

**PROCESS OF MARGINALIZATION
And
EXPRESSIONS OF MARGINALITY:
A Study of Third World Cities**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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1988



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21 July 1988

DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation titled "Process of Marginalization and Expressions of Marginality : A Study of Third World Cities" submitted by Mr. Abraham Samuel is in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or anywhere else and is his own work.

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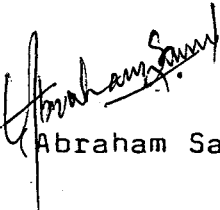

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply grate ful to Dr.Nirmal Singh
for the valuable guidance given to me.
I express my gratitude to my friends who
have inspired and helped me in this work.

New Delhi
21/7/1988


(Abraham Samuel)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is the growing phenomenon of marginal population in Third World cities. Social scientists have traditionally tried to concentrate either on traditional elite in the newly freed countries or on the vast population engaged in agriculture as primary producers or the newly emerging industrial working class in modern organised sectors. Still others have tried to probe the make-up of modernizing elite in those countries. Radical sociologists including those with various hues of Marxist inclinations have, by and large, not paid adequate attention to large chunks of people in Third World countries who do not easily fill into their pet received theories of social transformation. The present study is aimed at a preliminary identification of the marginal population in Third World cities as a macro phenomenon.

It is also an attempt to go over the available theoretical and empirical literature in the area to

form a general sociological picture of the phenomenon. It does not intend to offer any solution to the apprehended problems faced by this section of the population. We believe that solutions to the problems are predicated upon the specific structural conditions in different societies and more so on the actual development of political will in each society. However, some broad suggestive analysis may become unavoidable. We have tried to look for answers to many connected questions. For example, we are baffled as to why such a chunk of population remains on the margins of cities, economy, polity and culture.

What is the share of this section in the population as a whole? Why is this share on the increase? Why is it that even intergenerational mobility does not absorb children of this section of the population in the main line structures in urban socio-economic life? What are the stable sociological characteristics of this inherently unstable urban population? What are the ideological and political concomitants of the common culture of the marginals? These and related questions are attempted to be answered in this study on the basis of a perusal of the available literature within the reach of the researcher.

Third World cities cannot be taken to be the symbols of all round development and modernity. They are expanding in a fierceful rate, both spatially and demographically. These cities are large and congested without adequately expanding opportunities for jobs, shelter and other services which are necessary for a civilized life. Thousands of human beings crawl in these zooming cities with the hope of survival and they fail to provide an opportunity for minimum conditions of survival. This does not mean that these cities are totally enmeshed in poverty, misery and insecurity. There are sections of population, who enjoy all the fruits a consumerist culture can provide. There are well-designed residential areas, Star Hotels, swimming pools, big stadiã and auditoriums. But it demonstrates only the starkness of disparity, when these wealthy areas are surrounded by islands of misery, hunger and servitide. These are regular scenes in all cities which depresses and boggles the mind. People living in shacks and hovels, cooking in the open spaces, long unending queue for drinking water, etc. These are the areas of poverty in the midst of material wealth. Since times it is felt that there are two nations existing together in these cities. Thirty to forty per-

cent of the population in these Third World cities live in squalid condition, living a life of extreme suffering and privation.¹ Cities which were considered as an index of development and modernization (an idea borrowed from the West) has created its own anti-thesis. They have reacted a point where a self-sustained all-round development seems to be an illusion. These cities are unable to provide a stable/ ^{and} secure livelihood for thousands who take refuge in the cities with the hope that they may lead a somewhat tolerable life. These conditions do not seem to have resulted by chance. It cannot be considered to be an accidental outcome. We conjecture that this is a logical result from the nature of production and capitalist accumulation which is carried out in an urban space. We note, with a number of social science studies, that the countries that followed a non-capitalist, non-free economy path of development have to a great extent skirted this problem. Poverty and its manifestations can no longer be perceived as something inherently attributable to an individual or a group or remediable by national governments by merely using technical planning process. It is surmi-

1. Möhammad A. Qadeer, Urban Development in the Third World: Internal Dynamics of Lahore, (New York: Praeger, 1983) p.2.

sed that it is a creation of the nature and ideology of development itself. It has been noted by a number of discerning social scientists that profit-maximizing production for the benefit of a few, and marginalisation of majority to enhance the capital accumulation of the former is the underlying theme of development. Urban planners and policy makers in fact ignore the majority's 'pain' involved in the process of development.² Many 'modernisation' theorists consider it as an essential and even inevitable cost of the 'modernisation' of backward economies.

But slums and squatters are increasing. More and more people are pushed into unemployment and under-employment of a marginal nature and sizable section of the urban population earn a subhuman living with extreme difficulty. Money and market calculations more and more severely dominate the urban industrial culture and human relations. Those who are successful in setting their labour power for a reasonable value are the relatively fortunate ones. But majority even fail in that. Their failures in the labour market defeats them in the consumer market and in the society as a whole. Engels' discussion of Manchester of his

2. Peter Berger calls it the 'calculus of pain involved in the development process; Pyramids of Sacrifice,

time is more appropriate to describe the present day

Third World cities:

Everything which arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the industrial epoch....The industrial epoch alone enables the owners of these cattleheads to rent them for higher prices to human beings, to plunder the poverty of the workers, to undermine the health of thousands, in order that they alone, the owners, may grow rich.³

The only difference and which adds to the gravity of the situation is that in present day Third World cities, majority are unable to find an occupation.

This study being a sociological endeavour, makes an effort to grapple with conceptual and theoretical issues involved in understanding the process of urban marginalization in an under developed economy. The existential conditions of the marginals and their relation to the wider society are also described in their right as empirical facts and also a criteria for validating conceptual theoretical frame. Marginals are not considered as a section which is totally excluded from the society, but rather as a highly exploited group and put under severe constraints. It is an attempt to get a wholistic perspective, where migration, unemployment and under employment, emergence of marginal

3. Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Vol.4, (Moscow: Progress, 1967), p.352.

settlement areas (slums and squatters) etc are not viewed as unrelated incidents, rather these are considered as a necessary logical outcome of the production process and relation to the world capitalist system.

Data are culled from secondary sources. Obviously selection of statistical data follows a certain theoretical bias. But attempt has been made not to exclude information simply because the methodological preference of the researcher in terms of concepts and theories find them inconvenient. How far the attempt has succeeded, only the later chapters would indicate. Being a vast area, it is necessary to confess that it is not a survey of all available literature. A number of ideas are drawn from available literature on the basis of the coherence of arguments.

Eventhough there are substantial variations in the development experiance of different Third World countries, in most generalized manner they are undergrowing a similar process of change.⁴ Most of the countries got their political freedom in the middle of the present century only and during the colonial period they were a part of the world capitalism. In the present context also

4. A.R.Desai, State and Society in India: Essays in Dissent, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1975), Ch.1&2.

there is an underlying homogeneity and more or less similarity in its relation to world capitalist system. The incorporation of these countries into the world market and new international division of labour are under the same structural conditions. International finance capital and multinationals with the help of the state (whether it is popular democratic or authoritarian/military) generates a development pattern which is not much different in different countries. Even the phenomenon scrutinized in the present study, i.e., urbanization and marginalisation has followed a strikingly homologous pattern. There are quantitative differences in the share of urban population in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In contrast to many other Third World countries Latin America is urbanised as Europe and other developed nations.⁵ But qualitatively there is not much of a variation in the phenomena across different societies grouped under the general rubric, Third World. The marginalized migrants in these cities are capable of earning a livelihood, and even when they do, it is more through an irregular marginal occupation. These cities do not have a sizeable

5. Drakakis and Smith, Third World Cities, (London: Methuen, 1987), pp.4-6.

share of the privileged steady waged proletariat in the urban labour force. The social, political and economic role of this marginalized sections in Third World cities have striking similarities and it is those that have been highlighted in this study. Cultural variations sometimes inhibit generalizations but the existential conditions of these sections in different Third World cities follow a similar pattern.

The rapid increase of urbanization in Third World has a striking difference from that of the other parts of the world. In Third World industrialisation and industrial labour force participation lags far behind the rate of urbanisation. Thus there is an excess in the informal sector labour share. A new cluster of occupations, requiring no or very little skills, which produce low and sporadic income has sprung up in these cities and it become a source of cashing mould for the unstable labouring class. While the term marginal occupations or marginal employment shall be used in this study, other terms frequently used are 'peripheral', 'casual', 'precarious', 'unstable', etc. While these terms could be taken as synonyms for the general reader,

the term 'marginal' has acquired a scientific conceptual status for the present study.

Broadly the study is divided into four Chapters. It is not feasible to look for marginals in Third World cities until we know, how they have emerged or rather have been structurally created. For that it is imperative to look into the nature of urbanization and production which is carried out in these cities. Economic production determines the opportunity of labour force participation, these aspects acquire a certain theoretical significance and they beg substantiation by facts.

First Chapter deals with the nature and process of urbanisation in Third World. While analysing the urbanisation of an under developed economy, this Chapter will make a critique of the 'overurbanisation' thesis. Nature and causes of migration will be analysed from the point of production transformation taking place in the rural areas.

Second Chapter will focus on aspects of retardation of industrial labour sector and how certain sectors fail to develop on its own because of the changes

in the production process. Informal sector will be analysed as a marginal sector, and how it fails to develop independently because of its relation to exploitation by dominant sectors of the economy. The labour force which is participating in this marginal sector is considered as the marginal population. This Chapter will analyse why they are not a 'reserve army of labour' as misunderstood by certain Marxist theoreticians.

Chapter three will focus on the objective expressions of marginality, i.e., housing, income, occupation, consumption, education, family and marriage etc. Their chances of social mobility and thereby the chances to improve their conditions will also be dealt in this part.

Last Chapter will be broadly concentrating on organisation, politics and collective actions of the marginals. Citing the Third World cases a criticism will be made of 'culture of poverty' theory which stresses on the disorganisation aspect and also of lumpen proletariat thesis which stresses on the reactionary nature of this group.

This study is more an identification of the phenomena based on published researches and a description of the attributes characterising marginalised urban population of Third World. It is a rudimentary effort at developing a frame to make a conceptual-theoretical choice to deal with the apprehended empirical reality.

Chapter I

NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS
OF URBANIZATION IN THIRD WORLD:
URBANIZATION AND LABOUR SECTOR

Urbanization has been a major form of social change for the last two centuries. It has entailed a profound process of social and economic transformations. But the existence of cities and urban centers has had a much longer historical past. There were cities in the Great Civilizations throughout all historical periods. But these urban centers had a very different sociological make-up. Either they were imperial capitals and residential areas for elites with specific localities fixed for craftsmen and traders, or religious centers for theocratic elites. In terms of political economy, they served as centers for the organisation and appropriation of the agricultural surplus. And there were signs of a structural conflict between the rural and urban areas¹ due to the extraction of agricultural surplus by the urban elites. The urban dwellers in this earlier period constituted a more or less stable strata, having very little to do with production processes. In contradistinction from the

1. Irfan Habib, mentions this in his analysis of Mughal economy. See 'The Capitalist Development in the Economy of Mughal India', (paper presented for International Economic Congress, 1968). Later writers have found this structural tension existing in the present time. Friedman talks in terms of Core-periphery tension in a national unit (cited in Roberts, Cities of Peasants) Lipton in terms of Urban bias (Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias in Rural Planning, 19 ; Gugler also in terms of 'Urban Bias' (Cities, Poverty and Development 1982) and Riddell in terms of 'internal Colonialism' in his analysis of African urbanization ('Migration to the cities of West Africa: Some Policy Considerations', Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.16, pp.24-60.

rural basic produces, they were marked by interest homogeneity.

With the emergence of industrial capitalism in the West and subsequent colonization of the world, the nature and functional character of the cities changed drastically, and different patterns of urbanization emerged both in the colonizing and colonized world. 'Specialization and Interdependence'² became the hallmark of modern urbanization which is essentially a product of capitalist development and expansion. Modern urbanization came to the fore in the same historical period in an uneven way throughout the world. Cities became an arena of increasing territorial division of labour. Rural-urban dichotomy, for example, is regarded by Marx³ as an expression of division of labour in society. Seen in this conceptual context the Durkheimian notion of organic solidarity⁴ acquires a historical significance.

From a passive and parasitic consumer, cities become an active creator of value. Cities in capitalism emerged out of the economic imperatives of commodity

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2. Bryan Roberts, Cities of Peasants: Political Economy of Urbanization in Third World, (London: Edward Arnold, 1978), p.9.
 3. Karl Marx, Capital, Vol.1 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1984).
 4. Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society, (New York: Free Press, 1947).

production and exchange. Infrastructural investments are poured into this environment for the sustenance of surplus creation. Raw materials and institutions are provided by the state for the reproduction of the labour power.⁵

This spatial organisation is produced and it serves as a resource system - a complex of use-value - for the production of surplus value. The newness of the newly emerging urban centers lies in their role in the economy and related socio political institutions thrown up as a consequence.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF URBANIZATION

It is only with the emergence of various Marxian, neo-Marxian and critical analysis of the city that a theory-centered comprehensive and historically grounded treatment of urbanization has become possible. Existing functionalist, ecological mainstream approaches to urbanization have tended to be eclectic and partial in that they are divorced from any wider theory of society. Most of them were on the track of 'modernization' theories, considering urbanization as an index of modernization.⁶ In its most formal sense urbanization merely constitute

5. This ideological state apparatuses necessary for reproduction is dealt by Althusser in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays (London: New Left Books, 1971).
In this context

6. E.E. Bergel, Urban Sociology, (Mc Graw Hill Book Com., 1955). See also Peter Mann, Approach to Urban Sociology, (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1970).

the increase of urban population as compared with rural one; but it includes and results from far-reaching economic transformations on the national and international scene. The urban process implies the creation of a new material-physical-infrastructure for "production, circulation, exchange, accumulation and consumption".⁷ The specific role of the cities is to enhance productivity and stem the tendency for rates of profit to fall by creating favourable conditions for production. It is done through spatially concentrating the means of production in order to reduce time and cost of circulation of capital. Dynamics and growth of urban areas can be understood only in terms of conflict of interests of classes and resulting politico-ideological struggle which are a direct outcome of the specific phases of capitalist mode of production. Social space with all its intricacies and complexities is structured by conflicts and co-operation of various groupings but above all the social determination of space in modern cities is the outcome of conflict between different classes constituting the urban population. It has been rightly noted that urban 'problems' have arisen

7. David Harvey, 'The Urban Process Under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis' in Dear and Scott(ed.) Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Societies, (London: Methuen, 1981), pp.91-123.

not by chance or mismanagement, but because of one or other social class fraction have been served by the emergence of such problems.⁸ The underlying theme of all these perspectives is that city within the capitalist world of economy is governed by the laws of capital accumulation. Thus we note that, Marxist approach attempts to look for law-governed regularities for the emergence of different aspects of urbanization and attendant social problems as against adhoc explanations or recording them as accidents.

DEPENDENCY AND URBANIZATION

It is to the credit of Marxist approach that ever new efforts are being made to look for fuller explanations in the light of new facts and a relook on the received theoretical insights. One such an effort is located around 'dependency theory' developed in Latin American countries. Dependency theory made an attempt to provide an analytical tool to understand urbanization in general and third world urbanization in particular, giving primacy to the structural relation between international agencies and national elitist interests. It explains how the urban economies are part of an overall embracing

8. M. Castells, The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach, (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp.14-15.

system of world metropolis, national metropolis, satellite relations. Frank⁹ is the most illuminating on this point. To him, it appears that Third World cities have played a role of managing agents for metropolitan countries. He says that it is in contrast to the development of the world metropolis, which is no one's satellite, the development of the national and other subordinate metropolis is limited by their satellite status. Third World cities are not hotbeds of development. They are turning out to be the microcosms of this respective societies which are mired in dependency, inaction and inequality. Within this framework, cities are seen as loci for national and international economic exchanges that influence the intra and inter urban structure.

McGee¹⁰ also identified the dominant position of developed countries in determining the role of Asian cities. Castells was the first urban sociologist who made an attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between urbanization and dependence. According to him dependent urbanization must be understood as

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9. A.G.GFrank, 'The Development of Underdevelopment', in Cockcroft(ed.) Dependency and Underdevelopment, (New York: Anchor Press, 1979), p.1-9. For further analysis see Dependence, Accumulation and Underdevelopment, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979),
 10. T.G.McGee, Urbanization Process in Third World, (London: G.Bell, 1971).

the expression of the colonial/neocolonial social dynamic at the 'level of space'.¹¹ Castells wrote:

dependent urbanization causes a super concentration in the urban areas and considerable estrangement between those urban areas and the rest of the country.¹²

Finally he suggested that dependent capitalism will also be characterised by high levels of urban unemployment, marginality and material inequality.

Dependency affects the productive process of a third world country by encouraging the production of those goods and services that cater the international market at the cost favourable to metropolitan countries. The outward orientation of these economies and their skewed class structure dominated by elites albeit with foreign interests, makes for a different potential for development than in the advanced countries. The latter 'world system' approach¹³ claims that there are different developmental dynamics in three groups of countries occupying distinct structural strata in the international system - the core, the periphery and semi-periphery. The nature of urban

11. M.Castells, op.cit., p.44.

12. *ibid*, pp.47.

13. I.Wallerstein, 'Semi-peripheral countries and the contemporary world crisis' in Theory and Society, Vol.3, 1976. p.461-84.

centers also vary according to their specific place in the world system.

These theories have also been subjected to a critical appraisal from within the broad Marxist approach. Not dogmas but a live attempt at cognition, geared to practical transformation of society in the direction of human emancipation is the hallmark of this approach. According to some authors¹⁴ the most serious problem with these kind of dependency is that it deprives many, if not most people, of the means for achieving even a peasant standard of living. For an analysis of the nature and process of urbanization, it becomes imperative to look into the capitalist and neo-colonial dynamics of Third World societies. Through this, it is possible to understand the underlying cause of migration, urban agglomeration and increasing pauperisation and marginalization of the population. This political economy approach can provide an holistic, and class based view of urban social system away from the ecological and consensual view.

14. John Walton, 'Accumulation and Comparative Urban System: Some Theory and Some Tentative Contrast of Latin America and Africa' in Comparative Urban Research, Vol.5, 1977, pp.5-18. Also see Chase Dunn, 'The Effect of International Economic Dependence on Development and Inequality - A Cross National Study' in American Sociological Review, Vol.40, 1975, pp.720-88. At the same time it is to be noted that dependency creates a well-to-do section in the society, who may serve as a 'demonstration effect' of development and progress.

THIRD WORLD URBAN GROWTH - AN OVERVIEW

The pace and intensity of urbanization and its explosive nature in Third World has provoked a large number of studies. During 1800 hardly 3 per cent of world's population were urban dwellers. They were mainly concentrated in the countries which now constitute the developed nations. By the turn of the century urban population will be almost equal to the rural, with now developing nations carrying a major share with them. During the second half of the present century urban population is having a swift increase. From the Table we can observe that during 1950, 16.5 per cent of Asia's population were in urban areas, and in the next 35 years period it has increased into 29 percent. Latin America's urban population is well ahead of such developed nations like USSR. During the 35 years period African urban population increased from 14.8 per cent to 32 per cent. For years 1980-85 percentage of annual growth rate of urban population for Africa, East Asia, South Asia and Latin America is 5, 2.82, 4.47 and 3.56 per cent respectively, while it is only 1.96 for North America, 1.36 for Europe and 1.87 for USSR.¹⁵

15. World Bank, World Development Report (Washington DC: 1987), pp.266-67.

Table I: Percentage of the population living in urban areas: World, More developed, Less developed regions and major areas, 1950-2000.

Area	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985§	1990	2000
World	29.4	33.6	37.0	39.9	41.6	43.6	48.2
Developed Regions	53.6	60.3	66.4	70.6	73.4	74.2	77.7
Less Developed	17.4	21.4	25.3	29.4	31.8	34.4	40.4
Africa	14.8	18.4	22.9	28.7	32.1	35.5	42.2
Latin America	41.1	49.3	57.4	65.4	69.0	72.1	76.9
North America	63.9	69.9	73.8	73.8	74.3	75.2	78.0
East Asia	17.8	23.1	26.3	28.0	28.9	30.4	34.2
South Asia	16.1	18.3	21.2	25.4	27.7	30.4	36.8
Europe	55.9	60.5	66.2	71.1	73.7	75.4	78.9
Oceania	61.2	66.0	70.8	71.6	71.7	71.9	73.1
USSR	33.9	48.8	56.7	63.2	66.3	69.2	74.3

Source: Ignacy Sachs, 'Work, Food and Energy in Urban Ecodevelopment', EPW, 27 Feb. 1988, p.425.

§ Data for 1985 is computed from the World Development Report, 1987.

In absolute numbers the size of urban population in less developed world exceeds that of the developed nations. For the year 1975, developing countries had an urban concentration of 879 million, as compared to 669 million for developed nations including the USSR.¹⁶

The distribution of world's urban population is also changing. In 1925 two-fifth of world's urban population was in Europe. By 1975 this population had fallen by half. Meanwhile east and south Asia which together had about one quarter of the urban population in 1925 had increased their joint share to 38 per cent by 1975. A continuation of the present trend would mean that these two areas altogether will contain about one half of the world's urban population by 2025A.D. During the 25 years period (from 1950 to 1975) Latin America and Africa trebled its share of urban population in absolute numbers.¹⁷

From these figures it is possible to arrive into certain conclusions. Explosive nature of urbanization (proportion of urban population to total population) is visible in countries with lowest levels of economic growth. Particularly in Third World it involves greater

16. Michel Pacione (ed.), Problems and Planning in Third World Cities (New Delhi: Vikas, 1981), p.16.

17. *ibid.*, p.16 (Table 1.2).

number of people than it did in the developed nations. Social scientists termed this process as 'overurbanization'. Now we will look into the political economic dynamics behind excessive urban growth ^{without} adequate economic development.

OVERURBANIZATION THESIS AND ITS CRITIQUE

In this context overurbanization thesis became an important theoretical formulation for a good number of social scientists to understand Third World urbanization. In its simplest form overurbanization thesis holds that urbanization is outpacing industrialisation in developing countries. The underlying message of much of these writings is that urban concentration is preceding very quickly while indices of development such as industrialisation lagged behind. Concern about rapid growth of urban areas combined with small or moderate increase in industrialisation have given rise to analysis which compare levels of urbanisation and index of industrialisation either cross-nationally or for nineteenth century condition in the now developed countries as contrasted with the 20th century condition in the less developed countries. The average relationship found (either on the cross-national or longitudinal basis) is used to define an expected normal relationship between urbanisation and industria-

lisation. Countries which have high levels of urbanisation that are much higher relative to their levels of industrialisation than those obtained for the normal relationships are then defined as being overurbanised for their levels of industrial development.¹⁸

Working on rapid Third World city growth, another group of scholars emphasized the pitfalls of increasingly imbalanced urban hierarchies marked by urban primacy.¹⁹

While comparing the nineteenth century condition of the now developed nations with that of the present plight of developing nations,

18. For an analysis of overurbanisation thesis, see B.F.Hozelitz, 'The Role of Cities in the Economic Growth of Underdeveloped Countries', Journal of Political Economy, Vol.61, 1953, pp.195-208; 'Urbanisation and Economic Growth in Asia', Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.6, 1957, pp.42-54; K.Davis and H.Golden, 'Urbanisation and Development of pre-industrial Areas', Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.3, 1954, pp.6-25; J.Gibbs and W.H.Martin, 'Urbanisation Technology and Division of Labour: An International Pattern', American Sociological Review, 1962, pp.667-77; Gu ler, 'Overurbanisation Reconsidered', EDCC, Vol.21, 1982, pp.173-89; and M.S.Gore, 'Social Development and Strategy for Urbanisation', EPW, 25 Jan.1975, pp.110-11.

19. See A.Linsky, 'Some Generalization Concerning Primate Cities', in G.Breese(ed.) The City in Newly Developing Countries, (Engelwood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1969); and S.Mehta, 'Some Demographic and Economic Correlates of Primate Cities', in ibid, pp.295-301; see also Ashish Bose 'Urban Development with Social Justice', EPW, 5 July 1970.

overurbanization theorists, forget the fact that colonization played a major role in the industrialisation of most of these developed nations. Capitalism was in its infantile stage as far as technology was concerned with labour intensive production process during these periods. They could counter the declining rate of profits by colonial expansion defined as direct political domination over areas where capital is invested. Lenin attributed the exodus of capital to declining investment opportunities at home.²⁰ Whether it is raw material extraction from the colonies, or capital investment in the colonies, the profit maximization and economic development is always with the colonizing nations.

Even the present day dependence of Third World countries to the developed nations for financial capital and advanced technology retards the industrial growth and labour absorption in Third World countries. Overurbanization concepts postulate lack of growth of industrial labour in relation to urban population increase. But, studies done in Third World countries provide evidence that dependency retards economic and industrial growth in Third World countries. Kentor's work provides

20. V.I. Lenin, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, Selected Works, Vol. 1 (Moscow: Progress Pub., 1976), pp. 699-708.

strong cross-national evidence that patterns of over-urbanization are related to international investments and dependence of the peripheral countries²¹. His study shows that investment dependence alter the composition of the urban labour force by inhibiting growth in the industrial sector resulting from capital intensive production. Evans and Timberlake's study²² of the less developed nations suggest the same correlation. It points that investment dependence arrests growth in industrial countries.

Another important feature of dependent urbanization is the growth of tertiary and informal sector which again creates overurbanization. It is directly related to the 'adoption' of capital-intensive technology in the manufacture sector. One character of global corporate technology with the devastating consequence for poor countries is that it destroys jobs. Because of the political, economic and technological condition of 20th century development, urbanization is directly related to tertiary sector employment than to the rise of secondary sector. It is

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21. J.Kentor, 'Structural Dependence of Peripheral Urbanization: The Effects of International Dependence', American Sociological Review, Vol.46, 1981, pp.201-11.
 22. Evans Peter and M.Timberlake, 'Dependence, Inequality and Growth in Less Developed Countries', American Sociological Review, Vol.45, 1980, pp.531-52.

uncontestable both on theoretical grounds and on the basis of empirical studies that because of the high level of technology and the consequent high capital/labour ratio of modern industry, the rate of employment generation in manufacturing sector is low. Hazel has concluded, "Among the less developed nations the association between urbanization level and the labour force share of the tertial sector is stronger".²³ Amin also stresses this fact through his concept of 'hypertrophy' of the tertiary sector.²⁴ He is of the opinion that in the advanced countries the share of the secondary sector is close to that of the tertiary, whereas in all the underdeveloped countries it is much smaller. He argues that the 'hypertriphication' of the public employment sector in the peripheral countries is a response to the sluggish growth of private sector employment in dependent economy. Evans and Timberlake²⁵ in their study show that "foreign investment accelerates the rate of growth of the informal and tertiary sectors of the urban economy".

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23. Moir Hazel, 'Relationship Between Urbanization Levels and the Industrial Structure of the Labour Force', Economic Development And Cultural Change, Vol.25,p.134.
24. Samir Amin, Unequal Development, (Delhi:OUP, 1979), pp.299-42.
25. Evans and Timberlake, op. cit., p.551.

'Report on the U.N. Conference on Human Settlement' noted that while industrial production in Third World countries grew at an average annual rate of 7 per cent, it contributed little to the industrial employment growth.²⁶ The economic growth which does occur in peripheral countries does not generate a concomitant increase in industrial employment. Large firms, even those producing manufactures for domestic markets, tend to use capital-intensive technology developed in the advanced countries, and this does not expand employment as rapidly as earlier industrialisation in core countries. Citing the African case Gugler et al writes that, 'with the advent of independence, manufacture especially for import substitution got a boost, but job creation was limited because of capital-intensive technologies were adopted.'²⁷

Examining South Asia in general and India in particular, Desai²⁸ is of the opinion that the assumed capacity of industrial growth to absorb more and more

26. Cited in Gilbert and Gugler, J., Cities, Poverty and Development, (London: OUP, 1982), p.188.

27. J.Gugler and W.G.Flanagan, Urbanization and Social Change in West Africa, (London: Cambridge Uni.Press, 1979), p.34.

28. A.R.Desai, India's Path of Development: A Marxist Approach, (Bombay: Popular, 1984), p.199.

labour is being belied, and, in fact, the operation of labour saving machinery is increasingly displacing labour. As technological level increased a substantial increase in manufacturing output could be achieved with only a small increase in the manufacturing labour force, leading to increase in the tertiary sector and informal sector of the labour force, as movement out of agriculture continued. Jacobson and Prakash²⁹ observes that, most of the studies largely miss the point that technological progress is fastest in the secondary sector, and therefore the employment generation capacity of the secondary sector industry change rapidly. After certain point in the development of technology, it is suggested that a 'ceiling' on the share of the labour force employed in the secondary sector is reached, and, that urbanization level become more closely related with tertiary share of the labour force.

Under these conditions, in the Third World countries tertiary sector which is the service sector in the total economy retards the growth of overall economy. It is possible to conclude from the above that lack of numerical growth of industrial labour in relation to urban

29. L. Jacobson and V. Prakash (ed.), Urbanization and Underdevelopment: Proposals for an integrated policy base in urbanization and national development, (California: Sage Pub., 1971), PP. 26-31.

population is due to the capitalist tendency of revolutionizing the forces of production for profit maximization. The neocolonial dependence for finance and technology also contributes to this process which in turn creates a subsequent increase in the tertiary and informal sector share. The so called overurbanization thesis which is basically a socio-demographic analysis is insufficient and it minimizes or totally ignores the varying forms of incorporation of a particular peripheral society into world capitalist economy and the role of the state and class based politics within Third World societies in shaping the trajectory of urban growth.

Sovani³⁰ also makes a criticism of 'overurbanization' notion by pointing to the measurement problems. The author claims that the definition of overurbanization is unsatisfactory and vague; that the analysis of causes and consequences of overurbanization so far developed is tenuous and oversimplified. Implicit in this overurbanization thesis is the assumption that successful national development involves duplicating the western pattern and balancing the pace of urban growth with technological, political,

30. Sovani, 'The analysis of overurbanization', Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.12, 1964, pp.113-22.

economic and cultural advancement that taken together constitute modernization.

RURAL MARGINALIZATION AND MIGRATION

Rapid city growth in the Third World is explicitly linked to the state of affairs in the rural areas i.e. rural underdevelopment and 'agrarian structure', through its effect on rural-urban migration. The extremely rapid growth of big cities in Third World is known to be a function of both natural population increase within the cities and net in-migration to the cities. Social scientists are of the opinion that, one third to one half of the growth in cities is due to rural-urban migration. Providing certain characteristics common to Third World internal migration Battaillon³¹ is of the opinion that underemployment, unemployment and a decrease in agricultural employment is more pronounced in the rural areas of the Third World. He further notes that adult population predominates among migrants and the proportion of temporary migrants is generally high and often they are single and in a transitory phase of uncertain length. at the early stage of migration.³² The same

31. Claude Battaillon, 'Migration Towards Urban Centers in the Third World and Their Socio-Economic Context', Paper presented in Indo-French Seminar on Urbanization, 1978.

32. *ibid.*, p.11.

was noted by Radhakamal Mukherjee in his seminal work 'The Indian Working Class'.³³

Much of the previous works in urbanward migration evolved from a modernization perspective. These intra-national models posit a rural-push, urban-pull explanation of urban growth. It stresses the notion of increasing numbers of people 'available for redistribution'. As demographic transition occurs, rising rate of national growth yield, rising rate of a precipitous population growth in rural areas. Population growth outstrips job opportunities and a labour surplus emerges in agriculture. As supply of available space for cultivation diminishes displacement from land increase and urbanward migration frequently occurs. This is a response to rural population pressure and perceived economic opportunities in the city.³⁴



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Perhaps widely accepted model of migration is the 'economic growth model'³⁵ of rural-urban wage

- 33. It may be true while they take the decision to migrate, But once they are in the city, they fail to return to the villages.
- 34. A.H.Hawley, Urban Society: An Ecological PApproach, (New York: John Wiley, 1981), pp.285-300.
- 35. Joseph Berliner, 'Internal Migration: A Comparative Disciplinary View', in A.Brown and E.Newberger(ed.), Internal Migration:A Comparative Perspective, (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

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differential and 'labour-adjustment' in which increased wage differential through an increased labour demand, thus drawing low paid rural workers to urban areas. This wage differential declines with growth of the urban force until an equilibrium is reached and rural migration ceases. In sum, these ecological theories emphasize the interplay of demographic, environmental and technological factors with classical economic principles of individual choice and competitive market supply and demand.

The cheerfulness of the labour adjustment view of urbanization has been muted due to persistence of urbanward migration in the face of urban unemployment and underemployment in Third World. According to some authors rural-urban migration continues inspite of this lack of employment for two reasons: the "push of adverse rural condition"³⁶ and "the pull of future possibilities".³⁷ Todaro argues that the expectation of future possibilities, rather than present availability of employment, draws the rural population towards urban areas. He suggests that the apparent incongruity could be explained by introducing an additional element in wage differences. Todaro postula-

36. Glen Firebaugh, 'Structural Determinants of Urbanization in Asia and Latin America', American Sociological Review, Vol.44, 1979, pp.24

37. Michel Todaro, 'A Model for Labour Migration and Urban Development in LDC's', American Sociological Review, Vol.59, 1969, pp.138-48.

tes that migration is determined by expected, rather than actual wage differences, where expected differences take urban employment probability into account. But he failed to specify the objective structural reasons for rural-urban wage differentials or the incongruity between the future(hoped for) but not necessarily realistic) and the present(real) job opportunities in cities.

Gugler and Flanagan,³⁸ in their study of urbanization in West Africa argues that the opportunity cost of rural-urban migration is quite high, particularly in areas where pressure on land is not severe. These areas, cityward migration of able-bodied adults implies a loss of potential output in agriculture. A review of considerable literature on the causes of migration led Mitchel to emphasize the importance of economic factors. But he bases his argument on the distinction between necessary and sufficient conditions of labour migration:

If the economic conditions are present, the actual migration may not occur until some event in the personal life of the individual precipitates events and triggers off his decision to go.³⁹

38. Gugler et al, op. cit., pp.35-38.

39. J.C.Mitchel, 'The Causes of Labour Migration', Bulletin of Inter African Labour Institute, Vol.6(i), 1959, p.32.

These partial, half-hearted views regarding urbanward migration fail to provide a holistic perspective regarding the complexities of rural migration. They ignore the capital intrusion, and market relations in the agricultural sector. A political economic view of migration can be traced back to Marx's discussion in Vol.1 of Capital. He discusses the manner in which the evolution of the capitalist mode of production in agriculture encouraged the implementation of laws and policies which expropriated the agricultural population from land and created a mobile proletariat available for urban labour:

They conquered the field for capitalist agriculture, made the soil part and parcel of capital, and created for the town industries a necessary supply of a free and outlawed proletariat.⁴⁰

The spread of capitalism created a profound structural change. It revolutionized the condition of production and set in motion a variety of dislocation forces which stimulated rural-urban migration. McGee in his 'structural model'⁴¹ of rural-urban mobility in south & southeast Asia is of the opinion that

40. Karl Marx, op. cit., p.685.

41. T.G.McGee, 'Rural Urban Mobility in South & Southeast Asia: Different Formulations, Different Answers', in W.H.McNeil and R.S.Adams(eds) Human Migration: Patterns and Policies, (Bloomington: Indiana Uni. Press, 1978), pp.199-244.

the most important reasons in this process (migration) is the penetration of capitalism into the pre-capitalist mode of production and Portes'⁴² analysis of structural determinants of migration stresses the important role of process operating at national and international levels. He says that 'the penetration of capitalist technics of production in areas of traditional production displaces labour.' Singh and de Souza review a number of studies regarding India and they found that reasons of migration are mainly unemployment and underemployment and declining demand for traditional skills due to modernisation of agriculture and exclusion of poor from agricultural development.⁴³

Foreign investment in agriculture is likely to result in capital intensive rural enterprises which absorb relatively little labour themselves and take land away from peasant cultivators. Third World agriculture is characterised by structures which generate and perpetuate inequality. Citing the Indian case A.R.Desai⁴⁴ talks about the landholding patterns. He says that only 7 percent of the total population holds 50 percent of the total land with farmers owning 15

43. A.M. Singh and de Souza, The Urban Poor: Slum and Pavement dwellers in Major cities of India, (New Delhi, Manohar, 1980), pp. 32-34.

44. A.R. Desai, India's Path of Development: A Marxist Approach, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1984), pp. 184-85.

42. Alejandro Portes, 'Migration and Underdevelopment', Politics and Society, Vol. 8, 1978, pp. 11-48.

acres or more and 44 percent of the population are agricultural labourers or owning less than an acre, possesses about only 2 percent of the total land. It is generally conceded that such institutional arrangements promoted the use of capital intensive techniques and these large holders stand to benefit from the modern technology.⁴⁵ And the labour-displacement character of this technology is relevant to understand the out migration.

Forms of rural underdevelopment are closely tied to Third World urban problems. Roberts explicitly linked the associated 'agrarian structure' with rapid city growth through its effects on rural urban migration.⁴⁶ The market penetration of rural areas leads to the juxtaposition of pre-capitalist forms of socio-economic relations with capitalist forms. Such changes in agrarian structure as expansion of capitalist agriculture and production for market and export rather than subsistence have a number of important implications for migration and urban growth. Even though some farms

45. Peter Dorner, Land Reform and Development, (Baltimore: Penguin, 1972), Ch.4; A.S.Oberoi and H.K.Manmohan Singh, Causes and Consequences of Internal Migration: A Study of Indian Punjab, (London:OUP, 1983), Ch.3; and Biplab Dasgupta and Roy, 'Migration from Villages', EPW, 18 Oct. 1975.

46. B.R.Robert, op.cit.

increase their requirement for a cheap and temporary labour, areas with capitalist agriculture characterised by an uneven distribution of land, high levels of mechanisation and a focus on production for market and export tend to contribute for redundancy of labour. This capitalist nature of production has a tendency to expel more people than do areas of peasant farming.⁴⁷ Examining a Southeast Asian case London⁴⁸ finds that market penetration and the deterioration of 'agrarian class relations' are the key variables explaining migration. Armstrong and McGee states that state and private sector rural development projects are tied intricably to the economic and zonal regression for much of the population that has led to persistent high rates of migration from rural provinces.⁴⁹ Desai⁵⁰ is of the opinion that in India the rich farmers are conceive as the lynchpin of agrarian development by leaders of the country and much of the prural development programmes, this strata was the target group since this leadership believed that the progressive rich far-

47. *ibid.*, pp.90-95.

48. B.London, 'Ecological and Political Economic Analysis of Migration to a Primate City - Bangkok', *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, June 1986.

49. Armstrong and McGee, *Theators of Accumulation: Studies in Asian and Latin American Urbanisation*, (New York; Methuen, 1985), pp.120-25.

50. A.R.Desai, *op.cit.*, pp.65-69.

mer would initiate the great transformation in agricultural production.

Even though there are differences of opinion regarding the mode of production in Third World agriculture, there is no disagreement regarding the increasing inequality and pauperisation of great majority. In most countries capitalist relations between employers and rural workers exist. Even if it is not the case, the dominant capitalist mode may depend upon non-capitalist and pre-capitalist relations for surplus creation.⁵¹ But changes in the forces of production are making inroads into the standards of living of the poor in the Third World whose employment prospectus are being continuously threatened and whose staple foods are being sacrificed to make room for the luxuries of the rich. In the name of progress and efficiency various organisations such as World Bank, USAID etc are also helping to integrate Third World agriculture in the network of international capitalism with an inten-

51. Rosa Luxemburg, The Accumulation of Capital, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968). She writes: that the capitalist mode of production depends precisely for the production of surplus value on exchange with non-capitalist mode of production.

sity observed never before.⁵² These all forces together increase the polarity of inequality in rural areas and displace a great majority from subsistence level. The only hope left with them is to migrate to the worst condition of existence into urban areas.

Cross-cutting all these political economic perspective is the idea that urbanward migration is not simply caused by rural-push and a pull to perceived urban opportunities. A city is not a passive recipient of excess rural population due to forces beyond its control and causation. In sharp contrast, the notion of capitalist penetration suggests that forces emanating from the centre, linked to class based pursuit of political and economic interests put rural-push and urban pull factors into operation. Nature and process of Third World should be viewed in the context of marginalization of much of the population in rural areas. Urbanization is a strategy for facilitating and subsidising the profit making activity.

52. Amia Kumar Bagchi, The Political Economy of Underdevelopment, (London:Cambridge Uni. Press, 1982), pp.177-78.

Chapter II

PROCESS OF MARGINALIZATION
OF URBAN POPULATION

In chapter 1 we have seen that, during the last 3 to 4 decades the urban population in Third World have trebled in absolute numbers due to excessive migration and natural increase. Majority of them are job-seekers and the dominant sectors of urban economy have failed to absorb them. Hence the urban population outpaced the labour-generating capacity of the urban economy. We have seen that a number of forces - economic, political and social - played complementary roles in this urban growth and underdevelopment of the **industrial** labour sector.

A big proportion of the labour force in Third World cities is engaged in the tertiary sector of the urban economy. A cursory look at the data given in the table speaks a lot about the tertiary sector dominance in the urban labour force. Labour force in secondary sector shows relatively small increase during the last fifteen year period. In the same period, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the industrial output had grown by 5 to 7 per cent. Concomitant to this there had been a relatively significant decrease in the labour force engaged in agricultural and other related activity. No Third World country is an exception for this.¹ In some

1. World Bank, World Development Report, (Washington D.C.: 1987), pp.264-65. The data given in this report shows a decrease in the percentage of labour force engaged in agricultural sector.

Table II: Percentage of Labour Force in Secondary and Tertiary Sectors in Some Third World Countries.

Countries	Secondary Sector		Tertiary Sector	
	1965	1980	1965	1980
Algeria	17	27	26	42
Bangladesh	5	6	11	19
Bolivia	20	20	26	34
Chile	29	25	44	58
Colombo	21	24	34	42
India	12	13	15	17
Kenya	5	7	9	12
Mexico	22	29	29	35
Nigeria	10	12	18	20
Pakistan	18	16	22	30
Philippines	16	16	26	33
Sri Lanka	14	14	30	33
Sudan	5	8	14	21
Uruguay	27	29	51	55

Source: World Bank, World Development Report, 1987.

Note: Countries are selected on a random basis to provide a representation to Africa, Asia and Latin America.

of the Latin American countries secondary sector labour force have come down.

There is a tendency among the social scientists to prove that transfer of impoverished rural labour to the tertiary will increase their wages and there by diminish inequality. They do not take into consideration the possibility that tertiary's growth means the growth of a sector in which income distribution may be extremely polarised. It includes highly paid services and occupants who struggle for their survival. Then it is imperative to look into the inequality of income distribution in tertiary sector to understand the relatively marginalized condition of certain section within that sector.

A number of studies regarding urban labour force (mainly migrants) have shown that a sizable number take refuge in the informal sector of urban economy, which is marginalized and dissoluted.² MacFarlane is also of the opinion that in South Asia, a good number of urban

2. Victor Urquidi, 'The Underdeveloped City' in J. Hardoy (ed.) Urbanisation in Latin America, (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1978), pp.80-82.

labour force is absorbed in burgeoning informal sector.³ Desai says that the rural poor leave their place of origin only to become a part of the more poverty stricken urban informal sector.⁴

INFORMAL SECTOR

Much of the informal sector analysis have its bearing on the 'dual' sectoral model of the economy. According to this view during the industrial period there had emerged a structural dichotomy between a 'core' economy comprising mostly large manufacturers and a peripheral economy dominated by small manufacturing firms and service organisations. These two sectors were considered as mutually exclusive and independent of each other. Out of this production, a market based dichotomy and a labour market segmentation had arisen. The 'model' of sectoral dualism was put forth first by Lewis⁵ through his expression of capitalist and subsistence sectors in his much celebrated analysis of labour transfer and a migration.

3. McFarlane, B., 'Marx's Approach to Economic Development' in Dipendra Banerjee (ed.) Marxian Theory and the Third World, (New Delhi: Sage, 1985), p.197.

4. A.R. Desai, 'India's Path of Development', (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1984), p.199.

5. W.A. Lewis, 'Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour' cited in Kaushik Basu's The Less Developed Economy: A Critique of Contemporary Theory, (Delhi: OUP, 1984), pp.61-64.

Latter, Ranis and Fei⁶ elaborated this aspect. In their formulation, modern capitalist sector is the dynamic one whose growth is brought about by output expansion and reinvestment of profits. The supply of labour from the surplus in the traditional sector (subsistence) to the modern sector is assumed to be unlimited. The urban extension of the traditional sector lends a dual character to the urban economy. Geertz⁷ in his study of two Indonesian towns came with a differentiation in urban economy between 'Bazar' and 'Firm' sectors. He indicated that market trade (Bazar) is a general mode of independent commercial economic activity among the urban groups. On the other hand, Firm sector consists of business corporations, bureaucratic enterprises and industrial establishments. Latter Reynold⁸ in his study introduced two urban groups: the 'state' sector and the 'trade-service' sector. The latter, he described as the

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6. G.Ranis, and J.C.H.Fei, Development of the Labour Surplus Economy, (Illinois, Irwin: Homewood Publications, 1964),
 7. C.Geertz, Pedlars and Princes, (Chicago: Uni. of Chicago Press, 1963), pp.43-45.
 8. C.G.Reynold, 'Economic Development with Surplus Labour: Some Implications' cited in S.W.Sinclair, Urbaization And Labour Market in LDC's, (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p.60.

numerous people whom one sees engaged in different commercial activities in the city streets, sidewalks and back alleys in the L.D.C's: the petty traders, street vendors, coolies and porters, small artisans, messengers, barbers, shoe-shine boys and personal servants.

The term 'informal sector' to suggest such a dichotomy was first used by Hart⁹ in his study of Nima township in Ghana. During his study he came across a large self-employed sector which provided means of livelihood for new entrants to the urban labour force who are unable to obtain job in the formal sector. He presented the heterogeneity of this group of people who had previously been lumped together as teresidual from agriculture and industry.

Shortly afterwards ILO conducted several studies in different Third World cities under its World Employment Programme which grew out of the ILO/UNDP mission. ILO takes enterprises and activities as the bases for defining informal sector.

It consist of small-scale units engaged in the production and distribution of goods and services with the primary objective of generating

9.Keith Hard, 'Informal Income Opportunities and the Structure of Urban Employment in Ghana', Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.11, 1973, pp.61-89.

employment and income to their participants notwithstanding the constraints on capital, both physical and human and knowhow.¹⁰

ILO confined their search for the informal sector enterprises to the following: all enterprises with ten persons or less and engaged in manufacturing, construction, transport, trade and service sector which even included the self-employed shoeshiner, street-vendor etc.¹¹

ILO studies are tended to view this sector in a more positive light. They recognised their potential and productive role especially in terms of producing employment and distribution of income. Earlier it was considered a synonym with urban poverty, and as structural disturbance and burden of progress within the entire economy and society. Very few characteristics were ascribed to them other than their exclusion from secure and respectable employment. The nature of labour force participation was defined to include the unprotected sectors which is characterised by high labour turnover, low wages, sometimes even below the legal minimum wages.

10. S.Sethuraman(ed.) The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries: Employment, Poverty and Environment, (Geneva: ILO, 1981), p.21.

11. *ibid*, p.22.

For the workforce the wage structure is not different even now low rate of industrialization, explosive nature of population growth and surplus labour force¹² were listed as the principal reasons why a dualistic system has sprang up in Third World cities.

Most of the studies distinguish informal sector by contrasting it with the formal economy from its nature of production, labour force structure and working condition. According to Heinze and Olk,¹³ informal sector comprises any activity which are performed outside the formal economy. ILO distinguishes informal sector on the basis of following characteristics: (a) free entry (b) reliance on indigenous resources (c) family ownership of enterprises (d) small scale of operation (e) labour intensive and adopted technology (f) skills acquired outside the school system (g) unregulated and competitive market (h) absence of labour regulation (i) lack of support and recognition from government.¹⁴ ILO study

12. Jan Breman, 'A Dualistic Labour System? A Critique of the Informal Sector Concept', EPW, Dec.27, 1976.
13. R.G.Heinze and Tjomas Olk, 'The Two Faces of Informal Sector' in C.S.Yadav(ed.), Urban Economics, (New Delhi: Concept Pub., 1987), p.52.
14. ILO, 'Employment, Income and Equality: A Strategy For Increasing Productive In Kenya', (Geneva: ILO, 1972), pp.23-28-

of Sudan in 1976 argued that the informal sector should be considered as encompassing a variety of enterprises and occupation, as a multilayered phenomena. At its most advanced level, there are the well established enterprises carrying out the bulk of retail trade; in the middle level, there are the multitudes of small manufacturing services and commercial establishments employing a large number of people, who are making a reasonable living. Finally there are a traditional petty traders and vendors.¹⁵ This report argued that "our understanding of the informal sector would be enhanced if we viewed it as a heterogeneous, multidimensional or multilayered phenomena".¹⁶

Colin Leys have the same opinion that informal sector means economic activity which largely escape, recognition, enumeration, regulation and protection by government. Instead of encouraged to the maximum because of income generating capacity for the urban poor, it is restricted and harassed so that, it fails to furnish adequate income to those who are engaged in it.¹⁷ In

15. ILO, Growth, Employment and Equity: A Comprehensive Strategy for Sudan, (Geneva: ILO, 1976), p.386.

16. *ibid*, p.315

17. Colin Leys, 'Interpreting African Development: Reflection on the ILO Report' African Affairs, Vol.72, 1973, p.1420.

informal sector Harold Lubell¹⁸ includes all cottage industries, most of the casual manual workers of the city, the small scale family enterprises which come under the shops and establishments Act, small workshops and the 'unorganised' services. He characterised the informal sector as 'a labour market of last resort'.¹⁹ This study finds that industrial and occupation patterns are closely correlated with geographical and linguistic origin of the working population. He refers to the ethnic language group and caste stratification in employment and summarises that 'rural migrants have a rather effective network of information on the Calcutta labour market'.²⁰

The characteristics associated with informal sector has come under strict scrutiny. Peattie based her work in Bogota, questioned the assumption regarding ease of entry, unregulated and competitive markets and the unorganised nature of activities: "what seems to characterise these occupations designated as informal sector is, therefore, not so much a lack of formal

18. Harold Lubell, Calcutta: Its Urban Development and Employment Prospects, (Geneva: ILO, 1974).

19. *ibid*, p.88.

20. *ibid*, p.37.

structure, but a diversity and complexity of structures²¹. She found that a lot of organisation exist and possibilities of new entry are highly defferentiated.

Easy entry into this field is based on the assumption that start up capital is less, and the level of knowhow required is within easy reach of the people. Even though little capital is required to begin, it is very difficult for a poor migrant. The only option left for him then is to be explited by subcontractors and owners of these small enterprises. Even if the capital is in his reach, he has to face several bottlenecks, like state intervention, market regulation etc. In most cases Muncipal authorities with the help of police remove the site and chase away the petty roadsie sellers. The regulation of market is often rigorous despite their occasionally anarchic appearacce. Little²² had documented the need to win the favour of the market Queen. In Djakarta a residence permit must be acquired before

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21. L.R.Peattie, 'Anthropological Perspective on the Concept of Dualism, the Informal Secoor and Marginality in Developing Countries', Regional Svience Review, Vol.5(i), 1980, pp.1-29.
 22. K.Little, West African Urbanisation, (London: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1965, pp.50-52.

street-trading can be practiced.²³ A well-regulated market is a feature of Latin American street trading: "Many Latin American markets are notable for their orderly arrangements of traders and stalls in row.... arrangements between traders are often reinforced by the authority and arbitration of formal and informal traders association."²⁴ Breman is of the opinion that certain kinds of patronage is a pre-condition to enter even as a casual labourer. Jobs which formerly required little or no formal education now only go to those who have school leaving certificate.²⁵ Citing an Indian example of shoe-shiners Battacharya writes that shoe-shiners must rent place to work from an intermediary and a box is rented by paying half of one's earning to the owner.²⁶

23. G.F.Papanek, 'The Poor Of Djakarta', Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.24, 1975, pp.1-27.

24. R.J.Broom Lay and R.Symanski, 'Market Place Trade in Latin America', Latin American Research Review, Vol.9, 1974, p.11.

25. Jan Breman, 'A Dualistic Labour System? A Critique of Informal Concept', EPW, Dec.4, 1976.

26. S.S.Battacharya, 'The shoe-shiners of Patna', Socio-logical Bulletin, Vol.xviii, 1969.

This notion of dualism (informal/formal) takes a basic proportion that Third World cities are not characterised by a single economy, but by two economic sectors; one, 'modern' and the other 'traditional'. These sectors operate autonomously of one another, autonomously in the sense that the economic process within each sector are conceived of as accruing independently of each other. In this sense, there are two economics, each of which is fundamentally unaffected by the other, ie., the economic process are entirely endogenous to each other. In Henry's view capitalism is not a unified whole, but contains multiplex economies, a range of qualitatively different, but interrelated subeconomies under the overarching domination of capitalism.²⁷ This assumption shows that no subeconomies are independent or autonomous. That way the dichotomization of economy into formal and informal, as mutually exclusive, we lose the sight of the unity and totality of the productive system.²⁸ Rather informal sector should be considered as a 'marginalized sector' dependent to and exploited by the higher economic levels. The informal sector

27. Stuard Henry, 'Political Economy of Informal Economics', The Annals of American Academic of Political and Social Science, Vol.493, 1987, pp.137-53.

28. Jan Breman, 'A Dualistic Labour System?', EPW, Nov.26, 1976.

should be seen as an economic level under the hegemony of the monopolistic sector and serving its interest.

DEPENDENCY AND MARGINALIZATION OF INFORMAL SECTOR

Present process of capitalist development is the emergence of industrial production of goods and services as a hegemonic sector. Changes in this monopolistic sector is occurring in an increasing speed with the scientific technological revolution. The constant increase in technology enhance productivity, rationalize the labour relations and increase the rate of labour exploitation. This reduces the need of labour power.²⁹ This monopolistic sector involves essentially the concentration of economic production and the development of appropriate mechanisms for its organisation and expansion. For that purpose it has to have an overall control of the basic means of production and significant market. 'Qualitative widening' of the market is a precondition for the realization of surplus.³⁰ Development of the monopolistic level does not eliminate the preexisting levels of production rather it is preserved for the extraction of surplus. At the same time these preexisting entrepreneurial and other levels are totally dependent on the

29. Anibal Quijano, 'The Marginal Pole of the Economy and the Marginalized Labour Force', Economy and Society, Vol.3, pp.401-403.

30. *ibid.* p.403,

monopolistic levels for raw materials and capital (resources). They occupy an ever more depressed level due to the continued loss of productive resources and markets formerly available to them, and the complete lack of means of production which is the product of new scientific technological revolution. Due to this reason (concentration of resources and hegemony over market by the monopolistic sector) the other existing levels of productions are being marginalized. In Quijano's words

This marginalized level of the economy contain a complex of characteristics occupations, of mechanisms of their organisation, that is, labour relations, which are not those of the dominant formations in each sector, employing residual resources or production. They are structure~~d~~ in an unstable way, they generate in turn extremely diminished income cop compared with their equalents in other levels and serve a market formed by the population itself incorporated into this level of activity, incapable, therefore, of allowing for growing capital accumulation.³¹

Thus this marginalized sector should be seen as a creation of capitalist development: its monopolistic/oligopolistic modality of industrial production of goods and services. These marginalized sectors are 'conserved/dissolved' by the hegemonic sectors for its capital accu-

31. *ibid*, pp. 403-4.

accumulation. As Meillassoux³² says, we should see production as a single system dominated by capital in which capital preserves and manipulates other levels of production for its benefit.

Informal sector economic activities can be analysed on the basis of arguments presented in the preceding paragraphs. It should be viewed in the light of its dependence to formal monopolistic sectors. Informal sectors need not to be an independent autonomous entity. It came into existence due to the nature of capital accumulation in the monopolistically organised formal sectors. Informal sector is dependent to the formal sector and as a result it is marginalized and further depressed. Earlier analysis of informal sector gave stress to the blockages between the sectors. Marginalized nature of this sector can be revealed if we look into the 'linkages' between the two sectors. An alternative approach argued from a neo-marxist perspective opines that the 'poverty' found in the informal sector is due to its relationship with capital production and distribution and with a state that furnishes conditions necessary for

32. Meillassoux, 'From Reproduction to Production', Economy and Society, Vol.1, 1972, p.168.

capital accumulation. They interpret the informal sector in terms of the dynamics of international capitalist penetration of Third World economies. They emphasize the dependence of the informal sector upon the formal in line with their understanding of underdevelopment. This informal sector is subordinate to, and exploited by, the formal sector in ways that may be somewhat analogous to international dependency relationship. Hence they see the linkages as the result of capitalist cooperation seeking to marginalize petty-capitalist or to coopt informal sector workers. The supposed incapacity of small enterprises to contribute as fully as they might to national income growth has been connected to the very nature of growth process itself.³³

Bose's orientation to the informal sector is in terms of structural linkages.³⁴ After surveying available literature on small scale industrial units in Calcutta and a small survey undertaken by himself, asserts that they operate in deperate markets, but are inexorably linked by dependency relation: the informal sector being at

33. T.G.McGee, 'Peasants in Cities : A Paradox, a Most Ingeneous Paradox,' Human Organisation, Vol.32, 1975, p.62.

34. A.N.Bose, The Informal Sector in the Calcutta Metropolitan Economy, (Geneva: ILO, 1974).

the mercy of a few large houses controlling modern industry and especially the marketing system. He talks about the overall domination of formal sector over whole economy and the excessive profit for metropolitan oligopolis.³⁵

The qualitative picture which emerges from these case studies fully confirm the fact that the dominating large scale oligopolistic sector compels the small units in the informal sector to operate in a different market where the higher, and the main benefit of this price differential is reaped by large-scale sector.³⁶ Informal sector enterprises provide large sectors with huge trading profits through an unequal exchange relationship. At the same time these enterprises function as distribution outlets or component suppliers of the large sector.

Another study by Gerry on linkage between informal and large sector in Dakar writes that the informal sector economic activities are integrated closely with the formal economy found in peripheral capitalist societies.³⁷ In his ILO sponsored study³⁸ he found that

35. *ibid*, p.85.

36. *ibid*, p.93.

37. C.Gerry, 'Petty Production and Capitalist Production in Dakar: The Crisis of the Self Employed', World Development, Vol.6, , p.1148.

38. C.Gerry, Petty Producers and Urban Economy: A Case Study of Dakar, (Geneva: ILO, 1974).

79% of the small firms in furniture making (subsumed under carpenters) were fully dependent on oligopolistic suppliers for their raw materials. He concluded with Bose that the strategy of strengthening ties between informal sector and large monopolistic sectors would benefit only the latter.

For Ferman and Ferman,³⁹ the very structure of capitalism creates its own historically specific informal economies. They argue that modern capitalist society encourages such economies by creating structural irregularities based on class, ethnic and cultural segregation. In addition, according to them, economic specialization, protectionist trade union and professional associations coalesce so that some goods and services are not widely available for too expensive for those with low income or non-existent income. Through subcontracting also the modern sectors of economy exploit the informal sectors. When the employees are subcontracted outworkers, they operate at the mercy of the large capitalist entrepreneurs for credit, rental of space or equipment and supply of raw materials.⁴⁰ In Majumdar's opinion informal sector

39. R.P. Ferman, and Louis.A.Ferman, 'The Structural Underpinning of the Irregular Economy', Poverty and Human Resources Abstract, Vol.8, 1973, pp.3-18.

40. Broomley and Gerry, Casual Work and Poverty in Developing Countries, (New York: John Wiley, 1978), pp.110-113.

workers are disguised wage labourers since their production is controlled by industrial capital which sets the volume, type and quality of the goods produced and fixes the price below their true value.⁴¹ They provide low cost goods for the population who are unable to purchase high cost industrial goods. They produce cheap and necessary goods for the labour force such as transport, housing, food items, clothing, shoes and recycled materials etc. which otherwise has to be provided by employers or government agencies.⁴² This low cost consumer goods are essential for the stable labour force who are not getting a handsome income.

There is a tendency among the authors to consider informal sector workers as an industrial reserve army. According to them they put a pressure on urban wage levels and are absorbed at the time of industrial expansion.⁴³ This point needs a further scrutiny since

41. Majumdar, 'The Urban Informal Sector', World Development, Vol.4, 1976, pp.655-79.

42. A good number of writers have the same opinion regarding this point. To cite a few, Michel, Carter 'Issues in Hidden Economy: A Survey', Economic Record, Vol.60, 1984, pp.209-21; A.N. Bose op cit.; Chris Gerry, 'Developing Economies and Informal Sector in Historical Perspective', The Annals..., Vol.493, 1987, pp.100-120. However these authors do not take into consideration of this section to the high consumption pattern of the dominant groups.

43. A.Portes, 'The Informal Sector and The World Economy: Notes on the structure of subsidies Labour' IDSB, Vol.9, 1978, pp.35-40.

the nature of the labour force required the higher levels of production are qualitatively different in the present context. This aspect we will analyse later in this chapter.

So far we have seen that informal sector is conserved and exploited by the monopolistic industrial sectors. Rather than sinking into the condition of proletariat which even Marx⁴⁴ anticipated, the entrepreneurs of informal sector survive because its existence is invariably necessary for capitalism, which directly or indirectly oils the wheels of monopolistic sectors. These marginalized informal sectors survive as a complement to the large scale, monopolistically organised sectors, taking on those tasks which represents too risky of too limited a market for the higher levels of production. Under these condition, the possibilities of capital accumulation are negligible, and the chance of independent development becomes impossible. But its survival is necessary for the higher levels since it contributes in more than one way.

An attempt to understand marginal population in Third World cities should necessarily make a distinction between the owners of these workshops and the people whom

44. Marx has argued that small workshop owners etc. will become wage labourers during the development of capitalism. But the existing reality goes against this argument. Rather than being proletarianized they remain as what they were earlier.

they are exploiting as workers in this marginalized sectors, the self employed vendor, and other personal services. In these cities the income opportunities for the owner of a small workshop is more than an employee in formal sector. In this sense the marginalized population may consists of employees in the the marginalized sectors of production, the self employed street vendor, shoeshiner, household servants transporters etc who makes a sub-human existence from the fringes of urban economy. For a proper understanding of marginality we should differentiate between a petit-bourgeoisie and 'marginal mass'.

Marginal population is a relatively new concept used by Latin-American sociologists to name some, Stavenhagen, Quijano, Jose Nun and United Nations economic Commission for Latin America(1967) etc. Much of this works are still not translated. Many of them consider marginals as those section of population who are excluded from the social and economic production and reproduction. We in this study consider marginality not as a total exclusion but as partial participation in society under worst domination and exploitation. Since they contribute to the economy and their service is necessary for the dominant section they are consciously not excluded from the economic and societal processes.

Marginal population is created due to the development in productive forces. Modern sectors of production which utilize the benefits of modern scientific technological revolution set a limit to the quantitative needs for labour, but stress on the qualitative requirements needed for a particular job. A specialized 'knowhow' is needed required in the hegemonic sectors and workers who lack that knowhow are often excluded. When there is a demand for casual labour it is often acquired through subcontracting. Hence they take refuge in the marginalized informal sectors of the economy. Modern industrial sectors need high levels of skills and education for its labour force and those who lacks that are those who have no access to that tend to get excluded from the higher levels of production. This does not mean that there was not marginal population in the early stages of capitalism. In fact Engels⁴⁵ portrayal of working class - rather about the unemployed beggars, homeless etc - provides a vivid picture about the marginal sections of English and Irish migrants in England. But the difference was that they were 'temporary marginal

45. Frederich, Engels, The Condition of Working Class in England in Marx and Engels, CW, Vol.4, (Moscow; Progress Publishers, 1962).

class' since capitalism was in an infantile stage and it was expanding.

Marginal population includes that part of the Third World population which as a consequence of their unstable insecure position in the occupational structure, has the lowest income and standards of living and therefore cannot benefit from economic growth. They become alienated from their own humanity and estranged from each other and society. They are systematically excluded from participation in institutions that provide the opportunity for other members of society to reach something approaching a human level of material and social existence. As a result of the increasing polarization of the agrarian structure as well as the inability of the modern sectors to absorb workers with sufficient speed, structural marginalization and marginals grow in great speed. It is a section of population which is integrated into a specific economic structure and a specific power structure, but integrated at the lowest level and suffering from the worst domination and exploitation. Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano has defined social marginality as "... a limited mode of inconsistent structuring of belonging and participation in the general structure of society, whether with respect to the total of structures in whole or in

institutional sectors.⁴⁶

In modern state no class of people from the society. The problem has rather to do with the character and quality of participation in society by members of certain structural groupings created by economic changes. Marginal underclass are excluded from participation; only minimally participate or participate under discriminatory condition in certain institutions. This participation is irregular and or only yields minimal social rewards for role performed. They are the 'sub-proletariat' in Worsley's⁴⁷ term: the victims of urbanisation without adequate industrialization. Their mobility is a p horizontal one from rural poverty to urban plight.

Even it is considered incorrect to take them as an industrial reserve army. Marx⁴⁸ developed his idea of industrial reserve army in his analysis of relative surplus population. A relative surplus population become an industrial reserve army when it is capable of competing with the active labour force and exerts a pressure on the wage level. In this case this marginalized population

46. This quotation is cited in, Cockcroft(ed.) Dependence and Underdevelopment in Latin America's Political Economy, (New York: Doubles Day, 1972), p.274.

47. Peter Worsley, 'Fanon and Lumpen Proletariat', Socialist Register, 1972, p.

48. Karl Marx, Capital, Vol.1, (Moscow; Progress Publishers, 1984), pp.601-83.

does not serve as an industrial sreserve army because of the reason: first the capital intensive nature of industrialization and secondly, these population lack the necessary skill required for higher levels of production. An increasing part of this population is not only unemployed, but unemployable at present day technological levels too. Majority of them are a 'reserve army of workers' for the marginalized sector only. Jose Nun⁴⁹ makes a distinction between marginal population which is functional for the capitalist system (the industrial reserve army) and that which is not: marginal mass. This distioction is more or less irrelevant for our point of view since we have argued that marginalized sector and marginal population as indirectly functional for the dominant sectors fo production and for the people who benefits from this sectors. Perlman's⁵⁰ criticism of 'marginal urban mass' is rooted in his idea of considering this group as excluded section. He is of the opinion that this concept is directly related to the core idea of the old modernisation theory and its use

49. Cited in Briyan Roberts, Cities of Peasants, (New York: Edward Arnold, 1978), p.160.

50. J. Perlman, Myth of Marginality, (Berkely: California Uni. Press, 1976).

suggests an image of a population subgroup and an economic sector that is relatively unproductive and traditional. This criticism is plausible when we analyse on the basis of mutually exclusive sectoral dualism.

Marginality in this study is not an exclusion from societal processes. It is created by capitalist development, directly facilitated it in the early stage of industrialization by acting as a reserved army of labour. Present context even though it is not serving that purpose, its existence is indirectly indispensable for capitalism. Other personal services are also necessary for the high consumption pattern of the dominant groups. The increase in the tertiary and informal sector labour force is also directly related to capital intensive production process and international dependency which we have analysed in last chapter. Marginal underclasses are those population that have been integrated in this process. Categorized by participation in economy, these include the hardcore unemployed, those employed in low wage sectors in urban economy with labour intensive technology, those engaged in self-employment and personal services and most important category, those, whose skills are

superfluous⁵¹ to a technologically geared society.

Marginals are not an excluded section, rather they are dependent and exploited by capitalist accumulation.

51. Harry Braverman argues in his seminal work, Labour and Monopoly Capitalism, (new York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), how modern technology and scientific management deskill the labour.

Chapter III

EXPRESSIONS
OF MARGINALITY

From the discussion in the first two chapters we may legitimately assert that a sizable number of the population in Third World cities are excluded from the formal occupational structure and they are engaged in marginal sectors of urban economy. These marginalized sections of the population take refuge in the peripheries of urban economy and earn their living in a highly exploitative situation. Pressed into the cities without useful outlets for their energies, many of the urbanites have no alternative but to survive by their labour power sold at the lowest possible wage. They work for a livelihood with little capital and few skills. And cities have an insatiable appetite for cheap labour to perform all kinds of economic tasks. Their presence is necessary for the production system as well as for the high consumption patterns of the upper classes.

This lack of direct access to resources is visible in their existential conditions also. A glance on the population studies in the cities of the Third World proves that great chunks of population in reality are marginalised. Their marginality is characterised by (i) sub-human existence in hovels, slums and/or as

squatters; (ii) employment in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations; (iii) casual works and highly exploited service sectors (iv) extremely low and unstable income and (v) impoverished style of life and low level of educational attainment. They are culturally so marginal that they fail to initiate themselves into the dominant urban values and cultural patterns. They are considered as non-urbanite since their rural cultural patterns persists in their everyday life even after prolonged urban residence.

HOUSING CONDITION

The outcome of the accelerative movements to cities, of a population who are pauperized in their original home, and the failure of the urban economy to absorb them has been the accretion of vast slum and squatter areas of spontaneous settlements. Each day hundreds of new huts sprout in different localities as if from nowhere. These self built houses are of mud, rag, cardboards, flattened tin sheets etc. Most of the cities new arrivals have been housed in this haphazard, subhuman hovels. These settlements are known by different names like 'favelas' in Rio de Janeiro, 'vecindad' in Mexico, 'ranchos' in Venezuela, 'barriadas' in Peru and Colombo, 'kangpong' in Malaysia and Indonesia and

in India as 'zopad-patti', 'bustee', 'Jhuggi jhopari' etc. Whatever may be its local nomenclature main characteristics of this phenomena in Third World countries are similar: over crowding, absolute lack of civic and social services.

30 to 50 percent of the population in Third World Metropolis live in this condition¹ in dilapidated and subhuman housings with little to ameliorate summer heat and muddy monsoon water. Intoxicated and befouled by their own hopelessness they live in the most appalling filth and misery. More marginalized families find themselves 'selected' by their poverty to live in slums. And families who have been in slums all their lives realize that yet another generation has been wasted in the plight that touches every facet of life.

Slum population constitute a major share in India's four metropolises. Its size is alarming. 32.9 percent of Calcutta's population, 34.3 percent of Bombay's population, 31.4 percent of Delhi's population and 32.1 percent of Madras' population were living in slums during 1981. These big four cities had an estimated third of their population living in slums. with an

1. Drakakis and Smith, The Third World Cities, (London: Methuen, 1987).

annual 5 million migrants taking shelter in city slums.² A more recent figure notes that 50 percent of India's urban population live without shelter or in appalling housing conditions.³ It is possible to get a glimpse of the intensity of increase by looking into the figure for 1971 which was 20 percent.⁴ A study of Bombay slum population found that it is growing at a faster rate than the overall city population.⁵ 50 percent of the population in Indian metropolises have to live in extreme squalor and misery. For this people, deluge means death, disease, hunger, dirt, etc. For Bombay and Calcutta slum dwellers, monsoon intensifies an already precarious existence. It is a survival with wet clothes (mostly only one pair) leaking roofs and damp muddy floors and the nights are spent standing in waist deep water.

Basic needs which are necessary to live a semi-civilized life is absolutely lacking in these slums. In Calcutta 70 percent of the population, in

2. India Today, January 1988, pp.114-121.

3. Patriot, 16 May 1988.

4. A.M.Singh and de Souza, The Urban Poor, (Delhi: Manohar, 1980).

5. Amrita Abraham, in EPW, Feb. 1985, p.226.

Bombay 41.7 percent of the population, in Delhi 48.6 percent of the population and in Madras 68.5 percent of the population live without tap water. And Madras is having water supply only in alternative days. 50 percent of the population in Calcutta live without toilet facilities and for Bombay it is 26.6 percent, for Delhi it is 32 percent and for Madras 31 percent. Access to electricity is also a privilege for a few. 37 percent of the population in Calcutta, 22.5 percent of Bombay, 25 percent of Delhi and 35 percent of Madras live without electricity.⁶ The population which are denied these basic services are not the dominant sections, but only the poorer section of the urban areas. Even if there is a public tap in most cases, it may not be functioning. In most cases the water taps are not visible. The water stands are filthy. Even when the water comes, a thin stream runs for a few hours. Private tap owners do good business by selling water 20 to 50 paise a bucket. Desai in his Bombay Study found that only 8 percent of the respondents did not pay for water.⁷ Public toilets are without sewerage system and proper water connections. Majority

6. India Today op.cit., p.118.

7. Desai and Pillai, Profile of an Indian Slum, (Bombay Uni.

of the slum dwellers light their hovels with a small kerosine lamp and when, it is said that certain slums are electrified, it means electric poles without a lamp.

Other Third World cities are ^{also} in worst condition. More than third of the city population in Third World live in squatter or slum areas,⁸ in shacks, huts made out of plywood, mud or straw, usually without clean water, sewers, health centers, schools, paved roads or paying jobs and these are growing at twice the rate of official modern cities they surround.

In Mexico city 40 percent or more of the population is living in squatter areas (colonias populares), vecindads (inner city slums) and shanties (lost city). It is generally conceded that 60 to 70 percent of the city population live in dilapidated housing conditions. Most of these shanty towns lack necessary services, water is only for short period and is undrinkable due to unclean piping system.⁹ Much of the Lima's (Peru)¹⁰ rapidly growing population have been accommodated over

8. V.R. Krishna Iyer, Law and the Urban Poor in India, (New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1988), pp. 99-104.

9. P.M. Ward, 'Mexico City' in Michel Pacione (ed.), Problems and Planning in Third World Cities, (New Delhi: Vikas Pub., 19), pp. 28-65.

10. Drakakis and Smith, op.cit., p. 52-55.

the last 40 years in inner city slums, which house around half of the city's population and squatter communities (pueblos Jovenes) which have around one quarter of the population. There are around 300 Pueblos Jovenes in and around Lima. Some have arisen over public garbage dumps. In Guayaquil (Ecuador) in 1975 60 percent of city's population was staying in squatter communities.¹¹ built over an areas of tidal swamland, which have little commercial value in its natural state. They are small bamboo and timber houses standing on poles above mud and polluted water. The houses are connected with a complex system of timber catwalks which also link them to the nearest dryland. In Salvador 63 percent in five principal urban areas are informal or illegal housing. 9 percent live in 'fugurios' typically a collection of squatter huts built on steep gullies or dry river beds.¹²

A study of Nairobi revealed that some 38 percent of the city's housing was in squatter areas (for

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11. John Robins, 'Slums, Squatters and Homeless: A Third World Reality', Journal of Developing Areas, Vol.18, 1984, p.106.
 12. Allen Kelly and P.G. Williams, What Drives Third World City Growth?, (New Jersey: Princeton Uni. Press, 1984), p.184.

1978). In Lusaka some 2,50000 out of 540,000(1981) lived in squatter settlements.¹³ Today most of the squatter communities have population between 20,000 and 50,000. In Morocco more than one million live in spontaneous settlements known as 'bidonville' with only 10 percent have access to water.¹⁴ In Cairo more than one million population in 1979 were living in a cemetery called the 'city of the dead'.¹⁵ A study of the slums that exist both on the peripheries and in the central part of Lagos discovered that basic amenities were either inadequate or non-existent. For water supply households depended upon wells, ponds and streams which were generally highly polluted. Freetown in Africa, lower classes are forced to live in squatters or in river banks, steep hills or on the shore. Only 20 percent had access to taps, and 5 percent had access to flushed toilets.¹⁶

In Kulalumpur 37 percent of the total urban

13. G.K.Payne, Low Income Housing in Developing World, (Chicester: John Willey, 1984), p.66.
14. John Robins, op.cit., p. 107.
15. M.A.Qadeer, Urban Development in the Third World: Internal Dynamics of Lahore, (New York: Praeger, 1983), p.2.
16. Peter Lloyd, Slums of Hope; Shanty Towns of the Third World, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p.43.

population and in Djakarta about 8 lakh people live in squatter settlements.¹⁷ Cities like Colombo, Karachi, Dakha, Bagdad etc are not much different. They contain a sizable number of the population in slum areas with inadequate services. In a space of few decades population in Third World spontaneous settlements have become very large both in absolute numbers and in relation to total urban population. In this struggle for space, rich have well defined, orderly, spaced zones near to the central point of the city. The poor, without any choice of their own, stay near to the place of work. Beautification of city chase them away from the vicinity of the dominant groups' habitat so that it may not give an ugly sight to their civilized existence. These slums and squatters are not an accidental outcome of urbanization, but an effect of the nature of industrialization, choice of technology and the capitalist production relations. It is an expression of underlying conflicts in social space. It is a creation of the unequal distribution of resources where a numerically insignificant but a dominant minority consume the fruits of development at the expense of the misery of marginalised majority.

17. D.J.Dwyer, People and Housing in Third World Cities, (London: Longman, 1975), pp.97-101.

OCCUPATION

It is mentioned earlier that the marginalized urban population is engaged in irregular occupations with high labour input and in self-employed service sectors. For this section of the population, the work situation involves intermittent employment and low wages when employed and high inputs of time and energy in job as compared to their earnings. Such circumstances produce the objective condition for material deprivation and socially defined poverty in an urban industrial setting. And in any analysis of marginalisation it is imperative to understand that the insecurity of income is perhaps even more significant than the low level of income.

The source of cash used by the unstable labouring population are varied and can be broadly divided into those for which work is performed and those which involve no work. These are the selling of labour power and selling of goods respectively. Members of this group belong to same social class and have a homogeneous social background. Their work is necessary for the efficient functioning of the urban society even though they get very little in return. For the dominant section their survival become impossible without sweep-

ers, garbage collectors, buyers of used goods, waste materials, odd job doers, peddlers of assorted goods, domestic servants, security guards and a host of others who function in the peripheries of urban economy.

Area-wise data about the occupation and income of city marginals are very rare except for few cities. But individual studies of slum and squatter settlements in a particular city may give insights into the nature of occupation and income opportunities. In Delhi, it was found that a majority(54%) of the slum population were engaged as casual labourers.¹⁸ Construction is a major industry in Delhi and workers always find or hope to find a work here. There are those employed in low payed jobs as unskilled workers, porters and loaders in markets, shops and railwaystations, rickshaw and cart drivers, domestic servants, cooks, hawkers, peons and watchmen, wayside sellers etc. There are those who engaged in various small industries and small workshops as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.¹⁹ The TCPO report for Delhi(1975) found that 35 percent of males were construction workers and

18. Singh and de Souza, op.cit., p.94.

19. Majumdar, 'Social Change and Urban Poor', in de Souza(ed.), Indian City, (New Delhi, Manohar, 1978), pp.29-61.

31 percent were miscellaneous unskilled workers. Rest 14 percent were industrial workers and 10 percent were engaged in traditional trades and skills. The study found that 38.4 percent of the females were employed as compared to 93.5 percent of the males and of this 65 percent were engaged in construction works.²⁰ Singh's work on Women in Delhi Basties found that 84.35 percent were domestic servants.²¹ Majority of the marginal population in Delhi are drawn from Rajasthan, U.P. and Bihar. A good number of slum dwellers are from Tamil Nadu also. Majority of the construction workers are drawn from these parts of the country.

Desai's²² study of Bombay slum settlements revealed that 33.7 percent were engaged in semi-skilled industrial activity and 13 percent in unskilled occupations. 5 percent of the samples were unemployed and rest were engaged in vending (7%) and petty business (7.33%). Zacharia indicated that there was a great

20. Singh and de Souza, op.cit., pp.94-95.

21. A.M.Singh, 'Women and Family: Coping with Poverty in the Bastis of Delhi', in de Souza(ed.) op.cit., pp.61-95.

22. A.R.Desai and Pillai, op.cit., pp.102-104.

demand for low skilled dock workers in Bombay.²³

Another study in Bombay was consistent with Desai's findings. According to this, majority were unskilled and semi-skilled industrial labourers, some were casual labourers and self employed and a fair number were unemployed. A microscopic minority was engaged in lumpen activities.²⁴

Madras study found that most of urban dwellers were daily wage earners. About 60 percent of the adult males and 30 percent of females were employed²⁵ which shows a high level of unemployment among the marginals in Madras metropolis. But Weibe is of the opinion that underemployment is a major problem in Madras slums.²⁶ Majority of the marginal population were engaged in service (coolies, domestic servants etc) at the time of one study, i.e., 54 percent of the male and 68 percent of the female. 9 percent were earning

23. Zacharia, 'Bombay Migration Study' in G. Breese (ed.), The City in Newly Developing Countries, (Englewood cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 36-75.

24. Sandeep Pendse, 'Politics and Organization of Urban Workers', EPW, Feb. 25, 1984, p. 343.

25. cited in Singh and de Souza. *op. cit.* p. 96.

26. Paul Weibe, Social Life in an Indian Slum, (New Delhi: Vikas, 1975), pp. 63-65.

a living through hawking, vending or small petty business.²⁷

In Calcutta migrant workers are engaged in Rickshaw pulling, as domestic servants, in Jute industry and in construction. Dock work also attracts a sizable number. Eames found that dock work condition is so undesirable that many migrants after short-term residence would return to their villages. He found that mostly scheduled castes were engaged in this job.²⁸

Recently a sizeable number of migrants were engaged in Calcutta's metro work. These workers were organised under Dadan system where some money is advanced to a person in dire need and the recipient works off this money for a specific period.²⁹ They were kept in tents and shanties without any public service avenues. Even a middleman exploit them in providing them work. The middle man generally rakes off 15 to 25 percent of the worker's earning and creates system of

27. Singh and de Souza, op.cit., pp.95-96.

28. E. Eames, 'Some Aspects of Rural Migration from North India', Eastern Anthropologist, Vol.7, 1953, pp.13-26.

29. Bandopadyaya and Ramaswamy, 'Dadan Workers in the Calcutta Metro', EPW, 16 March 1985.

bondedness by giving loans or advances.³⁰ Exploitation of construction workers during Asiad'82 is widely known. Paulin Milone mentioned the same experience of construction workers during 1962 Djakarta Asian Games.³¹ And, ironically these people were totally ignorant about the project they were working for. Inadequacy of data regarding the city's marginal population as a whole makes it difficult to reach into definite conclusions regarding the nature of income and working conditions in general.

For Bangkok a survey found that 95 percent of the household heads were working, out of that only 6 percent were in manufacturing. Rest of the marginal population were engaged in Bangkok's grossly inflated tertiary sectors such as construction, transport and trade.³² Djakarta survey found that majority of the marginal population were pedicab drivers, cigarette-bud pickers and petty street traders and vendors. Prostitution was found quite high in these cities.³³

30. Maran Bellwinkel, 'Rajasthani Contract Labour in Delhi : A Case Study Relation between Company, Middleman and Worker', Sociological Bulletin, 22(1), 1973, pp. 78-97.

31. Cited in Eames and Goode, Urban Poverty in A Cross Cultural Context, (New York: The Free Press, 1973). p. 120.

32. D.J.Dwyer, op.cit., pp.45-46.

33. G.F.Papanek, 'The Poor of Djakarta', Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.24, 1975, p.5.

Regarding Latin American cities Prebisch

writes:

An appreciable proportion of the cities population is not properly absorbed in the production process.... They (marginals) put up their wretched shanty towns and eke out a hand/mouth existence in a whole wide range of ill-paid personal services with out and out unemployment. 34

According to Frank, in his summary of poverty in Latin America, it is found that many people shift frequently between irregular, unskilled employment and engage in partial self-employment and they always look forward to have some particular source of income only for a short term.³⁵ About Latin American cities, Mangin is of the opinion that marginal settlements are overwhelmingly composed of poor families who earn a living through intermittent and casual work and services. They work hard and aspire to get ahead legitimately, even-though petty crime occasionally does exist.³⁶

Generally the unemployment rate is very low among the marginal sections since people are engaged in some kind of activity to raise a living. But if we look

34. Raul Prebisch, Towards a Dynamic Policy for Latin America, (New York:UN Pub.,1963), p.23.

35. Andrew Frank, 'Urban Poverty in Latin America', Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol.2, 1966,pp.75-84.

36. William Mangin, (ed.), Peasants of Cities, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin,1970),pp.47-48.

for a permanent, secure and fixed salaried job as a criteria for employment the reality is quite disturbing. Mangin reviews several studies regarding the employment of Latin American marginals found that 50 percent have some kind of stable employment, 10 percent were in intermittent casual occupation which includes even selling of goods.³⁷ In Latin American cities a sizeable number of household earn their living through self-raised capital. They put this capital in some kind of trade (generally selling cheap items). In Lima 8 percent of houses, according to Mangin sell something with the cash which have earned through hardwork and ability.³⁸ Roberts also found that 40 out of 400 householders which he studied in Guatemala city were engaged in selling service.³⁹ It even included water, kerosine and other fuel items in tiny quantities. The capital outlay for many vending activities may be very low. but it is beyond the reach for them without some credit. Generally they

37. W.Mangin, 'Latin American Squatter Settlement: A Problem and a Solution', Latin American Research Review, Vol.2, 1967,p.76.

38. *ibid*, p.79.

39. Brian Roberts, 'Social Organization of Low Income Families', in R.N.Adams, (ed.), Crucifixion by Power, (Austin:Uni. of Texas Press, 1970),pp.479-515.

take goods on credit or borrow money from some patron. They buy supplies for the next day's sale with this days profit.

A study by Charles Abrams in Caracas indicated that 18 to 25 percent of the squatter population in Caracas were unemployed.⁴⁰ Peattie found that one third of the men in Venezuelan marginal community she studied reported themselves as unemployed.⁴¹ Raggicking is another source of income which is very common in Latin American cities. Such items as paper, rags, glass and scrap metals are vital in the production process and are recycled through its collected items to dealers for a very marginal price. Frequently a dealer have many collectors supplying him the materials. In Latin America there is a tendency among the marginals to be self-employed than become casual labourer since the self-employed have greater control over their working conditions.⁴²

40. Charles Abrams, Housing in Modern World, (London: Faber & Faber, 1964) p.18.

41. cited in Eames and Goode, op.cit., p.134

42. Gutkind, 'The Energy of Despair'; Social Organisation of Unemployed in Two African Cities', Civilization, Vol.17, 1967, pp.186-211; also see, 'African Responses to Urban Wage Employment', International Labour Review, Vol.97, 1968, pp.137-167.

Domestic work is very common in African and the best opportunities for recent migrants are in domestic service. Gutkind's study of Lagos and Nairobi showed that majority of them were engaged in sporadic marginal activities. He described the younger groups as having 'occasional jobs' as washing cars, carrying loads, watching market stalls, looking after young children, hawking combs, pencils, cigarettes or cloths and generally picking up whatever casual work they could find. His study predicted a phenomenally high rate unemployment in the future.⁴³ Abu-Lughod⁴⁴ suggested that most of the migrants in Cairo whom she studied were casual labourers or engaged in itinerant peddling, shoe-shining, tea-making and domestic servants, and Harrison's study of Tripoli found many of the marginal inhabitants as labourers, nightwatchmen, cleaners, launders, domestic servants.⁴⁵ In port cities of Africa, unskilled workers who load and unload in dockyard is very common. It is not a regular occupation because of the irregular-

43. Gutkind, 'The Energy of Despair: Social Organisation of Unemployed in Two African Cities,' Civilization, Vol.17, 1967, pp.186-211; also 'African Responses to Urban Wage Employment', International Labour Review, Vol.97, 1968, pp.137-167.

44. Abu-Lughod, 'Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case', in G.Breese(ed.) op.cit., pp.376-88.

45. R.S.Harrison, 'Migrants in the City of Tripoli', Geographical Review, Vol.57, 1967, pp.397-423.

rity of ship arrivals.

There are marginals carrying more than one occupation to enhance his income position. Thus Sanchez works in a shop and after that buy and sell pigs.⁴⁶ In the major markets in Lima porters who do work in the market place during day and are paid for watching the stalls in the night. Another way of earning an income is to take piece work from small factories like Robert Sanchez earned a living for quite a few days.⁴⁷

INCOME AND CONSUMPTION

Out of their everyday income a major part is spent on food and generally it is one or two meals in a day. Diet is characterised by a high starch content and frequent ingestion of small quantities of food of low quality. Roadside eating is also very common. Delhi study found that average squatter household spent 95 percent of their income on food.⁴⁸ Desai opined that due to the split pattern of buying most slum dwellers cannot say how much they spent on different items of food. In his study it was found that 42 percent spent more than their income on food and nearly 94 percent of the sample did not earn beyond Rs.300 from their

46. Oscar Lewis, Children of Sanchez, (New York: Random House, 1961),

47. *ibid.*, Chapter 3.

48. Majumdar, *op.cit.*,

jobs and 6 percent earned less than Rs.100.⁴⁹ According to Majumdar⁵⁰ the average income of the basti settler in Delhi was Rs.61 per capita per month. In 44 percent of the basti-settlers 30 percent of their income in the city repatriated to their families in village. Rest 95 percent is spent on food and fuel and 5 percent on transportation and recreation.

A full scale survey of Djakarta poor showed that an average income of Rp 250(₡.60) for low income groups of all occupations except prostitution. Those in the lower realm spent 85 percent on food and cigarette and none of the respondents were able to purchase fish or meat, only 24 percent spend money on recreation.⁵¹ Regarding Manila's marginal population Juppenlatz claimed that only 15 percent could be considered as above subsistence level.⁵² Solow in a case study of Salvador showed that 95 percent of the families had income less than US ₡50 per month and 71 per cent had less than US ₡25 a month. Among the Guatemala city marginals 70 per

49. Deai and Pillai, Op.cit., pp.125-127.

50. Majumdar, op.cit., pp.41-43.

51. G.F.Papaneck, op.cit., pp.3-4.

52. M.Juppenlatz, Cities in Transformation: The Urban Squatter Problem of Developing World, (Uni. of Queensland Press, 1970), pp.135-142.

cent had income less than US \$60 per month and 92 per cent had less than US \$90 per month.⁵³ Whiteford describes the diet of the lower class in Mexico and Columbia cities as much simpler than of the upper class and almost devoid of milk, meat, coffee and vegetables.⁵⁴ High frequency of snacking and street eating instead of regular domestic meals is very common.

A high proportion of the possession of these marginals are second hand. Clothes often bought from the road side second class dealer. This is true of household furnishing which are purchased from neighbours and relatives.⁵⁵ There are market places for second hand goods all over the Third World. Even stolen goods are available in market places which are meant for that. Lewis describes the thieves market in Mexico city⁵⁶ and it is common in most of the Third World cities. About the lower classes in the Latin American cities, Whiteford described that if clothing appeared new or of current style, it was always safe to summarize that it was a gift from a patron, an employer or a charity.⁵⁷

53. Cited in D.J.Dwyer, People and Housing in Third World Cities, op.cit., p205

54. Andrew Whiteford, Two Cities in Latin America, (Garden City: Double Day, 1964),

55. Oscar Lewis, 'The Possessions of the Poor', Scientific American, Vol.221, 1969, pp. 114-24.

56. Oscar Lewis, Children of Sanchez, op.cit, Ch.3,

57. Whiteford, op.cit., pp.82-86.

EDUCATION

Educational level is very low as compared to the national average among the marginal section of the population. And the higher percentage of casual and unskilled workers among this section speak adequately about their low educational level. Generally it is considered that migrants have more educational attainment than their counterparts in the villages. Attainment of literacy should not be considered as an educational level required for an education. The formal section of economy demands skilled labours with a specific 'know-how' from a formal educational system or training. Achievement of literacy among the marginal section does not necessarily reflect their participation in the formal educational system. Majumdar pointed that 80 percent of all adult male literates in Delhi squatter settlements had become educated outside the formal school system and 90 percent of the female population were illiterates.⁵⁸ In Calcutta⁵⁹ a study by Siddiqui found that 64 percent of the male population were literate, while 86 percent of the female population were illiterate. Only 19 percent of the boys and 12 percent

58. Majumdar, op. cit., pp.32-33

59. M.K.Siddiqui, 'Slums in Calcutta: A Problem and its Solution', Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol.29, 1968,pp.173-82.

of the girls of school going age were in schools. It is because of the lack of resources available to them and they can maximize their family income by earning as shoeshiners or road side sellers.

Mangin⁶⁰ regarding Guetemala found that 80 percent of marginal population was illiterate. But in Lima, Matos⁶¹ found that 80 percent of the population above the age of five had received some kind of education. About Djakarta, Papenek⁶² found that about two third of the population were literate. But scavengers form a distinct group with less than 25 percent literates. James Schwartz's study⁶³ of Caracas city found that educational level is low with much variation among the marginal section. One fourth went beyond third grade, one fifth had some secondary education and three percent hold a high

60. Mangin, 'Latin American...', op cit., p.73.

61. M.J.Matos, Migration and Urbanization : Barrada of Lima,

62. Papenek, op cit., p.19.

63. James Schwartz, 'Future Look at Culture of Poverty : Ten Caracas Barriors', Sociology and Social Research, Vol.59, 1975, pp.363-88.

school diploma. Lewis's study⁶⁴ of Mexican and San Juan families revealed that much importance is not assigned to education. Marginals in cities of Africa have the same fate. A sizable number of the population is illiterates and litterates generally achieved it outside the formal school system particularly from the non-formal islamic institutions.⁶⁵

FAMILY

Nature of family also shows distinct characteristics than that of upper or middle classes. Singh's study of Delhi found that vast majority (at least 80%) settle in nuclear families as father as the head of the unit.⁶⁶ Since women also contribute to the household economy, she may be in someway economically independent. But because of the patriarchal nature she may not be having a control over her earning. In other parts of the Third World frequency of matrifocal household units have often been noted among the marginalized section of the population. Consensual unions which is not formally

64. Oscar Lewis, Children of Sanchez..., op.cit., and also La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty, (New York: Random House, 1965).

65. Harrison, op.cit.,

66. Singh, 'Women in the Bastis...', op.cit.,

ceremonialized is very common. Peattie found that in Venezulean slum community Church and civil marriages are very rare.⁶⁷ Roberts notes that 87 percent of unions of urban born residents in some shanty towns were consensual. He indicates that church and legal marriages are undesirable since they made separation difficult in situations where it is necessary from the rational economic point of view.⁶⁸ In manual Sanchez's opinion church and legal marriages are for wealthy people since they want to inherit their wealth.

Besides a poor man have nothing to leave his children so there is no need to protect them legally. If I had a million pesos or a house or a bank account or some material goods, I would have a civil marriage right away to legalize my children as my legitimate heirs.....and people in my class have nothing and majority of women here do not expect wedding.⁶⁹

Female based households are noted among the marginals in many part of the Third World. Safa noted⁷⁰ high proportion of such households in Puerto Rico.

67. cited in Eames and Goode, op.cit., pp.174-75.

68. Roberts, 'Social Organisation of...', in R.N.Adams, op.cit., pp.493-494.

69. Lewis, Children of Sanchez, op.cit., p.59.

70. H.I.Safa, 'The Social Isolation of the Urban Poor', in Deustcher and Thomson(ed.), Among the People: Encounters with Poor, (New York: Basic Books, 1968), pp.335- 351.

It is generally found that among the lower class in Latin American cities free unions were unstable leaving women alone to support the children. Mangin noted that 30 percent of the household in squatter settlement were made up of mothers and children with easily replaceable males.⁷¹ Marris⁷² about Lagos writes that besides bourgeois and more or less traditional conception of marriage, there emerges an emancipated household of mother and children in which the children's father play an intermittent casual role. Among the marginal communities in Singapore⁷³ 28 percent were exclusively mother-child households. On the other hand regarding India we have very little to show as empirical social science studies in these areas regarding the nature of marriage and its durability among the urban marginals. Since much value is attached to the monogamous traditional marriage we cannot expect a break-up in this pattern in urban areas.

For the upper and middle classes life is relatively a smooth passage from institution to institution but for this marginal section their life is a set of

71. Mangin, 'Latin American Squatter Settlements...', op.cit., p.76.

72. Marris, 'Methods and Motives', in Miner(ed.), The City in Modern Africa, (New York: Praeger, 1967), p.45.

73. Cited in Eames and Goode, op.cit., p.184.

disconnected episodes rather than a continuous series of unfolding, successive faces. They are in the cities because their rural land cannot provide them a living.- They migrate to the cities with only a dream of earning their living. Their skills and knowledge are inadequate for this one-dimensional ethos of modern urban life. For them city life is strange in a strange place among strange people.

Once they reached the city their dreams are shattered on the real rock of hard urban structure. Again with much efforts they join the shattered pieces. They construct their own shelters, earn a living in whatever way they are capable of and try to live a dignified life. Life is hard here, but it is even harder in the village. Even though there is vigour and gaiety, bustle and movement in the city, it has hunger, insecurity and misery also. They leave their hovels in the morning to earn a living, come back in the evening to their shelter, to dream about the insecurity of life tomorrow. They are insecure about their life since they are not having a regular income. If the employer is kind he may ask them to work, if there is no work they have to sleep on empty stomach and fireless hearth. This uncertainty forces them to retreat into their

miserable condition. Culture of poverty theorists criticises them for not having a 'futuristic orientation'. They cannot have a futuristic orientation since future is bleak for them. It is said that the cultural patterns poor develop to cope with their deprivation, curtail their ability to take advantage of subsequent mobility opportunities. But the mobility opportunities are conditioned by external economic and social factors to which they have no access.

It is generally conceded that migrants' earning in cities is much more than what he could get in his villages. But this argument forgets the fact that in a market economy expense of living is much more than in a subsistence economy. In villages there are lot of things additional to the wage income. Atleast he may not be purchasing water and fuel.

Media and institutions provide the idea of openness of the system and blame personal failures for unsuccess. Even without formal education the belief in open mobility is culturally transmitted. These ideas are embedded in their consciousness providing base for ideologies unconnected with reality. But in reality their mobility is a mobility from one unstable, unskilled job to another equally unstable and unskilled

one. It is a horizontal mobility of one marginal existence in village to another marginal life in cities. Even possibility of inter-generational mobility is less since their children are unsuccessful in the formal schooling system, being totally deprived of family support structure or institutional functional alternatives. They are unsuccessful not because they are less intelligent but because their socialization in the family with a 'restricted code' (to use Bernstein's concept) and lack of resources does not permit them to compete with the successful children of upper and middle classes.

Chances of any social or economic improvement is very less and totally dominated by the value of the dominant section. Dominant section excludes this population from the opportunities and fence off their region. Because of this process of 'social closure' and 'social exclusion',⁷⁴ the chances of mobility for this section of the population is less. The possibility of advancement is very limited, for the higher position demand educational levels beyond that already attained by the

74. Frank Parkin, 'Strategies of Social Closure in Class Formation', in Parkin(ed.) Social Analysis of Class Structure, (London:Tavistock, 1974).

poor. The effort of striving to get ahead can also be interpreted as an unending struggle to stay afloat. Social and economic barriers deny the marginals access to better position.

Chapter IV

**ASSOCIATIONS, POLITICS AND
COLLECTIVE ACTIONS OF MARGINALS**

Earlier we have mentioned that marginal under-class includes employees in small workshops and industrial units, the casual labourers, those who are engaged in self-employed services, domestic servants etc who are generally coming under the marginalised informal sectors. They earn their living from the peripheries of urban economy. They are engaged in labour intensive, highly exploited, insecure, intermittent occupations. Expelled from the villages they are not established in the urban centers. Because of the occupational heterogeneity and absence of established proletarian status, they lack occupational and work-place organisations. Considerable amount of geographical mobility and fragmentation of the labour force (in the marginalized sectors) prevents formation of any kind of craft-based organisations. Labour regulations also become an obstruction. Urban formal organisations (for eg. trade unions) ignore this section and conspicuously failed to incorporate them into their fold.

In this context they organise themselves in their residential areas. Majority of the population in this group reside in squatters and inner city slums. They organise themselves on the basis of region, caste,

residence, religion(rarely known) and ethnicity.

It is an outcome of the exclusion and rejection they experience in everyday life. It is an effort by them to search for a collective identity in the face of the threat they apprehend from the outside world.

It is meant to provide emotional and certain amount of material security to its members. It is an effort to improve their position through collective presentation of their shared interests. It is meant to solve their internal problems and to develop cohesive units to resist and bargain with external agents. Thus, it attempts to provide a political function also.

CONFLICTING VIEWS

There are two streams of thought regarding the nature of their potential and actual organisation and their political role(as an association and as a class) regarding this section of the population, argued from two different perspectives. One developed by Oscar Lewis in his formulation of 'subculture of poverty' and another could be found in classical marxism particularly in Marx and Engels' categorisation of 'lump-en proletariat'.

Lewis in his study of Mexican¹ and San Juan² (Puerto Rico) urban poor observe a minimum of organisation beyond the level of nuclear and extended family. He notes the incohesiveness and lack of trust between individuals, and their disinclination towards political participation. He writes that the poor in this sub-culture of poverty do not belong to labour unions and are not members of a political party. He portrays them as a demoralised and apathetic lot. Moreover, according to him they lack class consciousness and/or the vision or ideology to see the similarities between their problems and that of others placed in similar situations. But other studies conducted in Third World cities counter this 'disorganisation-apatetic' index of sub-culture of poverty among the marginalized sections. It is generally observed that strong and closely knit associations exist among some sections of this population, be it of a traditional nature or otherwise. It will be substantiated later in this chapter.

Lumpen proletariat is more a political concept. It is first developed by Marx in his polemics with his

1. Oscar Lewis, Children of Sanchez, (New York: Random House, 1961), Introduction.
2. Oscar Lewis, La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty, (New York: Basic Books, 1965), pp.1-35.

contemporary anarchist Baukunin. Latter in one of his works³ Marx deals with the characteristics of this section of the population. For him they are the declassified, who have broken all their ties with their original environment, who have nowhere to live in and who have no proper or regular contact with others in their immediate environment. Engels⁴ in his preparatory note to 'peasant war in Germany' describes them as the scum of the depraved elements of all classes with established headquarters in the cities. He is of the opinion that they are the worst of all possible allies. In his words they are absolutely venal and absolutely brazen.

If for Lewis they are an apathetic incohesive group for Marx they are a dangerous section whose presence is appreciated by no one. They are a reactionary group which can negatively contribute to a political movement. Both these views failed to comprehend the reality about the nature and role of organisations and collective action of the Third World urban marginals.

There are conflicting views regarding the nature of collective action by this section of the popula-

3. Marx and Engels, Selected Works, Vol.1, (Moscow:Progress, 1955), p.155.

4. cited in Cockcroft et al(ed.), Political Economy of Dependency, (New York: Doublesday, 1972), p.221.

tion. Social scientists have increasingly recognised the fact that the political potential of the population depends upon the aggregate level of their collective social cohesion rather than on the attitude of any individual. Much of the earlier studies on the developing nations suggests that urbanization correlates positively with political mobilization⁵ and as a ~~result~~ urban migrants are a potential source of social and political unrest. This analysis is based on the idea of anomic behaviour associated with marginal slum dwellers who ^{have} failed to become upwardly mobile and lead a trapped life. Samuel Huntington⁶ advances the same view that the most promising source of urban revolt is clearly the slum and shanty towns produced by the influx of rural poor. At some points the slums of Lima and Rio like those of Harlem and Watts are likely to be swept by social violence, as the children of the city demand the rewards of the city. Schmitt and Burks⁷ state that

5. Karl Deutsch, 'Social Mobilization and Political Development', American Political Scientist Review, Vol.35, 1965, pp. 493-514.

6. Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Developing Societies, (New Heaven, 1968), pp.278-83.

7. Karl Schmitt and David Burks, Evolution or Chaos: Dynamics of Latin American Government and Politics, (New York: City Press, 1963), pp.152-57.

the unemployed and unskilled workers have clustered into shanty towns called 'Ranchos' particularly around Caracas and elsewhere in Latin America, and they are vulnerable to the blandishments of radical agitators and revolutionaries. Lewis holds the same view when he writes that

~~the cynicism~~ among the urban poor gives the culture of poverty a high potential for protest and for being used in political movements aimed the existing social order.⁸

These views are argued from the perspective of a 'collective anomie' among the marginals. The more anomic a community the more disposed it is to adopt socially unacceptable forms of action.

The rejection of 'collective anomie' approach does not imply that no part of the marginals and under no situation show propensity to violent or radical collective action. Studies in Third World refute this violent-anarchic radicalism of the urban marginals. Radical political attitudes come to predominate only in those residential areas where wage earners constitute majority.⁹ It is argued that the most successful working class groups

8. Lewis, *La Vida*, op. cit., p.51.

9. See Peter Lloyd, A Third World Proletariat? (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), pp.90-95. See also Joan Nelson, 'Urban Poor: Disruption or Political Integration in Third World Cities', World Politics, Vol.22, 1970, pp.393-414; A.R.Desai holds more or less the same view, A.R.Desai, Profile of an Indian Slum, (Bombay: Bombay Uni.,1972) p.221.

in the developing nations are more likely through their common experience, stable contacts and mutual anti-management attitudes to develop conscious anti-establishment political attitudes. Migrants' failure and frustration often do not lead to radicalisation because of his tendency to avoid 'imputation' of responsibility for personal failure to the social order and instead to blame it on personal inadequacies, bad luck or other non-systemic factors.¹⁰ According to Mangin the ambition of the members of the squatter settlements is not very revolutionary. For him, it is

very similar to the beliefs of the operator of a small business in nineteenth century England or the United States. This can be summed up in the familiar and accepted maxims: work hard, save your money, trust only family members (and them also not too much), outwit the state, vote conservatively if possible, but always in your own economic self-interests.¹¹

But the poor are faced with alternatives which are not of their making; their choices do not reflect their underlying hopes. The activities of the poor, eventhough it seems opportunistic(as Mangin mentions) reflect rational calculation about the best path towards the amelioration of their positions. But none of

10. Joan Nelson, op. cit., p.397.

11. William Mangin, 'Latin American Squatter Settlements: A Problem and Solution', Latin American Research Review, Vol.2, 1967, p.97.

these factors negate the intensity of their awareness regarding their oppression and subordination in society. Portes¹² says that their mobilisation is in part a reaction to the threat rather than a form of radicalism or lower class 'irrationality' and opportunism. It is rather an attempt to work in and through the system than an attempt to rebel against it. But their participation in the system may not be necessarily a commitment to the system.

THIRD WORLD REALITY

Lewis' thesis of absence of organisation and cohesiveness has refuted by many studies done in Third World. There are different types of organisation playing more or less a similar role: internal self-help, resistance to external threats and articulation for access to resources. There is persistence of ethnic, caste and traditional associations in Third World cities, prevailing among the marginal section. Many studies conducted among the urban poor in Indian cities provide evidence that social organisations are based on

12 Alejandro Portes, 'Rationality in Slums: An Essay on Interpretive Sociology', Comparative Study in Society and History, Vol.10, 1971, pp.268-86.

kinship, caste, religion and region of origin. Regarding Calcutta Siddiqui¹³ indicates that in the slums, there is a panchayat(community wide governing unit) and a headman to look after the affairs of the community. It has been noted that in these types of panchayats, the leaders are often members of higher castes which are not numerically significant.¹⁴ Majumdar¹⁵ in his study of Delhi poor finds that panchayat acts as a representative body of its members at the residential level and also in the context of the wider society. These associations according to him provide social security in times of emergency, sickness and unemployment. He also states that modification in the role of these associations based on traditional networks is taking place in the direction of a widening, on the basis of institutional demands. According to him it is the remoteness of secular, urban institutions from the marginal population, that reinforces the traditional

13. M.K.Siddiqui, 'Slums of Calcutta:A Problem and its Solution,' Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol.29, 1968, pp.173-82.

14. A.M.Singh and de Souza, The Urban Poor, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1980), p.53.

15. Majumdar, 'The Urban Poor and Social Change' in de Souza(ed.) The Indian City, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1978), pp.29-60.

ties of the basti settlers. Political parties have a contribution to make to the psychological and behavioural make-up of the slums, and their influence on the Indian slum dwellers cannot be said to be negligible. They influence the poor mainly through wide ranging promises. Flags of all political parties are visible in these slums.¹⁶ Organisations based on caste, religion or ethnic identity also play a political role by bargaining with the government to gain preferential treatment for their supporters.

About Africa Lloyd¹⁷ is of the opinion that ethnic associations in towns have a dual role: socialising the new immigrant into town life and maintaining his ties with his home. For the poor it provides social security which is more important. The insecurity they experience as new recruits to urban centers force them to enter into non-formal ties with others placed in the same situation and with similar backgrounds. The most immediate problem which they confront in their everyday life is their abject poverty. Since they are leading a kind of hand to mouth existence any reckless

16. Deasi, op.cit., pp.210-11.

17. Peter Lloyd, 'Yoruba: An Urban People', in A. Southall(ed.) Urban Anthropology, (London: OUP, 1973), p.121.

protest from their side may expose them to the danger of actual starvation.

Among the samples of unemployed in African cities, Gutkind¹⁸ found that there had been several attempts to organize the unemployed as an interest group. However, this efforts at organisation were not quite successful. The obstacles were not the crippling ideology, apathy or hostility of the unemployed, but on the one hand a lack of adequate financial resources and on the other a strong loyalty to divisive tribal groups which proved decisive. According to Little, African urban associations are concerned with mutual aid, religious consolation, and recreation, security in sickness, unemployment and security in after life also.¹⁹ This brings out all-inclusive, multifunctional character of these associations. Any simplistic understanding of the working of these associations is untenable.

Throughout the Third World such community associations are quite strong among the marginal urban

18. Peter Gutkind, 'The Energy of Despair: Social Organisation of the Unemployed in Two African Cities, Lagos and Nairobi', *Civilization*, Vol.17, 1967, pp.186-211.

19. Kenneth Little, 'The Role of Voluntary Associations in West African Urbanisation', *American Anthropologist*, Vol.5, 1957, pp.579-96.

population. This in fact disprove Lewis' thesis of lack of cohesiveness among this section of the population. Their very existence is such that, an individual become a non-entity in complex urban society. He has to depend upon his fellow beings for his mere survival. Thus McGee²⁰ indicates that squatter communities in Rangoon and Djakarta often are well organised under a headman who serve to negotiate with municipal authorities with varying degrees of success. Lacquian²¹ describes the development of a very complex organisation in one Manila squatter settlement. This community is broken into several neighbourhoods which select a representative to a larger council which represents the total community. And the headman of the neighbourhood units devise ways and means to deal with the municipal authorities. Another study by him, Isla de kokomo²², a squatter in Manila states that, its main behavioural characteristic is a tight unity in face of outside world. Nevertheless, there are well formed links of mutual benefit with local politicians.

20. T.G.McGee, South East Asian Cities, (New York: Praeger, 1967).

21. Aprodicio Laquian, Slums are for People, Philippines: Bistamaute, 1968), pp.72-83.

22. Cited in D.J.Dwyer, People and Housing in Third World Cities, (London: Longman, 1975), p.88.

When squatting is a well planned invasion of empty land in city (as it is common in Latin America), it needs a strong cohesiveness among the would be squatters before the actual settlement. Subsequent defense of the settlement is also highly organised and necessitates the active participation of every member of the community. Improvement of the settlement is also highly organised, since they are ignored by the public authorities. It is a 'we feeling' in the face of external threat; a collective consciousness deriving from the common experiences of deprivation and poverty. Squatter associations in Latin America are widely known. Mangin has remarked that the degree of organisation by 'favela' associations in Rio is striking. "They have organised everything from private water system, markets, labour divisions and groups to raise money to buy land which they live, to carnival dance group, essential for the Rio festival.²³ Marginal communities developed their own civic institutions to deal with a variety of daily problems. These include maintenance of their own law and order, criminal justice, housing

23. Mangin, 'Latin American Squatter...', op.cit., p.70.

local administration etc.²⁴ Mass organisations of residents dealing specifically with slum questions are prevalent which may or may not be linked to political parties. Desai mentions one such organisation in Bombay which organises slum dwellers (Zopadpatti Rahivasi Sangram Samiti) in a more wider basis for their immediate demands.²⁵ Be it the squatters on empty land or similarly placed commuters, the sociological make-up of the marginals have thrown up a remarkably similar organisational response in different Third World cities.

The mass of urban marginals see two ways to articulate their demands. Individually they may approach their patron for favour or services on behalf of their community or they collectively organise their activities. These activities become much more generalised into an accusation of government's arbitrariness, inactivity or intransigence. The focus of such protests may not be upon the iniquities of the system as such, but upon the ineptitude, inefficiency or corruption of the government in power. They are described as opportunistic; they will support those political parties who promise certain rewards, but they quickly reject them if promi-

24. Howard Handleman, 'The Political Mobilization of Urban Squatter Settlements', LARR, Vol.10, 1975, pp.35-65.

25. Desai, op.cit., p.210.

ses are unfulfilled. In short one can say that the response of the marginal population does not run on a prestructured course. It is not to be comprehended as an end product but a dynamic wide open process.

This is basically because in Third World, according to Lloyd²⁶, radical political parties have done very little to mobilize urban poor from above, and they are conspicuously weak or absent among this section. Examples from Third World cities show that the external agents and factors were more or less successful in radically mobilizing them. Sandeep Pendse in his study of Bombay slum, notes that young members of the community are being radicalised by the activity of the external agents.

The state and official machineries were seen (by them) as agencies of class enemies. There was no attempt, popularly understood, appreciated and supported to restrict dealings with these machineries to a minimum.²⁷

The political context in which the slum dwellers have to negotiate their lives provide differential openings and the slum dwellers' response cannot but take that into account. Handelman²⁸ is of the opinion that

26. Peter Lloyd, op.cit., p.109.

27. Sandeep Pendse, 'Politics and Organisation of Urban Workers', EPW, 25 Feb. 1984, p.347.

28. Handelman, op.cit., pp.40-41.

Chile's migrant shanty towns have an unusually high level of political mobilisation during Dr. Salvador Allende's period. The squatter settlements, according to him, provided some of the strongest support for Chile's various Marxist parties. Because of this, marginal communities created new institutions that offered the basis for greater participation and political consciousness in the society at large. Social evils were totally banned. So called lumpen proletariat were effectively administered and directed for mass participation.²⁹ About a South Indian community in Bombay slum Lynch³⁰ says that they are highly politicised, ^{and} easily mobilised on political issues. Even community wide public ceremonies and localised life-cycle ceremonies are organised and expressed through political forms and symbols. Abraham³¹ says that 'back to Africa' movement have a stronghold in one of Jamaica's slum, which has become a volatile aspect of Jamaica's politics.

29. *ibid.*, pp.35- 65.

30. O.M.Lynch, 'Political Mobilization and Ethnicity among Adi-Dravidas in a Bombay Slum', *EPW*, Vol.9, no.39, pp.1663-65.

31. Charles Abraham, Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World, (Cambridge:MIT Press, 1964)pp.20-21.

When the future looks absolute bleak and everyday existence is a hard fought battle, they may look to any ray of hope, which can provide a little consolation. Generally the local political leadership exploits this plight by instigating hope. Their capacity to grant and withdraw resources is tremendous. This local power structure is always conscious of not losing their support which is a sizeable number in any Third World cities. To keep up this support they always reinforce the already prevalent social and political ideology. Pendse writes:

Anti-Communism, nationalism, linguistic and regional chauvinism, and subtle casteism and communalism are its (local power structure) its main plank.³²

The political leadership of the states handle popular demands by reacting to those that give rise to sufficient mobilization for their ends. Its response to demands on a particularistic basis, with an eye to reducing political tension and to increase the legitimacy of the regime.³³ The structure of social system in

32. Pendse, op. cit., p.350.

33. A. Portes, 'The Favelas of Rio: Housing Policies, Urban Poverty and the State', L.A.R.R., Vol. XIV, No. 2. p. 21.

large cities is such that, group demands, needs, and issues are diverted into political channels rather than into religious or caste channels. Since the local ~~power~~ structure controls the resources, necessity force these groups to depend upon even it ^{if} is a reactionary, conservative and status-quoist leadership. Different studies of political organisation and expression related to the marginal population in cities do not lend themselves to support any definitive conclusions. While this section of the population does provide a wide support to radical political programmes in times of ascendancy, they cannot sustain them in adverse situations. They need immediate sustenance and any group that can promise or provide such sustenance arouses that line-up. Their reliance on traditional ethnic cohesion is also understandable on that basis.

LUMPEN PROLETARIAT, SUB-PROLETARIAT ETC.

The tendency to assign them the lumpen proletariat status has given rise to wide criticisms. It is not feasible to lump this section into a befogging concept 'lumpen proletariat'. This concept denotes a reactionary residual urban group. In between the active labour army and the criminal section of the population there are different layers (criminal section means

those who are by choice not by circumstances) who can be termed marginal under class. It includes the paupers: "the hospital of the active labour army and a dead weight of the industrial reserve army".³⁴

Because of the chronic state of unemployment any section of the population may sink into a semi-criminal existence.

Fanon,³⁵ criticised the reactionary role assigned to them by traditional theory. He identified them as a political ally for national liberation from the yoke of colonialism. According to him, it is within this mass of humanity, this people of the shanty towns, at the core of the lumpen proletariat that the urban rebellion will find its spearhead. He writes:

For the lumpen proletariat, that horde of starving men, uprooted from their tribe and clan constitute one of the most radically, revolutionary forces of a colonized people. This hopeless drays of humanity all who will turn in circles between suicides and madness will recover their balance once more, go forward and march proudly in the great procession of the nation.

34. Karl Marx, Capital, Vol.1, (Moscow: Progress, 1978), p.605.

35. Frantz Fanon, Wretched of the Earth, (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967), pp.101-109.

For Worsley they are the victims of urbanization, without industrialisation, an intended outcome of the capitalist development: "

Whatever the term ~~we~~ used to describe this social category, it is the high time to abandon, the highly insulting inaccurate and analytically befogging term which is commonly used.³⁶

Instead of lumpen proletariat he uses the term 'sub-proletariat'. Worsley argues that, the same ^{way} peasantry becomes a revolutionary force, (considered as a sack of potatoes) this marginal section can be absorbed into collective action through conscious effort who constitute 30 to 50 percent of urban labour force. Bruce Franklin³⁷ has shown the inaccurate and confusing nature of the views (of Marx and Engels) about a class composed of people from all classes, but mainly of impoverished proletarians. He shows how Lenin and Mao established a better understanding of the lumpen proletariat, which embodied in latter's remark; "Brave fighters but apt to be destructive, they can become a revolutionary force if

36. Peter Worsley, 'Fanon and Lumpen Proletariat', Socialist Register, 1972, pp.210-17.

37. B. Franklin, 'The Lumpen Proletariat and the Revolutionary Youth Movement', Monthly Review, Vol.21, No.8, 1969, pp.11-25.

given proper guidance." Here the leadership(guidance) comes from outside.

Studies from Africa countered the view of revolutionary potential of lumpen proletariat. According to them, to assign an optimistic revolutionary role to this section is an exaggeration.³⁸ In Fanon's experiences of Algeria, they were participating against a visible foreign domination, but against an invisible internal contradiction can only be left to speculation. But Thomson³⁹ citing the history of British working class wrote that labour movement derived its ideas, organisation and leadership from such men as shoe makers, weavers, saddlers and harnessmakers, book sellers, printers and building workers. Vast areas of radical London drew its strength from no major heavy industries, but from the host of smaller traders and marginal occupations. Lloyd⁴⁰ also have the same opinion when he says that in anti-government strikes and demonstrations

38. R.Cohn and Michel, 'The Revolutionary Potential of the African Lumpen Proletariat: A Sceptical View', IDSB, Vol.5, 1973, pp.31-42; N.Lavine, 'The Revolutionary Non-potential of the Lumpen Proletariat: Essence or Technical Deficiency?', IDSB, Vol.5, 1973, pp.43-52.

39. E.P.Thomson, Making of the English Working Class, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp.211-12.

40. P.Lloyd, op.cit., p.105.

the marginal sections in Third World particularly the self-employed ones actually participate.

It is inaccurate to consider urban marginals either as a reactionary or as a politically apathetic and demoralised section. They have their political calculations. It may be opportunistic, but that is the way they can survive. Their choice is not made by them nor they are the masters of their destiny. They demand less and gain nothing. They are quite aware about the fact that, peoples' life chances are determined by their access to and their exclusion from resources. And their different mode of organisation is an effort to ameliorate their wretched condition. Their struggle is an effort to piece together a new identity and community out of the shattered fragments of their life. They have to orient themselves somewhere in the chaos and flux of the dynamic thrusting cities. They may not be quite aware about the complexities of the functioning of the system. As Lloyd writes the monopoly sectors, local bourgeoisie and foreign owned are quite invisible to them and they are not quite familiar about the international finance.⁴¹ They are aware about their wretched existence

41. *ibid.*, p.104.

and subordination in society. Poverty for them is an absolute deprivation evaluated from the consumption criteria, and lack of resources. It is argued that mobilisation becomes less frequent, when the goal is away from their immediate existence. But it may be because of an absence of 'vision' provided to them or because of the suppression and ideological domination of the dominant groups. Lynch says that even though there is little evidence of growth of class consciousness, there are evidences of growth of consciousness of issues, that are 'class' rather than 'caste' based.⁴²

They should be considered as a group in transition, uprooted from their rural land but not fully established to the urban ethos or working class political culture. They should be considered as a 'class-in-itself' because of their common positions in the economy. As Worsley says this section is not necessarily anomic or potentially devoid of collective self-consciousness, though at present such consciousness is likely to be a communal one than a political one.⁴³

42. Lynch, op.cit., p.1661.

43. Peter Worsley, 'Third World', (London: Cox and Wyman, 1967), p.217.

Regarding the marginal classes in Africa, Gutkind⁴⁴ argues that the 'energy of despair' shades into the 'anger of despair', but that the transition is slow. He suggests that the political consciousness increases modestly with length of exposure to the condition faced by the unemployed. Furthermore, the unemployed seem to shift their political focus from local condition to a broader base - that of the nation as a whole.

As Poulantzas⁴⁵ has said "classes exist only in class struggle", they may become a 'class in itself' and 'class for itself' when they are provided with an alternative vision and incorporated to act for it. Presently they lack the means to act collectively, of their own accord, of their own behalf and in their own interest. They lack the energy and resources to mobilise themselves or they have been mobilised in the past by only reactionaries and cultural brokers. Rather than treating them as reactionaries, they should be considered as a potentially mobilizable force. They should be considered as a creation not as casualties. If they are cons-

44. Peter Gutkind, 'From the Energy of Despair to the Anger of Despair: The Transition from Social Circulation to Political Consciousness Among the Urban Poor in Africa', Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol.7, No.2, 1973, pp.180-96.

45. M. Poulantzas, 'On Social Classes', New Left Review, No.78, 1973, pp.27-54.

idered as casualties, they remain condemned in their own lives as casualties. Since there is a labour reserve in this section their own effort is always met with a failure. These slums should be seen as slums of hope, not as slums of despair.⁴⁶

46. C.J.Stocks, 'A Theory of Slums', Land Economics Vol. 38, 1967, pp.187-97.

CONCLUSIONS

This study made an attempt to provide certain explanations for the process of marginalization of urban population in Third World and the characteristic expressions of this marginality which is embedded in their existential condition. We have also tried to analyse the political orientation of this section of the population. Vastness of the area covered make it hazardous to draw any cut and dried conclusions and generalisations. Yet on the basis of our limited study and perusal of related literature, we dare assert that the Third World is experiencing a homologous transformation and this lends itself to an analysis which is plausible both at theoretical and empirical level.

Third World cities are growing in an unprecedented manner and at net-breaking speed. During the last three to four decades, these areas have trebled its urban population in absolute numbers. With this urbanisation of population there is an associated process of urbanisation of capital. Capital (both material and human) is concentrated in these cities and the necessary institutions for its preservation

and reproduction is also built in this physical environment. Paradoxically, a vast pool of surplus labour force exist in these cities without an opportunity to find an assured place in the production process. This is due to their specific nature of capital accumulation and dependence of these countries to the developed nations.

What happens in Third World cities can be understood only on the basis of changes taking place in their rural areas since rapid urbanisation is caused by cityward internal migration. Most of the studies we have referred to in this context have found economic factor as the main driving force. This does not mean that non-economic reasons play no role. In ^{the} present study we have not dealt these aspects regarding internal migration. ^{But} these economic reasons should be understood in the light of changes taking place in the agricultural sector. During the past few decades, Third World agriculture has reached into a stage where capital intensive production process is becoming increasingly the rule. Productive forces are revolutionized, market relations have established and class structure have altered. Hence a resultant marginalization of big chunks of rural population. Changes in the

productive forces created rural unemployment, under-employment and discarded the demand for traditional skills. Thus an already marginalized and uprooted section is created and they are forced to migrate to cities in search of a livelihood. In most cases urban marginals are a 'spatial extension' of the pauperized sections in the rural areas.

Once they take refuge in cities they hope to find a place in labour market, rarely get realized in practice and the hope remain as a distant dream. Evidences prove that the secondary labour sector has not increased at the same pace even though the industrial output experienced a growth(p.17). The lack of labour absorption capacity in the secondary sector is assigned to the capital-intensive, production process and international dependence for technology and financial capital(pp. 14-19). Due to these economic factors operating at national and international level, the tertiary and informal sector share of labour force has grown up. Empirical evidences given in this study substantiate that tertiary share of the labour force has been increasing in a swift pace in most of Third World countries for last two decades. There are political reasons also for this unprecedented growth of

tertiary sector in the Third World. This may be due to the expansion of bureaucracy and repressive forces which are necessary for stabilizing an unjust political system. This becomes important in the context of the State becoming an actual institutional arrangement for capital accumulation in Third World countries. Other services like hospitals, schools, media etc, which are tertiary, are also provided by the political system. This also contributes for the physical and ideological reproduction, subjugation and domination. The ironical fact is that the state is unable to provide this for majority of its citizens.

Since the demand for labour in secondary sector is very low much of the urban population take refuge in the informal sectors of the urban economy. Capitalism is viewed as consisting of different layers of production organised under the hegemony of one dominant layer. Subordinate layers have to depend upon the dominant one for resources under the terms dictated by the latter. The dependency of the subordinate levels further marginalises them; but on the other hand helps the hegemonic one for capital accumulation. Informal sector is viewed in this context as dependent to the monopolistically organised dominant sectors for

productive resources. This dependency marginalizes them further. It is a sector which is unable to develop independently on its own. In this context a probing emerges for further analysis is that how this marginalized informal sectors persist and increase their number. It is a sector which is preserved and exploited by the dominant sectors for their own benefit. It may be because it is functionally necessary for them (pp.43-48). Those who are engaged in this marginalized informal sectors are considered as a 'marginalized' section of the urban population. Labour force in this sector do not serve as industrial reserve army because they lack the qualitative requirement necessary for higher levels of production. How a relative surplus population under certain conditions of production fails to serve as an industrial reserve army, is argued more in a logical manner than with sufficient substantiation with facts. Lack of empirical evidences may inhibit a generalisation regarding this argument. To get a realistic picture about the marginal urban population, a differentiation is necessary between the owners of informal sector on the one hand and workers in this sector, self-employed ones and those who are engaged in marginal nature of personal services. Those who are

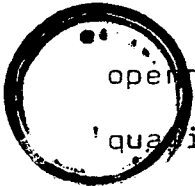
engaged in the personal services are necessary for the higher consumption pattern of the dominant sections. This numerically insignificant but powerful dominant section serves as a 'demonstration symbol' of urban development. Thus a marginalized section is created through the socio economic and political forces operating at the national and international levels.

This marginality is expressed through slum and squatter living, intermittent and casual employment, low and insecure income, low levels of education, less access to urban services, different sets of value system and institutions etc. Data show that 40 to 50 percent of population in Third World metropolises and big cities live a marginal life of extreme privation and misery. They live in slum and squatter settlements without proper water facilities and other services which are necessary to lead a semi-civilized life. Unemployment as such is very low among this section. But evidences presented in this study shows that employment is of intermittent and insecure nature. Majority of them are casual labourers employed in small and marginalized workshops and industrial units. A good number is engaged in street vending, transporting through human-propelled devices,

shoe shiners, domestic servants and a host of other jobs and occupations which hardly fetch for a decent living. Their consumption largely exceeds their income. Occupations are characterised by high input of labour and time in relation to the income. High levels of illiteracy, and literacy obtained through non-formal means are prevalent among this section. Legal and traditional forms of marriages are absent in Latin American, African and some parts of Asian cities (pp 80-5). Female centered households (matrifocal) is also commonly observable in these areas.

Life and socialization is not a smooth passage from one institution to another as observable among the upper and middle classes. Their life is more like disconnected episodes and an effort to live a life in a more rational economic way which is suitable to them. Life in the city is often viewed as an improvement in their condition. But a glance into their real existence disprove this qualification. It is a movement of life from one condition of misery and poverty to another deprivation and plight. Their life in the city is not an interlude. In most cases they are unable to return to their villages. They migrate to the cities with the hope of making some

fortunes and to come back to spend the rest of the life in their home, among their own people. But the miserable condition in the cities denies any chance to materialize this dream.



Chances of mobility is depended upon the openness of the system and acquiring the values and 'qualifications' of the dominant society. Media and educational institutions create the notion that the system is open and anyone can improve his/her chances through individual effort. In reality this marginal section is unable to improve their condition, since the dominant section through the process of 'social closure' and 'gate-keeping', fence of their domain and resources. They also fail to substantially improve their position through education because they lack the material and informational resources necessary for it. Their chances of mobility and improvement is not in their control. It is determined by the social, economic and political forces operating outside their immediate comprehension. It may feel that marginality, unemployment, inequality and other 'attributes' are given to a vast section as boons by the system!

Regarding their organisational ability and political orientation, there is a tendency to denote them either as apathetic or in a more pejorative term 'lumpen proletariat' or as disgruntled and disorganised and may act in a more anomic manner. This kind of characterisation lead to unrealistic perception regarding this section of population. Studies conducted among the urban marginals in Third World possibly allow us to make certain generalisations. There are empirical evidences which suggest that different nature of organisations and associations exist among them. Evidences shown in this study prove that they are neither apathetic nor a reactionary section. And it becomes impossible to comprehend the reality through this preconceived theoretical notions(pp.96-106). Their own existential condition force them to the objective necessity for organising and keeping their solidarity. Solidarity and cohesion is imperative for squatter invasion and later for its protection from governmental authorities. In the present situation organisations are necessary to realize their articulation for resources. Organisations of different hues and colours provide its members certain emotional, material and other

security.

In a popularist form of government political parties also are very much in need of this sections' support. An apparently symbiotic relation between the political leaders and the marginal sections exist in which the latter is often cheated and exploited. Their poverty and squalid conditions force them to make compromises with this political and government agencies with the hope of achieving certain assistance.

As we have shown in the fourth Chapter it is unethical and a grave mistake to classify them under the umbrella category 'lumpen proletariat'. It is true that they are not established proletariat. Same time they are also not declassified criminal residues. They are a section of people in transition: dispelled from their rural land and unable to find a proper place in the urban labour market. They are a class in itself, who are quite aware about their powerlessness and subordinate status. They may not be aware about the complexities of the functioning of the system or are unable to act on their own to alter the system but they are a potentially mobilizable force.

Empirical evidences cited in the present study shows that they were politicised and mobilised

when external agents made an effort. They are considered as reactionary may be because it is only reactionaries and cultural brokers who have utilized them in the past. Their immediate ^{ISSUE} ~~is~~ is their poverty. Because of their poverty and lack of resources they may be unable to act collectively and at the same time they lack the vision of an alternative society. They have sunk into this condition not by their choice. They are a creation of the society which we are proudly carrying forward. Marginals in Third World cities are a product of the economic, social and political forces operating at the national and international level.

This study could not provide answers to all the problems related with marginalization. Certain aspects need further analysis. For example, it could not provide sufficient empirical evidences regarding the inter and intra generational mobility, if any, amongst this section of the population. We have refuted the possibilities of mobility only with certain logical conceptual propositions. An argument which needs further analysis, which the present study fails to provide, is that why the tertiary sector is increasing due to the international dependence of Third World countries.

Further investigation is necessary regarding the structural conditions which increases this service sector and what coalition of interests, both national and international, is served by the increase of this sector. This study could not analyse the reasons for 'urban primacy' which is a very common phenomenon in Third World countries. This urban primacy creates vast agglomerations in one or two cities in a national unit. Some researchers found that Third World dependency creates urban primacy. Further probing is needed which can provide an answer to the structural reasons regarding the emergence of primate cities and the relation between urban primacy and marginalization of the vast majority.

More and more studies are needed regarding the marginal section of the population who constitute a sizable number in Third World cities. Scholars with more intellectual and material resources should take up this task. Studies should be free from the grip of isolated, individual case studies of slums and squatters. Rather this section should be analysed in the context of changes taking place in the economic, social and political realms both at national and international level.

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