying that long-run effects on investment of weak property rights are particularly costly for urban neighbourhoods threatened by natural disasters such as floods etc (Field, 2005).

Figure 3.4: Status of Housing Facility in the Slums



Source: Field Survey 2009

3.4.2 Housing Amenities

As mentioned earlier, a slum is characterized by poorly built tenements, mostly of temporary nature and crowded together, unhygienic conditions, inadequate sanitary and drinking water facilities.(NSSO 2003).

Having discussed the quality of housing, let us understand the other housing amenities such as source of drinking water, toilet and bathroom facilities. These issues are presented in table 3.3. First, drinking water is accessed mostly through

public tap in both slums around 68.33 and 96.0 per cent in Bartonhill and Thekkumudu slums respectively. Only 10 per cent have access water from public tap in Bartonhill and 4 per cent in Thekkumudu. Secondly, as far as to toilet facility is concerned, most of the population access community septic tank/flush latrine in both the slums 91.6 and 80.0 per cent in Bartonhill and Thekkumudu slums respectively. And, 8.34 per cent of population in Bartonhill colony uses own septic tank. Finally, looking at the bathroom facilities, in Bartonhill colony 59.3 per cent uses community bathroom, 39 per cent of the population has access to bathrooms within the premises and 1.7 per cent uses bathroom outside premises. In Thekkumudu, 80 per cent uses community bathroom and 14 per cent has access to own bathroom with in premises.

Table 3.3: Status of Sanitation facilities

Slum	Barton hill	Thekkumudu
House Amenities		
Source of Drinking Water		
Tap	17 (10.8)	2 (4.0)
Public tap	41 (86.6)	48 (96.0)
Others	6 (3.6)	0 (0)
Toilet		
Own septic tank/ flush latrine	5 (8.34)	0 (0)
Community septic tank/ flush latrine	55 (91.6)	40 (80.0)
Open defecation	0 (0)	0 (0)
others	0 (0)	10 (20.0)
Bathroom		
Within premises	23 (39.0)	7 (14.0)
Outside premises	1 (1.7)	2 (4.0)
Community bath	35 (59.3)	40 (80.0)
No bathroom	0 (0)	0 (0)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

In table 3.4 we have shown the other housing amenities such as fuel consumption, lighting and land tenure. First, looking at the fuel consumption we can observe that in Bartonhill colony 65 per cent of households uses gas and 35 per cent of the households uses firewood where as in Thekkumudu 30 per cent uses gas and 32 per cent uses firewood and 2 per cent uses kerosene. Secondly, for lighting in Bartonhill colony 100 per cent uses electricity where as in Thekkumudu 96 per cent of the households has access to electricity and 4 per cent uses kerosene.

Table 3.4: Type of Fuel and Lighting

Slum	Barton hill	Thekkumudu
House Amenities		
Fuel (%)		
Gas	39 (65.0)	15 (30.0)
Firewood	21 (35.0)	16 (32.0)
Kerosene	0 (0)	1 (2.0)
Other	0 (0)	0 (0)
Lighting (%)		
Electricity	60 (100.0)	48 (96.0)
Kerosene	0 (0)	2 (4.0)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

3.5 Possession of Land

One of the basic distinctions that have been observed in the physical aspect of slums in Thiruvananthapuram is in the security of tenure. As stated above in our study the two slums have been selected on the basis of possession of land entitlements. The residents of Bartonhill colony are provided with land tenure where as Thekkumudu slum stands on the land under the revenue department. Table 3.5 looks into the details of land tenure in both of the slums. From table it is apparent that 78.3 per cent of the households in Bartonhill possess Pattayam⁴ and 21.6 per cent live on leased houses. In Thekkumudu slum 92 per cent of the households live on encroached land and 8 per cent live in leased or rented houses (built on encroached land). It is widely recognised in the literature that renters and leasers are most vulnerable in slums. Arimah (2010), notes that on the regularization of tenure of the slums, the households with the most vulnerable legal status which renters, sub-renters, and newly established occupants that are not eligible for regularization.

Table 3.5: Land Tenure

Slum	Possession of Pattayam	Public land Encroached	Rented /Lease
Barton hill	47 (78.3)	0 (0.0)	13 (21.67)
Thekkumudu	0 (0)	46 (92.0)	4 (8.0)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

⁴ Land Title

3.6 Poverty Status

Having seen the living conditions of the population in the two slums, it is essential to examine what percentage of the population is poor and non-poor (as classified by the government). We have taken possession of BPL and APL card as the proxy for looking at the percentage of population belonging to poor and non-poor, which is presented in table 3.6. From the table we can infer that more than half of the population in both the slums hold APL cards indicating that most of the population are non-poor. While 65 per cent of households have APL cards in Bartonhill colony, 35 per cent of population has BPL cards, where as in Thekkumudu slum, the percentage of population with APL cards is less than the Bartonhill slum indicating that Thekkumudu has high percentage of poor compared to Bartonhill colony. In Thekkumudu slum, 59.2 per cent of population has APL cards and 40.8 per cent has BPL cards.

Table 3.6: Households Possessing BPL card

Type of Card Households Possess	Name of slum	
	Bartonhill	Thekkumudu
BPL card	21 (35.0%)	20 (40.8%)
APL Card	39 (65.0%)	30 (59.2%)
Total	60 (100.0%)	50 (100.0%)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

3.7 Standard of living Index

The possession of durable goods is another indicator of a household's economic level. In order to evaluate understand the real economic status of households let us first look into possession durable goods by households in the both the slums. Table 3.7 presents the distribution of selected durable goods in the two slums in. From the table it can be inferred that more than half of the population in the both the slums have access to most of the durable goods such as chair, table, cot, mattress, fan, telephone and television etc. we can primarily observe from the table that there is not much variation in the access to durable goods in both the slums.

Table 3.7: Household's Ownership of Durable Goods

Durable Goods			
Assets	Barton hill	Thekkumudu	Total
Mattress	53 (88.3)	34 (68)	87 (79.1)
Pressure Cooker	44 (73.4)	38 (76.0)	82 (74.5)
Chair	60 (100)	50 (100)	110 (100)
Bed/ Cot	60 (100)	50 (100)	110 (100)
Table	56 (93.3)	49 (98)	105 (95.5)
Electric Fan	58 (96.7)	49 (98)	107 (97.3)
Bicycle	26 (43.3)	20 (40)	46 (41.8)
Radio/ Music System	37 (61.7)	27 (54)	64 (58.2)
Sewing Machine	9 (15.0)	11 (22.0)	20 (18.2)
Telephone/Mobile	55 (91.7)	40 (80.0)	95 (86.4)
Refrigerator	35 (58.3)	19 (38.0)	54 (49.1)
Television	55 (91.7)	39 (78.0)	94 (85.5)
Two-Wheeler	13 (21.7)	2 (4)	15 (13.6)
Three-Wheeler	5 (8.3)	2 (4)	7 (6.4)
Car	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

National Family Health Survey-2 (NFHS-2) has constructed a summary household measure called the Standard of Living Index by adding the scores based on the possession of above durable goods and housing amenities (See Appendix 3.1). We have constructed the index for the two slums which is given in the table 3.8

Table No.3.8: Standard of Living Index

Standard of Living Index	Barton hill	Thekkumudu	Total
Low	18 (30.5)	28 (56)	46 (42.2)
Medium	39 (66.1)	22 (44)	61 (56)
High	2 (3.4)	0	2 (1.8)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Note: Figures in the parenthesis are percentages

Table 3.8 shows the standard of living index in both the slums. We have divided standard of living index into low, medium and from the table we can observe that on an average 42 per cent in both the slums combined have low standard of living and 56 per cent in both the slums combined have medium standard of living. Of the two slums, Bartonhill slum has high proportion with the medium standard of living (66.1 per cent) and 30.5 per cent in Bartonhill have a in low standard of living where as in Thekkumudu slum the percentage with low standard of living is higher than the people with medium standard of living, 56

and 44 per cent respectively. From the table we can infer that the population in Thekkumudu slum live in relatively poor condition as compared to the Bartonhill slum in terms of standard of living.

When we examine the community composition of the slums we find that in the both slums majority of the inhabitants are SCs and constituted majorly by Cheramar and Sambava communities. In the comparative analysis of the two slums Bartonhill fares better in most of the selected indicators, but when compared with Kerala's standard of living it fares far below. If we take in to account land entitlements we find that Bartonhill slum which has land entitlement fares better than Thekkumudu which does not have land entitlement. In the next chapter we probe whether land entitlement has significant impact on social and economic factors affecting upward mobility.

Appendix 3.1

Construction of Standard of Living Index (SLI) (Based on NFHS-2)

Standard of Living Index is constructed by adding the following Scores:

- ❖ House type: 4 for Pucca, 2 for Semi-Pucca, 0 for Kucha
- ❖ Toilet facility: 4 for own flush toilet, 2 for public or shared flush or own pit toilet, 1 for shared or public pit toilet, 0 for no facility
- ❖ Source of lighting: 2 for electricity, liquid petroleum gas, or biogas, 1 for coal, charcoal, or kerosene, 0 for other fuel;
- ❖ Main fuel for cooking: 2 for pipe, hand pump, or well in residence/yard/plot, 1 for public tap, hand pump, or well, 0 for other water source;
- ❖ Separate room for cooking: 1 for yes, 0 for no;
- ❖ Ownership of agricultural land: 4 for 5 acres or more, 3 for 2.0-4.9 acres, 2 for less than 2 acres or acreage not known, 0 for no agricultural land;
- ❖ Ownership of irrigated land: 2 if household owns at least some irrigated land, 0 for no irrigated land;
- ❖ Ownership of livestock: 2 if owns livestock, 0 if does not own livestock;
- ❖ Ownership of durable goods: 4 each for a car or tractor, 3 each for a moped/scooter/motorcycle, telephone, water pump, bullock cart, or thresher, 1 each for a mattress, pressure cooker, chair, cot/bed, table, or clock/watch.

Index scores range from 0-14 for a low SLI to 15-24 for a medium SLI and 25-67 for a high SLI. By this measure, more than one-third (36 percent) of Indian households have a low standard of living, 44 percent have a medium standard of living, and 18 percent have a high standard of living. (National Family Health Survey-2, NFHS-2)

Chapter 4

Factors Affecting Socio-Economic Mobility in Thekkumudu and Bartonhill

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we take a look into the basic aspects affecting socioeconomic mobility in the two slums. Here I had made an attempt to understand the dynamics of low human development of slums over generations in two slums in Thiruvananthapuram i.e. Bartonhill (slum with land entitlements) and Thekkumudu (slum without land entitlement). In order to understand factors enabling/disabling the upward socio-economic mobility, we have analysed following six aspects taking cue from the literature on intergenerational and poverty transfer and aspects of social mobility specific to the Kerala context.

4.2 Does basic education lead to upward mobility in the slums?

It is now widely accepted that formal education facilitates upward social and economic mobility. Schooling correlates strongly with adult income and socio-economic status; this is because education facilitates skill formation, makes people competitive, enhances efficiency, offers exposure to new opportunities and enables to imbibe new values and attitudes to life. It is perhaps the most consistent means by which the socially marginalised can attain social mobility on a sustained scale. Education is a capability that has merit on its own and is also seen as a powerful instrument for a number of other human achievements and a way of breaking poverty cycles (Moore, 2001, Bhargava 2003, Quisumbing, 2008, Kabeer and Mahmud 2009). Education is the most crucial factor contributing to wage labour and in turn economic wellbeing, and therefore provides important protection against chronic poverty in the context of an economy like especially Kerala where non-farm employment has become significant. In this context we shall look into the educational scenario so as to comprehend how far it has been an enabling or a disabling factor for upward mobility in the two selected slums. This section analyses the general level of education of the people in the two selected slums and examine three aspects i.e. level of education, mobility in the level of education of the people and problem of dropout.

4.2.1 The General Level of Education in the two Slums

The 2001 Census report on Slum Population observes that at the all India level the literacy rates for the slum Dwellers are 73.1 per cent and Tripura, Kerala and Maharashtra are the states which recorded literacy rates in slums above 80 per cent. In Kerala the overall literacy rate of Slum dwellers was 84 per cent. When we take a note of our Field, the illiteracy level in both slums is around 17 per cent (16.91per cent in Bartonhill and 17.57per cent in Thekkumudu) which is comparable to the all Kerala slums' level. There is only marginal male female difference in education at all levels. In the higher education segment there is lesser representation, the most prevalent level of education is High School (24.27- Bartonhill and 23.58-Thekkumudu). An important aspect which comes out is that there is not even single person with a professional degree in both the slums and only one person attaining post graduation level.

Table 4.1: Highest educational among males and females (15 years and older) (per cent)

Level of Education ¹	Name of the Slum					
	Bartonhill			Thekkumudu		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	16.00	17.81	16.91	17.07	18.07	17.57
Lower Primary(LP)	19.20	20.70	19.95	23.40	23.24	23.32
Upper Primary(UP)	20.60	17.07	18.84	18.50	21.17	19.84
High School	27.40	21.15	24.27	25.92	21.24	23.58
+2 / PDC	11.20	12.07	11.64	12.29	11.21	11.75
Graduation	1.60	3.33	2.46	0.00	1.02	0.51
PG	0.00	0.80	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.00
Certificate Vocational Courses	3.20	3.26	3.23	1.04	2.02	1.53
Diploma	0.80	3.81	2.31	2.08	2.02	2.05
Professional	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0	0
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages are relative to column total

4.2.2 Mobility in the level of Education

The mobility in the level of education is examined over time by examining the level of education of different age cohorts. It is evident from Table 4.2 that younger generation is moving up the educational ladder compared to the older. The illiteracy rates in both the slums have come down from 35.79 and 38.79 in

¹ The years of Schooling is classified into different levels on the basis of system prevailing in Kerala i.e. LP=1-4, UP=5-7, High School=8-10, +2 / PDC= 10+2,

Bartonhill and Thekkumudu respectively among the 60+ age group to 0 per cent for the 16-24 age group in both the slums. When we examine in detail the older cohort for instance 40-59 mostly are less than primary level educated (49.20-Thekkumudu & Bartonhill-47.37). While the younger cohort mostly reach High School level (Bartonhill-53.03, Thekkumudu-46.94). But major hindrance in upward mobility is the lesser representation among even the younger generation in the college level and professional education.

Table 4.2: Group-wise levels of Education among the People in Two Slums (in percentages)

Level of Education	B	T	B	T	B	T	B	T
	16-25		26-39		40-59		60+	
Illiterate	0.00	0.00	7.80	4.45	21.79	28.21	35.79	38.79
Lower primary	3.45	4.08	12.72	16.55	47.37	49.20	37.25	43.26
Upper Primary	8.90	8.16	24.38	23.03	15.79	14.29	9.15	14.87
High school	53.03	46.94	37.38	42.93	11.00	7.29	2.73	2.05
+2/ PDC	21.14	32.71	16.46	11.39	4.05	0.00	0.81	1.03
Graduation	3.56	0.00	0.00	1.64	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
PG	1.72	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Certificate Vocational Courses	4.48	6.07	1.27	0.00	0.00	1.02	0.00	0.00
Diploma	3.72	2.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Professional	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2009

Note: B-Bartonhill, Thekkumudu-T

During the last four decades educational progress in both Bartonhill and Thekkumudu has not been small. Overall, the gain has been about 6 years of education, from 2.7 years to 8.8 years in Bartonhill and 2.4 to 8.7 years in Thekkumudu. A male on an average had only about 3 years of education 35 years ago, but today the number of years of education is about nine years. There has been a gain of over six years of education. More importantly, the gain by females has been noteworthy, the increase being over seven years. The large gain in education by females has brought about gender parity in education. As we hypothesized earlier there no significant difference in educational levels between slum dwellers with land entitlement - Bartonhill (8.8 years) and those without land entitlement - Thekkumudu (8.7 years).

All the caste groups have made significant gains in the area of education, with the gains in years of education being between eight and nine years. The exception

is the only forward caste, Nairs, who have highest mean years of education (11.5years) for the younger generation. Interestingly, most of backward and scheduled castes who form the majority have gained almost 7 years. Standard of living in itself has not been a barrier for obtaining education as households of all the three categories of standards of living have gained about six years of education, with only a very negligible difference of 0.1 years.

Table 4.3: Mean number of years of education by selected background characteristics, in each age cohort, in Bartonhill and Thekkumudu

Characteristics Gender	Mean number of years of education in each age cohort							
	16-25		26-39		40-59		60 + years	
	B	T	B	T	B	T	B	T
Male	8.9	8.7	7.8	7.8	6.5	5.7	3.33	3.1
Female	8.8	8.8	7.6	7.5	5.7	5.7	2.1	1.9
Caste								
Backward	8.7	8.7	7.6	7.4	5.8	5.3	2.9	2
Christian								
Cheramar	8.4	8.7	7.8	7.5	6.3	5.4	1.9	1.5
Ezhava	9	9.2	8.1	7.7	6.6	5.1	2.7	2.5
Muslim	....	....	....	7.1	....	5.8	....	2.3
Nadar	8.1	8.6	7.3	7.4	6	5.9	3	3.1
Nair	11.5	....	8.5	....	6.2	....	3.3	....
Sambava	7.2	9.5	7.8	7.8	5.9	5.5	1.8	1.9
Tandan	....	8.3	....	8.1	....	5.6	....	2.6
Velakithala Nair	8.1	8.1	7.1	7.9	6.1	5.8	2.2	3.2
Standard of Living of Household								
Low	8.7	8.7	7.7	7.5	5.8	5.7	2.3	2.5
Medium	8.7	8.6	7.9	7.7	6.3	5.6	2.7	2.4
High	8.9	8.7	7.6	7.7	6.1	5.8	3.1	2.3
Total	8.8	8.7	7.7	7.6	6.1	5.7	2.7	2.4

Source: Field Survey 2009

B-Bartonhill, Thekkumudu-T

4.2.3 Children Attending School and Drop Outs

As observed in the previous section the levels of literacy has increased in the past three decades; the future education scenario lies with educational achievements of children and young adults. The scenario in the two slums should be understood in the general milieu Kerala's commendable achievements in universal primary level enrolment rates. Both Bartonhill and Thekkumudu, corresponds to the general fact of enrolment Kerala and reports almost universal school attendance by both boys and girls (Table 4.4). What is, however, worrying is that by the time they reach high school about 3 out of 8 in Bartonhill and 3 out

of 9 in Thekkumudu drop out of school. Dropout rate is higher for the boys compared to the girls in both slums. Thus, gender disadvantage does not seem to be a factor in children dropping out of school in both.

Table 4.4: Dropouts Among in the Age group 5-15

Level of Education	Bartonhill 5-15N=25							Thekkumudu 5-15N=21						
	S			D			Total	S			D			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T		M	F	T	M	F	T	
LP	4	2	6	0	0	0	6	3	4	7	0	0	0	7
UP	6	5	11	0	0	0	11	3	2	5	0	0	0	5
High School	2	3	5	2	1	3	8	3	3	6	3	0	3	9
Total	12	10	22	2	1	3	25	9	11	19	3	0	3	21

M-male, F- female S - Studying, D - Dropout, T-Total of male & female in the particular category, Total-No. of persons who has reached the given level of education

Source: Field Survey 2009

Table 4.5: Dropouts Among in the Age group 16-24

Level of Education	Bartonhill 16-24 N=50							Thekkumudu 16-24N=38						
	S			D			Total	S			D			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T		M	F	T	M	F	T	
LP	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
UP	1	1	2	3	1	4	5	0	0	0	3	1	4	4
High school	7	7	14	8	4	12	26	6	4	10	5	3	8	18
Vocational/Higher secondary/PDC	2	2	4	4	1	5	9	2	3	5	4	2	6	11
Graduation	0	2	2	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PG	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vocational Certificate Courses	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Diploma	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	1	2	3	0	0	0	3
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	11	17	27	14	7	23	50	10	9	19	12	7	19	38

M-male, F- female S - Studying, D - Dropout, T-Total of male & female in the particular category, Total-No. of persons who has reached the given level of education

Source: Field Survey 2009

Next the dropout situation among the young adults (16-24) who represent the higher education scenario in the two selected slums must be examined. Compared to the dropout rates of male, the female dropouts are in general lower at all levels of education. Highest number of drop outs in both the slums and among both genders is at the high school level. This results in lesser entrants in the secondary and tertiary sectors of education. In Bartonhill there are three

entrants to the level of graduation of which one had dropped out and only one entered post graduation. Here the important aspect to be noted is that only male who entered the level of graduation has dropped out but the entrant women are more successful. In Thekkumudu no student has entered college level education. There are three students in Thekkumudu and two in Bartonhill doing diploma courses, and all are women. At the same time the vocational certificate courses are opted by men.

In addition to understanding level or intensity of dropouts, it is important to understand various root causes. Analysing further the reasons reported for dropping out of studies among the younger generation, it evident from table 4.6 that failure most significant factor for drop out was failure in a particular class. Among males the other significant reason was finding a job opportunity and lack of interest for further studies. Among marriage was the second most significant reason.

Table 4.6: Reasons for Dropping out for Age group of 5-24, N=48

Reason for Dropout	Male	Female
Poverty	2	0
Failure in a particular class	17	8
Disease	2	1
Lack of Interest	5	0
Job Opportunity	7	1
Marriage	0	4
Other Reasons	1	0
Total	34	14

Source: Field Survey 2009

The reasons for dropping out in the two slums and the low level of tertiary education among in the areas of study becomes clear with the following excerpts from the Focus Group Discussion among children of the age group 6-16 years.

"I like going to school, I have many friends and I like to learn and become big officer. Teachers are also encouraging they take me to inter school competitions. But some kids in other schools are very bright and it is difficult to compete with them."

Vishnu, 7th Standard, Government UPS,
Kunnukuzhi, Bartonhill. December 2009.

"We get lot of projects and home work to do at home. My toughest subjects are Maths and English, so I go for tuition. I want to become a nurse, my sister studying in class 12 also want to become a nurse. My mother says she that it needs lot of money and does not have that much money."

Nadiya 9th Standard, Government City High School,
Bartonhill. December 2009

"At school I'm not able to understand the lessons even going for tuitions is not helping me much. I want to become Super Dancer (reality show) in TV. It will give a lot of money and popularity. Then I shall b able to buy a car and big house."

Shanu, 5th Standard, Government UPS, Kunnukuzhi.,
Bartonhill December 2009

"I have many friends in school but I find studies very tough. They also give lot of home work also and I have to go for tuitions, after I come home there no place to study and everyone at home watches TV. When I grow up I want to become a lorry driver" Jibin, 7th Standard, Government City High School., Thekkumudu. December 2009

"I like being at school. At home my father after drinking makes lot of problems so we can't study. I want to become a teacher and teach small children," Soniya, 10th Standard Government City High School, Thekkumudu December 2009

"Almost all the students in the School are from the two slums (Bartonhill and Thekkumudu). The strength in each class less than 15 so teachers are able to provide individual attention to all students. Under the extended noon-feeding scheme, all students are provided with Breakfast, 1 glass of milk and wholesome lunch every day to all students. More over they are provided with books, pencils, uniforms by various charitable organizations. Thus, the students enjoy better amenities at school and the out of pocket expenditure for parents is bare minimum. But, the academic performances of students are not up to the mark. Most of them show lack of interest in studies and level of grasping is also lesser. This may be because of the environment from which they come. They do not have conducive environment at home most the children have unstable and broken families, alcoholism, lack of proper guidance and interest from parents in the matter of education."

P.GeethaKumari, Headmistress, Government UPS,
Kunnukuzhi. February 2010.

"These children from slum when they join high school at 8th class their; reading and writing abilities are very poor. Most of them do not have a knack with numbers too so it is difficult to prepare them to pass SSLC examination and many fail in the exam especially the boys. Their main objective is not studies for boys it is movies, gadgets and many start the habit of thambaku and drinking at school level itself. Both boys and girls are also too much for junk fashion. They are avid followers all the TV serials and do not find time to study at home, even parents are not bothered and do not have the knowledge to give proper guidance."

M.Latha Nair, High School Teacher, City High
School, February 2010.

When we examine the statements of students studying in the Upper Primary and High School and the teachers who teach in the school most of the students from the two selected slums study we can identify a few important factors behind the low level of education educational performance of children in the two selected slums. Firstly, we can understand that career aspirations of the children are tempered by their surroundings. Most of them mention going for private tuitions which indicates that parents taking some efforts towards education of their children but their interest mostly ends there. The lack of parental care and motivation in their wards education could be mainly due to unawareness of the importance of education. One of the major hindrances for children's better educational performance is that an ideal 'home atmosphere' conducive to serious study does not exist in slums and, also dearth of basic facilities like space and privacy to study at home. The children do not get proper exposure and interaction with the outside world so that their talents remain undeveloped and untapped. While talk with teachers there was a hint of feeling among some teachers that students coming from slums are indifferent to or incapable of studies so, which may discourage students.

Education and Employment Preference of Youth (16-24) from the Field - Excerpts from two Focus group Discussions

Here we take insights from youths' perspective on higher education employment and upward mobility.

"I failed in 10th class, then I did not want to write again as I did not think I will anyway become IAS so I thought I shall start assisting construction work as my friends and stand in my own leg."

-Shibu, 23, Thekkumudu. December 2009

"I had joined for B.Com, at a parallel college as my sister had done her MA my mother wanted me also to join college. But I could not cope up and could not clear most of the papers in the first year and did not think I was smart would be able to get a government job or a office kind job in any private enterprise. I do not have patience as my sister, so initially I started going for painting jobs during holidays to fulfil my personal expenses now I have stopped going to college. My mother and sister are unhappy about it but now I find confidence in myself than wasting my time at college." -Nithin, 20, Bartonhill December 2009.

A general pessimism and lack motivation is a crucial factor especially among young boys to discontinue their studies. A student from the slum usually after passing the High School or even higher secondary does not land a regular job. If after passing out High School one has to continue as an unskilled wage labourer, then why one should be taking all the trouble of going to High School is a question not easily answered. Moreover, by the time a child is 15 or 16 years old seeing others work and earn money is rather too attractive.

"I have finished my MA in History, now going for computer course offered by the government. I had gone for coaching for getting government job at a coaching centre but found English and Mathematics very tough and other students from well of families were far too ahead of me so I stopped it. Now after I finish my computer course I plan to work in some private enterprise. I'm also taking tuitions for kids in the slum" Neema, 24 (Nithin's sister), Bartonhill December 2009.

Even after obtaining a Post graduation as the general case in Kerala it is difficult to find a regular employment. The most sought after job are the government

sector job which offer a ticket to upward socio-economic mobility is highly competitive. Candidates have to undergo rigorous coaching to qualify these exams. Usually the children from educated middle class who get better exposure land up in the different government cadres.

"After failing in standard 9, I discontinued my studies and I got married early at 16 so I had to take up family responsibilities and take care of children" Babitha, 26, Bartonhill December 2009.

It is not unusual for girls in the slums to get involved in relation and elope and get married very early. This happens among boys and girls within the slum itself. They have to take up family responsibility very early and this stalls their upward mobility.

"I'm doing Diploma, in nursing in Coimbatore; one more girl from the neighbourhood is also studying in my college. Though initially I found it tough to manage because of language, curriculum and food now I'm coping up since my parents have taken loans to fund my education. I have heard that there is much demand for Malayalee nurses outside Kerala so plan to take up a job outside Kerala and help my parents to come of their financial problem and give better education to my brother ." Jessy, 19, Bartonhill December 2009.

A new trend catching up in the both slums is girls migrating to Tamil Nadu to study diploma in nursing. They get payment seats in the nursing schools in Tamil Nadu which is often mediated by placement agents especially through the pastors working in the locality. Girls see this as a golden opportunity to prosperity.

"Now I'm working after I finished a course in Aluminium fabrication, after my 10th. I earn about 7-8 thousand per month". Jobin, 24. Thekkumudu December 2009.

Similar to nursing new trend of nursing education among girls, young boys are also realizing the importance of vocational training and skill development. The construction sector boom in the recent years has been a main sector employing the younger generation in the locality.

"I failed in 10th I did not find any motivation to study more and after that I did some odd jobs. I do not want to join my father's traditional occupation of coconut tree climbing. Now I am not going for any work but planning to learn driving and drive carriage rickshaw". Aravind, 21, Thekkumudu. December 2009.

The younger generation also is averse towards the traditional occupations and take fancy on the new categories of employment which they find more dignified.

"I could not clear +2 exams in the first chance now I'm preparing to clear it now going for tuitions. After that next year I plan to go for nursing course in Tamil Nadu in same college where one of my neighbour is studying." Sandhya, 17, Thekkumudu. December 2009.

Girls in general in both the slums showed more positivism and resilience than the young men in slum. They are more eager to undertake vocational training enter skilled labour market which will enable upward socio-economic mobility.

"I'm studying in +2, I feel that till tenth standard I could manage but from +1 the syllabus has become tougher. At the high school there were two more children from the slum in my class. One girl had stopped after she failed in 10th and now learning stitching. The boy also failed he is now into construction work. I would like to go to college become a teacher, becoming Doctor and Engineer is out our reach as only rich children can afford to study in big schools and take private coaching for entrance. Nobody in our colony ever became a doctor or engineer". Thara, 17, Thekkumudu December 2009.

Thara's statement opens up a number of the crucial aspects of education; firstly, it has an indication about difficulty in coping up with studies as after tenth class which could be a major reason for drop outs. Secondly, here there is a pattern of employment of the dropouts who find employment in semiskilled and low skilled jobs. Thirdly, there is also a hint attitude towards the professional courses that these are virtually reserved for the people who are better off and able to afford coaching and better quality schooling.

Given the work-study choice for male and female among the younger generation in the slums, it is found that women either leave after high school or study to the possible extent, while men discontinue their studies mid-way and opt for some

employment to be independent. There is more resilience among young females regarding coping up with study problems than males. Also, there is a perception that professional education is unattainable.

4.2.4 Inequalities in the access of type of Schooling

Table 4.7: Percentage of children Attending Governments Schools

Level of Education	5-15 (per cent)				Total (per cent)	
	Male		Female		Male	Female
	B	T	B	T	B	T
LP	94.2	95.4	96.0	96.2	94.8	96.1
UP	96.4	95.4	97.4	98.4	95.9	97.9
HS	98.6	100	98.6	98.4	99.3	98.3
Total	96.4	96.9	97.3	97.6	96.9	97.2

Source: Field Survey 2009
B-Bartonhill, Thekkumudu-T

It is observed from the survey that 96.9 per cent in Bartonhill and 97.3 per cent of students in the age group 5-15 attend government schools. This should be seen against the backdrop of the popular perception that private schools are qualitatively better and that between 1990-91 to 2002-03, the enrolment in Government schools fell by 25.6 per cent, whereas it increased by 79 per cent in private unaided schools (Kerala HDR, 2005). Thus, the issues of access and equity have become more complex with declining enrolment in government schools and the growth of private schools (with perception of being qualitatively superior). The child's caste, class and community now define which school is attended, thus giving a new trend of hierarchies of access. Hence, if education is seen as one of the ways of levelling the society then unequal quality of schooling operates against it.

The mobility in the level of education in both of the slums in the last 35 years in terms of mean years of school is about 6 years (2.7 years to 8.8 years in Bartonhill and 2.4 to 8.7 years in Thekkumudu). The level of education attained in both slums between illiteracy and Post Graduation. The percentage of illiterates has declined over the year. The increase in the number of people who study up to the LP or UP or HS levels need not be regarded as mobility in the level of education since such changes do not pave the way for the social mobility of the people.

Thus, the dynamic role of higher education, acting as the intermediary variable between people and their mobility, is evident by its absence among the people in the slums.

4.3 Occupation/ Employment and real upward mobility

The employment route to socio-economic mobility can be both intra-generational or/ and intergenerational, it works either in a cumulative manner. Education operates in such a manner that an upward movement or a qualitative change occurs inevitably in terms of skill, social networks, and exposure and enhancement of human capital. Employment, on the other hand, may mean retention of or status quo or upward or downward mobility. Inter-generationally, the low level of education of one generation leading to still lower levels of employment, income and education of the latter generation or the low level of income of the first generation leads often to lower level of income, education and employment of the second generation. There is a general perception that people living in the slums are in a vicious circle in terms of low levels of education, employment and income. Kumar and Aggarwal (2003) in their study of poverty in the slums of Delhi point out that at the basic level, the relationship between poverty and employment lies in the extent to which income generated from employment permits workers and their dependents to obtain goods and services necessary to meet minimum needs. Most of the urban poor are either unemployed or continually face irregular job access and precarious working conditions. However, vulnerability of the poor is largely due to underemployment and low returns to labour, rather than open unemployment, since the poor would undertake any available economic activity regardless of pay and working conditions, in order to survive. Hence the majority of the urban poor in the world are 'working poor', working in the informal sectors work long hours, combine multiple activities, but are still unable to earn enough to meet their families' needs. Poverty is related to unequal access to employment opportunities in the labour market. Only a small fraction of the workforce of most developing countries has regular full-time wage jobs. Poor workers are concentrated in those segments of the labour market where access to jobs is

easier, but where returns to labour are low and employment is insecure and unprotected. Further, Osella and Osella (2000) note that,

Table 4.8: A Snapshot of Occupations in the two Slums

Occupation	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Auto cleaner	1	0	1
Auto Driver	7	0	7
Beautician	2	0	2
Bus Cleaner	1	0	1
Casual Labourer	5	0	5
Class 4 Government Employee	2	2	4
Coconut tree climber	2	0	2
Construction Helper	2	1	4
Domestic Help	0	16	16
Driver	3	0	3
DTP operator	1	0	1
Fish Vendor	2	0	3
Govt. Daily Wages	1	0	2
Grade 4 employee in private firm	0	2	2
Head load worker	4	0	4
Health Dept Volunteer	0	1	1
Helper in Press	0	1	1
Home Nurse	0	1	1
Hospital Attendant(Private)	1	0	1
Hotel Housekeeping	1	2	3
Insurance Advisor	0	1	1
Mason	3	0	3
Medical Transcriptionist	0	1	1
NGO Volunteer	0	1	1
Nurse	0	1	1
Office Assistant	1	0	1
Painter	14	0	14
Pastor	2	0	2
Pensioner	3	10	13
Petty Shop	1	1	2
Photographer	1	0	1
Plumber	2	0	2
Sales Assistant	2	9	11
Social Security	1	0	1
Sweeper	0	2	2
Tailor	0	2	2
Tea Stall	1	1	2
Telephone operator	0	1	1
Workshop Mechanic	3	0	4
Total	120	118	238

Source: Field Survey 2009

“The poor-those having negative economic capital are the indebted asset-less manual labourers who live precariously from hand to mouth, dwelling in thatched huts, working for uncertain daily wages and suffering from long periods of annual unemployment.”

Osella and Osella (2000) looking into the social mobility in Kerala identifies employment rather occupation as the significant factor influencing economic and social mobility. From their study they infer four types of employment which are either avoided or favoured while looking into various intergenerational mobility projects. The first two types of employment which are avoided are caste specific occupation and casual labour (which represents the repudiated past and low economic returns are aspects of downward social and economic mobility). The two types of employment which are favoured for upward mobility are government jobs and migration (these modern sector jobs offer not better income earning avenue but also prestige). In the light of this classification let us look into the employment mobility in the two slums.

When we look at a broad picture of employment in the two slums it emerges that most of the people are engaged in the informal sector - only 4 out of 238 are employed in the government sector. It is evident from the above table that mostly people are employed in low profile jobs. For men the most prevalent job is that of painters (construction) and women it is domestic help. It can be noted that there are 13 pensioners out of which 10 are women. From the group discussion it is evident that in Bartonhill in the early 1960s many women especially from the untouchable castes who got job in the government hospitals as hygiene and nursing assistants from peripheral villages settled here.

"I came to the city in the 1960s from Nedumangaad² when I got job as a hygiene worker in the Government General Hospital. At the time my husband was doing some odd jobs in the city. We did not have any land or much money with us so we settle in the colony. At that time many in the locality were working as Nursing Assistants, Sweepers or Hygiene workers in Hospitals and government departments. But our children could not get into these jobs as now not like before there is a lot of competition for the government jobs."

Ponnamma, 67, Pensioner, retired from Government general hospital
From Osella & Osellas' classification, the job profile of the slum dwellers does not reflect the aspects of upward mobility via employment. To have a deeper understanding of the types of jobs it is necessary to probe further.

² Nedumangad is a town in the Suburbs of Thiruvananthapuram city.

Table 4.9: Monthly Earning and Type of Employment

Type of Employment	Monthly earning						Total
	< 1500	1501-3000	3001-3500	3501-4500	4501-5000	>5000	
Bartonhill colony							
Casual labour	12 (21.1)	19 (33.3)	7 (12.3)	11 (19.3)	2 (3.5)	6 (10.5)	57 (100)
Self-employed	3 (15.8)	3 (15.8)	1 (5.3)	5 (26.3)	1 (5.3)	6 (31.6)	19 (100)
Regular wage	3 (10.0)	8 (26.7)	5 (16.7)	9 (30.0)	3 (10.0)	2 (6.7)	30 (100)
Permanent	1 (7.7)	6 (46.2)	1 (7.7)	0	2(15.4)	3 (23.1)	13 (100)
Others	2 (11.1)	8 (44.4)	3 (16.7)	4 (22.2)	1(5.6)	0	18 (100)
Total	21 (15.3)	44 (32.1)	17 (12.4)	29 (21.2)	9(6.6)	17 (12.4)	137 (100)
Thekkumudu							
Casual labour	15 (26.3)	7 (12.3)	2 (3.5)	23 (40.4)	7 (12.3)	3 (5.3)	57 (100)
Self-employed	4 (13.3)	8 (26.7)	3 (10.0)	13 (43.3)	2 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	30 (100)
Regular wage	0	6 (66.7)	1 (1.1)	1 (11.1)	1 (11.1)	0)	9 (100)
Permanent	0	1 (25.0)	0	0	2 (50.0)	1 25.0)	4 (100)
Others	0	1 (100.0)	0	0	0	0	1 (100)
Total	19 (18.8)	23 (22.8)	6 (5.9)	37 (36.0)	12 (11.9)	4 (4.0)	101 (100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

In order to understand the quality of employment, different occupations were classified into five categories. According to Kerala HDR (2005) Self-employment is a mixed category and need not necessarily be an indication of higher quality of employment than casual labour as a considerable of the self employed are labouring poor. Casual Labour is considered the most vulnerable category with no security and permanency as well. Regular employment is denoted by continuity of employment but no security where as permanent employment is denoted by security as well. According to the above definitions the occupations of the slum dwellers are classified into five employment categories. Both in Bartonhill (57 i.e. 41.6per cent of the total workers) and in Thekkumudu (57 i.e. 50.5per cent of the total workers) the highest number of workers are casual labourers which is the most vulnerable employment group. A significant difference among the slums is observed in the regular wage category in Bartonhill 30 (21.9per cent) are employed in the regular wage category which is a

positive trend. At the same time the regular wage employment is only 9(8.9per cent) in Thekkumudu. Another significant trend is 30 (29.7per cent) employed in Thekkumudu is Self employed whereas in Bartonhill the number of wage workers is small.

Table 4.10: Levels of Education and the Type of Employment

Type of Employment	Casual labour	Self-employed	Regular wage	Permanent	Others	Total
Barton Hill						
Illiterate	9(15.8)	1(5.3)	0(0.0)	1(7.7)	4(22.2)	17(12.4)
LP	11(19.3)	4(21.1)	2(6.7)	1(7.7)	6(33.3)	24(17.5)
UPS	14(24.6)	2(10.5)	3(10.0)	1(7.7)	2(11.1)	22(16.1)
High School	14(24.6)	3(15.8)	5(16.7)	2(15.4)	1(5.6)	30(22.6)
PDC/+2	8(14.0)	5(26.3)	5(16.7)	6(46.2)	3(16.7)	27(19.7)
Graduation	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	2(6.7)	1(7.7)	0(0.0)	3(2.2)
PG	0(0.0)	1(5.3)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(0.7)
vocational Certificate	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(3.3)	1(7.7)	0(0.0)	2(1.1)
Diploma	1(1.8)	3(15.8)	5(16.7)	0(0.0)	2(11.1)	11(8.0)
Professional	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
Total	57(100)	19(100)	30(100)	13(100)	18(100)	137(100)
Thekkumudu						
Illiterate	9(14.8)	6(20.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	17(17.7)
LP	5(8.8)	7(23.3)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	13(12.9)
UPS	17(29.8)	10(33.3)	2(22.2)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	29(28.7)
High School	17(29.8)	2(6.6)	4(44.4)	1(25.0)	1(100)	27(26.7)
PDC/+2	6(10.8)	5(16.6)	3(33.3)	2(25.5)	0(0.0)	11(10.7)
Graduation	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
PG	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
Vocational Certificate	2(3.5)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(25.0)	0(0.0)	3(3.9)
Diploma	1(1.8)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(1.0)
Professional	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
Total	57(100)	30(100)	9(100)	4(100)	1(100)	101(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to column total

The table 4.9 shows the correlation between the type of employment and monthly earnings in both Bartonhill colony and Thekkumudu slums. From the table it becomes evident that more than 41 per cent of the people are casual labourers and very few people are working as permanent employees (9.4per cent) in Bartonhill colony. In the both categories; casual labourers and regular wage workers, most of the people fall below the income range of Rs. 4500-5000. This implies that there is not much difference that mostly people have low profile jobs and earn a subsistence level of income. To elaborate, 33.3 per cent of the casual labourers are falling in the income range of 1500-3000, 21.1 per cent of the casual

labour are earning monthly income which is below 1500. Similarly, 30 per cent and 26.7 per cent of the regular wage workers are in the monthly income range of 3000-4500 and 1500-3000 respectively. Employment patterns from Thekkumudu slum indicates that majority of the people seem to be engaged in casual labour and self-employed category 57 and 30 respectively. It can be seen that out of 57 casual labour 40.4 per cent of them have monthly earning ranging between 3000-4500 and 26 per cent of them have income of less than 1500 per month. And, among the self-employed category also, 43.3 per cent has monthly income ranging between 3000-4500. The rest has no significant trends. In general it can be observed from the both slums that most of the members in slums have income ranging from 1500-4500 irrespective of the type of occupation the person is engaged in.

Many studies show that education correlates strongly with adult income and socioeconomic status. The table 4.10 represents the correlation between the level of education and the type employment. From this table we try to infer how level of education determines the type of employment in both the slums. From the table it is evident that out of total 137 workforce most of them has educational level below PDC/+2 and as it is observed earlier, most of work force is casual labour (41.6per cent in Bartonhill and 50.5per cent in Thekkumudu). Among this, it is evident that 75 per cent of them have education level not more than high school. It shows that the low educated people have entered in the casual labour category. Out of 30 regular wage employees 16.7 per cent of them have +2 level education and 16.5 of them have diploma and out of 13 permanent class 6 has +2 education 1 graduation and 1 vocational education. Similarly in Thekkumudu slum more than half of the work force is employed in casual labour category in which most of them have been educated less than high school and out of 30 self-employed 33.3 per cent has Upper Primary School education, 23.3 per cent has Lower Primary Level education and 20 per cent has no education. In the regular and permanent category we can see that the influence of education. In the Permanent category all have got high school and above education, whereas in the Regular wage category the level of education ranges from upper primary to vocational courses. From the table it is clear that the people with low level of

education are mostly employed in the casual labour and self-employed segment and the people who got more than high school education has got employment in the regular wage and permanent employment group. Thus as-far-as the education levels prevailing in both the slums it may be seen that high school levels may not allow for access to better quality employment in the slums.

Table 4.11: The Past Category of Employment and the Present Category of Employment

Present Employment	Past Type of Employment					
	Casual labour	Self-employed	Regular wage	Permanent	Others	Total
	Barton Hill					
Casual labour	40(70.2)	11(19.3)	4(7)	1(1.8)	1(1.8)	57(100)
Self-employed	13(68.4)	0(0.0)	6(31.6)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	19(100)
Regular wage	12(40.0)	5(16.7)	11(36.7)	2(6.7)	0(0.0)	30(100)
Permanent	4(30.8)	1(7.7)	3(23.1)	5(38.5)	0(0.0)	13(100)
Others	2(11.1)	1(5.6)	0(0.0)	12(66.7)	3(16.7)	18(100)
Total	71(51.8)	18(13.1)	24(17.5)	20(14.6)	4(2.9)	137(100)
	Thekkumudu					
Casual labour	47(86.0)	4(7.0)	4(7.0)	0(0.0)	2(1.1)	57(100)
Self-employed	20(66.7)	7(23.2)	2(6.7)	0(0.0)	1(3.4)	30(100)
Regular wage	3(33.3)	2(22.2)	4(44.4)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	9(100)
Permanent	1(25.0)	0(0.0)	1(25.0)	2(50.0)	0(0.0)	4(100)
Others	1(100)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(100)
Total	71(70.3)	14(13.9)	11(10.9)	2(2.0)	3(2.9)	101(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

The table tries to relate the present employment with the past employment in order to examine the intra-generational occupational mobility in the both slums. It can be seen that 68.4 per cent of present self-employed workers in Bartonhill colony were casual labourers in the past, here as noted by Kerala HDR (2005) may not reflect a real mobility in quality of employment as most of self employed especially in the poor group constitute of vendors/ hawkers or doing petty repairs or low level service providers. The shift of 31.6 per cent regular wage workers to the self employed category may be in fact a downward mobility. In the permanent category 38.5 per cent were self-employed previously, 30.8 per cent were casual labourers and 23.1 per cent were regular wage workers, changing to permanent category is a case for upward mobility. Out of 30 present regular workers 40 per cent of them were casual labourers and there is no

significant mobility in casual labourers except for the 19.3 per cent of people who were in self-employed category are now working as casual labourers. In Thekkumudu slum, 66.7 per cent of the present self-employed are previously casual labourers and the occupational mobility did not take place among casual labourers as the 86 per cent of present casual labourers are previously casual labourer. When we look into permanent employment also there is not much mobility in the sense that out of permanent employees two were previously in the same category and one moved from regular wage category. Similar is the case of low occupational mobility in regular wage category. Thus, it can be seen that there more intra-generational occupational mobility in Bartonhill than that in Thekkumudu.

The table 4.12, looks at the changes in the structure of employment over last four decades, in order to understand whether the younger cohort have positive or negative position in the net employment scenario in both slums. This is looked into by seeing how the age of a person is correlated the type of employment so as to identify changes over time. In Bartonhill colony, out of 17 employed in the youngest working age group of 16-24, 8 (47.0 per cent) are working as regular wage workers and 7(41.1per cent) are working as casual labourers and 2 are self employed. There is no one in this age group with permanent employment. Similarly, for the same age group in Thekkumudu, of the 12 employed, 4 (33.3 per cent) are employed in the regular wage category, 5(41.7) employed as casual labourers and 3(25.0 per cent) are self employed. The scenario for, out of 45 persons in the age group of 25-39 in Bartonhill, 24 (54.3 per cent), are casual labourers 28 per cent are employed in regular wage category while only 2 (4.4 percent) are permanently employed .For the same age group in Thekkumudu 69.4 per cent are casual labours, in regular employed category are 5.4per cent while 9 percent are self employed. Similarly, the middle aged group .i.e. 40-59 years, also a major part of employed people are casual labour segment (39.1 percent in Bartonhill and 51.0 percent in Thekkumudu). However, in the middle aged category, there is a slightly better representation in permanent employment segment. People aged 60 constitute only 8.0 and 3.9 per cent of the total workforce in Bartonhill and Thekkumudu respectively. This group in Bartonhill

Primarily are employed in other kinds of miscellaneous jobs (54.7) or permanent jobs (27.2), while in Thekkumudu they are either self employed (50.0) or are casual labourers (50.0).

The table provide a few important inferences regarding type of employment and the age category this classification helps to trace the mobility in the type of occupation of the people the two slums over a time period (almost four decades). When the employment profile of the youth (age groups 16-24 and 25-39) in both the slums are examined a disturbing fact which comes to light is that not even a single person in the age group between 16-24 was able secure a permanent employment where as one or two in Bartonhill were able to secure permanent employment. The continuing trend is the high share of casual employment. The only silver line in the employment situation of the youth is that they were able to secure some bit of regular wage employment.

Table 4.12: Type of Employment by Age Category

Type of Employment	Age Class				Total
	16-24	25-39	40-59	>60	
	Bartonhill				
Casual labour	7(41.1)	24(53.3)	25(39.1)	1(9.1)	57(41.6)
Self-employed	2(11.7)	5(11.1)	11(17.18)	1(9.1)	19(13.8)
Regular wage	8(47.0)	13(28.9)	9(14.1)	0(0)	30(28.9)
Permanent	0(0)	2(4.4)	8(12.5)	3(27.2)	13(9.5)
Others	0(0)	1(2.2)	11(17.2)	6(54.5)	18(13.1)
Total	17(100)	45(100)	64(100)	11(100)	137(100)
	Thekkumudu				
Casual labour	5(41.7)	25(69.4)	25(51.0)	2(50)	57(56.4)
Self-employed	3(25.0)	9(25.0)	16(32.6)	2(50)	30(29.7)
Regular wage	4(33.3)	2(5.6)	3(6.1)	0(0)	9(8.9)
Permanent	0(0)	0(0)	4(8.1)	0(0)	4(3.9)
Others	0(0)	0(0)	1(2.1)	0(0)	1(0.9)
Total	12(100)	36(100)	49(100)	4(100)	101(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to column total

In this section the aspect of employment in the socio-economic position in the two slums is examined by essentially examining the quality of employment. Firstly, the profile of occupation was considered into which revealed that majority are employed in informal sector. Employment categorization into self employed, Permanent, Regular wage and casual labourers show that

mostly workforce in slums were employed as casual labourers. Most of the workers earned less than Rs. 4500-5000. Considering at the type of employment, as the younger cohort of labour force no one is employed in permanent job in both the slums which is a negative trend. Analysis of intra-generational mobility in employment there is a shift in regular wage workers to casual labourer in Thekkumudu.

4.4 Aspirations for migration, and real upward mobility

The role of migration in Kerala's development trajectory cannot be ignored. Migration both internal and external, has been a significant feature of life for more than a century in Kerala. Migration had proved to be an escape route from poverty and unemployment and means of capital accumulation. The trajectories of migration within/from Kerala started from the turn of the century to the high ranges of Kerala and to Sri Lanka and Malaysia. The next major phase was after independence when many skilled and educated migrated to different parts of India to find jobs in the national administrative services and industries. But the influential trajectory of migration from Kerala was a result of the phenomenal growth in demand for labour in the Middle East since the 1970s there has been a steady flow of labour to these countries for work. The Middle East countries were the destination of 95 per cent of emigrants, with Saudi Arabia alone accounting for nearly 40 per cent of the total. (Kerala, HDR, 2005). The fate of most of the slum dwellers who settled in the slums during the 1960s and '70s were mostly without any formal education or technical skills, no land of their own and forced to work as manual labourers. There is a lot of evidence from the literature on the emigrants that emigration had enabled their families to improve their socio-economic status, judged by land ownership, good housing and better education for children. (Zachariah, Mathew and Rajan, 2003; Zachariah and Rajan, 2007) . In this section we would look into the pattern of migration from the slums.

The table 4.13 shows the purpose of migration to different places. It is evident that marriage is the main purpose of migration. Around 56.4 per cent of the population in Bartonhill colony migrated due to marriage, 23 per cent migrated for employment and 17.9 per cent migrated for education. Of the 39 people, 16

migrated from other districts out of which 62.5 per cent migrated for marriage and 18.2 for education, 12 migrated to other state and the reasons for this are evenly distributed among education, marriage and employment and 9 migrated from other slum primarily due to marriage. In Thekkumudu, 74 per cent migrated due to marriage, 14 migrated due to education and 11.1 per cent migrated due to employment. Of these 27 migrants, 10 migrated to other districts out of which 8 are aft marriage 8 migrated due to all three reasons and 4 migrated solely due to marriage. It can be seen that marriage is the key reason for migration from other slum and other district.

Table 4.13: Pattern of Migration in the Bartonhill & Thekkumudu

Destination of Migration	Purpose of Migration				
	Education	Marriage	Employment	Others	Total
Bartonhill					
Other Slum	0	8 (88.8)	1 (11.2)	0	9 (100)
Other District	3 (18.8)	10 (62.5)	2 (12.5)	1 (6.3)	16 (100)
Outside State	4 (33.3)	4 (33.3)	4 (33.3)	0	12 (100)
Abroad	0	0	2 (100)	0	2 (100)
Total	7 (17.9)	22 (56.4)	9 (23)	1 (2.7)	39 (100)
Thekkumudu					
Other Slum	0	9 (100)	0	0	4 (100)
Other District	1 (10)	8 (80)	1 (10)	0	10 (100)
Outside State	3 (37.5)	3 (37.5)	2 (25)	0	8 (100)
Abroad	0	0	1 (100)	0	1 (100)
Total	4 (14.8)	20 (74.1)	3(11.1)	0	27 (100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

Here we have seen that marriage is the most important reason for migration from both the slums. Furthermore it is important to note that there is also interstate migration for education this important though a small trend. As noted earlier students to acquire nursing education migrate to other states. Migration abroad from both the slums is very meagre (2 from Bartonhill and 1 from Thekkumudu).

Given the importance of migration to the Middle East five in depth interviews were conducted to explore further into the aspect.

Cases of two return migrants from the Middle East

Rejith (28years, Bartonhill) has returned from a very brief stint of stay in the UAE three months ago. He had completed pre degree and working as a driver in a private school. From an acquaintance from work he went to the UAE as a driver. Because of improper documentation and visa he had to leave within a year. He says that he could work only for two months and had done many odd jobs. This episode of unsuccessful migration has left him with a debt of Rs. 75,000.

Chitra (34, Thekkumudu) had migrated to Saudi Arabia three years ago as a housemaid for 6 months. She had gone as a domestic help for post natal care of a relative of family were she had been working as a domestic help. She recalls that there is no mobility and freedom there and was constantly under surveillance. A single mother of three, she had missed her own children and was always worried about their welfare all the time. She had earned about Rs.60000 for her stay. With which she had repaid her debts, repaired house, bought a TV and gifts for her near ones. She considers her chance to go abroad as once in a life time opportunity.

Dependents of the migrants

Laila, 49, (Bartonhill), her son Viju 23, has migrated to Dubai about eight months ago; he had gone as construction worker. He is presently not working and searching for some work. He does not have anyone to help him over there. Laila, had taken a loan of Rs. 75000 from the money lender and has other loans also to be repaid is under lot of financial strain.

Jagadamma's daughter Sunitha (33) works in the Middle East as domestic help. She had gone about a year back had repaid debt of about Rs.30000 and sends about Rs.5000 once in 2 months. Jagamma takes care of her two daughters aged 12 and 8 years. Jagadamma does not think this migration as permanent and expects her daughter to return soon.

Migration expenses are considerable and often exposure the families of migrants to considerable financial strain. A failed instance of migration can push the families into considerable vulnerability. It can be seen that the women in the

slum has migrated as house maids and does not consider this migration episode as permanent one.

Migration is way of life in Kerala. Over a century migration was a very important path for socio economic mobility in Kerala. When we look into the migration path from the slum we can see that marriage is the most important element for migration in both the slums and mostly people have migrated to other states. Migration aboard in both slums has been for employment. The migration out of the slums mentioned here are second and third generation phenomenon in the slums. The earlier generation's migration into slums from rural areas probably meant upward mobility for them but the migration in the later generations seems to largely benefit women, not men. Overall prospects held by migration have not improved over generations

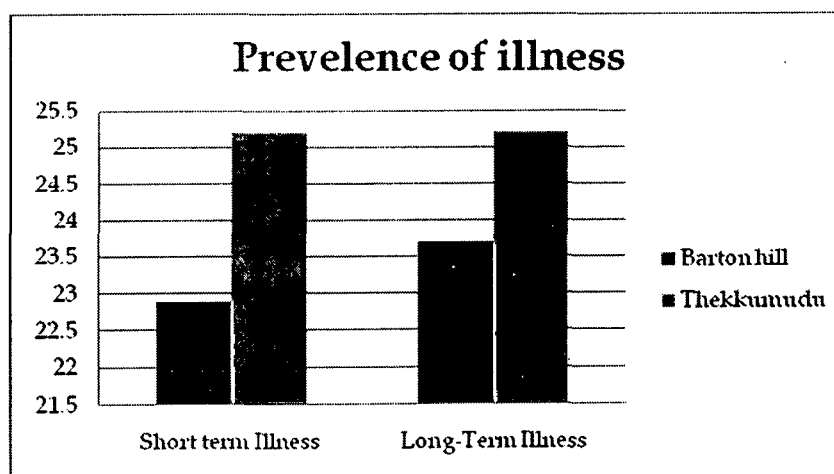
4.5 Does health shocks have an adverse effect on real upward mobility?

Health shocks act as key drivers of downward mobility especially among lower strata which has fewer safety nets to fall back on at time of illnesses. Health status of a population is often measured in terms of mortality rates, such as infant mortality rate and age and cause specific death rates. For small populations it is difficult to use death rates as a measure of health status therefore here we have depended on the self reported illness for a recall period of 3 months. The figure 4.1 shows the prevalence illness in both the slums. From the figure it is evident that households reporting short-term in Thekkumudu, is 25.5 per cent and in Bartonhill, colony 22.9 per cent. While those reporting long-term illness were in the tune of 23.7 and 25.2 in Bartonhill Thekkumudu 23.7 per cent and 25. 2 of the total population suffer from short-term and long-term illness.

Having identified the proportion of population suffering from illness; both short term and long term, we now try to understand the kinds of diseases people are suffering from in both the colonies. Out of 57 people who are suffering from short term illness, of which is 22.8 per cent, 45.6 per cent suffered from viral fever; 29.8 per cent have suffered from malaria or related diseases; the rest suffer from other diseases (see table 4.14) . On the other hand, in Thekkumudu slum, out of 37 people with short term illness, 40.5 per cent suffered from Chikungunia and allied categories

of fever which had a wide prevalence throughout Kerala and 35.13 per cent suffered from viral fever. It is interesting to note that the characteristics of the illness have similarities in both the slums which reflect the common aspect of insanitary conditions of the slums. Examining the pattern of long term illness in both the slums, we observe that out of total number of patients 60 per cent of them are suffering from respiratory and diabetic problems in both Bartonhill and Thekkumudu slums. Like in from morbidity studies on other slums across India in the two selected slums also there is prevalence of respiratory diseases, whereas there no reported case of HIV positive cases.

Figure 4.1: Prevalence of Illness in the two Slums



Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

Table 4.15 provides the data on the medical expenses for the last three months across different standard of living in both the slums. Firstly, in Thekkumudu slum, 32 per cent of them spent 2001-3000. 26 per cent spent 1001-2000, 16 per cent spent more than 3001 and the rest spent less than 1000 rupees. Similarly, in Bartonhill 31.7 per cent of population spent 2001-3000 and 25 per cent spent 1001-2000. It can be observed there is no much difference in the medical expenses between these two slums at the aggregate level. When we decompose population into low-medium and high standard of living people, it shows that there is no significant changes are found the medical expenses across people having different standard of living. The expenditure on medical expenses across different groups is ranging from 500 to 2000 for majority of the population. This table revealed that there is considerable amount medical expenditure.

Table 4.14: Prevalence Rate of Short term and Long term Diseases in Thekkumudu and Bartonhill

Short Term Illness			Long Term Illness		
Illness	Barton Hill	Thekkumudu	Illness	Barton Hill	Thekkumudu
Viral Fever	26(45.6)	13(35.13)	TB	1(1.7)	0(0.0)
Diarrhoea	4(7.0)	7(18.9)	Respiratory problems	18(30.5)	18(48.6)
Chikungunia/ Dengue, Typhoid fever	17(29.8)	15(40.5)	Diabetes	18(30.5)	5(13.5)
Skin diseases	2(3.5)	4(10.8)	Hyper-tension	6(10.1)	4(10.8)
Eye infections	6(10.5)	0(0.0)	Gastric	3(5.1)	3(8.1)
Others	2(3.5)	1(2.7)	Heart	9(15.2)	4(10.8)
Total	57(100)	37(100)	Cancer	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
-	-	-	HIV/AIDS	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
-	-	-	Other	4(6.7)	3(8.1)
-	-	-	Total	59(100)	37(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

Table 4.15: Distribution of households by category of household health expenditures-by Standard of Living Index

Medical Expenses	Standard of Living Index							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	T	B	T	B	T	B	T	B
0-500	3(10.7)	3(16.7)	4(18.2)	3(7.6)	0(0.0)	1(33.3)	7(14.0)	7(11.7)
501-1000	4(14.2)	2(11.1)	2(2.1)	7(17.9)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	6(12.0)	9(15.0)
1001-2000	8(28.6)	5(27.7)	5(22.7)	9(23.1)	0(0.0)	1(33.3)	13(26.0)	15(25.0)
2001-3001	9(32.3)	6(33.4)	7(31.8)	12(23.1)	0(0.0)	1(33.3)	16(32.0)	19(31.7)
>3001	4(14.2)	2(11.1)	4(18.2)	8(20.5)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	8(16.0)	10(16.7)
Total	28(100)	18(100)	22(100)	39(100)	0(100)	3(100)	50(100)	60(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to column total

Note : B - Bartonhill, T - Thekkumudu

The correlation between medical expenses and the level of poverty status household which is proxied by taking BPL and APL cards is represented in table 4.16. Of the total BPL card holders in Bartonhill colony 42.9 per cent spent Rs.501-1001 for the medical expenses; 33.3 per cent spent more than 2000 and out of APL card holders, the expenditure on medication is more or less distributed across different range starting from the expenditure of less than 500 rupees (23.1) to more than 3000 (17.9). However, the high proportion of the people spent around 100-500. Similarly, in Thekkumudu also the medical expenditure is spread across the range. Nonetheless it can be observed that the majority of the

population including BPL and APL, spent money less than or equal to 2000 rupees. The difference in medical expenses between the slums and between the groups within the slums is not significant though amount may be significant.

Table 4.16: Distribution of households by category of household health expenditures-by Poverty Status

Medical Expenses						
Barton hill						
	0-500	501-1000	1001-2000	2001-3000	>3001	Total
BPL Card	2 (9.5)	9 (42.9)	1 (4.8)	2 (9.5)	7 (33.3)	21 (100)
APL Card	9 (23.1)	10 (25.6)	6 (15.4)	7 (17.9)	7 (17.9)	39 (100)
Total	11 (18.3)	19 (31.7)	7 (11.7)	9 (15.0)	14 (23.3)	60 (100)
Thekkumudu						
BPL Card	6 (30.0)	7 (35.0)	4 (20.0)	2 (10)	1(5)	20(100)
APL Card	9 (30)	9(30)	7(23.3)	2(6.7)	3 (10)	30 (100)
Total	15 (30)	16 (32)	11 (22)	4 (8)	4 (8)	50 (100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

Here we find that 20% of households spent more than 20% of their income on hospitalization. This signifies 'catastrophic' health expenditures, which could potentially lead to downward mobility of households. The existence of households facing high health expenditures suggests a need for mechanisms for financial protection.

4.6. Access to birth control and small family size - does it correlate with aspirations for real upward mobility?

High dependency ratios are often associated with income poverty and compromised human development. The costs of education, health care and food lead persistent severe poverty in high dependency ratio households, and this is particularly likely to be the case where livelihood options are limited (Bird and Shepherd 2003). Bhargava (2003) in his study on intergenerational transfer of poverty in Rajasthan found that high dependency ratios have been found to contribute to indebtedness, ill-health and inability to afford education (Bhargava et al., 2005). Correspondingly, Harper, Marcus and Moore (2003) illustrate from their study that the more siblings a child has, the less likely they are to complete secondary school. In Latin American having up to 3 siblings makes little difference, but having 4 or more has a bigger impact. The study also found that having a large number of siblings also affects nutrition, which in turn affects

educational outcomes. These findings suggest that high dependency ratios can contribute to the intergenerational transmission of poverty by limiting children's human development and capabilities.

As there is general consensus that lesser the number of children, better will be the resources available to them and better quality of parenting, in this section our basic aim is to understand the general family size in the slums in terms number of children and whether there is an attempt adopt small family norms. This should be seen from the general context of the remarkable achievements of Kerala in demographic transition over the last 1960s. The Total Fertility Rate of Kerala has 1.8 per woman which below the replacement rate, in the 1990s.

Table 4.17: Sterilization Surgery and Institutionalised Births

Sl. No.		Barton hill	Thekkumudu	Total	
1	Method of Sterilization				
	A	Vasectomy	4(6.7)	5(10.0)	11
	B	Tubectomy	37(61.7)	32(64.0)	69
	C	Not Sterilized/ Not Applicable	19(31.6)	13(26.0)	32
		Total	60(100)	50 (100)	110
2	Institutionalized Child Birth				
	A	Yes	48	41	
	B	No	12	9	
		Total	60	50	110

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

The table 4.17 shows the sterilisation surgery and institutionalised births in both the slums. In order to get a better insight into the attitude towards the family people's preference for small family we look the sterilisation surgery undergone by the married couple. From the table we can infer that 61.7 per cent have opted for sterilisation through tubectomy; only 31.6 per cent of the women are not sterilised and only 6.7 per cent of the men have opted for the sterilisation through vasectomy. On the other hand in Thekkumudu slum only 10 per cent of the men had done sterilisation through vasectomy. While, 64 per cent of were sterilised through tubectomy and 26 per cent are not sterilised. Secondly, the table shows that 48 women out of 60 in Bartonhill colony has undergone institutionalised child birth and 41 out of 50 women has institutionalised child birth in Thekkumudu slum.

Table 4.18: Cross tabulation of Intergenerational Comparison of Preference for Children between Present Generation and Parent Generation

	Number of Children (Present Generation)						
	0	1	2	3	4	<5	Total
Number of Children (Parents generation)	Barton Hill						
1	0(0.0)	2(100)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	2(100)
2	1(25.0)	3(50.0)	1(25.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	4(100)
3	0(0.0)	1(16.7)	3(50.0)	2(33.3)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	6(100)
4	1(7.1)	0(0.0)	11(78.6)	2(14.3)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	14(100)
>5	0(0.0)	3(8.8)	20(58.8)	8(23.5)	2(5.8)	1(2.9)	34(100)
Total	2(5.0)	7(20.5)	35(58.3)	12(20.0)	2(3.3)	1(1.6)	60(100)
	Thekkumudu						
1	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(100)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(100)
2	0(0.0)	1(20.0)	4(80.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	5(100)
3	1(8.3)	1(8.3)	8(66.7)	2(16.7)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	12(100)
4	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	5(55.6)	3(33.3)	1(11.1)	0(0.0)	9(100)
>5	1(4.3)	2(8.6)	11(47.8)	7(30.4)	2(8.6)	0(0.0)	23(100)
Total	2(4.0)	4(8.0)	29(58)	12(24.0)	3(6.0)	0(0.0)	50(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

The change attitude in preference of small families by women across generations could be brought out more clearly by comparing it with number of children their mothers had (see table 4.18). It can be inferred that in Bartonhill 56.6 per cent and in Thekkumudu 46.0 per cent mothers of women had more than 5 children. It is clear from the table that irrespective of the number children their mothers had most of the women have either 2-3 children. From the table we can observe that out of total 60 women in Bartonhill colony 58.3 per cent of them have 2 children and 20.5 per cent have 3 children. Similarly, in the Thekkumudu slum 58.0 per cent of the total women have two children and 24.0 per cent of them have 3 children. Thus it is clear across generation the preference is to have smaller family.

Our initial argument was that high dependency ratio is associated with poverty and has negative impact on human development. We have tried to examine whether the number of children has an impact on standard of living as shown in table 4.19. The difference in number of children across different standard of living is not very significant. This is because about 80 percent of households have either two or three children.

Table 4.19: Standard of Living of Household and the Number of Children

Background Characteristics of Women							
Standard of Living of Household	0	1	2	3	4	<5	Total
Bartonhill							
Low	1(11.1)	1(11.1)	6(66.7)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(11.1)	9(100)
Medium	1(3.7)	3(11.1)	16(59.3)	6(22.2)	1(3.7)	0(0.0)	27(100)
High	0(0.0)	2(8.3)	13(54.2)	6(25.0)	1(4.1)	0(0.0)	24(100)
Total	2(3.3)	6(9.9)	35(58.3)	12(20.0)	2(3.3)	1(1.7)	60(100)
Thekkumudu							
Low	0(0.0)	2(22.2)	2(22.2)	4(44.4)	1(11.1)	0(0.0)	9(100)
Medium	0(0.0)	1(2.9)	21(60)	10(28.5)	3(8.6)	0(0.0)	35(100)
High	0(0.0)	1(16.7)	4(66.6)	1(16.7)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	6(100)
Total	0(0.0)	4(8.0)	27(54.0)	15(30)	4(8.0)	0(0.0)	50(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total.

The analysis of several of small family show a universal preference for small families in both slums and the standard aspects of adoption of living does not make any difference in preference of children.

Table 4.20: Purpose of Debt and Source of Debt

Purpose of Debt	Source of debt			
	Bank	Money Lender	Other	Total
	Bartonhill			
Daily Needs	0.0	8.0 (100)	0.0	8.0 (100)
Business Investments	4.0 (40)	5.0 (50)	1.0 (10)	10.0 (100)
HealthCare	2.0 (15.4)	8.0 (61.5)	3.0 (23.1)	13.0 (100)
Education	2.0 (33.3)	1.0 (16.7)	3.0 (50)	6.0 (100)
House construction /Renovation	2.0 (50)	1.0 (25)	1.0 (25)	4.0 (100)
Marriage	2.0 (22.2)	4.0 (44.4)	3.0 (33.3)	9.0 (100)
Total	12.0 (24)	27.0 (54)	11.0 (22)	50.0 (100)
Thekkumudu				
Daily Needs	1.0(11.1)	8.0 (88.9)	0.0	9.0 (100)
Business Investments	1.0 (11.1)	7.0 (77.8)	1.0 (11.1)	9.0 (100)
HealthCare	0.0	5.0 (100)	0.0	5.0 (100)
Education	1.0 (33.3)	2.0 (66.7)	0.0	3.0 (100)
House construction /Renovation	0.0	4.0 (100)	0.0	4.0 (100)
Marriage	0.0	10.0 (83.3)	2.0 (16.7)	12.0 (100)
Total	3.0 (7.1)	36.0 (85.7)	3.0 (7.1)	42.0 (100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

4.7 Does indebtedness lead to downward mobility?

Studies on slums in Thiruvananthapuram (Loyola Extension Survices, 1993; Madhusoodhnan, 2003) draw attention to the debt trap of the slum dwellers. It is pointed out that mostly people in the slums borrow from the moneylenders. But the prevailing rate of interest is highly regressive. The prevalence of the regressive rate of interest in the slums can be explained by a situation in which the marginalized section borrow out of their dire necessity to meet basic necessities of life. The exorbitantly high rate of interest charged by the moneylenders, locally known as “meterpalisa”, puts the people in perpetual debt.

Table 4.21: Purpose of Availing Loans and Sources of Funds in the Two Slums

Purpose of Debt	< 5000	5001 - 20000	20001 - 30000	30001 - 100000	100001+	Total
Bartonhill						
Daily Needs	2.0 (25)	5.0 (62.5)	1.0 (12.5)	0.0	0.0	8 (100)
Business Investments	1.0 (10)	4.0 (40)	0.0	4.0 (40)	1.0 (10)	10 (100)
HealthCare	1.0 (7.7)	0.0	5.0 (38.5)	3.0 (23.1)	4.0 (30.8)	13 (100)
Education	1.0 (16.7)	0.0	0.0	1.0 (16.7)	4.0 (66.7)	6 (100)
House construction /Renovation	1.0 (25.9)	0.0	2.0 (50)	1.0 (25)	0.0	4 (100)
Marriage	0.0	3.0 (33.3)	0.0	1.0 (11.1)	5.0 (55.6)	9 (100)
Total	6.0 (12)	12.0 (24)	8.0 (16)	10.0 (20)	14.0 (28)	50 (100)
Thekkumudu						
Daily Needs	5.0 (50)	2.0 (20)	1.0 (10)	2.0 (20)	0.0	10 (100)
Business Investments	0.0	5.0 (55.6)	2.0 (22.2)	2.0 (22.2)	0.0	9 (100)
HealthCare	0.0	1.0 (20)	2.0 (40)	1.0 (20)	1.0 (20)	5 (100)
Education	0.0	0.0	1.0 (33.3)	1.0	1.0 (33.3)	3 (100)
House construction /Renovation	0.0	2.0 (50)	2.0 (50)	0.0	0.0	4 (100)
Marriage	0.0	1.0 (8.3)	1.0 (8.3)	8.0 (66.7)	2.0 (16.7)	12 (100)
Total	5.0 (11.6)	11.0 (25.6)	9.0 (20.9)	14.0 (32.6)	4.0 (9.3)	43 (100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

In the table 4.20 we have attempted to understand the source of debt in Bartonhill and Thekkumudu. Here it can be inferred that out of 60 households 50 in Bartonhill and 42 of 50 in Thekkumudu households are in debt. The table shows that the dependency on money lender is much higher as compared to other sources such as bank and others. Particularly in Thekkumudu slum 85.7 of the borrowers have depended on money lenders where as in Bartonhill it is 54 per

cent. In Bartonhill dependency on money lender is much higher when they seek borrowing for daily needs, health care and marriages. For the purposes like education, house construction they depend on bank and other sources more. But in Thekkumudu slum it can be seen in the table that, for all the purposes more than 75 per cent of them have depended on money lenders.

The table 4.21 shows the purpose of debt and the amount borrowed. Essentially here we are trying to examine what are the factors that force them to borrow and how these borrowings in turn has impact on upward mobility. The table shows that of the 50 total borrowers in Bartonhill, 13 have borrowed for health, 10 for business investments and 9 for the marriages and 28 per cent of the total indebted borrowed more than 100000 and 24 per cent have borrowed around 5000-20000. From the table we can infer that while the small amount of borrowing is sought for daily needs, the large amount of debt are for health expenditure, business investment and marriage purposes. Similarly in Thekkumudu out of 43 borrowers 12 borrowed for marriage, 10 borrowed for meeting daily needs; 9 borrowed for business investments and so on. In line with Bartonhill colony, in Thekkumudu slum, the large amounts of borrowings are sought mostly for marriage, health and education.

Most of the slum dwellers are in debt in both the slums. In Bartonhill while mostly debt is incurred for business investments and health care, in Thekkumudu the main cause of indebtedness can be attributed to daily needs and marriage expenses.

4.8 Does Marriage act as a catalyst for upward mobility?

Marriage is a case in point of how culture entangles with development, (Thomas, et al. 2010) studies have shown that even in the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, which exhibit high human development, dowry and wedding expenses have placed many households in vulnerable conditions (Srinivasan 2005). For the Kerala society marriage plays an important role in maintaining and enhancing social status. The primary responsibility of household and family is to marry off their daughters well. Marriage has become a presumed indicator of a family's social and economic standing in Kerala. Thus the marriage has become the venue

to show your standing in the society. The increasingly weddings are becoming a very costly affair in Kerala's reality requiring investment of all the accumulated capital of parents. The poorer groups are also having the demonstration effects of costly weddings. In the above table we have seen that marriage as one of the important components of borrowing. Now let us examine the dowry payments in the our field.

Table 4.22: Amount of Dowry Paid

Amount of Dowry	Name of Slum	
	Bartonhill	Thekkumudu
No Dowry	24(40)	21(42)
0-10000	4(6.7)	2(4.0)
10001-20000	11(34.3)	5(10.0)
20001-30000	2(3.3)	6(12.0)
30001-40000	2(3.3)	5(10.0)
40001-50000	7(11.6)	4(8.0)
50001-100000	8(13.3)	7(14.0)
>100001	2(3.3)	0(0.0)
Total	60(100.0)	50(100.0)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to column total

Though borrowing for marriage is an important reason for indebtedness in both the slums, interestingly major proportion of the people did not pay any dowry in both the slums; 40 per cent and 42 in Bartonhill and Thekkumudu slum respectively. And, 34.3 per cent paid 10000-20000 and the rest in Bartonhill paid all the ranges of dowry. (See table 4.22) This also could imply that a substantial amount was spent on arranging the wedding. In Thekkumudu, 14 per cent paid dowry of 50000-100000 rupees. Nonetheless, range in dowry ranges from no dowry to above one lakh.

Following are views of women on marriage and dowry from a focus group discussion among women.

"My daughter is 21; she completed her TTC now I want to marry her off soon. I have been saving for her marriage and expect to give a dowry not less than 50,000 thousand so that she could be married out of the locality."

Sosamma, 47, Domestic Help

Here we see the logic behind payment of dowry is find a groom outside the slum. Marrying daughters outside the slum is perceived among the slum dwellers as prestigious and such marriages require payment of dowry. As observed in table

4.13 marriage is the single most important reason for out migration from both slums (56.4 percent in Bartonhill and 74.1 in Thekkumudu).

"Payment huge dowry and large scale wedding are only a recent phenomenon which lands up the girls' parents in substantial debt. Before marriages in the locality was organised by the voluntary participation of the colony people."

Omana, 67

"There are two kinds of marriages here one is arranged marriages where huge dowry has to be paid and girls usually move out of the colony. The second kind is love marriage which happens mostly from within the slum or the adjacent slums of Kannanmoola or Bartonhill. There no dowry payment but parent often oppose this marriage so people do this without parental consent. But men usually marry from slums within or around the city"

Shiny Lekha, 28

The three facts about marriages that emerge from the above two statements. Firstly an elderly person testifying that dowry payments are recent phenomena which land up parent in debt. There also light on kind of marriages in the slum from Shiny Lekha's statement.

Marriages of daughters are seen as means of upward mobility and matter of prestige for the family. Hence huge financial liabilities are undertaken by parents to marry off daughters paying dowries which will land them up in lifelong indebtedness.

4.9 Does land ownership have a positive impact on upward mobility?

From the early 1990s, a major pro-slum policy which emerged was developing property rights to the slum dwellers by regularization of insecure tenure in informal settlements. A major premise of this approach is based on the economic theory that predicts a straight forward relationship between individual property rights and incentives to invest in land. In the same line it is argued that the fear of eviction in urban squatter communities implies discounted returns to investment in housing and infrastructure. The World Bank and the UN-HABITAT are the

most prolific advocates the security of tenure approach. Field (2005) identifies also identifies several associated benefits of security of tenure. One such complimentary benefit is the ability to use property titles as collateral in accessing formal credit. The titles are permit individuals to gain access to official sources of credit such banks, credit societies, etc using the title as collateral for loans to accomplish several desirable outcomes such as starting business, upgrading dwelling.

In this section we look into whether land titling had helped the slum dwellers by looking into two main benefits listed cited in literature namely investments in housing reflected in type of houses and access to credit.

Table 4.23: Land Ownership Pattern in the two Slums

Name of slum	Land Owned (in cents)					Total
	0	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	6+	
Bartonhill	18(30)	27(45)	9(15.0)	5(8.3)	1(1.7)	60(100)
Thekkumudu	49(98.0)	0(0.0)	1(2.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	50(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

Table 4.24: Landholding and Standard of Living Index in the Slums

Land Owned (in cents)	Standard of Living Index			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Bartonhill				
0	5(27.8)	13(72.2)	0(0.0)	18(100)
1 - 2	10(37.1)	17(62.9)	0(0.0)	27(100)
3 - 4	3(37.8)	4(50.0)	1(12.5)	8(100)
5 - 6	0(0.0)	4(80.0)	1(20.0)	5(100)
6+	0(0.0)	1(100.0)	0(0.0)	1(100.0)
Total	18(30.0)	40(66.7)	2(3.3)	60(100)
Thekkumudu				
0	28(57.1)	21(42.9)	0(0.0)	49(100)
1 - 2	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(100)
3 - 4	0(0.0)	1(100.0)	0(0.0)	1(100.0)
5 - 6	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(100)
6+	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(100)
Total	28(56.0)	22(44)	0.0(0.0)	50(100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

Table 4.23 shows the distribution of land in two slums. Bartonhill is the slum which has land entitlement. It can be observed that majority of the households

own land between 0 to 6 cents in Bartonhill. Here 18(30.0 per cent) households do not own land these are cases where people stay on rent or are staying in undivided family property. Largely people own 2-3 cents (45.0 percent) and only one person own more than 6 cents. Thekkumudu slum does not have land tilting therefore majority does not own land. The only household which owns land is outside the slum.

In the table 4.24 looks into whether land ownership and the standard of living are correlated. It can be observed from the table that there is no household without land having a high standard of living in both the slums. Though, 37.1 per cent of households with 1-2 cents land and 37.8 per cent of households with 3-4 cents of land have low standard of living.

Table 4.25: Land Ownership and Type of Houses

Land Owned(Cents)	Type of House			
	Pucca	Semi-Pucca	Kucha	Total
Bartonhill				
0	3 (12.0)	11 (61.1)	4 (22.2)	18 (100)
1 - 2	12 (46.2)	10 (38.4)	5 (15.4)	27 (100)
3 - 4	3 (33.3)	5 (55.6)	1 (11.1)	9 (100)
5 - 6	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (100)
6+	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100)
Total	23 (38.3)	26 (43.3)	10 (18.3)	60 (100)
Thekkumudu				
0	0 (0.0)	12 (23.2)	37 (72.8)	49 (100)
1 - 2	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (100)
3 - 4	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100)	1 (100)
5 - 6	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (100)
6+	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (100)
Total	0 (0.0)	12 (24.0)	38 (76.0)	50 (100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

The correlation between land ownership and the investment in houses is analysed by looking into the type of houses (see table 4.25). When we compare the houses in both the slums it is evident that in Bartonhill 38.3 per cent of the houses is pucca while there are no pucca houses in Thekkumudu. Whereas, in Thekkumudu 76 per cent of the houses are kucha and that in Bartonhill is only 18.3 percent. Thus it becomes evident that land entitlement has a positive effect on investment in the housing.

Table 4.26: Land Ownership and Source of Credit

Land Owned(Cents)	Source of Debt			
	Bank	Money Lender	Others	Total
Bartonhill				
0	1 (7.1)	10 (71.4)	3 (21.4)	14 (100)
1 - 2	6 (30.0)	9 (45.0)	5 (25.0)	20 (100)
3 - 4	4 (44.4)	4 (44.4)	1 (11.1)	9 (100)
5 - 6	0 (0.0)	4 (66.7)	2 (33.3)	6 (100)
9+	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100)
Total	12 (24.0)	27 (54.0)	11 (22.0)	50 (100)
Thekkumudu				
0	3 (7.3)	35 (85.4)	3 (7.3)	41 (100)
1 - 2	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (100)
3 - 4	0 (0.0)	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	1 (100)
5 - 6	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (100)
9+	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (100)
Total	3 (7.1)	36 (85.7)	3 (7.1)	42 (100)

Source: Field Survey 2009

Percentages in parentheses are relative to row total

In the 4.26 the association between land ownership and the source of credit is look at. In general when we compare both the slums in Bartonhill 24.0 per cent have taken loan from banks, where as 54 percent from money lenders and 22 per cent from others. Whereas in Thekkumudu only 3 per cent have obtained loan from banks, large majority has taken loans from money lenders and another 3 percent from others. So at the general level the people from slum with land titles (Bartonhill) have slightly better access to bank credit than slum dwellers without land titles (Thekkumudu). When we look the size of land holding a clear picture does not emerge on the fact that size of land hold and access to formal credit.

Thus as specified in literature land title does have a positive impact on investment in housing in Bartonhill. It can also be seen that households Bartonhill have better access to bank credit compared to Thekkumudu.

4.10 Summary

From the analysis of education, employment, migration health, adoption of family planning, credit options, and marriages in the two slums we find only minute intra slum (within each slum) inter-slum variation. In case of education

we find that in there has been notable improvement in terms of mean years of schooling but these gains could not translate into upward mobility in tertiary and technical education, which are crucial in maintaining and improving economic and social status in the community. Further this is reflected in the employment situation in terms of quality of employment. Mostly the slum dwellers are employed in low profile occupations and are casual labourers. In terms of mobility in employment of the younger cohorts in both slums not even a single person was able to secure permanent employment. Migration has been a major uplifting factor in the Kerala society but here also in both slums it did not play a significant role. A fairly high proportion of households incur health care expenditure and for a sizable proportion of them it accounts for a significant amount given their economic background. This get reflected as major cause for indebtedness in the both slum both in terms of number and size. Though there has been almost universal adoption of small families it has not influenced the standard of living in both the slums. Indebtedness and high dependence on money lenders is also a notable aspect. Marriage is perceived to be an element in social mobility and dowry is increasing seen as a necessary aspect of arranged marriages taking place. For the study the basic classification was made on the basis of land entitlements. In terms of size of land holdings it is important to note that the size of holdings is very small, 30 percent of sample in Bartonhill and a 98 per cent in Thekkumudu does not hold any land. While the land own household mostly own 1-2 cents, 45 per cent in Bartonhill and another 15 per cent 3-4 cents. From our analysis it emerges that the basic difference in land entitlements is most importantly observed in terms credit availability and quality of housing. This testify the argument that property titles by giving security of tenure encourages more to invest on housing and it also can be used as collateral security for availing the loan. But in all other aspects examined land entitlement does not seem to have much impact.

Chapter 5

Summary and Conclusion

Now there is wide acceptance that slums have grown as an inevitable part of modern urban life and is viewed as the most enduring manifestations of urban poverty. The outlook on slums evolved in the last century has undergone enormous change from the very negative perception of them as cities' back alleys of crime and disease to their acceptance as reservoirs of cheap labour for running cities. This is also reflected in the various policy strategies towards slums in the last fifty years. In the 1950s it was believed that slums were a temporary phenomenon that would disappear with economic growth and policymakers therefore turned a blind eye to them. In the 1970s and early 1980s, when it became clear that the policy of benign neglect would not lead to the disappearance of slums, the strategy of was of forcible mass evictions, accompanied by demolition. This strategy faced a lot of opposition and was a failure in the sense that it focused on the symptoms, rather than on the root causes of such settlements - thus resulting in their displacement rather than elimination. From the late 1980s and early 1990s relocation and resettlement policies gained ground, and now slum clearance entails the relocation of evicted households to alternative locations. Funded largely by the World Bank simultaneously from the 1980s many developing countries also adopted programmes to upgrade slum and squatter settlements. By employing locality-based improvement strategies designed to improve basic services and physical infrastructure like water supply, sanitation, garbage collection, storm drainage, street lighting, and paved footpaths and streets etc. The most recent strategy advocated prolifically by UN-Habitat and the World Bank has been developing property rights which entail the regularization of insecure tenure in informal settlements. Even after concerted efforts from various governments and development agencies it is seen that over the years the level and magnitude of slums have only increased. Currently, there is an apparent lack of understanding of forces driving the proliferation of slums given the fact the term slum encompasses a plethora of contextually different meanings within itself. This can

be attributed to the dearth of studies that empirically link the prevalence of slums with the driving forces at either the state or city level. This dissertation was an attempt to understand the socio-economic mobility of slum dwellers Thiruvananthapuram and thereby identifying the underlying factors that lead to the continuing of slums over last years in the city

The low socio-economic mobility over the generations was taken in the study as basic premise underlying the continuing existence and proliferation of slums. We have explored this into it by probing various factors enabling/disabling the upward socio-economic mobility over generations in two slums in Thiruvananthapuram. Two slums were selected with basic distinction on land entitlement (Bartonhill -slum with land entitlements and Thekkumudu- slum without land entitlement). Taking cue from the literature on intergenerational poverty transfer and aspects of social mobility specific to the Kerala context, we have probed six aspects; namely education, employment, migration health, adoption of family planning, credit options, and marriages.

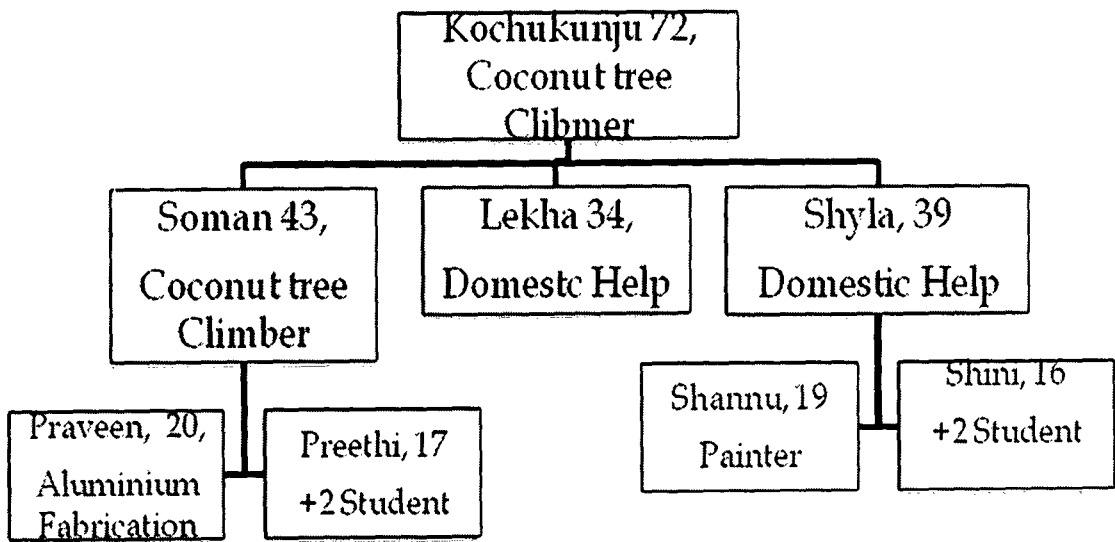
From the analysis of in the two slums we find only very little variation within the slum (in terms of caste and class) and between the two slums in the six selected indicators. With regard to education in both slums we find that though there has been remarkable improvement in terms of mean years of schooling from earlier to later generations these gains did not translate into upward mobility in college level and technical education. This is further reflected in the employment situation in terms of quality of employment essential for upward mobility terms employment. Considering the mobility in employment of the younger cohorts in both slums it was observed that not even a single person was able to secure permanent employment. It was also observed that in the two slums the workforce largely constitutes of casual labourers; there is little difference between generations. Migration especially to the Middle East in terms of providing employment, income and status is very crucial Kerala society but here also in both slums it did not play a significant role. Both generations lack the capabilities and networks that facilitate migration. A fairly high proportion of households incur health care expenditure and for a sizable proportion of them it accounts for

a significant amount given their economic background. This gets reflected as major cause for indebtedness in the both slums. Though there has been almost universal adoption of small families it has not influenced the standard of living in both the slums. Indebtedness and high dependence on money lenders is also a notable aspect. Marriage is perceived to be an element in social mobility and dowry is increasing seen necessary aspect of arranged marriages taking place. The difference in land entitlements the most important difference is observed in terms credit availability and quality of housing.

What prevents slum dwellers from achieving upward mobility?

Cases of Two Life Histories

Case1: Kochukunju, 72, Thekkumudu



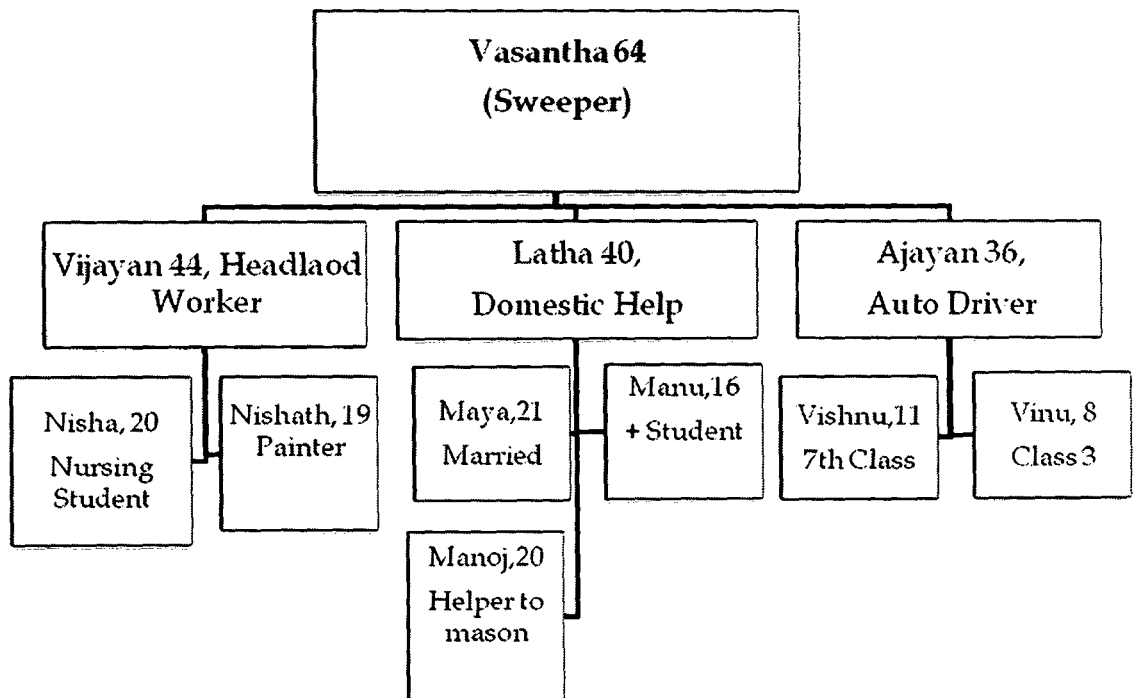
Here we recognize that any attempt at improving the lives of slum dwellers, and providing alternatives to new slum formation, must be preceded by a proper understanding of the factors that underlie the formation and proliferation of slums. It is evident from our analysis of the six selected contextual indicators that there has been little socio-economic mobility in the two selected slums. It becomes very important to locate the reasons behind the low socioeconomic mobility. This section draws from two life histories from two selected slums.

Kochukunju, came to Thekkumudu in the early 1970s from Kattakada, a peripheral village in Thiruvananthapuram. He belongs to the Thandaan community, who are traditionally the coconut climbers in Kerala. He has eight siblings and father was engaged in the traditional occupation of coconut tree climbing and mother was an agricultural labourer. He is illiterate and did not own land so the only option for livelihood was wage labour. Initially he came to the city in search of employment. It was Raghavan, his relative who had set up house on the bank of the canal encouraged Kochukunju also to follow the suit. Kochukunju was married to Sarala in the late 1960s. At the time they moved into the slum Sarala who was a casual agricultural labourer began to work as a casual labourer. Presently she is a vegetable vendor and Kochukunju was a coconut tree climber. They have one son - Soman and two daughters Shyla and Lekha. Soman (class 7 failed) does the traditional occupation of coconut tree climbing and is married and has two children aged 20 and 17 years. Praveen (son of Soman) after finishing a course on Aluminium fabrication has just started working and he prefers to move out of the traditional occupation. Shyla (38) has studied till class 6th and dropped off after failing in the class. She is a domestic help, is settled in the same slum. She had done love marriage; her husband is a head load worker and has two children. Her son aged 20 has done her 10th class after failing he had discontinued studies and now is painter. Daughter aged 16 is a +1 student at a government school. Lekha (35) studied till class 3 is now working as house maid. She is unmarried and stays with parents. She suffers from asthma and heart ailment. She earns Rs.1000 per month.

Kochukunju lives with his wife and daughter in a two room kucha house. Kochukunju is acute diabetic and because of the complication had to amputate his leg. Medical expenditure was huge had to take a loan of Rs.30000 for treatment and Rs.5000 meeting day to day expenses from a local money lender. From last 5-6 years Kochukunju has been suffering from various ailments like respiratory problems and Diabetics related complications. Initially it started as a wound he had to amputate his right leg. The health shocks have been very

negative. Since he got the wound he could not go for work of coconut tree climbing. Since then the life has changed for the worse the wife had become principle earner. Some days it becomes difficult to even have 2 square meals a day. Their possession of durable goods is also very scarce. He is occasionally helped financially by his son but he too cannot contribute much because he is also not well off. The frequent flooding during monsoons creates a menace and damages household assets.

Case-2 Vasanatha , 63,Cheramar



Considering the above case in terms of the six indicators identified, first, there is educational mobility in that the first generation i.e Kochukunju, is illiterate while most of the third generation has attained high school and above. As observed in our quantitative analysis the mean years of schooling over generation in this case has also improved but gets stalled at +2 levels. In terms of employment the younger generation does not continue the traditional occupation and moved to modern booming sectors like construction. However, both younger men are casual workers and their occupational shift does not imply either economic or social upward mobility. In the above case, the medical expenses are the major financial burden and the fact that it is met through expensive loans through the money lender increases the vulnerability of the poor in the scenario of low asset

base. Being situated in an environmentally hazardous location also increases the vulnerability.

Vasantha, who originally belonged to Aruvikkara, a suburb in Thiruvananthapuram moved to the slum after her marriage, where her husband had been living with his family. She has five siblings and did not inherit any land. Both she and husband had been class 4 government employees. She has not attended school but has functional literacy. Her husband passed away 3 years ago. She has three children, two sons and a daughter. Vijayan(44), Ajayan (36) and Latha (40). None of her children are employed in government sector jobs. Vijayan is a head load worker, Ajayan is an auto driver and Latha a housemaid. Both sons studied till 7th. Latha has passed standard 10 and was married off at 18. She migrated to Varkala, a town near Thiruvananthapuram. She is now separated from her husband and stays with her mother. She has three children, two sons and a daughter. Her daughter Maya (21) is married, Manoj (19) is a painter and Manu(16) a +2 student. Vijayan has married from the colony itself and stays nearby; he has two children, Nisha (20) is doing diploma in Nursing at Coimabtoire and Nishanth (18) is a painter. Ajayan also stays in the slum with wife and two children. His sons Vishnu (11) and Vinu (8) study at government schools.

Vasantha's husband had owned 2 cents in the colony the colony; which has to be divided among her children. She receives her husband's family pension. She is still in service as the retirement age for sweepers is 70, though she has government job her category does not have pension. Has a debt of 1,75,000. This debt has been an accumulated over the period and the main reasons for it being the marriage of her granddaughter. Since her son in law did not take part at all, the entire expense of the marriage had to be borne by Vasantha and her daughter. Dowry (Rs.1,00,000)and wedding expenses came to nearly Rs.1,25,000. But she is happy that her granddaughter married and moved out of the slum. The other major components of her debt are those incurred during house renovation and while supporting her son when he met with an accident (both medical expenses and sustenance during convalescence period).The major part of the loan has been

taken from the money lender, a part from the bank and another from the credit cooperative. Vasantha says that in the earlier years there were periods hunger but now it is the stress of financial problems.

In the case of Vasantha, there is adequate social security from her husband's pension and her government job. Here the family owns land but the problem is the small size of the land holding which has to be further sub-divided. In this case also there is upward educational mobility but the question is how far it will result in socio-economic mobility. In this case also it can be seen that the young adults in the family are employed in the construction sector. Here the scale of debt is very high compare to Thekkumudu and the sources are also diversified. Medical expense in this case a factor of indebtedness. Here we can find for the family marrying off daughters out of the slum is a strategy of upward mobility. But the price is high in terms of dowry paid.

From the above life histories and also other information obtained through interviews with residents of the two slums, we can identify the following factors as the key drivers preventing upward mobility¹ in the two slums.

- (i) **Asset base too thin:** Land received in the land reforms or later has been too little, and has further diminished through subdivision (the size of land holding is below six cents and majority having a land holding less than or equal to 2 cents). Shyamala,44, Bartonhill, in one of the focus group discussion said that her mother has 3 cents and 4 children so the share of each would come less than a cent. The only way out was to sell the property. Even though property prices in urban areas have gone up phenomenally, the expenses on healthcare and social obligations like marriage have skyrocketed too. Apart from land they do not own any saleable asset to cash in. The assets they own are mainly consumer durables which have live resale value. According to the standard of living index calculated majorly on the possession of consumer durables, many families in both

¹ It may even be likely that what we are witnessing is actually downward mobility, given that it is reasonable to suppose that by migrating to urban areas and urban forms of employment, the first generation had achieved upward mobility from their earlier situation.

slums seem to enjoy better quality of life. However, this gives us no indication of their extreme vulnerability to shocks.

- (ii) **Adoption of upper caste – upper class practices:** Dowry as a strategy for upward mobility is widespread in both slums. Lindberg (2001) notes that this has been adopted by working poor in Kerala as an upward mobility strategy with hazardous consequences for their security. We have observed both in our case study as well as in chapter 4 that dowry is a major reason for indebtedness. Though through a dowried marriage poor women and their families obtain a perceived upward social mobility it leads to a debt trap from which the poor may not escape.
- (iii) **Lack of physical environment that promotes studiousness:** Close physical proximity of households limits space and privacy necessary for home study. It emerged from the analysis of the statements of children and teachers (Chapter 4) that lack of a conducive environment at home leads to poorer performance in school. Economic and social disadvantage prompts students, especially male, to dropout at earlier age. While this is an important reason, equally important is lure of consumption opportunities, vastly increased in the recent times along with plentiful availability of casual work and high wages for the same. In Bartonhill, mothers expressed considerable interest in educating their wards but also deeply regretted that they were being drawn away from education because of “bad company”. It may be noted that the male role models that seem to be available to young men in these slums are not of hardworking educated achievers, but of young men who had got rich quick through other means, sometimes illegal shortcuts. A particularly interesting figure, noted by some, was of a ‘hero’ in one of the slums, a young man who was apparently on the verge of obtaining a high-prestige job in the police force, but somehow failed to actually obtain it. In Thekkumudu, however, young men, it appeared, were simply unable to pursue higher education because they were expected to carry the burdens of family responsibility at a higher age. Here too, the avenues open are not only legal, but even illegal.

- (iv) **Deterioration in health, which pushes up health expenditure:** As seen in the general case of Kerala (as indicated by the highest level of morbidity among the Indian States, Kerala HDR,2005) the slums also exhibit similar high rate of prevalence of illnesses (prevalence of diseases 21.1 per cent for Kerala, Zachariah and Rajan, 2007). This would mean a higher burden on poor in terms of medical expenditure and labour days lost. Good health is a key asset. Malnutrition and illness are critical drivers of downward mobility together with the timing of shocks and interventions appear to be the main factors in determining the irreversibility of poverty transfers.(Bird 2010). This is evident from both life histories above and other interviews as well.

Policy Recommendations

When the policy implications on slums are considered, the issue of quality of housing should not be considered in isolation from employment and income. We now turn to explore policy that would be instrumental in accelerating the upward social and economic mobility among the slum dwellers which would ultimately transform slums into low cost housing. Policies should address not only the issue of quality and quantity of house but also it must also attend to the underlying drivers. Some of these are within the control of the household but many are structured by the institutions and norms of society, related to strongly entrenched distributions of wealth, assets and power.

From our study it has become apparent that education is a fundamental building block of human development and having quality education above a threshold level enables greater mobility and supports both agency and diversity in livelihood options. There while considering slum improvement programmes the governments needs to take adequate measures to improve both access and quality, reducing barriers to both. We have identified that having a primary education no longer acts as a passport to higher social and economic status and earnings and this suggests that barriers to secondary and tertiary education must also be reduced.

Health shocks are a key driver of downward mobility not only to the present generation but also to future generations. As financial burden causes by health

shocks may require children to drop out of school in order to pitch in to share the family burden. Slum dwellers are a vulnerable group even small shocks in income can put them in huge debt which would be difficult for them to recover. Safety nets such as health insurance, micro-credit etc can help poor people maintain their thin asset base. There also firm measures to free them from the clutches of money lenders who charge exorbitant interest rates.

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II. LIVELIHOOD PROFILE

20. Details of Earning Members of the Household

Sl. No.	Relation to Head of Family	Employment status (Code)	Type of employment	Educational Qualification (Code)	Skill Training Acquired (Code)	Past Employment (code)	Place of work (Code)	Time of work (Code)	Monthly earning (Code)

Educational qualification (Code): 1-Illiterate, 2-less than primary school, 3-Primary school completed, 4-secondary school completed 5-Higher secondary completed/ PDC/Vocational higher secondary, 6-PG completed, 7-Certificate, 8-Diploma, 9Professional

Skill training acquired (Code): Pre-employment Training - 01, In-Service Training - 02, Skill Upgradation - 03, Apprenticeship - 04, Soft Skills/Life Skill Programme - 05, Entrepreneurship - 06, Hereditary-07, Any Other - 49, No skills training - 99

Type of institution from which skills training acquired (Code): ITI - 01, Polytechnic - 02, Vocational schools - 03, Technical Schools/Institutes - 04, Any Other - 49

Employment status (Code): Self-employed (01), Salaried (02), Regular wage ((03), Casual labour (04), Others (05)

Place of work (Code): Within the slum area - 01, Outside the slum area: within distance Less than 0.5 kms - 02, 0.5 to 1.0 km.- 03, 1.0 km to 2.0 km. - 04, 2.0 km to 5.0 km. -05, more than 5.0 km-06

Time of work (Code): Whole day- 01, Half day-02, Part time-03, 3 Months in a year- 04, 6 Months in a year-05,

Monthly earning (Code): Less than Rs. 500 - 01, 500 to 1000 - 02, 1000 to 1500 - 03, 1500 to 2000 - 04, 2000 to 3000 - 05, More than 3000 - 06

21.1. If self employed what kind of enterprise are you involved in? _____

21.2. Is your enterprise located within the slum? _____

22. Is any member of the household part of the Kudumasree activities? _____

22.1. If so specify _____

23. What are the channels which helped you to find employment? _____

23.1 Do networks in slum help you to find employment? _____

23.2 Do networks in slum help you in enhancing skills? _____

III MIGRATION DETAILS OF HOUSEHOLD, If applicable

30. Number of Years of Stay in this Slum _____

• 0 to 1 year -01, • 1 to 3 years- 02, • 3 to 5 years- 03, • More than 5 years-04

30.1. Whether Migrated from: _____

[Rural Area to Urban Area: 01, Urban Area to Urban Area: 02]

If Non Migrant

31. Is your spouse a permanent resident of the slum _____

31. Number of years of stay in the slum _____

32. Where your parents inhabitants of the slum? [Yes-01, No-02] _____

32.1 If yes, Occupation of Parents

Mother _____

Father _____

Education status of parents

Mother _____

Father _____

33. Did your parents own land? _____

[Yes-01, No-02] how many cents

33.1. If yes did you inherit land? [Yes-01, No-02] _____

33.2. If yes how many cents of land did you inherit? _____

33.3 Whose name is the pattayam in? _____

33.3 Is dowry paid? _____

33.3. Who did inherit land in your family? _____

34. Has anyone from household migrated out? _____

34.1. If yes what is the purpose of migration? _____

(Education01, Marriage02, Job03, Others04)

35 What is the destination of migration? _____

01 - Other slum, 02- other state, 03- outside India

36. Do you receive any remittance in cash or kind? _____

36.1 Has any of the migrants helped in others to migrate? [Yes-01, No-02] _____

36.2 If yes specify _____

37. Do you aspire to migrate out of the slum? [Yes-01, No-02] _____

38. If yes why? (Education01, Marriage02, Job03, Others04) _____

IV. INCOME-EXPENDITURE DETAILS OF HOUSEHOLD

41. Average monthly income of household (in Rs.) _____

42. Average monthly expenditure of household (in Rs.) _____

43. Debt outstanding as on date of survey (in Rs.) _____

44. Purpose of Debt _____

[01- Meet Daily needs, 02- Investments in business, Health expenditure-03, Education- 04, Marriage and other social functions-05]

44.1. Where did you obtain debt from? _____

[Bank01, Money Lenders 02, Cooperative society 03, Neighbors/ Relatives 04, Kudumbasree 05, NGOs 06,Others 09]

44.2 Have you been able to repay your debt? [Yes-01, No-02]_____

45. Have purchased any good in hire-purchase scheme? [Yes-01, No-02]_____

45.1. If yes, what amount do you owe?_____

45.2 Specify the objects purchased_____

46. Savings (Last year)_____

Savings in bank, Chitty, kuris, Gold, Others

47. Any Investment during the last year?[Investment during last year (Rs.)]_____

Land, Buildings, Other constructions, business enterprises, Human capital (education and training),

V. HOUSEHOLD LEVEL INFORMATION ON AMENITIES

50. Land tenure status_____

[Patta-01, Possession Certificate/Occupancy Right-02,Private Land Encroached -03, Public Land Encroached -04, Rented - 05, Other-09]

51. Type/structure of the house_____

[Pucca-01, Semi-Pucca-02, Katcha-03]

51.1. Type of roof_____

[Grass/thatched-01,Tarpaulin-02,Wooden-03, Asbestos-04, Tiled-05, Cement/Slab-06, Other-09]

51.2. Type of flooring_____

[Mud-01, Brick-02, Stone-03, Cement-04, Tiles-05, Other-09]

51.3. Separate room for kitchen_____

(Yes 01 No 0)

51.4. Number of rooms in house?_____

52. House lighting_____

[Electricity connection-01, Kerosene-02, Firewood-03, Other-09]

52.1. Fuel for cooking_____

[Gas-01, Electricity-02, Kerosene-03, Charcoal-04, Firewood-05, Other-49]

53. Source of drinking water_____

[Within premises- Tap-01, Tubewell/handpump-02, Open well-03]

[Outside premises- Public tap-04, Tube well/Bore well/Hand pump-05, Open well-

06, Tank/pond-07, River/Canal/Lake/Spring -08, Water tanker-09, Other-49]

53.1. If piped water supply then duration_____

[Duration of water supply: Less than 1 hour daily -01, 1-2 hrs daily-02, more than 2 hrs daily - 03, once a week - 04, twice a week - 05, not regular - 06, no supply -99]

53.2. If outside premises, then distance from drinking water source_____

[Less than 0.5 kms -01, 0.5 to 1.0 km.-02, 1.0 km to 2.0 km. - 03,

2.0 km to 5.0 km. -04, more than 5.0 km.-05]

54. Existence of toilet facility_____

[Own septic tank/flush latrine-01, Own dry latrine-02, Shared septic tank/flush latrine -03, Shared dry latrine-04, Community septic tank/flush latrine-05, Community dry latrine-06,Open defecation-07]

54.1. Bathroom facility_____

[Within premises -01, Outside premises-02, Community bath -03 No bathroom-04)

55. Road in front of house_____

[Motorable pucca -01, Motorable katcha -02, Non-motorable pucca -03, Non-motorable katcha04]

55.1. Type of pre-school available_____

[Government - 01, Private-02, Aided-03]

55.2. Type of primary school available_____

[Government - 01, Private-02, Aided-03]

55.3. Type of high school available_____

[Government - 01, Private-02, Aided-03]

55.4. Are the your household attending a private or a government school/college_____

[Government - 01, Private-02, Aided-03]

55.5 If so which class? _____

55.6 Are the taking Private tuitions? _____

55.7. Do your wards performs well in school? _____

55.8. What are the your aspirations about your kids? _____

56. Type of health facility access_____

[Primary Health Centre - 01, Government Hospital-02,

Maternity Centre-03, Private Clinic-04, RMP-05, Ayurvedic Doctor/Vaidya-06]

57. Access to welfare benefits by any family member

[Old Age Pension - 01, Widow Pension - 02, Disabled Pension - 03

Health Insurance - 04, General Insurance - 05, Other - 49]

58. Consumer Durables [Yes-01, No-02]

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| • Electric Fan | Refrigerator |
| • Electric Mixer | Residential Telephone |
| • Mobile Phone | Television |
| • Sewing Machine | Furniture |
| • Bicycle | Rickshaw |
| • Two Wheeler | Three Wheeler |
| • Taxi | Car |
| • CD/ DVD Player | Radio |

VI. HEALTH & BIRTH CONTROL

50. Is any member of you household undergoing treatment for any illness? _____

51. Is any member of you household hospitalized currently? _____

52. Has member of your household been ill during the last year _____

52.1. List the short duration (15 days) ailments are reported in the household? _____

52.2 Which of the following major illness ailments are reported in the household?

- TB
- Asthma/respiratory

- Diabetes
 - Gastric
 - Cancer
- Hyper-tension
Heart
HIV/AIDS

53. Where did visit on the occasion of illness? _____

[Primary Health Centre - 01, Government Hospital-02,
Maternity Centre-03, Private Clinic-04, RMP-05, Ayurvedic Doctor/Vaidya-06]

54. Gross estimate of your medical expenses _____

54.1 Specifications.

A) Consultation charges: _____ B) Diagnostics _____ C) Medicines _____

56. How many children do you have? _____

57. What is the spacing between your children? _____

58. Age of first child birth _____

58.1 Did you have institutionalized Child birth? _____

59. Have you or your spouse undergone sterilization? _____

(Vasectomy 01, Tubectomy 02)

59.1. Why did you undergo sterilization? _____

59.2. Has sterilization benefited you? If yes how? _____

59.3 How many children did your mother have? _____

VII. PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND STRATEGIES

60. Do you wish to move out of the slum? _____

[Yes-01, No-02]

60.1. Reason for your decision _____

61. What kind of relation you share within the neighborhood _____

62. Are you part of any civil organizations within the locality? _____

62.1 Specify _____

63. Do you have membership of any political party organization? _____

64. Are you member of any trade unions? _____

65. Did you vote for the last parliament elections? _____

65.1. Did you vote for the corporation election? _____

65. Are you aware of the government policies for slum/ urban poor? _____

65.1 Are you a beneficiary of any government policies for slum/ urban poor? _____

66. Do you think you present locality is good for bringing up your children? _____

66.1 Do you monitor of children's education? _____

66.2. Who is actively involved in decisions regarding children? _____

66.3 Do take care of food and nutrition for children? _____

67. Does your husband help you in maintaining the household? _____

68. Is there a problem of alcoholism in your family? _____

Others (please specify)	
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Perception of severity of problems faced to live in slums: Rank them according to their relevance 1-8: 2.3) Reasons for : Rank them according to their relevance 1-8:	
Drinking Water	
Housing Condition	
Land Ownership	
Sewer and drainage	
Health	
Poverty	
Unemployment	
Social Security	

8. Any other information that you think may be of interest to our research.

Appendix 2

INTERVIEWS

- 6.11.09 K.T. Ashokan, Congress Area Committee Member, Resident of Latha
- 26.11.09 Sarala.M secretary of local Kudumbasree Unit, Bartonhill, Trivandrum
- 26.11.09 Flemena Thomas ASHA Volunteer, Bartonhill, Trivandrum
- 26.11.09 Thankamani secretary of local Kudumbasree Unit, ThekkumuduBund, Trivandrum.
- 17.02.10 P.GeethaKumari, Headmistress, Government UPS, Kunnukuzhi, Trivandrum.
- 17.02.10 M.Latha Nair, High School Teacher, City High School February 2010, Trivandrum.
- 27.05.10 Kochukunju, ThekkumuduBund, Trivandrum.,
- 27.05.10 Soman, son of Kochukunju, ThekkumuduBund, Trivandrum.
- 30.05.10 Sarala, wife of Kochukunju ThekkumuduBund, Trivandrum.
- 30.05.10 Lekha, Daughter of Kochukunju ThekkumuduBund, Trivandrum.
- 01.06.10 Vasantha, Bartonhill, Trivandrum.
- 03.06.10 Latha, daughter of Vasantha Bartonhill, Trivandrum
- 03.06.10 Sunitha, , daughter in law of Vasantha Bartonhill, Trivandrum

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

- 23.12.09 Focus Group Discussion Among Age Group 6-16, Bartonhill, Trivandrum.
- 23.12.09 Focus Group Discussion Among Age Group 16-26, Bartonhill, Trivandrum.
- 23.12.09 Focus Group Discussion Among Women, Bartonhill, Trivandrum.
- 24.12.09 Focus Group Discussion Among Age Group 6-16, Thekkumudu, Trivandrum.
- 24.12.09 Focus Group Discussion Among Age Group 16-26, Thekkumudu, Trivandrum.
- 24.12.09 Focus Group Discussion Among Women, Thekkumudu, Trivandrum.