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**HEALTH IN THE PRIORITIES OF SLUM
DWELLERS : A CASE STUDY OF HABEEB
FATIMA NAGAR, HYDERABAD**

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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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled "HEALTH IN THE PRIORITIES OF SLUM DWELLERS : A CASE STUDY OF HABEEB FATIMA NAGAR, HYDERABAD", submitted by ARUNA KAMBHAMPATI in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M.Phil) of the University, is to the best of our knowledge a bonafide work.

We recommend this dissertation by placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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TO MY
PARENTS AND BROTHERS

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Sub-standard living, broadly identified as 'slums' has come to be regarded as a major problem of urbanization. While no Indian city is free from slums, the problem appears to be more acute in metropolitan cities. Slums are known by different terms in different regions: **Katras, gallis, juggi-jhopdi** in Delhi **chawls** in Bombay; **ahatas** in Kanpur; **bustees** in Calcutta; **Cheris** in Madras; **Keris** in Bangalore and **petas** in Andhra Pradesh.

Slums surfaced as an urban problem in India in the early part of this century. However, slums as a major urban issue was a result of rapid urbanization after World War II and more pointedly after Independence in 1947.

The problem of slum and pavement dwellers in the cities of India are fast assuming alarming proportions. Considering the fact that slum and pavement dwellers comprise nearly a third of population of four major cities (Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras), and comprise a fast growing proportion of the smaller cities and towns as well. In the major cities such as Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, 25 - 35% of the population is constituted by the urban poor living in slums and on pavements, and earning a subsistence living in the informal sector (Singh and de-Souza - 1980).¹

In developing countries like India, the growth of low urban settlements is intimately related to the process and

pace of urbanization. The larger cities have attracted the maximum number of migrants from the rural areas, because, unlike the small towns, they offer a wide range of employment opportunities which require various degrees of skill and, the big cities are in a position to provide employment to rural migrants who are largely unskilled and illiterate.

Table 1

**Population of India by Rural and Urban Residence
and their Percent Decadal Variation, 1901-1991**

Year	Population (in millions)			Percent Distribution		Decadal Growth Rates	
	Total	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1901	238.4	212.5	25.9	89.2	10.8	-	-
1911	252.1	226.1	25.9	89.7	10.3	6.4	0.3
1921	251.3	223.2	28.1	88.8	11.2	-1.3	8.3
1931	279.0	245.4	33.5	88.0	12.0	9.9	19.1
1941	318.7	274.4	44.2	86.1	13.9	11.8	31.9
1951	361.1	298.7	62.2	82.7	17.3	8.8	41.4
1961	439.2	360.2	78.9	82.0	18.0	20.6	26.4
1971	548.2	439.0	109.5	80.9	19.1	19.0	34.0
1981	683.4	532.9	159.5	72.2	23.7	19.3	46.14
1991	846.1	628.7	217.6	73.8	26.1	20.0	36.47

Source : Census of India (1991), Series 1, India Part II-A, Final Population Totals. (Page-98)

Table 1 gives the distribution of India's population by rural and urban residence since 1901 and also the decadal

rates of change in each of the two categories.

This table shows that by the turn of the century, only 10.8 per cent of the country's population lived in urban areas. The proportion did not change in any appreciable manner until the 1921 after which the component of urban population increased gradually and in 1971 one-fifth of India's population became urban and by 1991, it increased to 26.13 percent contributing to more than one-fourth of the total population.

From table 1, we also observe that the urban population of India increased at a faster pace since the beginning of the forties, mainly through the process of migration. This was as a result of the establishment of certain industries in urban areas as a part of war effort, and, later, due to migration of refugees after the partition of the country into India and Pakistan in 1947.²

Quoting from the works of Raghavachari (1974) and Ambannavar (1975), M.K. Premi argues that the urban population for the late 21st Century (2,000 - 2001) will be 278 or 291 million. Using this data he is of the opinion that by the end of the century the urban population of India will constitute roughly 30 - 35 per cent of the total population i.e. approximately two and a half times to more than three times the 1971 level.

Today slums and more recent squatter-settlements, which together embrace all types of low-income housing in urban

areas, are not an isolated and temporary phenomenon but a national issue linked to the growing rural-urban migration.

The primary reasons for rural-urban migration is economic. The rural poor migrate to the cities in search of employment rather than better employment opportunities. Majority of the slum and pavement dwellers decided to leave the village because they were no longer able to support themselves and their families. Unemployment, underemployment, unproductive land holdings, indebtedness and adverse agricultural conditions were some of the reasons for their plight.

The pattern of rural-urban migration is affected by levels of urbanization within a state or region; patterns of rural development and the resulting socio-economic inequalities. States with high levels of urbanization draw rural migrants not only from within the state itself, but from states nearby, which have low levels of urbanization and rural development. Migrants from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan (the states with low levels of urbanization) comprise an important section of the slum population of all the large cities outside the Southern region.³

The rural masses that come to the urban areas face the first problem of a "shelter" next only to a job for their survival. If some friend or a relative is already there in the new place, the problem of searching for shelter is less, for the time being. Otherwise they search for a vacant land

near the work place or in the outskirts of the city and erect "make shift" shed and start living in it. Thus it can be said to be the genesis of the slum formation or squatter settlements in any urban area.

The 'slum' furnishes not only temporary shelter for the new arrivals to the city, it also receives those members of the urban community who have lost their economic and social foothold in more elevated strata of urban society.

They represent the depressed areas or sub-sections of the population, that are not fully integrated socially or economically into the national development process. A wide gap in income and wealth, power and status separates the elite from the mass of the population in most urban areas. And with the fast rate of growth of urban centres, one can expect the urban landscape to mirror more glaringly, the contrasts and evils of society, economic disparities, social inequalities, cultural alienation and an ever increasing deprivation for majority of poor city dwellers.

Majority of the urban population living in slums have a very low level of standard of living. While most urbanites are better off than the rural masses, there are some who have no shelter, others who can barely clothe themselves and malnutrition is common. For many, the quest for food for themselves, for their children, is a daily struggle for survival. Their survival requires extraordinary energy, resourcefulness, and above all, courage and endurance.

It needs to be recognized that the problem of slums is associated with the exploitative system of the capitalist society. The city is for the rich and the middle classes who can pay for the infrastructure and other urban facilities and luxuries. The city administration safeguards the rights of the propertied class and the corporation or municipality renders services to those who reside in authorised areas and who pay taxes for these services.

The city administration has only a marginal policy for the housing of low income groups and none for the urban poor, who cannot afford to pay for rent, water and other facilities.

" Urban poverty is not a problem of number of people but of structures maintained by an elitist and technocratic value system that keeps large numbers of men and women powerless." ⁴

The industrialists, traders and others who recruit a large number of unskilled workers do not care for their welfare. The former get cheap labour supply from the slums without providing them housing or other facilities. Thus, both the administration and the employers exploit the slum dwellers.

Hence, one observes a dual culture in cities where a small proportion of population has access to the existing opportunities lives a life of affluence while a majority of

population competes for scarce resources.

The category of slum and pavement dwellings in all the major cities was found to be related to the economic functions the people perform within the urban economy. A large majority of urban poor are employed in the category of unskilled workers; in service sectors; and in informal sector of the economy as self employed persons in petty trade, transport, repairs - where entry is easy, requiring less skill, less education and less capital. The scale of operation is small, labour-intensive and based on adoptive technology and skills acquired outside the formal school system.

Since their incomes allow little to spare for transportation, nearness to their place of work is of paramount importance. Thus, nearly every city has 'industrial slums' which houses lower level industrial workers; "residential slums" which houses domestic and those engaged in service occupation, and "construction slums" which houses the city's construction workers and are usually temporary in nature. "Refugee slums" were also numerous in Delhi and Calcutta in the years, following partition, but these have assumed less importance in recent years.

The occupational structure and income of the urban poor reflect the extremely difficult condition under which they have to survive in the slum and squatter settlement of the city. Vast majority of the urban population lacks the

minimum necessities of life such as shelter and access to water, beside other basic needs like food, clothing, health care, education and environmental sanitation.

Although the lower castes comprise a smaller proportion of the urban population than of the rural population in India, it has been found that the lower castes comprise a disproportionately large percentage (usually a substantial majority) of slum and pavement dwellers in all the major cities. This points to the fact that the urban poor are the same as those in rural areas - both lying at the bottom of the social structure and suffering from cumulative inequalities.

The analysis of urban poor has been approached from several viewpoints. They may be viewed as unwanted migrants who flock the cities due to reasons lying outside the urban regions, who are seen not only as marring the 'beauty' of cities, but also as breeding grounds for disease, immorality, crime and other social ills. Or, alternatively, one may view them as the very brain and brawn which builds and sustains the cities as they perform a wide range of services on which the urban economy depends. In fact, it is they who keep the wheels of industry moving and provide other valuable services.

However, slums have acquired a social stigma. In the eyes of the law, they are illegal encroachers; on the files of the police, they are dens of criminals and anti-social

elements. In the eyes of the lay public the slum dwellers are destitutes, an unwanted burden on the city. And for those who govern and manage the city, they are an 'eye-sore' to be hidden or get rid off.

Something, however, must be wrong with the society, if for so long, so many people hold such downright misconceptions. And undoubtedly, a lot must be wrong with the city's planning, administration and development priorities if one third to one half of its people have to live in dirty hovels, without even safe drinking water and other minimum basic services.

DEFINITION OF SLUM

Generally both objective as well as subjective criteria are used in defining a slum. According to a report of United Nations Urban Land Policies, a slum is 'a building, group of buildings or area characterized by overcrowding, deterioration, unsanitary conditions or absence of facilities or amenities which because of these conditions or any of them, endanger the health, safety or moral of its inhabitants or the community.'⁵

The Encyclopedia of the social sciences defines: 'slums are areas planned primarily for residential use, where deteriorated, overcrowded unsanitary or unsafe structures jeopardise public welfare. The term connotes the worst structural and sanitary conditions and the most degraded

occupancy usually, by the lowest income groups, of any given period."

The Government of India Slum Areas (improvement and clearance) Act of 1954 defines a slum as "any predominantly residential area where the dwellings by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement of design of building, lack of ventilation, light or sanitary facilities or any combination of these factors are detrimental to safety, health or morals".

However, the scientific definition of slums in India was first developed by the Seminar on 'Slum clearance' held in Bombay in May 1957. According to this seminar, slum is described as a chaotically occupied, unsystematically developed and generally neglected area which is overpopulated by persons and overcrowded with ill-repaired and neglected structures. The area has insufficient communication, indifferent sanitary arrangements, and inadequate amenities necessary for the maintenance of physical and social health and the minimum needs and comfort of human beings and the community. There is a general absence of social services and welfare agencies to deal with the major social problems of persons and families in respect of sub-standard of living, who are the victims of biological, pathological consequences of the physical and social environment".

From the above definitions, a general picture of slum

is obtained, where the physical conditions presents a picture of total neglect. There is an absolute lack of any order, the minimum facilities like water, sanitation and electricity are conspicuously absent or woefully inadequate. Cesspools stagnate in front of each house. Overcrowding is common, with a high percentage of families living in single rooms; and it is inhabited by people of a low class or by the very poor.

In addition to above definitions, three common points emerge from the various attempts of several scientists in defining a slum. These are:

- (a) Slum refers to an area, a situation and does not constitute an isolated building.
- (b) Slum can be identified by a combination of physical attributions and not with reference to any single attribute.
- (c) The main physical attributes of slums are - substandard housing, high density, congestion, overcrowding, insanitary conditions, absence of basic amenities like water supply, drainage, sewage and clearance of garbage.

A major problem in the study of slums relates to the conditions under which slums emerge and these are varied. Broadly, three sets of situations in the growth of slums are identified.

- (a) Firstly, a slum develops as a result of the

squatting of poor migrants. A majority of the migrants coming to the cities are unskilled workers. They are too poor to rent a house and pay for urban infrastructure and facilities, such as water, sewage, and drainage. The poor are also not provided adequate facilities by the city in terms of low-rent houses with all the urban infrastructure. Hence the poor migrants largely squat on vacant public land near the place of work, erect huts and use public facilities. The city administration considers such a settlement as illegal and does not provide any municipal services. The result is the inevitable growth of slums with substandard housing, over crowding and insanitary conditions.

- (b) The second set of conditions under which a slum develops is the old part of the city. The area gets congested and overcrowded and in the absence of adequate municipal services, slum conditions increase. A variation of this process is the segregated Harijan colonies in the city which mainly consist of sweepers as salaried employees of municipalities and hospitals, and coolies and cobblers. Such areas become overcrowded and insanitary conditions prevail in the absence of adequate civic amenities. The same situation is found in the 'chawls' of industrial workers where housing is provided by the factory management.

(c) Thirdly, as the city expands, it sucks in the colonies of fishermen, herdsmen and the like's and villages situated on its periphery. In this process, the agricultural land of the village is put to urban land use, whereas the inhabited area of the village is left intact without infrastructure facilities. Since the rent and cost of living are naturally low in these areas, many poor unskilled workers come and live here. The area gets overcrowded over a period of time and in the absence of adequate municipal services, slum conditions prevails.

According to K. Ranga Rao and M.S.A. Rao, (1984) the first type of slum formation is the most common in Indian cities.

The slums should be distinguished from temporary hutment colonies that often come up in growing cities. These are generally set up by construction, however, grow on any vacant piece of land or even on the road side closer to the business localities or canal banks on a regular basis and thus they tend to become permanent features of urban poor.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES

The concentration of population and natural resources in a few cities is the main reason for the present state of urban chaos. Challenges like water scarcity, pollution,

drain of natural resources, health hazards, malnutrition, proliferation of slums, urban poverty, and unemployment plague the present urban system.

Though it is true that migration is the mechanism for the transfer of rural poverty to the cities, it is not the poor who are responsible for the deteriorating urban environment and for the lack of basic services and public utilities; but the urban planners who have ignored the existence of the urban poor or simply excluded them from the social, economic and cultural benefits of urban planning.

There was little or no reference to slums in the First Five Year Plan (1951-56) and the earliest response to the issue of low income urban settlement after independence was through the subsidised Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme introduced in 1956. During the Second Plan (1956-61) and Third Plan (1961-66) periods, the scheme was in the Central Sector and during this time the sanction of projects and the release of funds were made by the central government. While actual execution of the scheme was entrusted to the state governments. The scheme was transferred to the State Sector from April 1969 when the state governments were given the responsibility not only of execution of the projects but also for their budget provision and sanction.

However, it was gradually realised that improvement of slums at site would be preferable to a policy of relocation of slum dwellers and construction of tenements, and in April

1972, the Government of India introduced the Central Scheme for Environmental Improvement in slum areas. Financial assistance was given to the state governments to undertake slum improvement programmes in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras and other metropolitan areas. The scheme was transferred to the State Sector in the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) to be financed as part of Minimum Needs Programme and the coverage of the scheme was increased to all cities with a population of three lakhs and above.

This apart, the Government of India has sponsored urban development schemes in collaboration with international agencies like UNICEF, World Bank and ODA. But these have not been effective mainly because of their sectoral approach. Different agencies have attempted developmental tasks with no forward or backward connections.

When discussing slums and squatter upgrading programmes and resettlement, attention is invariably drawn to the four large metropolitan cities of Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, because infrastructure, services and facilities are continually inadequate to cater to the needs of these agglomerations and in the process, the urban poor are the hardest hit.

In Delhi, the stress has largely been on resettlement with continual improvement of infrastructure, services and facilities in such areas, which are away from the core. In Calcutta, the thrust has been on increasing the scope of

the core area sanitation programmes in and around all identified pockets. In Bombay, the programmes are like wise oriented and supplemented with repairs to structure. In Madras, an attempt is being made towards integrated slum upgrading and community development, and also comprehensive sites and services as against the serviced open plot concept elsewhere.

In Hyderabad, Community Development Programmes are the main thrust of slum upgradation and in Ahmedabad incentives are oriented towards redevelopment through tenements and sanitising squatter settlements. Kanpur with its thin division between core area slum and non-slum has concerned itself with upgrading as many pockets as possible. Pune, with extensive slum pockets on private lands has embarked on partial upgrading in such areas and the effective improvement programmes in slums on public land. In other smaller cities, environmental improvement is being attempted to the extent that limited resources allow, but comprehensive programmes for this target group are not yet apparent.⁶

Government's effort and programmes can be successful only when they take into account and match with the needs of the people. Most rehabilitation or improvement programmes in the past have failed to take into account the priorities of the slum dwellers themselves. The Resettlement programmes undertaken have been expensive and often unsuccessful due to the hidden costs, such as wiping out the

investment which the people had already made in their demolished huts. These resettlement colonies are located on the outskirts of the city (as in the case of Delhi) which increased the transportation costs of the slum dwellers.

There is a great need to devote more attention to the perceived needs and sets of priorities of slum dwellers before programmes are implemented rather than, after they have failed. More resource disbursement during the planning exercise needs to be channeled in favour of the slum dwellers.

There have been many studies carried on slum dwellers. But most of these studies have taken into account broader aspects (such as migration patterns, caste, kinship and religious networks, demographic characteristics, level of basic amenities, etc.) to study the 'reality' of slum dwellers. (D'Souza and Singh, 1980; Desai and Pillai, 1972; Rao and Rao ((ed) 1991).

Studies conducted by Family Planning Foundation; Town and Country Planning Organisations; focuses on specific points of view (health, environment, employment, occupation, housing etc.) which have been undertaken in formulating policies and programmes for slum dwellers.

On environmental improvement, income generation, improvement of health of slum dwellers, studies have been carried out (Snehlata, 1990; Bhatnagar, 1986). Bhatnagar

emphasises "The health care delivery system in urban areas consists of Government/Municipal Bodies/Voluntary organisations. Most of these institutions are predominantly located in areas where density of poor and lower middle class families is somewhat low and the institutions do not have proper out-reach services; thus vulnerable group of people, mostly needing family welfare, health care services tend to get left out."

According to Snehlata,⁷ the 'reality of slum dwellers and their life situations emerging from a review of some of the studies and policy documents have placed the responsibility of poverty and its associated socio-economic features and culture on the slum dwellers themselves'.

Lewis 1966; Stokes 1962 believe that poverty generates its own culture of apathy, moral degeneration and lack of social, economic and political organisation, personal inadequacy and an inferiority complex arising out of the dominant value on the accumulation of wealth and poverty.

D'souza (1968) "There are about a million people living in declared slums and another million in the hutment colonies in Bombay. Nearly a lakh live on the streets. These living conditions are a serious continuing threat to health as well as to the preservation of order in city". Bulsara (1968) says that "slums act as a stigma on the dwellers, damage the dignity of human personality and obsess the growing generations living there with a sense of

deprivation and inferiority".

However, studies like Desai and Pillai, 1972; Rao and Rao, 1984; attempt to go contrary to this dominant trend. They argue "the basic ideology behind the problems of slums needs a careful examination. It needs to be recognised that the problem of slums is associated with the exploitative system of the capitalist society. The city is for the rich and middle class, who can pay for the infrastructure and other facilities and luxuries."

These researchers, however, do not look into the priorities and needs of the slum dwellers and the efforts that they make to achieve their priority needs. They emphasise on large and broader socio-economic dimension of life. They do not study how within these larger constraints, people struggle to make a life for themselves. In the process a lot that is human, and positive in the slum dwellers is not focused upon.

To overcome this limitation of the present knowledge, we plan to study in detail the day to day lives of the people living in slums and their struggles to provide for their families.

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CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Conceptualisation of problem:

Largely because of the model of development adopted by the five year plans in India which neglected some crucial needs of the majority of the poor peasants and with the concentration of investment and resources in the industrial or modern sector; there developed a dual economy with dichotomous relationships between the urban and rural sectors and; within the city, between the formal and informal sectors. These factors in turn can be said to be responsible for the formation of slums in the city.

The changing economic patterns, modernisation and development, and the consequent opening up of new job opportunities in urban areas are major factors which have brought significant changes in the traditional set up of Indian society. Growing industrial and commercial activity in the urban sector coupled with relative stagnation in agriculture, inadequate implementation of land reforms, unproductive land holdings, indebtedness and unemployment are some of the factors responsible for large scale migration from rural areas to urban.

Due to the concentration of industrial and commercial activity, the migrants have tended to flock to a few large cities, in the country. The vast bulk of such migrants belong to the weaker sections of the society who are no longer able to make out a meagre subsistence in the village.



Hence we see that the rural poverty is carried over to the city by the mechanism of rural-urban migration and is most visible in slums and squatter settlements. Environment deterioration, sub-standard housing and low levels of health and nutrition characterise these slums.

The migrants (often coming from poor socio-economic background), when they reach the city are unable to afford a decent accommodation. These people are left with no option, therefore, put up temporary structures on any available vacant land in the city, without the consent of the authorities. Slums provide shelter not only for the new arrivals to the city, but for those people too, who are forced to move from non-slum areas of the cities because of accumulating housing shortages and the increasing cost of living.

The urban poor are involved in diverse occupational roles, they are the unskilled and skilled workers, there are those engaged in public undertakings, government and semi-government and private offices working as unskilled office workers, semi-skilled technical and service personnel. Thus the workers among the urbanising poor are integrated in the urban economy at the lower levels in the trade and labour-intensive service sectors. Their contribution to the city's economy and other services are of paramount importance but they are relegated to sub-human conditions of living.

The process of transition that is taking place among the urbanising poor is seen in their changing life-styles. Since the urban poor live in the context of a multiplicity of social groups, it is not that the way of life of a particular group is imitated, but the reference model comprises many social groups with which they come into contact in the city. The total transformation in life-styles includes changes in dress, food habits, material culture, customs and mode of travels and type of conveyance etc. Factory made textiles, ready-made garments, terylene shirts and nylon sarees have replaced homespun and home-made clothes. The mode of dress has changed considerably, trousers and shirts are becoming popular among the men. Commercial restrictions between the different castes have been relaxed considerably. Untouchability as a practice is considerably relaxed in the city. Tea and soft drinks are common place. Small restaurants, **dhabhas** are being used in the same way as the better-placed social groups use the tea and coffee houses and better quality restaurants.

In villages, majority of the population is engaged in agriculture with a few engaged in traditional occupations as pottery, carpentry, weaving, etc. Children very largely follow the occupations of their parents. However, when the same population migrates to metropolitan areas they have to give up traditional occupation "agriculture" and they diversify into a large number of activities ranging from casual labour, kabadi business to government services. Most

of the people with peasant background are absorbed into city dynamics as unskilled workers. A few pick up some skills and become the more privileged among the slum dwellers. He may also join as industrial labour force or get engaged in informal sector. His children do not necessarily follow the type of occupation he is involved in. Thus, occupational mobility is more conspicuous in cities.

The urban poor is influenced considerably by his surroundings. He begins to see the luxury items like T.V., Fan, Radio, Petrol driven vehicles etc. as necessary. The urban poor, who are at the bottom of the social hierarchy try to realise this social status. They get linked up with the dream of rising social status and are often acquired at the cost of more basic needs. His views on providing education for his children specially girls, undergoes change. He tries his level best to provide his children a better education and a better future.

The urban poor stay in 'slum' in a community which is overpopulated and congested. He shares community toilets and latrines. He is forced to live in an unhealthy environment, in a small dwelling (which is very different from the earlier life in the village). Living in city, everything has to be purchased on the basis of money. As a result, inflation is felt more by the urban poor. They are the hardest hit by the rising prices. For obtaining two-square meals, and a roof, he has to undergo lot of struggle.

Though in urban areas, the best of medical facilities are available - the urban poor is not in a position to utilise these services as they are costly and out of his reach. Government hospitals cannot be availed due to its bureaucratic set up and ill-treatment done by doctors to these poor.

Thus we see that almost 40 - 60% of the metropolitan populations undergo the stressful experience of a very rapid transition in their lives. They move away from the close-nettedness community support structure of their villages, wherein despite conflicts and poverty, they had space and knowledge of their environment. They come into an unfamiliar city with very different value systems, institutions and almost no support structures.

The problem that this dissertation attempts to study is how people cope with this transition and what are the processes through which they acclimatize themselves within the city environment. We, therefore, focus not only their health problems, but also on their priorities, the shift in value systems and the efforts that they make to fulfill these.

OBJECTIVE:

The main objective of this study is to explore the nature and degree of transition in the lives of the slum dwellers over the past 10 years and the place of health in

their present priorities.

This main objective can be sub-divided into the following sub-objectives:

- (a) To study the socio-economic structure of the slum and the stratification within it.
- (b) To study the priorities and value system in the lives of the slum dwellers;
- (c) The problems they face in achieving these priorities.

2. DATA REQUIRED

General Qualitative information. Qualitative information pertaining to

- (a) The historical background of the slum: of the slum dwellers (i.e. their place of origin, kind of occupation, followed in the village, reasons for migration) were collected.
- (b) Improvement or decline in their standard of living over the past ten years (in the context of food consumption, clothing, shelter, health, savings and debts, schooling of their children, possession of luxury items).
- (c) How they (especially the women) coped with the crises.
- (d) What their dreams, aspirations and priorities were.
- (e) On health aspects, questions relating to their dietary patterns; their views on Family planning; the common diseases prevalent in the slum and the kind of measures taken by the dwellers during illness were explored.

- (f) Information on the availability and accessibility of different health services and institutions (private/government/voluntary organisation) and people's perception about these services were studied.
- (g) Existence of basic amenities like water-supply, sewage and waste disposal, toilets, garbage clearance, electricity supply, conveyance in the slum and the people's perception of these services were explored.

Qualitative Information: Quantitative information on the socio-economic status and health of the households was collected through a base-line survey of the slum.

Information was collected on features such as their caste, religion, number of living rooms in the house, number of earning members and their occupations, their total monthly/daily incomes, the family size and its composition; education of earning members and number of school going children; and possession of consumer durables.

Information was also collected on the cases of illness in the family over the past three years.

Case Reports: Forty five households were studied in much greater detail to get an insight into the dynamics of their lives. A daily record was maintained in the field diary of the conversation, activities and observations made during the course of survey. Detailed case reports of these households were made wherein questions relating to their socio-economic conditions in the past, their present life;

their priorities and aspirations; the problems they faced or were facing in life were covered in much greater detail. Similarly the main health problems of the people and the actions taken by them were explored.

PROCEDURE OF DATA COLLECTION

Selection of Slum

The criteria used for selecting the slum were:

- (a) The residents should have been staying in a slum for 10 years, but not more than 15 years. This is to ensure that the study population should still be in a struggling phase.
- (b) The slum should have a mixed population of both Hindus and Muslims;
- (c) Access to the slum should be easy.
- (d) The study population should not be more than 200 households, which is to be picked up in a cluster, either from the centre of the slum, or from any part of it.

Keeping these criteria in mind, the researcher approached the office of the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad to select a slum from their lists. As the researcher's residence is in Circle V (in the municipal division) hence a slum had to be chosen from circle V (for easy accessibility to the slum). The Project Officer of Circle V was approached who suggested three slums keeping in

view all the selection criteria.

Later, the researcher approached all the three slums with the help of the Slum Development Officer and was introduced to the leaders of these slums. It was observed that all the three slums depicted similar features: they were densely populated with narrow alleys; open drains and stagnant pools with the smell of decaying refuse was found everywhere and the residents belonged to the lower economic category. Finally, the slum of 'Habeeb Fatima Nagar' was chosen because the leader of this slum was more approachable and promised to help the researcher.

This is a single slum in the city of Hyderabad and does not necessarily represent all slum dwellers of the city.

Base Line Survey

The Base-line survey on 200 households was conducted for the purpose of quantitative exploration to identify the socio-economic status of the slum dwellers.

Given the time constraint, covering the whole Slum of Habeeb Fatima Nagar was not possible as there was a total of 1,100 households with a population of 5,000 (approx.) residing. The slum is divided into two phases - Phase I and Phase II. Phase I which lies in the eastern side of the slum, is a levelled area and was developed first. Phase II located on an uneven terrain is not so a very well developed area. Phase II starts from house no. 504 to 900 (see the

map 2, page no. 52(a).

After surveying the entire slum, the part chosen for base-line survey was a cluster in Phase-II numbering houses from 504 to 868 (see map. 2). This part of the slum exhibited features of a typical slum i.e. due to the uneven terrain, these people lacked basic amenities like road, water. The area was filled with dirty water coming out from houses; filth and refuse was found everywhere. Beginning with house no 504 we included all households whose members had been living in the area for 10 year or more, until we had listed 200 households. We do not claim that this part represents the whole slum.

Information was gathered from the head of the household/elder members(who were present at home at the time of survey).

The schedule that was followed is given in Appendix I.

TOOLS USED : Both Qualitative and Quantitative data was gathered. For this the various tools used were:

- (1) Secondary records and review of literature on Hyderabad city and slums in Hyderabad, were collected from organisations like the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad ; Osmania university; University of Hyderabad CESS(centre for economic and social studies); Council for social development.
- (2) For Qualitative exploration - indepth interviews were

held with the head of the household and elder members present in the family. Group discussions within the family and among the slum dwellers in groups, were carried out. This method was also used to get additional information on the socio-economic characteristics of the slum.

- (3) Non-participant observation was employed to explore the different dimensions of people's lives (living style, contents of their meals, inside view of their houses, etc.) so as to catch a true picture of their lives in the best possible manner.
- (4) Interview Schedule: For the base line survey an interview schedule was used to elicit information from 200 households.
- (5) Case Reports: Detailed case reports of 45 households were collected through repeated visits and discussions with family members. Wherever possible the statements were cross checked from various quarters.
- (6) Informal interview and discussions, were carried out with Municipal Corporation officials (like Director, Project Officer; Slum Development Officer); President of Habeeb Fatima Nagar Slum; President of Mahila Mandal in the slum. With doctors having dispensaries in the slums, with voluntary organization personnel carrying out health related activities in Habeeb Fatima Nagar.
- (7) Rapport building : To be able to collect indepth data about the lives of slum dwellers, a major pre-requisite

was building a good rapport with the people.

The researcher through the 'Mahila Mandal' was introduced to the women sitting in groups. Whenever possible the opportunity was grabbed to build a rapport with the people sitting in group so as to elicit more information.

- (B) Crosschecking of information was done to test their reliability at various possible stages.

ANALYSIS: On the basis of the base-line survey, the per capita income of 200 households were calculated by dividing the total monthly earnings of each house hold with the total number of family members residing. The study population was stratified (on basic of per capita income) into four economic categories of A, B, C, and D. Each category is a mixture of different occupational groups (daily wage earners, private/industrial workers, government employees, shop owners and service sector employees.)

Category 'A' consists of non-regular income earners. This group consists of labourers, rickshaw-pullers, vendors, auto drivers (who drive on rent), owners of small shops .

The households in this category do not have a regular income, hence per capita income of these households could not be calculated. The other categories i.e. B, C and D consists of households which have a regular source of monthly income.

Category 'B' consists of households who have a per capita income of less than Rs.200 per month. Category 'C' consists of households who have a per capita income ranging between Rs 200-500. Category 'D' has the highest per capita income which was above Rs 500 per month.

The distribution of house holds in each category, is given below in a tabulated form. An indepth study was conducted on forty five families. The families, for indepth study were selected from each of the economic categories on a random basis. Their number's being in proportion to their size in the 200 households of base line Survey. This is indicated in the following table :

Category	Monthly per Capita Income	No. of houses	Percentage distribution (%)	Households covered in Indepth Study
A	Non Regular Income	66	(33.0)	15
B	Less than Rs.200	71	(35.5)	16
C	201-500	39	(19.5)	9
D	501-1000	24	(12.0)	5

PHASING OF THE STUDY: The field study was carried out in two phases.

Phase-I was started from September to mid November 1993 to collect the base-line data on 200 households and to get acquainted with the slum dwellers.

Phase II started from January to mid April 1994. During

this phase an intensive study of 45 households was carried out. Interviews with slum dwellers, Private health practitioners practising near the slums voluntary health personnel were held. Secondary data was also collected from various organisations and libraries on slums of Hyderabad and Hyderabad City, during this phase.

LIMITATIONS

- (1) Not all the slum dwellers were cooperative in answering the questions. When they came to know that the interviewer was just a student and by answering the questions they would not gain anything, they just refused to answer and considered it a waste of their time.
- (2) Talking to daily wage earners (labourers, rickshaw pullers, vendors, auto-drivers) was a problem because they would leave for work in the morning at 8' 0 clock and come back late in the evenings. These people did not have free time on the days when they could be contacted. As a result, in few cases, only one of the family members could be interviewed.
- (3) Because of lack of time a wider population could not be covered which would have given much better insights. Therefore the findings of this study are only suggestive and cannot be generalised.

CHAPTER III

A) THE CITY OF HYDERABAD

The historic city of Hyderabad (the State Capital of Andhra Pradesh) is the Sixth largest metropolitan area in the country with a population of 42.8 lakhs (1991 Census). Area-wise, it accounts for 2.83% of the total area of the State. It is situated at 17-27°N latitude and 78-27°E longitude and is located on an altitude of 1778 feet above the mean sea level.

The city was founded as the civil capital in 1591 by the ruler of Golconda dynasty, Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah, in order to decongest the fort city of Golconda. (Under Mohmud Shah IV (1482), Sultan Quli became an Amir of the empire with the title of Qutb-ul-Mulk receiving as his jagir 'Golconda' and the surrounding lands).

History

In 1591, Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah grew weary of his fortress capital Golconda, which by then had become overcrowded with habitations. The place became too unhealthy and unpleasant to reside. While hunting one day on the South Bank of the river Musi, he was attracted by the fresh and green appearance of the site on which the City of Hyderabad now stands, which is about four miles east of Golconda Fort and selected it as the site of his new capital. He called the new city as 'Bhagyanagar' after the lady of his love Bhagmati. When the city grew it was renamed Hyderabad.

Soon after its creation, Hyderabad succeeded in growing faster than the fortress town of Golconda with its hectic commercial activity, as it was situated on the Main highway and trade route connecting Golconda with its major port Masulipatnam on the east coast and Aurangabad, a great military and trading centre 300 miles to the North-West. It continued to outpace Golconda until 1687 when the Kingdom was annexed to the Moghul empire. During the period between 1687 and 1725 the Southern Headquarters of the Moghul empire functioned from Aurangabad. This left Hyderabad politically disturbed and forlorn. In 1763, however, the ruler of the Deccan, Nizam Ali Khan realised the strategic importance of Hyderabad in staking his political claims and shifted his Headquarters back to Hyderabad. Thus after a lapse of seventy-six years, Hyderabad once again became an important Deccan City.

With the shifting of the capital from Aurangabad to Hyderabad, there was an in-migration of the nobles of the Court and their retainers to the city of Hyderabad. Agriculture, commerce and city-building activities were resumed with vigour and a new phase of urban renewal and expansion was stimulated. The expansion of the city was mainly southward beyond the walls of the old city along the east-west axis. To the south of this city was erected the Charminar which is to this day, the most conspicuous landmark in the city of Hyderabad.

The character of Hyderabad city was considerably altered by the establishment of the Cantonment in Secunderabad in 1803.

During 1798, as a consequence of the Subsidiary Alliance of the Nizam with the East India company which granted certain economic concessions to the latter in matters of trade; five thousand British troops were camped on the outskirts of Hyderabad. This new settlement came to be known as Secunderabad after the name of the Nizam Sikandar Jah (1803-29). The Cantonment became a major station because of its military importance. Between 1798 and 1858, the Cantonment grew from an area of four square miles and around 8,000 population consisting of military and civilian forces to seventeen square miles and about 50,000 population. Being a British cantonment, Secunderabad acquired an identity distinct from Hyderabad. English was the official language, missionary schools sprang up to impart education, churches and cathedrals occupied pride of place.

The two parts of the city had separate existence and were deliberately kept apart by the colonial regime. British troops were denied access to the old cities, on hygienic and security grounds. But the introduction of railways in 1874 not only brought the twin-cities of Hyderabad-Secunderabad together but also succeeded in establishing important trade links between the twin-cities and other cities like Bombay and Madras.

The Present City: The present Hyderabad city thus comprises of the twin-cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, the former representing the civilian area and the latter the Cantonment area - each having a different historical background. Hyderabad with a medieval origin grew mostly under Muslim feudal rule while Secunderabad developed mainly under British influence.

At present the twin cities together cover an area of 194.25 sq.kms. (within municipal corporation limits), with Hyderabad alone having an area of 173.53 sq.kms. The river Musi divides old and new Hyderabad which are connected by four narrow bridges. The old city is on the right or the Southern bank and the new city is on the left or the Northern bank.

Most of the recent growth of Hyderabad city is on the northern part of the river Musi.

Population: Though, there was no change in the area of the city from 1971 onwards, the population increased by 1.5 times in 1981 and almost 3.5 times in 1991 (See Table 1). This is reflected by the highly varying pattern of density which was 6018 persons per sq. km. in 1971 and almost double (11,890) in 1991 (Table 1) causing very high congestion and crowding in the city.

Table 1

Hyderabad City : Growth of area, population and population density (1941-1991)

Year	Area (sq.kms)	Population	Growth rate (%)	Population density per sq.kms.
1941	147.22	739,149	58.31	3805
1951	206.00	1,129,467	52.55	5483
1961	210.38	1,251,119	10.78	5947
1971	298.51	1,796,339	43.80	6018
1981	217.00	2,545,836	41.72	7089
1991	217.00	4,273,498	67.86	11900

Source: Census of India (A.P), Special Report on Hyderabad City; 1990 and District Handbooks 1961, 1971, 1981 and Provisional Tables 1991.

Compared to other major metropolitan cities in India, Hyderabad stands first in the population growth with 5.33% (1981).

The City is divided into 23 Municipal wards of which 9 wards are located South of river Musi (comprising the old city). The pattern of population density of the city exhibits significant variations if analysed at Ward level. For instance, the central wards of the city (north of the river Musi) have attained very high densities as compared to the municipal wards of the old city (south of river Musi) which enjoyed a similar position before 1951. The density of population of these wards varies between 10,000 - 21,000 persons per sq. km. The Cantonment area which is also a

part of metropolitan area, has the lowest density, varying between 2,000 - 5,000 persons per sq. km. ¹

The rapid growth of metropolitan Hyderabad can be attributed to several socio-economic factors such as large scale in-migration of rural population from 1931 onwards, rapid expansion of administrative functions and services, growth in the sectors of trade and commerce and nodality of the city. Hyderabad like many cities of India, i.e. Allahabad, Lucknow, Patna, Cuttack and Jaipur had been the seat of administration; first of Qutb Shah Kings and later on the Nizams of Asaf Jahi Dynasty. After independence, Hyderabad continued to be the capital of Hyderabad State, under the Indian Union. With the restructuring of the Indian Map in the 1950's, the princely State of Hyderabad was incorporated into the enlarged State of Andhra Pradesh on 1st November, 1956 and was retained as the Capital City of the new State.

The characteristic feature of Hyderabad city is that it is mainly composed of administrative and service functions; commercial functions take second place and the industrial functions take third place in the city's economy.

Industries: Industrial growth was initiated in Hyderabad much later than in other metropolitan cities in the country. It was during the decade 1931-41 that the Industrial Trust Fund was set up in Hyderabad, due to which two large textile mills, two cigarette factories, a number of button

factories, a silk factory, a glass factory and a Hume Pipe factory sprung up in the city.

A number of Industrial units came up in the Secunderabad but are not concentrated in any one ward. The early starters and especially the factories in Azambad area were Sugar, Tobacco and Cigarette factories, leather industries, steel works, spinning mills and so on. During the second World War, several industrial units were set up including the Praga Tools Corporation (1940). The year 1941 saw the establishment and growth of an industrial site at Sanatnagar which facilitated the development of industries like Allwyn Metal Works.

These industries attracted a large number of skilled and unskilled labourers from the neighbouring areas which contributed to a rapid population growth. However, post-war industrial stagnation in the country affected industrial growth in the city negatively for many years and the tempo of industrialization in Hyderabad picked up momentum only after 1956, after the second Five Year Plan had been launched. By 1966, there were 34,225 workers working in 466 units in Hyderabad, which by 1976 shot up to 4,72,490 workers employed in 975 units.²

Presently, the predominant industrial areas within the Municipal limits are:-

1. Azambad, Musheerabad and Sanatnagar (of north city area)
2. Kavadiguda, New Bhoiguda and Lalaguda (of Secunderabad)

Major Industrial Complexes outside the Municipal limits are:

1. BHEL
2. HMT (located on Medak Road) and Praga Tools
3. Nuclear Fuel Complex, Hindustan Cables, ECIL, Hyderabad Chemicals and Fertilizers, Republic Forge (located at Moulali)
4. An Industrial Complex at Uppal and Ramanathapur on way to Warangal.

The City is very rich in producing various raw products. The items that are exported are batteries; cigarettes; refrigerators; medicines; asbestos cement sheets; auto spare parts; table fans, ceiling and pedestal fans; zinc sheets; watches and clocks; aluminium and hindalium articles etc.

Employment: When we look at the size of employment in the city, it had been below 10% except for years 1961, 1962, 1965 and 1968 when it was 25%. During 1971-77, it has been seen that the growth was mostly below 1%.³ It may also be noted that whenever percentage of employment has been higher, it was due to the establishment of new industries in the public sector.

The capital investment and employment structure of large and medium scale industries of Metropolitan Hyderabad in 1983 reveals that Food and Agro based, Chemical and Engineering industries had the main potential for employment; these industries together provide more than two-

thirds of the total industrial employment.

The Census of 1961-71, does not exhibit any change in the occupational structure of the city; but the 1981 Census shows a considerable decline (from 40% to 31%) in the proportion of working population to total population. The decline may be explained mainly to the fact that employment has not kept pace with the growing population. However, the small scale and large scale enterprises and manufacturing industries also had a very slow growth.

The process of industrialization being slow in Hyderabad has resulted in very low per capita income.

According to a Survey conducted by Hyderabad Metropolitan Research Project, Osmania University, the average Monthly Income of a worker in Hyderabad City in 1965-66 was Rs.308.66 and over 60% of the sample households earned less than Rs.300 per month. According to another Sample Survey conducted by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics in 1977-78, the per capita Monthly Income of the worker in the city did not change much from what it was in 1965-66, as the average per capita monthly income was Rs.311 and more than 67% of sample households were in this range. Another Sample Survey conducted in 1983-84 brought out that more than 55% of the working population in the city was earning between Rs.200 - 400 per month, which shows a significant decline in the per capita income. The low occupational level reflects low income levels and confirm that the poverty level is

quite high in the city. The picture looks more complete when related to the household size. The average household size for the entire city is 6, while the average household size of the old city is 7. Such low income levels are insufficient to support even a standard household of five members.⁴

Migration: Despite the above fact that the city is providing low occupation structure, the city has been receiving in-migration at a rate of about 25% on an average from 1951 onwards. It has been estimated that during 1941 and 1951 the rate of migration was very high (about 40%). The formation of Andhra Pradesh State in 1956 had a significant impact on migration and due to large-scale migration of people from Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema regions, the percentage of migration recorded as 16 during 1951-56 rose to 46% in 1957-61. 1961-71 and 1971-78 showed more or less stable rate of migration which was on an average about 25% and which continues even today. (See Table 2).

Table 2

HYDERABAD CITY IN-MIGRATION

Period of In-migration	As per Census of India(%)	As per Other Survey (%)
Prior to 1951	38.0	46.5
1951-56	16.0	17.0
1957-61	46.0	17.0
1961-70	22.0	19.5
Since 1971	28.0	24.5

Source: Census of India and Hyderabad Metropolitan Research Project, O.U. 1978.

It is interesting to note that the in-migrant population in the city lives mostly in the northern part including Secunderabad, and only 24.5% (in-migrants) live in the Southern part (old city) which not only shows the lack of interest of the migrants in the historic core of the city but also explains that the civic amenities and services are of a, comparatively lower level.

The higher rate of in-migration has considerably contributed to the growth and expansion of the informal sector of the economy in the city, such as petty trade, artisan, household industries, street vending and hawking.

The process of industrialisation and commercial expansion in cities attracts people to migrate from nearby and far-off places to such cities in search of jobs. Vast bulk of such migrants belong to the weaker sections of the society having only their labour power to sell.

The problem of migration is becoming acute day by day, with the failing monsoons and continuous drought conditions in majority of the rural areas. As their survival is at stake, most of the rural masses migrate to the nearby urban areas individually or with family in pursuit of livelihood. The rural masses that come to the urban areas face the first problem of a "shelter", next only to a job for their survival. If some friends or a relative is already there in the new place, the problem of searching for a shelter is

less, for the time being. Otherwise, they search for a vacant land near their work place or in the outskirts of the city and erect a "make-shift" shed, and start living in it. Thus, this can be said to be the genesis of the slum formation or squatter settlements in any urban areas. They start living in their houses without the basic civil infrastructure like drinking water, toilets, sewage system, solid waste disposal etc.

SLUMS: In 1964, there were 94 slums in Hyderabad. A study by the Council for Social Development in 1976 reported 273 slums with a population of over 3 lakhs. By 1979, there were 455 slums with a population of 5.4 lakhs. Five years later, 20 per cent of the total population of the twin cities lived in the slums. The latest Survey conducted by Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (Feb. 1987) claims that there are nearly 0.17 million households, implying a slum population of over 9 lakhs, live in 730 slums.

The last ten years have shown the greatest slum growth from 3 lakhs in 1976 to 9 lakhs in 1986/87 i.e. almost 30 per cent growth rate per years.⁵

The basic amenities and services are of a lower level in these slums. According to the 1978 study,^{*1} only 62 per cent of the total slums in the twin cities had communal

*1 Naidu.R - "A study of slums in Hyderabad and Secunderabad", - The Indian Journal of social work, vol.xxxix, no.342,no.3, Oct. 1978. pp 297-311

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water taps and on an average 500 persons or nearly 100 families were sharing a water tap. Thirty eight percent of the slums had no communal water facility at all.

Lavatory facilities at the slum level were in existence only in 32 per cent of the slums. Half the slums in the twin cities were without street lights in the late fifties. On an average there was one street light post for 157 slum dwellers.⁶

According to the 1972 Survey the average monthly income of the slum dwellers in the Twin cities is Rs.155/- per month, nearly 1 per cent of the slum dwellers earn more than Rs.400/- per month. 58% earn upto a maximum of Rs.150/-. Whereas according to the 1962 Survey (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, 1964) 20 per cent of the slum dwellers earned less than Rs.50/- per month, the Survey a decade later shows only 4 per cent of the slum dwellers earned less than Rs. 50/- per month.

In a recent study^{*2} it was found that the slums in the core of the old city, the erstwhile walled area, density was higher than in the new city slums. Although the new city slums are more in number and have large populations, they are spread over a more extensive area as they are situated on the fringes of the urban settlements. On the other hand,

*2 Government of Andhra Pradesh, "City of Hyderabad, a report sponsored and submitted to the Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1986".

the slums in the walled city have emerged within the built up city structure on limited areas and increasing population has led to very high density. Ratna Naidu's study shows that old slums are generally more congested as these slums get more and more migrants due to religion, caste and blood relationship of the slum dwellers.

The slums in the old city were essentially the product of police action in 1946 and is inhabited largely by poor muslims. The new city slums on the other hand have grown in the newer industrial pockets of city and inhabited mainly by migrants from rural areas of adjoining districts. Many of them provide the work force for construction and small scale industries in the city.

The slum of **Habeeb Fatima Nagar** (Borobonda) chosen for the study, is in the new city and is located very near to the industrial area of Sanathnagar-Balanagar (see the Map).

GOVERNMENT POLICIES: To improve the living conditions of the people in slums with the active participation of slum dwellers and in order to bring the total development; the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad has been implementing Urban Community Development Programmes in Twin Cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad from the year 1967 (The U.C.D. in India had its origin in governments Rural Community Development Programmes launched on 2nd October, 1952).

Under the UCD Project, basic amenities such as dust proof roads, sewage lines, community Hall, individual

toilets, community lavatories, street lights, water supply, socio-economic and health services are being provided with UNICEF assistance.

In the Socio-economic programmes the aspects covered are -

- (1) Educational activities (a) Balwadis and primary schools (b) Night schools (c) Vocational training - (i) Sewing centres (ii) Typing and shorthand (iii) Driving - Auto Rickshaw and Motor (iv) Photography (v) Radio-repairs, air conditioning and refrigeration
- (2) Economic activities (a) Bank loans (b) Sewing production centres (c) Cooperatives
- (3) Construction of community halls and housing improvement.

The services provided under the health and nutrition programme include:

1. Immunization for children (0-6 years old) and expectant mothers (BCG, DPT, Polio, DT, TT, TAB)
2. Ante-natal care and examination
3. Treatment of minor ailments in all the slums
4. Drugs and supplementaries for mothers (iron and folic acid tablets for mothers and children)
5. Dietary supplementaries for mothers and children:-
 - (a) Supplementary Nutrition Programme (SNP) in selected slums;
 - (b) Subsidized milk distribution in selected slums;

(c) Free milk distribution in selected slums.

6. Referral services
7. Environmental sanitation
8. Health and nutrition education
9. Family Welfare Services
10. Training of local persons for midwifery and first aid in selected slums
11. Monitoring and surveillance of children of high-risk families and treatment of malnutrition.

The programme is being implemented by the Family Welfare Bureau of the MCH. The Additional District Family Welfare Officer is in charge of planning and supervision at the micro level. Above him is the Chief Medical Officer of the MCH. The Special Officer, MCH, directs and monitors the programme at the macro level. The Director, UCD, and the Project Coordinator, ODA, have been coordinating the programme.

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7. Vide n (5).

CHAPTER III

B) HABEEB FATIMA NAGAR SLUM

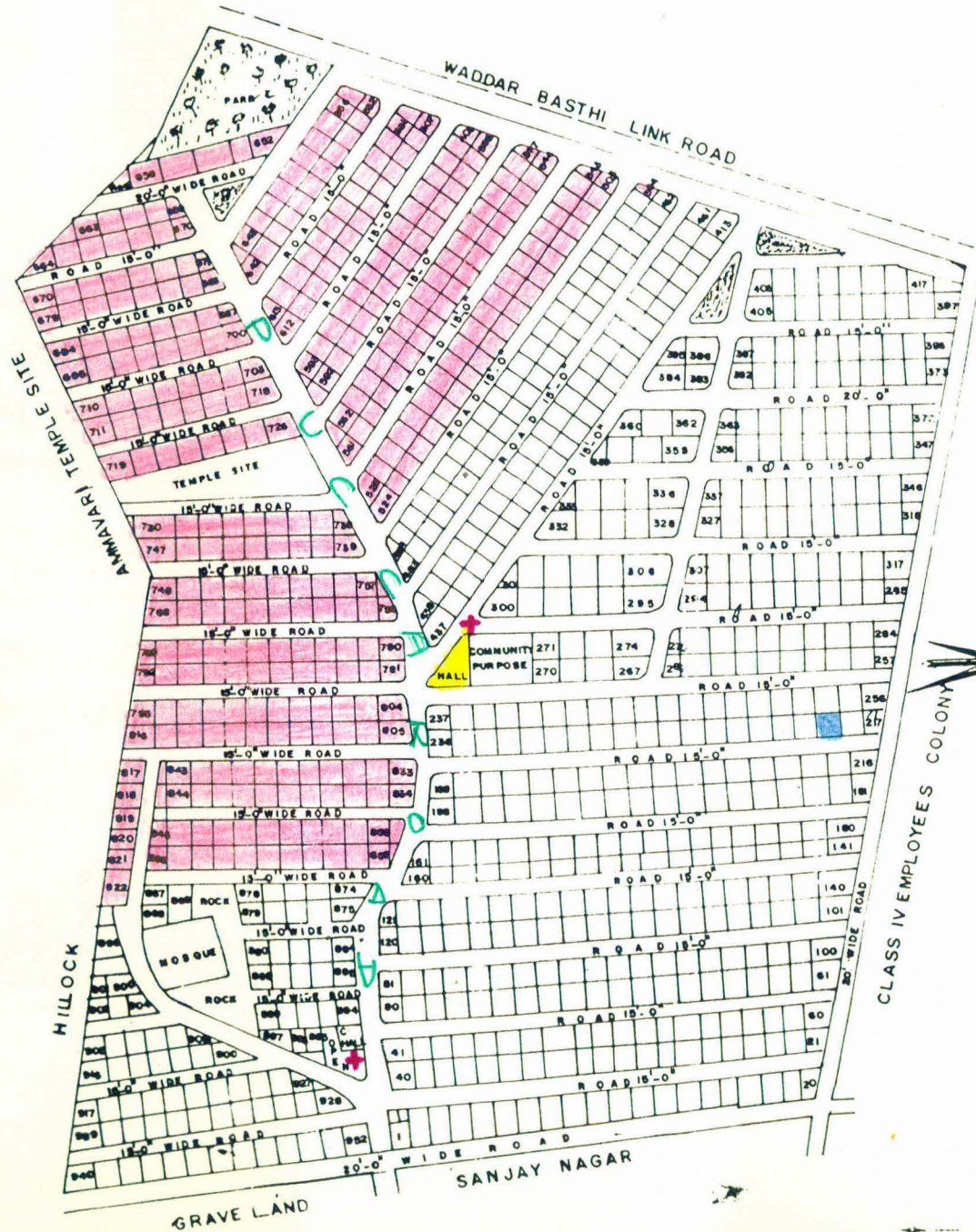
Location : The slum of Habeeb Fatima nagar is in the new city area and comes under circle V within municipal limits. The slum is surrounded by more than fifteen slums and the whole area is called 'Borabanda'. (Banda in Telugu means a hillock). The slum of Habeeb Fatima nagar (H.F.N.) is located on a hillock with a total area of 66,786 square yards. It is very near to the industrial estate of Sanathnagar-Balanagar and is three kms away from the main business area of Erragadda and the E.S.I. hospital (see map 1) pg 46(a)

The slum of H.F.N. is located on an undulating topography and is divided into two parts -phase I and phase II. Of the two, phase I lies on the eastern side of the slum, is a levelled land and was inhabited and developed first. The part of the slum situated on an uneven terrain marked by hillock had been designated as phase II i.e. covering house numbers 504 to 900.(see map II). From the western side towards phase II we have to climb the ascent.

The slum is surrounded by HUDA colony phase-I(of class IV employees) on the North; On it's East is another slum 'Sanjay nagar'. To it's South is hillock and towards it's West is a Wadder basti(labourer's basti).

According to the leader of the slum, Mohd Yosufuddin, the total slum population of H.F.N. is (5000 approx). There are more than 65% Muslims and nearly 35% Hindus with a few families belonging to the Christian community. Among the Hindus three fourth of the population belongs to Scheduled

52 (a)



MUNICIPAL CORPORATION
OF HYDERABAD

LAY OUT PLAN No. 319/T.P/UCD/83

LAND USE

NO. OF PLOTS 952
 SIZE OF PLOTS 20'0"x27'0" (60 Sq.Yds)
 PLOTS AREA 66,785.97 Sq.Yds.
 (68.39%)

HABITAT HOUSING SCHEME
 LAYOUT PLAN OF HABIB FATIMA NAGAR
 IN S.NO.127
 YOUSUF GUDA VILLAGE, HYDERABAD

SCALE : 0 20 40 80 100 feet



	AREA UNDER STUDY
	BALWADI SCHOOL
+	WATER TAP
	RATION SHOP

LAY OUT PLAN OF HABIB FATIMA NAGAR

MAP-2

castes and Scheduled tribes and backward classes. All the communities live in harmony and the interaction among the local populace is free of any communal colour. Total number of houses are 1,100 out of which 800 are in phase I and rest ~~are~~ in Phase II.

In response to the question that how this area came into existence. He replied, prior to 1978 the whole area came was under agriculture surrounded by hillock. The land belonged to no body. Few labourers from the outside used to come and cultivate crops. They would work in the fields in the morning and go back to their respective place in the evenings. One 'Patwari' maintained the records.¹

During 1978, a group of seven people belonging to lower income groups working in government office (Out of them 4 were Muslims and 3 were Hindus) came to know about the land being vacant here. They decided to develop the area and at the same time their motive was to make money of it (These people have seen others doing so). A society was formed and information was passed on to their own people that plots were being sold in their area for Rs 200/- (60 sq. yards). The only condition to purchase the land was that the person should belong to economically weaker section. The society was meant only for helping the poor people i.e. their own peer group. Thus the lands were sold to labourers, Balwadi teachers, vendors etc.

1. The 'patwari' helped people by telling whether the plot vacant belongs to somebody or not.

Later another group of people formed a society and started selling the plots. This led to rivalry between two groups. To avoid fights the people of H.F.N. met the local MLA and bribed him with Rs.10,000/- and got this area by themselves. Later, in 1979, the leader and other members approached the collector's office and got the area registered. In the same year plots were allotted to people by Revenue Inspector. Each was allotted 60-70 sq. yards plot. No money was taken, but each family was asked to pay Rs2000/- in the form of 'donation'. All the plots were registered in women's name.²

Soon after the allotment many people slowly started settling down in this area. The 'reason' being these people were very poor and couldn't afford to pay the rent in the city. In the beginning of their stay, they could afford only thatched house to live in.

Till 1985 this area lacked electricity, water and connecting roads. It was a three kilometre walk to the nearest stores to buy basic essential items. There were no schools, hospitals or medical stores. In fact none of the facilities were available within immediate proximity of the slum. Access to drinking water could be had only after trekking 3 Kms to the main road. The area was also infested with snakes and scorpions.

2. During N.T. Rama Rao's time (then Chief Minister), a resolution was passed that all the property should be on women's name.

Settlement Patterns :

Houses: An outstanding feature of the nature of slum dwellers is their assigning top priority to their housing needs. Most of the houses in the slums are numbered appropriately. These houses are made of bricks and are plastered with cement. The poor who cannot afford plastering with cement, have used mud. All the houses are located very closely with hardly any space between them. As a result of which the slum looks overcrowded. A distinctive feature is that Hindus and Muslims live side-by-side without displaying any evidence of communal discrimination, either in house location or otherwise. Majority of houses do not have any compound wall and those who have, have put mud walls and the well-off families have used brick walls with no plastering. For flooring, majority of families have used cement while, the poor families have put unglazed tiles.

Water supply: The residents in this area have to face an acute water shortage problem. In the entire basti there are only two water taps for a population of 5000. These have only been recently fixed in January 1994 by Water Works Department. The severity of problem can be gauged from the fact that water comes just for three to four hours³ and that too only on alternate days. As the taps are located in phase 3.

3. Water comes in morning from 9 a.m. to 12 noon.

I the residents of phase II have no access to tap water in their proximity. In fact when seen, only families residing near the tap area have the accessibility. Others have to be satisfied by the water tankers sent by the Water Works Department which has been sending tankers for the last five years. They send 10 tankers daily to this slum.⁴ To every lane one tanker is sent daily⁵ and every house is allotted 10 pails of water irrespective of the family size and their accompanying needs. The acute and disproportionate water shortage often leads to noisy scenes and bitter fights among the residents at the sight of the incoming water tanker. The presence of a representative chosen from each lane to monitor the queue daily, has not done much to the plight of the people. The water problem is very severe for people staying in the phase II where only two tankers are sent.⁶ and each house is allotted only 5 pails. There is a government borewell in the slum, but water level has gone down so deep that three people have to pump together to get the water. The well-off families have their own borewells (who are very few in number). People of this slum have to purchase water for 50 paise per pail from these owners.⁷ Usually the slum dwellers cannot afford this ~~slum~~

4. Though 16 tankers are allowed for this slum.

5. One tanker caters to the need of 30 houses.

6. because of uneven terrain.

7. This reveals on the one hand the struggle for getting hold of basic amenities and the nature of continuous low key exploitation of the poor by the well-off on the other.

and manage without taking bath or washing clothes which therefore leads to many health problems. Though this is one fact they would conceal rather than reveal. As an alternative many people chose to ride to distant colonies where there is an easy availability of water.⁸

Electricity: Electricity in this slum was provided in 1985. Electric poles were first fixed in phase I and now every house has electricity supply (in both the phases) with a separate meter box. Due to poverty many people are not able to pay the electric bills and the government often cut their electric connection. It has been seen that slum people try to get over this action by a resort to securing illegal electric connections for themselves. This characterizes their poverty as well as impediments in securing basic facilities of their daily life.

Sewage and waste disposal : Till 1988-89 the slum had open drainage. It was only in 1988-89 that the drainage connection was provided. Despite this, there is a big open-drain in the slum which particularly during the rainy season causes lots of inconvenience to the surrounding houses. Repeated requests to cover the drain have been made to the Municipal Corporation but nothing has come out of it. In the phase II the situation is worse. Most of the houses do not

8. The resort to this 'solution' is, however, not an easy alternative. The dwellers have to fetch water over large distances on bi-cycles all the while riding on an uneven terrain.

have a much of a civic sense, therefore, the area is filled with dirty water flowing every where. The lanes are very dirty with filth all around. Mosquitoes and houseflies are a common sight and plight. In phase I also, except for few lanes all the lanes have the same picture. People throw wastes on roads which are unattended to for weeks together. The municipal corporation people come very rarely to clean the area. All the houses have a separate lavatory facility, though children defecating on the streets is a common sight.

Roads: In the whole basti there is only one 'pucca' road and all the lanes are 'kacha' marked by uneven terrain.⁹ This however does not mar the housing pattern as the houses have are located symmetrically along the 'Kacha' roads too. Phase II however depicts a slightly different pattern as due to to the extremely uneven terrain the overall view of the area displays a haphazard picture of housing. The lack of this amenity is compounded by the failure of the municipal corporation to maintain cleanliness. Piles of garbage throng the roads and the problem becomes highly unmanageable during the rainy season.

Education facilities: There are a total of four schools and one U.C.D. run 'Balwadi' school in the slum. The 'Balwadi' school located in the community hall displays a shocking lack of educational funds, facilities, staff and amenities

9. Because of the uneven terrain making and maintenance of the roads becomes a difficult job.

so as to render any teaching or studying impossible. The four schools are managed by private people who charge Rs.50 per month as fees till class V and Rs 65 per month thereafter till the tenth class. However, teaching in Urdu and Telugu is priced a little less at Rs.25/-. Usually the slum dwellers pay the fees in installment rather than on a monthly basis due to monetary paucity. Majority of the slum dweller's children are sent to 'Pragathi public school' and 'Vidya Niketan' as they have classes till tenth standard. The other two schools- 'Tiny rdse' and 'st. Joseph' lack this continuation and have classes till VII and V standard respectively.

The extremely unprivileged class comprising the labourers, vendors, rickshaw pullers, etc. have no option but to send their children to 'Balwadi school' which exhibits a glaring lack of basic facilities accentuated by the apathetic attitude of the teachers.

Those few who can afford to send their children outside the slum send for private and government schools for better educational facilities.

Other facilities

Transportation: A.P.S.R.T.C. buses are run connecting 'Borabanda' to central areas of the city. Direct buses are run to Nampally, Charminar and Secunderabad railway station.

The frequency of these buses is also good.¹⁰ There is also the system of 'share-autos' run by auto rickshaw drivers from H.F.N. and the neighbouring slums. They provide the facility of linking the slum to other areas on the main road like E.S.I. and Erragadda for a sum of Rs 2/-.

Shops and Markets: There are six shops (selling vegetables, groceries) which cater to the basic needs of slum dwellers. The slum people always prefer to purchase their essentials from these shops as they get things on 'credit'. Most of the people have ration cards and they go to government run ration shops where they get essential items¹¹ at subsidised rates. **Markets:** Less than half a kilometre away from the slum is the main market where bigger shops, hotels, dispensaries, bus-stop are located. This is the main market for Habeeb Fatima Nagar slum and the other surrounding slums.

Entertainment: Most of the common sources of entertainment cannot be availed due to lack of money. Their only mode of entertainment is T.V. The T.V programmes particularly during week-ends remain then the prime source of amusement. Saturday and Sunday movies are relished to the core by the

10. This exhibits the governmental effort in providing the slum areas with cheap and regular transportation.

11. Rice, wheat, kerosene, sugar, edible oil, pulses.

residents.¹² Besides, watching T.V. programmes people also go to the near by cinema theatre.¹³

Political activities: The Congress party leader P.Janardhan Reddy was able to generate a sense of political mobilization and participation before the legislative assembly elections of 1985. He promised the people that their basic necessities would be looked into if they elect him. Janardhan reddy took many steps to ameliorate the plight of the residents of the area.¹⁴ With the rise of Telugu Desam party and other factions, the voter's got split and now there is no clear mandate for any single party. This has been reflected in the voting behaviour of the slum dwellers in the subsequent years. Now the people are of opinion that if the water problem in their slum has to be solved, P.Janardhan Reddy has to be elected once again.

Welfare activities:

Adult education: A voluntary organisation 'Akshar Jyothi' started programme for adult education.

12. On a trip to the basti during the weekend, blaring noise of the T.V. could be heard from every corner. The streets were mostly deserted as the residents prefer to stay indoors and enjoy the movies.

13. At Erragadda (which is 3 kms from H.F.N) 2 Cinema theatres are located.

14. Electricity, Roads, R.T.C. Bus Services, Ration-shop were provided to these people.

However, due to lack of enthusiasm on the part of the slum dwellers¹⁵ and the teachers.¹⁶ The programme ended within one year of its inception as a dismal failure. Now no such provision exists.

Mahila mandal: The most noteworthy contribution in the welfare activities of the slum is by mahila mandal. They promoted certain measures on their own like organising 'Akshar jyothi' and sewing centre (to give vocational training to slum dwellers). They have also taken initiative of inviting FPAI (Family Planning Association of India), setting camps for eye and dental check ups in the slum. Any problem faced by the slum dwellers is taken up by them.

Health services: The only voluntary organisation providing health services in the slum is FPAI (family planning association of India). They visit slums for 3-4 hours every tuesday (11A.M. to 3P.M.). The facility is not availed by the majority of the dwellers as the doctors don't turn up regularly. Family planning is their main activity where-in they provide oral pills free of cost and distribute Nirodh. Sterilization i.e. tubectomy and vasectomy are performed (using Laproscopic method) at their head quarters at 'Lakdi-ka-pool'. Immunisation programme for children and expectant mothers are also taken. Medicines are provided to pregnant mothers but FPAI people don't take up the delivery cases: instead they refer such cases to government hospitals. Medicines like B-complex, Iron capsules and

multivitamin capsules are provided to the needy and the minor ailments like cough and cold are treated free of cost. It has been noticed that only poor people go there for getting relief from minor ailments. Those who can afford, prefer going to private doctors for treatment.

According to the basti leader, there are no government hospitals in the proximity to the slum nor any private practitioners in the basti. But in adjacent areas many private allopathic doctors have clinics and they charge Rs 10 for giving an injection and providing medicines. Prevalent side by side of quacks and 'Hakims' who provide traditional medicines at the cost of Rs 5/-.Propelled by faith in the system and comparatively easy affordability, a substantial portion of the dwellers chose them over the practitioners of allopathic medicine.

The common diseases prevalent in this area are measles, diarrhea,gastro enteritis,malaria, typhoid skin infections, fever, bronchitis, worms.

-
15. The majority comprises of the lower classes (labourers, vendors, rickshaw pullers, auto-drivers) who after a hard day's toiling, would rather rest than attend literacy classes. The classes were meant for women too, but due to workload at home, many of them never had the time for classes.
 16. The teachers were not provided with any salary/remuneration, hence there was no enthusiasm and initiative on their part to carry on with the programme.

CHAPTER IV
STRATIFICATION WITHIN
THE SLUM

The base-line survey conducted on 200 households reveals that 66 households out of 200 (33.3%) do not have a regular source of income and the earnings are on daily basis which fluctuates everyday. These households were unable to indicate their total monthly earnings as they do not have any regular employment. In a month, they get work for 15-20 days. This social group consists of labourers; rickshaw-pullers; vendors; auto-rickshaw drivers (who ply on rent); petty shop owners like cycle repairs, cobbler, flower shop; etc.; artisans, masons and carpenters, working under contractor.

The next category of households consists of those who have a regular source of monthly income ranging from Rs 200 to Rs 3000/- (The income includes the total earnings of the households). This group consists of government employees; regular industrial workers; Self-employed; retired employees and others. The total number of households in this category is 134 (66.6%); but two households have been excluded from the study since one of them lost his employment and the other was a 'fakir', whom depended on alms for living. Hence, the actual number taken into consideration for the study was 132 households.

In our analysis of the categorisation of the households depending on the earnings and occupations, we have some significant observations.

Non Regular Income Earners

There were four main categories of occupations where income was found to be non-regular. They are labourers (20); Rickshaw pullers and Vendors (18); Auto Drivers (plying vehicles on rent) (13); Shops and others (15).

Table 1

Non Regular Income Earners

Occupation and Income of Non-Regular Income Earners:

Income (daily)	Labourers T = 20 (%)	Rikshaw Pullers Vendors T = 18 (%)	Auto Drivers plying on rent T = 13 (%)	Shop & Others* T = 15 (%)
>15-20	3 (15)	6 (33.3)		2 (13.3)
>20-30	4 (20)	5 (27.7)	1 (7.6)	5 (33.3)
>30-40	2 (10)	5 (27.7)	5 (38.4)	3 (20)
>40-50	5 (25)	1 (5.5)	3 (23)	3 (20)
>50-60	1 (5)		2 (15.3)	
>60-70		1 (5.5)	1 (7.6)	2 (13.3)
>70	5 (25)		1 (7.6)	

When we compare these occupational groups we find that maximum proportion of Rickshaw pullers and Vendors had the highest proportions of lower incomes. Table 1 shows that 89% of this category earned Rs 40 or less. Besides 66.6% of the shop keepers and others, and 45% of the labourers earned Rs 40 or less.

In the lowest income slots of Rs 15-20 per day we have

33.3% of Rickshaw pullers and vendors, 15% of the labourers and 13.3% shop keepers.

Thus Rickshaw pullers and vendors were the poorest of the lot.

Amongst those who could earn Rs 40 and above per day we had 55% of the labourers; 53.5% of the Auto drivers plying autos on rent; 33.3% of the shop keepers and others, and 11% of the Rickshaw pullers and vendors.

Auto drivers and labourers could earn maximum in this income category.

Regular Income Groups:

While looking at the previous category of non-regular earners we had daily wages as an assessment of their incomes. However in the regular income group it was possible to estimate Per Capita income on the basis of total monthly incomes and household size.

While the Non-regular earners were not sure of the total monthly income since it varied from day to day, the regular workers could state their incomes which are indicated in Table 2.

(Table to follow)

Table 2

Total Monthly Income and No. of Households

Monthly Income (in Rupees)

	Rs. 200-400	401-600	601-800	801-1000	1001-2200	1201-1500	1501-2000	2000+	3000+	Total
No. of Households	9	18	26	12	10	16	13	13	15	132
(%)	6.8	13.6	19.6	9.0	7.5	12.1	9.8	9.8	11.3	99.5

Table 2 shows the distribution of household according to their monthly income. It shows that 49% households earned Rs 1000 or less and 51% had an income over Rs 1000/- per month.

To get a true picture of their living standards, Per Capita income of 132 households was calculated, which is shown in Table 3.:

Table 3

Monthly Per Capita Income and No. of Households

Per Capita Income (in Rupees)

	>100	101-200	201-300	301-500	501-1000	Total
No. of Households	29	40	21	18	24	132
(%)	21.9	30.4	15.9	13.6	18.2	100.0

Table 3 shows that 52.2% of the household have a per capita income of Rs200 or less; 29.5% are in the 201-501/- per capita income range and 18.75 had a per capita income of Rs 501 and above.

For the purpose of our study; we had categorised the households based on their total monthly earnings.

We had two broad groups of non-regular income earners and regular income earners. The regular income earners alone could be further categorised based on Per Capita incomes.

For the convenience of the study, we have categorised non-regular income earners as Category A. Category B consists of regular income earners who have a monthly per capita income of less than Rs. 200. Category C has a per capita income ranging between Rs. 201-500. Category D has the highest per capita income which is above Rs 500.

The final picture thus obtained is as follows:

Category	Percapita Income (%)	Total No.	%
A	Non-Regular Income	66	33
B	Upto 200	71	35.5
C	201-500	39	19.5
D	501-1000	24	12

The households were divided into economic categories of A,B,C and D. The maximum number of households were in category 'B', numbering to 69 (i.e.35.5%), followed by category 'A' non-regular income earners who were 66 (i.e.33%). The households, in category 'C' were 39 (i.e.19.5%). Category 'D' had less number of households of 24 (i.e. 12%).

Life of the people in slum

The life patterns of people in the four economic categories A,B,C, and D were intensively studied during out indepth study. In the following pages, life of the people in economic groups is described with variations among each group. The aspects that were intensively studied were their (1) housing conditions, (2) education, (3) food consumption, (4) possession of consumer durables, (5) health and their priorities, dreams and aspirations, so as to get a consolidated picture of their lives.

Category 'A'

(Non Regular Income Group)

Category 'A' consists of 'non-regular income earners'. The calculation of monthly per capita income of this category was not possible as people in this category could not indicate their total monthly earnings. Their earnings were on daily basis which fluctuates everyday.

This category consists of labourers, rickshaw pullers, vendors, auto rickshaw -drivers (who ply auto's on rent), carpenters, masons, artisans, small shop owners (cobblers, flower sellers etc). The total no. of families in this category were 66.

In this category, the families do not have a regular employment. On an average in a month they have employment for 15-20 days. Even the earnings are not stable. Sometimes they earn Rs 10-15 per day, other days their maximum earnings goes up to Rs 60-70 and there are days when they do not get any employment and have to be idle. This group is the most hard hit with the increasing costs of living.

The problems, with regard to employment, in this category are :

Labourers do not have a regular employment. They have to search for jobs wherever the goods are being loaded and unloaded (in shops; godowns). Usually whenever the supply of stock is there, they get employment for 4-5 days, after which they are once again on the lookout for a job. The

struggle to make both ends meet is very conspicuous as they start for their work by 8.00 in the morning and come back home after 7.00 in the evening.

So also is the case with artisans, carpenters, masons who work under the contractors. Whenever there is contract or construction work going on, they get employed for 15-20 days or at the maximum for two-three months. Sometimes, the construction work does not require so many labourers, as a result the contractor cuts down the number of labourers employed. These people have to constantly look for jobs at other places.

Auto drivers drive auto on rent. They get the auto on hire for one week and every day they pay Rs. 30/- as rent for the auto. If their daily earnings are Rs. 70-75, they have to keep aside Rs. 40-50 for petrol and pay for the rent or for any other repair work. Their daily revenue fluctuates depending upon their total daily earnings. The contract has to be renewed every week but they face a problem - its not always easy to renew the contract as the demands for autos are more. If any body falls sick, he prefers retaining the auto, because it becomes difficult to get the auto on rent, once the chance is missed. Another problem associated with it, is that old 'vehicles' consume a lot of petrol.

It has been noticed that 41% households in category 'A' had more than one earning member. They contributed to the total family, income by working as driver, painter, under

mason or in an office as a peon. The wife also contributed to the total income by working as a labourer; maid servant, or she was engaged in doing embroidery work wherein she earned Rs. 2/- per day, or she was working in a government organisation as peon on adhoc basis.

Their contribution to the total earnings ranged between Rs. 150-200 per month.

Family size: 33% had the family size of less than 5. 44% had the family size of 6-7 and 23% had the family size of more than 8.

HOUSING: Most of the families stay in one or two rooms. 36% stayed in one room; 6% stayed in a hut like structure, 41% stayed in two rooms and only 17% stayed in more than two rooms. Being poor, few families made their houses out of mud with plastering done. A striking feature of this category is that people have given more importance and priority to housing. They have made their houses with brick and cement as they feel that "If the houses built are strong, the people residing in it will have a strong unity and the bond of love would be strong". Hence these people have given priority for a strong house i.e. houses made of brick and plastered with cement. But it has been found that, due to poverty, these families have left the houses unpainted. Depending on whether they have money, they have either used the unglazed tiles for flooring or left it without using anything.

The reasons given by majority of the people for settling into this locality are the cheap and easy availability of plots to poor families. These families could purchase a piece of plot (65-70 sq. yards) at a very cheap rate of Rs. 300 when the plots were allotted to the poor families in 1978 (i.e., when the Habeeb Fatima Nagar 'slum' society was formed).

B. Ravi Kumar (40), a labourer recalls that "Before marriage I stayed with my relatives, but, after getting married I have shifted to a rented room in Habeeb Fatima Nagar as the rent here was very cheap. For a single room, I used to pay Rs. 30 (The owner of the house would live in the city). While I was there a family whom I knew was willing to sell this plot for Rs. 300 as they were facing some financial difficulty. I sold off my property in the village to build this house and buy my own plot. I had to take the loan of Rs. 7000, and I am still reeling under the difficulties of repaying the loan as I still have to repay Rs. 3500/-."

Mohd Mohinuddin (in his late fifties) a rickshawpuller had quarrelled with his family members in the village. Consequently to make a living he migrated to Hyderabad along with his wife and two children. He recalls the events and says that "when we came to Hyderabad we had nothing with us. We had no place to live and no one whom we knew. Wherever we got some employment we built a hut on vacant land, and would often shift places depending on the availability of

employment. I could buy this plot (65 sq. yds) when I came to know through a third person about the availability of plots at cheaper rates meant for the weaker sections. Hence we grabbed the opportunity. I did not have the money, but could repay the amount in instalments, for which we faced a lot of hardship. There were days when we did not have food for three or four days consecutively. Now that my sons are earning, we do not go hungry.

Education The number of illiterates are more in this category. 87% had no schooling at all, while only 13% had minimum primary education. They could not get any formal education due to unfavourable economic conditions of their families. Nevertheless the people in this category know the importance of education and they do want to provide education to their children. Most of the families prefer providing a minimum education till class Vth for the simple reason that they do not want their children to remain illiterate like them. They feel that being a little educated their children will be sharp and intelligent in whatever job they do in future.

Ravi Kumar (40) a labourer, wants his children to study till Vth standard and when they would be old enough i.e. 15 years, he would like them to take up some job and contribute to the earnings of the family. "Being poor I cannot afford to provide an education beyond class Vth. For us education is not so important when we sleep on empty stomachs. Getting

some employment and filling our hungry stomach becomes our daily concern." His wife remarked, "you can read the bus number while we have to ask you people about it. We even have to ask the time from you. I do not want my children to be illiterate like us; I want them to have some basic knowledge so that they would not have to depend on the educated people like you in cities for such small things."

Majority of the families in this category who are extremely poor send their children to the government school, 'Balwadi' run in the slum (where the fees charged are nominal, Rs. 5/- per month). Those people who can afford and want to educate their children are forced to send their children to private schools (providing education in Telugu/Urdu medium, where the fees charged are comparatively less) due to the non-existence of any good government school in the slum.

In most of the cases, it has been found that due to their inability to pay fees their children discontinue studies.

Mohd. Khanruddin (in his forties) is a rickshaw puller. He has four children but he cannot afford to send all his children to school and only two of his children are enrolled in school. He says "There are no good government schools in this locality. I am forced to send my children to a private school where teaching is in Urdu medium. The fees charged are Rs. 25/- per month for each child. If I start sending

all my children to school, I will have to pay nearly Rs. 100/- just towards fees where as my earnings does not even come out to Rs. 400 per month. You tell me, how can I afford to send them to school when our main problem is food and hunger. My children as a result, discontinue studies whenever I am not able to pay their fees. My eldest son is thirteen years old and he is studying in 3rd standard; my second son who is ten years old is also in 3rd standard."

The families who send their children to private school feel the burden of educating their children and resent the fact that they have to send their children to school and pay the fees and books.

Zaheera Bee a rickshaw puller's wife says "village is better than the city. In villages the children contribute by working in the fields. There is no concept of school, fees, or books. Here in the city as everybody is educated you have to send your children to school. Living in city, only their father struggles whereas the children cannot contribute till they grow up. (i.e. 15 years). Only the extremely poor in this basti send their children to work. If we send our children to work others would presume that we are too poor. Hence we are forced to send the children to school, despite of our numerous problems."

Ballahaiya a labourer in his late forties says, "children's education is a matter of destiny. When we pay the fees, only then the authorities in the private school enroll them

I want to educate my children so that they can read and write. Due to financial upheavals I can not provide them good schooling. All my four children are enrolled in the Balwadi school, where the school is only for name sake". Not everybody is so lucky to provide education to their children. People like Mohd. Mohinuddin a rickshawpuller, who are extremely poor, could not send their children to school. Their children had to take up petty work at the very young age of 10 years to supplement the meagre incomes of the family.

Thus it has been noticed that, in this category, their poverty, is the main reason why the families do not send their children to school and those who want to send, have to discontinue education due to non-payment of fees. As the total family earnings are less they want their children to take up some job as soon as possible, and help in contributing to the total family income.

FOOD: It has been observed that whatever is earned is spent on food. 80-85% of the family's earnings are spent on food. Still they face the problem of starvation. With their little earnings they can barely afford one proper meal a day and most of the time have to sleep on empty stomachs.

Venkaiah a labourer, in his mid thirties says, "Food is most affected, whenever there is no employment. We often have to sleep on empty stomachs. Nobody helps the poor; we continue living in misery. We do not go to the grocer as we

know we cannot repay the credit. The shopkeeper knows our inability to pay and sometimes refuses to give things on credit. Situation gets worse when there is no food for more than three days, then we go to the grocer and take things on credit. My wife and I can adjust without eating for two-three days, but the problem is with the children. They cannot be quiet when there is no food. So we always give priority to our children and try our level best to provide them with at least rice starch."

Zulekha Bee (50 yrs) the wife of a vendor says, "even if our earnings have gone up, we lead the same miserable life. The price of all the things have gone up. Rice, which could be afforded for Rs. 2.50 some ten years back, now costs us Rs. 5.00 per kg. People like you say government helps the poor, but if prices are rising how can a poor person like me survive. You tell the government to reduce at least the price of rice."

The plight of these families is accentuated as most of the families due to lack of time and their illiteracy could not avail of ration-cards. Another kind of problem faced by some families is their possession of the 'big' ration card (meant for higher income groups where the same items are purchased at a higher cost).

Khaza Haunuddin (35 yrs), a 'Hamali' stays with his family consisting of his wife and six children stay in a one-room house that is very ill maintained. The bedsheets are old,

torn, the cot is old and they have a very old table fan. The utensils are all aluminium and are lying empty. His wife says "its three days since we have cooked anything. We drink water and fill our stomachs hoping that the next day we will be able to earn something. My children have been crying from hunger, but where is the money for food? My husband falls ill frequently. If he goes to work for two days, he stays behind at home for four days. I cannot go out to work as my children are very small. The youngest one is still breast feeding. I do not know how to manage this house. My husband and I have frequent quarrels. I am so frustrated with this life. For ten or fifteen days in a month I go to my parents (who too stay in Hyderabad) with my two youngest children."

Narsing Rao a mason, says, "My employment is not regular. Sometimes for fifteen days continuously, I do not get any employment during which food consumption is reduced to once a day. We have ration card but do not have the money to buy things. I do not prefer my family sleeping hungry so I borrow from the grocer and at least try to manage getting 'kanki' (inferior quality of rice). My wife and I drink rice starch while the cooked rice is given to children. If nothing remains, there will at least be tamarind juice in the house to which we add salt, chilli and drink it. But, if the situation gets worse, we have to sleep on empty stomachs".

The food consumption by families in this category is very meagre. As and when they have money, they purchase rice, jāwar, dal, oil; but preference is given to rice (of inferior quality).

Mohd. Akhtar, an auto driver says that "which ever is available - rice, chapati, dal, is taken without any choice. This life is like a lottery. You sometimes get to eat and sometimes sleep on an empty stomach".

Most of the families have tea in the morning i.e. if they can afford to purchase milk for Re. 1/- and at lunch have a handful of rice with dal, vegetable or tamarind juice, depending on whatever is affordable. Dinner depends on the availability of money. If they do not have anything, they prefer sleeping hungry once a day, rather than going to the grocer for purchase on credit.

The family sits and eats together, but women give preference to the husband and children as "husband goes for work and children cannot be quiet when hungry".

CONSUMER GOODS: Despite poverty, it has been noticed that families do possess transistor, fan or T.V. However, not everybody has bought these items; but the wife got these as part of her dowry. Close relatives of the family contributed in giving radio, Fan, Storewell, Dining Table to the bride as gifts at her marriage. Thus the burden of dowry is shared by all the members in the family.

But there are cases where people have given priority to purchasing a T.V. (Black and White portable) than towards their other demands like food, clothing or clearing off their debts. A case can be cited of Ballahyya in his (mid fifties) who is a labourer. The family consists of his wife and three children. His two sons (aged 18 and 20 years) are earning Rs.150/- (each) per month by working under a carpenter and as a worker in a pan shop. Most of the time the family has to forego one meal. "We do not possess any consumer durables. In fact, a fan has to be borrowed from neighbours for a few hours when our relatives visit us to show that even we have a fan. Recently my sons bought a second-hand Black and White T.V. set for Rs. 1,800/- for which every month we have to pay Rs.50/-. We could not say anything when they went ahead and bought a T.V. They say everybody in the basti has these things, so even we should have". The same is the case of Mohd. Mohinuddin, a rickshaw puller, whose sons are employed in petty occupations and the family lives in abject poverty. They have other responsibilities like getting their daughter married, clearing off debts amounting to Rs.10,000/- which was taken for the construction of their house and for the marriage of their elder daughter. But the family has given preference to purchasing a T.V. on 'instalment'. "We are used to foregoing meals occasionally. Possessing a T.V. set nonetheless makes us feel good with the feeling that even we can afford such things".

Parvatamma (in her late forties) the wife of a rickshaw puller says that, "we did not have anything in the house. But recently, we bought a fan for Rs.800/- paying instalment of Rs.30/- every month. We have problem in paying the instalments but possessing a fan became a necessity as there are lots of mosquitoes in this area and during summer it is very hot inside the house due to asbestos roofing . Otherwise, too purchasing a fan has some benefits as we do not have to go to doctor who charges minimum Rs.10/- for treatment."

Mallaihayya (in his late twenties is a labourer) has two small children. He bought a T.V., Fan, dining table as he maintained that "everybody has these things. We do not mind paying a part of our earnings towards the instalments. We prefer this to watching movies at our neighbour's place who ill-treats us." The family has given no preference for milk as they purchase it for Re. 1/- daily for making tea.

All the families use Kerosene or wood as fuel for cooking.

HEALTH: The people are unable to avail the facilities of government hospitals as they are not located in the proximity of the slum area. Going to these hospitals becomes a costly affair due to transportation costs. Moreover, the people go for work in the morning and come back only late in the evening around 7.00 p.m., which leaves them with no time for attending to these matters. The health

services provided by the voluntary agency are erratic and the people are forced to approach a private doctor or a 'Hakim' practising nearby.

The people of this category are unable to afford a visit to the doctor unless and until the situation becomes too serious. The way in which these people try to tackle their health problems is reflected in the answers of these people.

Mohd. Akhtar (an auto driver) asks "what is the use of going to a doctor. When we go to him, he asks us to eat good food and prescribes some medicine, for which he charges Rs.10/-. The medicine if necessary is bought or else we tear off the prescription. Therefore we go to the doctor only when the situation is serious."

Khaja Haunuddin (35 years) a 'Hamali' says, that " since we cannot afford to buy all the medicines prescribed, we ask the doctor which are the important ones and we purchase only that."

Mohd. Mohinuddin a rickshaw puller also says, that : "We take half the tablet prescribed and if any one else in the family has fever the remaining tablet or medicine is used".

It has been observed that, most of these people being daily wage earners cannot afford to take rest when they are weak or have fallen ill.

Ballaihaya a labourer (in late forties) "Irrespective of weather conditions or my ill health I have to go for work, otherwise the family would be without food. If I have slight fever I prefer going to the doctor who gives injection for Rs.10/- and then I continue with my work."

It has been observed that, the families do not approach the doctor for cure of diseases like skin infection, rash, deformity in any part of the body etc., which do not cause any pain or hinder their pursuit of daily livelihood.

The pregnant women do not take any special care of their health. By no means can they afford nutritive meals for themselves. The fact that the other children too have to be fed leaves no scope for them to give any thought to their own food.

Afreen Sultan, 45 recalls "I did not take any special care of my health when I was pregnant as after all I had to share the meagre food with my family. In fact few hours before the delivery, I was at home attending to household chores. Even after delivery, I did not take any rest, for the next morning, I had to attend to work at home as my children were very small.

Most of the respondents said that they got the delivery done in the missionary hospital nearby, since it is cheaper there. They would have to spend only Rs.1000/- which includes the medicine cost. The immunization dosage for the

children and the medicine for the mother were given by the hospital, hence they proffered going there. Very poor families within this group usually arrange for the delivery at home itself for which they pay about Rs.100/- to the midwives.

PRIORITIES, ASPIRATIONS AND DREAMS: What is striking, is that all the people in this category channelise their energy to provide food and clothing for their families. Despite this starvation is still evident in their lives. They are burdened with the anxiety of repaying the loans that they have incurred for constructing a house or for the marriage of either their son or daughter.

Laxmamma (wife of a labourer) in her late forties, displaying a broken mirror says, "you are asking me about my life and priorities when I cannot even buy a mirror". Pointing to the asbestos roof of her house, which was in a bad shape, she further said "if I have the money, I shall have the roof repaired. In case someone is willing to help us, we would like to build another room which can be rented out to supplement our meagre income".

Khaza Hahnuddin, a 'Hamali', aspires, that "were it possible I would like to give my children proper education. I have to get my two daughters married, at the same time, I would also like to possess T.V., fan, etc. When everybody else possesses such things, I too would like to have them. I would also like to be aware of what is happening around us."

Mohd. Akhtar, an auto-driver, in his late twenties was very enthusiastic about what he wants from life. His response was, "If I can manage to get some money, I would like to go to Dubai to earn money. Presently, I would like to have my own auto, and buy my wife a sewing machine. But definitely I would like to purchase a T.V. first, as everybody in this slum has one. When others can manage to purchase one, even I can."

Category 'B'

(P.C.I. - LESS THAN Rs. 200)

Among all the groups in the 'Regular income category' i.e., B, C and D; Category 'B' has the lowest monthly per capita income (which is less than Rs. 200); 42% households of category 'B' had a per capita income of less than Rs.100. The total number of families in this category are 69.

About 29% of heads of the families were working in private companies as regular labourers or class IV employees. 56% had their own small and petty business (hair saloon, cycle puncture shop, fruit shop, etc.); only 11% of them were class IV government employees. 4% of the families were retired and were pensioners. All the families have a regular monthly income.

The per capita income in this category is extremely low as the total monthly income in this category ranges between Rs.250-1500. About 25% (approx.) earn less than Rs.600; 49% of the families have an earning between Rs.600-800 and 26% earn above Rs.800 per month. Thus, we find that maximum number of families i.e. 74% have a total monthly income of less than Rs.800.

It was found that in most of these families there is only one earning member contributing to the total earnings of the family. 86% have only one earning member. Only 14% of the families have more than one earning member, who are

engaged in petty occupations like carpentry, masonry, working as mechanic or ,in a shop; the wife's contribution is in the form of tailoring. Their contribution in the total monthly income range between Rs 150-200.

The per capita income is less not only because their total earnings are low, but the number of dependents are also more.

27% have a family size of less than five members ; 41% had 6-7 members and 32% have a family size of more than eight members. Hence majority of them i.e. 73% have more than six family members depending on meagre earnings.

HOUSING: These families gave top priority to investment on a house because of increasing rents. They find it very difficult to pay the rents. Most of the houses constructed in category 'B' had one or two small rooms. Since everything i.e. kitchen, bedroom, dining room are combined in one or two rooms the house looks extremely congested with things lying here and there. There is no proper planning for these houses. The rooms are very poorly ventilated as there are no windows or ventilators inside. Due to poor economic conditions, most of the houses are made of mud and plastered with cement. Those who could afford have white-washed the houses while others have left it uncoloured. Most of the houses do not have a compound wall and those few which do have, have mud walls. Due to their inability to purchase a bigger plots, most of the families in category

'B' have bits of ^{land} 65 to 70 sq-yards. The families who could afford, have used unglazed tiles for flooring and, those who couldn't afford have not used anything.

The reasons given for settling in the slum of Habeeb Fatima Nagar were first, that they couldn't afford the high rents in the city as they found it difficult to pay them. In order to avoid payment of rents they preferred to settle down in a slum as the cost of the land in Habeeb Fatima Nagar slum was cheap compared to other places in the city.

Secondly, their close relatives or friends were already settled in the slum and with their help they could purchase the plots. Many of them even responded by saying that their place of work was near the slum i.e. in Sanathnagar and Erragadda.

Abdul Hameed (45) married with three children recalls 'I was a worker in a hotel earning Rs 200 per month. Out of monthly salary of Rs 200, I set aside Rs 50 for rent and I send Rs 50 for my parents in the village and with the Rs 100, that remains I somehow managed the house. In such scarcity, if the rent is increased even by Rs 10/- it is very difficult for us to maintain the house with the increasing family. So we decided to purchase the plot in Habeeb Fatima Nagar where my sister was already settled and once and for all be saved from the fear of increase of rents and the problem of landlords. Initially we built a hut and stayed there. Only over the past three years, could

I build these two rooms which costed me Rs 15,000. I used my savings, sold my wife's jewellery and raised loans from my friends. Presently I am repaying k the money through 'chitti'. Shaik Ibrahim (48) an electrician, recalls "Rents in city are very costly. For a small room we used to pay Rs 45/. Within two years the landlord increased the rent to Rs 60/- and during summer we always faced acute water problem . We often had fights with the landlord and other residents over the water issue. We were so tired of the quarrels and the misery, that we decided to have our own house. Moreover 'Habeb Fatima Nagar' is near my place of work and the cost of land is also cheap which I could afford. We sold whatever little property we had at the village, sold my wife's jewellery and bought this house, which was already constructed for Rs 10,000.

C.Venkaih (40) a carpenter by profession narrates " I was staying with my brother before my marriage. After my marriage too I continued staying with them with my wife. But as our family grew we moved away from my brother's place since it would have led to serious problems and quarrels. We took a house for rent in Habeb Fatima Nagar (whose owner stayed in the city) as it was very cheap. We decided to settle down here as it's much better to have our own house. We bought this plot for Rs.3000 and borrowed money to build this house. We could repay our loans when I got a contract of Rs.10,000. The whole money however was spent on the house."

To an outsider, it might look as though that the slum people do not interfere in other's lives. Everybody leads an independent life. But the case of ~~Mr.~~ Mohd Muneer leaves one in doubt. Muneer was a watchman in a private company. He left the job due to some differences with the owner. He later got himself employed as a casual labourer for 5-6 years. After being thrown out from his earlier job his family lived in extreme poverty. They could only afford a hut on this plot. (The plot was purchased when he came to know that for the poor the land was available for a minimum of Rs 300/-). When the researcher was conducting the base-line survey, it was noticed that they had a small hut and a room built of mud. But when the researcher went for 'in depth' study, she couldn't recognise the house as they had built a compound wall and an extra room. When asked about the change, his wife replied with tears in her eyes "People here don't allow us to live in peace. They mocked and laughed at our poverty. During rainy season when there would be water everywhere in the house, instead of helping us the selfish people here would mock us. Since we do not have a compound wall (The lane in which they were staying, everybody had a compound wall made of mud.) whatever activities we carried out was seen on the road. People would stop their work and look at us as if some 'tamasha' is going on. Whatever we ^{did} were seen, we were taunted and one day the neighbours ganged up together and gave us the ultimatum that we either vacate and move to some other place or they

themselves would throw our things out. We couldn't do anything where could we go? so we borrowed the money (Rs15,000) and built these two rooms and a compound wall of mud. Since my sons are also employed we are sure of repaying the loan."

EDUCATION : The number of illiterates among the earning members of category 'B' are significant. However many of them have done a minimum schooling till class Vth. Nobody has completed higher secondary course or gone to college.

The labourers (working on regular basis) in private companies or in shops; lorry drivers, and the carpenters are the illiterates. But those working in private companies or in government services as Class IV employees had a minimum schooling till Class Vth and some have studied till VIIth standard.

As the earnings are less, with only one earning member, it is very difficult for a majority of them to make both ends meet. Despite acute poverty, they try their level best to educate their children. Those people who are in a better off position could send their children to private schools whereas most of them due to extreme poverty send their children to the Government 'Balwadi' school (run in the slum) or in private schools (in Telugu/Urdu medium) where the fees charged is comparatively less. The English medium schools charge Rs 35/- while the Telugu/Urdu medium schools charge Rs 25/- per child.

Due to the high costs of education and the family's inability to pay due to their other demands like food, clearing off debts taken for construction of house; most of them had to stop their children's schooling after Standard VIIth. Their children would join any vocational training or work as apprentices. The rate of school drop out is thus high.

Sheikh Ibrahim (48) who is an electrician could not afford to educate his children beyond VIIth Class. His sons are working for a private company as drivers earning Rs.200/- per month. So is the case of Venkat Sheshaiah (54), who due to poverty had to discontinue his children's education after Vth class. His son is working in a ration shop and his daughter is working as a teacher in a local school. Mohd. Khaza(30) discontinued his studies after VIIth class and at the age of fifteen, started contributing in the earnings of the family by working in a hotel.

There is the interesting case of Subbaiahya (35) who is a carpenter by profession. He is unable to cope with the high cost of living. " Earlier, when my children were small, I could afford to send them to the English medium school, but later it became very difficult for me to cope up with the rising costs of education, food etc. Moreover over the past three years my income is also not stable; therefore I had to deregister my children from the private school and enroll them in the 'Balwadi' School where the education

provided is sub-standard. Later, I sent my son to my native village where my parents are staying since the village school is better than the 'Balwadi' school. As I do not have any option, I send my two daughters to the Balwadi school. In fact, I plan to send my family back to my native village as the cost of living is very high in the city and bring them here after five or six years when I will be in a position to afford.

FOOD: As the total monthly income of families in this category is extremely low with more number of dependents, purchasing of food is always a problem for them. Most of the time, the family can afford only one time meal in a day. The people in this category usually try to hide their hunger from their fellow residents as **Mohd. Pasha's** wife says "If anybody tells us they have cooked dal and vegetable, even we respond by saying that we too have cooked the same. Who will know whether we are starving or not. Such kind of lie has to be resorted to very often."

The consumption of milk is nil or only a little is consumed in tea. Few families who can somehow afford money for milk for infants purchase some amount of milk while others do not.

Highlighting the primacy given to wrong priorities is the case of **Mohd. Moin** who is a lorry driver. His family consists of seven children the eldest of whom is 8 years old. Moin has bought a Fridge and T.V., but does not spend

money for milk for his small children. He purchases only half litre milk which is used in preparing tea and curd.

CONSUMER GOODS; It has been noticed that despite poverty - families have T.V. Sets Black and white, portable and purchased on installments. These people are influenced by others and consider possessing a fan, radio, T.V. as symbols of well being. They cannot resist themselves from going to another's place and watching T.V., but having problems with neighbours, ultimately they end up purchasing their own T.V. Sets. Similarly, they purchase a radio, transistor, or a fan simply because everybody in the slum has such basic amenities.

None of the families possess a petrol driven vehicle, except for Mohd. Pasha who possesses a second hand scooter. Mohd. Pasha is a carpenter by profession who manufactures and sells wooden meter boxes. He feels "If I go around in a cycle and sell my articles, people will not give me any importance, but if I go on a scooter, it creates a good impression. In business you need to create such an impression, otherwise no one will purchase goods from you". Pasha bought his scooter for Rs. 5,000/- with his mother-in-law contributing half the amount.

Mohd. Moin says "nobody comes to know or notices whether we are starving or not; but if we have T.V., fridge, everybody thinks that we are well-off. It creates a good impression."

➤. Narsingh Rao's wife has this to say "our relatives from the village would come and comment that staying in the city, he does not even possess a T.V. What is the use of his coming to the city, when he cannot even own a T.V. So, the next time when my husband had an increase in his income, he went and bought a T.V. on installment. Paying money for installments every month is difficult for us, but we decided to go for it as we will be bearing this difficulty only for three years".

Mohd. Khaza, who is working in a government hospital says: "Most of the people in the slum have T.V., Fan, when my father retired from service, he received an amount of Rs.10,000/-, which we spent on our sister's marriage and on us for for purchasing a dressing table, fan and T.V., as everybody in this slum has one. If we have to be equal with them such things have to be bought."

A very interesting case is that of Mohd. Moin who is a Lorry Driver and earns Rs. 1,000/- per month. He stays in a very congested house consisting two rooms. He has seven children who are very small. When he got an increment from the Company where he was working, he bought a small fridge for Rs.6,000/- as everybody in the office influenced him in purchasing it. Though nothing is kept inside and the fridge is of no use to them, nevertheless, "possessing a refrigerator increased my prestige among friends while the fellow slum people think that I am very well-off".

Such is the kind of influence of the upper class on these people that they prefer going and purchasing a fridge, whether there is any utility or not.

HEALTH; Most of the people in this category are working as regular labourers in private concerns. They do not get any medical facilities from the company and cannot avail the government services which are not present in close proximity. Hence, when any body has any health problem, they wait for a few days and let the 'problem' subside on its own. If the fever does not subside within four or five days they go to the local 'Hakim' who charges Rs.5/- per visit and gives medicine free of cost.

It has been noticed that many children in this category pass-out worms in their stools. C. Venkaiah's wife says "two of my children complain of passing worms in their stool. I do not think it is a problem to be shown to a doctor. These children eat either mud or anything lying on the road. I scolded them many a times, but it is of no use they do not listen to me at all."

Boils, skin, rash and such ailments are treated by home remedies. If a rash had been persistent for too long, it is not a real problem until the child cries of severe pain. People prefer the allopathic doctor because for Rs.10/- the doctor looks at the patient and gives an injection. Many consider taking an injection to be better

and that it cures faster than taking just a prescription of medicines.

Measles are not considered a disease. Mohd. Moin's wife says "Every year my children have red rashes with fever for 4 - 5 days. In fact all the basti children have. They play with each other, so they get it. As the fever goes off on its own, we do not take them to a doctor for this".

DREAMS AND ASPIRATIONS: As most of the families are poor and as they are aware of this fact, they do not unnecessarily dream or aspire for things which are beyond their means. A common question that was asked to the researcher was that, "Who will give money to the poor"? or that "we are poor, nobody listens to our problems.".

These people desire for good food and good clothing, which due to poverty, they are unable to obtain. With more income, they would like to clear the debts that have been taken for the marriage of their children or for the construction of the house.

B. Ravi Kumar (35) who works at a tile polishing machine has a simple dream "I have taken loan for building this house of two rooms but all I want is to clear off all my debts (Rs.7,000/-). My youngest son is affected by polio. If I have money, I want to show him to a doctor, so that in future he will not have to depend on anybody. But the problem is who will give us the money. We have no choice but to lead a life of misery."

C. Venkaiah (40) who is working as a carpenter, says "If we have more money, I would like to provide good food and clothing for my family, instead of leading a half-starved existence or passing days in just in two shirts." But his wife who is sitting beside him says "If we can earn more, I want to buy utensils and a storewell."

Many families plan to construct an extra room so that it can be given for rent which will help them in supplementing their earnings.

Mohd. Moin (38) working as a Lorry driver says "If we have money, I want to give my children good food and clothing. But the problem is that the other priorities (construction of house, T.V., Scooter) have to be met while tending to one's hungry stomach".

Shaikh Ibrahim (55 an electrician,) would like to have purchased an auto for his son if he had the money. "My son would be able to earn money in Hyderabad instead of going out of station on trips, being a lorry driver".

CASE REPORT

Mohd. Ismail (40 years) delivers gas cylinders. He stays in a very small three-room house. Some twenty years ago his parents along with their family shifted to Hyderabad. They are basically from 'Zaheerabad' and were vendors selling red chilli, mango, tamarind etc.. The money

that was earned was insufficient to feed everyone. Hence, they left the village and came to Hyderabad to earn more, thinking that if nothing works out, they would at least work as labourers.

They knew nobody here; so they rented a house for Rs. 50/- in 'Begumpet' and took up any job that came their way. After few months, they could not afford the money for rent, so they built a hut on the road and would leave their four children there, and go to work as labourers earning a total of Rs.10/- per day.

They always faced the problem of food. There were days when for four consecutive days they had nothing to eat. Even their children starved. They would just drink water and sleep on an empty stomach. "The day we had food, we were kings and when we did not have any we were beggars sleeping on empty stomachs." They kept moving to places wherever they found work, built a hut there and stayed. Due to poverty, they could not educate any of their children. All the children were illiterate and had started working very young at shops and as 'cleaners' at Truck stands. Today everybody is married and staying separately.

Mohd. Ismail is their eldest son and stays with his family consisting of his wife and seven children. His parents too stay with them. He has a daughter who was married at the age of ten. Out of seven, five children are studying in a private school, the two youngest being too

small for school.

Paying fees is a big problem for them. Hence the children are sent off from school after every 3 months and unless the fees are paid, they are not enrolled again. He says, "Last year, I was unable to pay the examination fee (of Rs.200/-) for the children, so the authorities sent them back. I went and requested the principal but they did not agree. Finally I had to borrow the money from my friends and pay for children's examination fee." Ismail cribs over the fact that he had to pay the fees for the summer holidays too, when no classes are held.

His job is permanent but the pay is given only when the goods are delivered, hence, pay depends on when they get the stock. In a month, his total earnings from gas cylinder delivery is Rs.600/-. Ismail leaves in the morning at 9 after taking tea and a chapati. He comes back only in the evening at 6 p.m. He eats 'rice and dal' and again goes back to drive rickshaw (on rent) till 10.30 in the night. His total earnings from that amounts to Rs.200 per month. (In fact, Ismail left for Bombay to make money at the age of 25 years leaving his family with his parents. In Bombay he stayed for a year and came back as he did not like the place. (He learnt the skill of plastering while staying in Bombay).

Ismail through his friend, came to know that plots were being sold to the poor, so he bought the plot (75 sq. yds)

for Rs.300/- and constructed this house himself borrowing Rs.10,000/-. The house was made of mud and plastering done on it. Asbestos sheets were used for the roofing. He could however clear the loan through 'chitti' and also got his eldest daughter married.

The family is still in the grip of poverty. As the dependents increased the total earnings were not sufficient at all. In fact his wife says, " We have to make four pieces of a 'chapati' to fill our stomachs so as not to sleep on empty stomachs." When there is no money, they take credit from shop and buy at least 'kanki' (broken rice) which is of very inferior quality costing Rs.4/- kg rather than sleeping on empty stomachs.

Consumption pattern: They have a Ration-Card (yellow card) with which they purchase 20 kg of rice. Jawar (10 kg) is bought from outside. 'Dal' and vegetables are purchased depending on the earnings. Very often the family lands up eating only once a day. Milk is purchased daily for Re.1/- to make tea. Ismail says his life has been the same for the past 10 - 15 years. In fact, he feels it has deteriorated now, since he has to pay the school fees, for books and dresses, and the electricity bill.

Ismail works very hard to earn his livelihood. Irrespective of the weather conditions or his health, he has to attend to delivering cylinders whenever there is stock. He does not eat anything outside as he knows his children

are hungry at home.

Presently, they do not have any debts, but neither do they have any savings. Whatever is earned goes for food and educating his children (Rs.125/-). They do not have any luxury items, except for a small table fan.

He says very angrily that, " even we can earn, clear loans and do everything; but cannot as our hands and legs are chained (of poverty)." All his problems he has left to the care of 'Allah'.

He dreams that if he has money, he would like to do business (selling clothes). His other priority is to get his second daughter who is thirteen years old married. He dreams of educating his sons till 10th class after which he would like them to take up any job, but is not sure if he can afford it.

None of his children are immunized. Somebody or the other is always sick in the family and has fever continuously for 3 days. They let the fever cure on its own. If it does not, then they take the children to the 'Hakim' in the basti, who gives medicine at a cheaper rate of Rs.5/- Allopathic doctor. (Allopathic medicines are however very costly).

CATEGORY 'C'

P.C.I. : (200 - 500)

Category 'C' where the monthly per capita income ranges between Rs.200 - 500, the total number of families present were 39. In 28% of the families heads of households work in private companies as Class IV employees. 21% had their own petty businesses as Tailor, chicken shop owner, carpenter. 41% were in government services working as Class III/IV employees. 5% were retired and pensioners. All the families had a regular monthly income.

The 'total monthly income' in this category ranged from Rs.800 - Rs.3,500/-. Most of the families i.e. 85% had an earning between Rs. 1,000/- to Rs. 2,000/-. Only 5% families earned Rs. 3,000/- and above per month, and their ~~whose~~ per capita income ranged between Rs.400/-to Rs. 500/-. There were 10% families wherein the monthly earning is less than Rs. 1,000/-.

The per capita income in this category is comparatively less as the total monthly earnings of the families are low. Even if their monthly income ranges between Rs. 1,000/- to Rs. 3,500/-, their per capita income falls, because of the fact that there is only one earning member, who has a more number of dependents. 20% families have a family size of 3-4; 34% families have a family size of 5-6 and 46% families have a family size of 7 - 8.

In 67% of the households only one earning member contributed to the total earnings. In those families where there were more than one earning member, they were engaged in small time services where the son ran a small pan shop, or was working as a mason, or was a mechanic in a cycle shop. In some cases, the wife or daughter supplemented the income by working as a tailor or as a school teacher, contribution of theirs in total income, is Rs 250-300 per month.

HOUSING: The reasons given by the families for shifting into 'Habees Fatima Nagar' was the easy and cheaply affordable plots and the fact that they had a relative or family friend already settled in Habees Fatima Nagar. These people had no other choice but to live in the dingy conditions of the slum since affording even a single room in the other parts of the city was a costly affair.

The families in Category 'C' could afford to buy the land with their savings, however, to build their house they had to borrow from money-lenders or relatives, or sell their property at the village or sell the jewellery of their wife, The size of the plot possessed by the families in Category 'C' ranged between 65 - 110 sq yds, most of them having built houses consisting of 2 - 3 rooms.

K. Nageswara Rao (38, an R.T.C. Mechanic) recalled how he could manage to get a plot he relates "people sell off their property when in dire crisis. One of my colleagues wanted to sell off his house to get his daughter married. He

wanted to sell off the house for Rs. 7,000/-. Since I wanted to save the payment of monthly rent, I grabbed the opportunity. As I did not have any savings, I borrowed money from my friends and relative and sold all my wife's jewellery with which I was able to put together Rs. 5,000/-. The deal was finally settled for that amount. I still have to repay the loan taken for the house. The slum is very far off from my place of work which is in the old city of Hyderabad. I cannot leave this place and shift to the old city as finding an accommodation there is highly costly."

K. Ravinder (41, an R.T.C. Conductor): "I purchased this plot along with my colleagues when I was not financially weak as I am today. Then I could save some money as my children were very small, and the demands were very limited. But I am happy for making such a decision, as land prices are rising so fast. Even if I had wanted to shift here two years ago, it would have been difficult for me."

Most of the houses constructed in Category 'C' had 2 to 3 rooms which were small in size and congested (even though in a few cases, the plots were big enough). Only 4 families in this category stayed in a one room house. Most of the families possess plots of smaller sizes with little space around. Since the rooms are very small with many people residing in it, the houses look very congested. Houses were built of brick and plastered with cement. A few families could afford to white-wash their houses, while the others have left it unpainted. All the houses used asbestos sheets

for roofing. The flooring was of cement (unglazed) and few houses had stone slabs (unpolished). Whether the houses had one or more than one room, they did not have a separate kitchen. However, all the houses were characterized by a separate bathroom and latrine outside the house. None of the families had a staircase or terrace but few families have constructed a compound wall made of mud and have got it white-washed. The houses were ill-ventilated and had one door with no windows inside. These houses thus lacked any access to open air or light hence, inside the house, the air stinks/smells. To store water they had built small cement drums which could store about 7 pails of water. None of them had bore-wells or access to alternate supply of water (except for the water-tanker which supplies water). The families in these categories purchase water from those people who have bore-wells.

EDUCATION:

Category 'C' had few illiterates, but most of the others discontinued after Xth standard. 27% were illiterate and were engaged in small time businesses like tailoring, carpentry, running a chicken centre, or working in a 'Mithai' shop. 8% of illiterates were Class IV government employees working as an Attendant and 'Mali'. The rest i.e. 72% this category have studied upto 7th or 10th standard. Most of them were of them were engaged in private industries and in government organizations working as class IV employees. For instance, Mohd. Siddiqui is a driver, K.

Nageswara Rao is a mechanic, K. Ravinder is a conductor in A.P.S.R.T.C., Rudrappa is an attendant in an Ayurveda College. An exception was N. Chandulal who is a treasurer in the Pension-Pay Office having studied B.A.

Despite having a bread earner these families were finding it difficult to make both ends meet and they faced problems in educating their children too. Education could be given only in private institutions as there were no government schools in the area. The families faced the problem of paying the fees, purchasing books, school uniform, boots. However, it was ^{not} possible for them to pay for the extra attention to their children (in the form of private tuition) which the children needed apart from the regular schooling to be successful in the annual examinations, as the standard and quality of education provided in these private schools is below average. There is a very high incidence of drop outs from high school, specially among girls. The boys, if they dropped out worked as apprentices somewhere, or would join the business of his father and help in supplementing the family income. Even the parents are keen that the children, after completing their matriculation, take some job to supplement the meagre income of the family.

B. Ravinder (41), is a conductor in A.P.S.R.T.C. staying with his wife and two children. When asked how far he would like to educate his children, he says "How can I tell you how far I will be able to educate my son. Schooling is such a costly affair these days. You have to

purchase books, shoes, dresses, besides paying the fees. My job is of a temporary nature with various kinds of risks involved. Each day I am anxious that nothing goes wrong. If a passenger does not buy a ticket the onus lies on me and I might lose my job. With great difficulty we manage to have a very simple meal of dal and rice. We do not even get new clothes stitched for festivals. But if I am in a position to give my children education till Standard Xth, I shall certainly do so."

G. Ramaswamy(45) is a class IV State Government employee. He stays with his family consisting of his wife and five children. His wife says "My husband earns Rs.1,500/- per month. Our children go to private school. All my husband's salary is exhausted in school fees, repaying debts and installment for the T.V. and fan. The loan taken for building the house has also to be repaid. It later becomes very difficult to manage all this within Rs. 1,500/-. My husband is illiterate so he cannot even do some part-time job to augment the income. Ours is a very hard life. My husband walks down from his place of work to save expenditure on transportation. We also have to marry our three daughters and the dowry being asked is Rs. 50,000/-. You tell me, how can we manage such a big amount. We cannot afford to educate any of our children beyond Standard Xth. I want even my sons to study till standard Xth which is the minimum requirement for getting any job, so that they would be in a position to supplement the family income."

Venkanna (70), has retired from the Police Department. His wife recalls "My husband started living with another woman and he gave me a small amount of money very irregularly. It became very difficult to meet the requirements of the family and the household with such irregular and meagre amount of money. Very often we went hungry to bed since we had no money to buy food. In such difficulties, how could I educate my children? They discontinued their studies after Class Vth. My husband through his influence, helped to find job placements for my son, who worked in nearby shop. For my other son, job was provided in the police department itself".

Women's education was most neglected. The attitude as regards girls was that the earlier they are married, the better. "An overeducated girl might have a problem in marriage." Educating a girl is considered a useless, futile waste of time as she was expected to not work later, and thus there would be no utility or use of any education given to women. But one exception being N.Chandulal who himself is a graduate wants his elder daughter (studying in Xth standard) to study till graduation. "None of my relatives or their children have studied graduation and I want her to be the first one to do so."

Others were against the idea of education a girl after Xth class.

G. Ramaswami a Class IV employee in State Government Services is planning to get his eldest daughter married, who

is a Class Xth drop-out, he says, "when I get proposals for my daughter, the first question asked is how much dowry and gold will be given; nobody asks how far has she studied. So what is the use of educating her further.

M. Ballaiah (a 'Mali' in State Government Service) says, "we are facing a lot of difficulty. The job that my wife and I are doing is of a temporary nature, whatever we earn goes for food and clearing our debts taken for construction of house. We eat a very simple meal of dal and rice. In such a situation, I find it very difficult to pay for the fees and books for the three children who are studying in a private school. If I can afford to pay for their present education, it would be an achievement for me. Making them study beyond Standard Xth is a far off dream, as I have to get my eldest daughter married, who is in Class IXth. It is enough if a girl studies till Standard Xth otherwise, later on it would be a problem finding a suitable match for her. Besides, when she is not going to pursue any job in future, what is the point in educating her further."

FOOD: The monthly income being less and the dependents more, the family food budget in this category is always tight. 60 - 70% of their income is spent on food. Most of the families purchase their food on a credit basis. They can afford to pay regularly for their ration-supplies 15 - 20 days of a month, but for the rest of the days they have to borrow on the surety of their next month's pay. The family eats twice in a day. In the morning, both husband

and wife have tea, the children before going to school have tea and eat bun or chapati. The husband eats rice and dal before going to office and takes tiffin-box (chapati with chutney/vegetable). Wife does not take anything in the morning; if very hungry, she has chapati/bun. She foregoes her breakfast for the sake of the other members of the family. After coming back from school the children have lunch along with their mother. Lunch is very simple consisting of 'Dal' and rice. The family has dinner together and it consists of dal, rice and curd which is occasionally consumed. Vegetable consumption is not a regular feature. The people in this category avoid sleeping on an empty stomach. If there is nothing at home to eat, they prefer taking things on credit or purchase inferior quality of rice.

Ramaswami's wife says, "Dont ask how we manage. We are seven members and my husband's income is Rs.1,500/-. A very simple meal consisting of inferior quality rice is all that we can afford. When we do not have money, we have to cut down on milk, tea, cooking oil and such items. Depending on the availability of money, we cook vegetable which is a rare occasion. We faced difficulties earlier when my husband was earning Rs. 200/- Even now with Rs. 1,500/- we face same difficulties as the cost of everything is so high these days.

CONSUMER GOODS: Since their incomes and savings do not allow them to purchase anything beyond their plot of land

and two square meals a day, to fulfil the rest of their demands, these families had to raise loans from various quarters. Most of the people in this category have to repay loans which they have taken for building their houses, and for buying a few consumer durables (like T.V., Fan). This is apart from the credit, which is taken for daily ration. The consumer durables which could be afforded by these people was either a second hand Black and White T.V. or/and a Radio, Fan, cycle. Only 10% had petrol driven vehicle. Almost all the families had cooking gas (L.P.G.), and those who did not, used Kerosene as an alternative fuel. These families have either a second hand T.V., and Fan bought on instalments.

The reasons why the families in this Category gave prominence to T.V., Fan, Radio (which were bought in instalments) inspite of the very shaky financial position and problems in providing a full meal for the family each day can be seen from the opinion of these people.

Mohd. Siddiqui (40 years) is a driver in a private office earning Rs. 900/-. He stays with his wife and two children says he. "Yes, it is a great strain to pay monthly instalments for T.V. and fan. But I did not like my daughter going to other people's house to watch T.V. Moreover all my colleagues have a T.V. Set. These things have become very common now. Even a labourer owns one. Everybody faces problems in repayment but it is preferred to quarrels with the neighbour. Therefore, I decided to purchase a T.V. costing Rs. 2,500/- a (second hand) Black

and White set, for which I have to pay a monthly installment of Rs. 50/- for more than four years. "

The same factor influenced the other families also, who had either young children or daughters. As these families are not in a position to go out or having any mode of social entertainment; T.V. is the only cheap and affordable means of entertainment for them. People prefer to buy a T.V. (even a Black and White - Second hand) on instalments rather than send their children to other's place. If the children went to neighbour's house, they were invariably scolded and ill-treated and were not allowed to watch the programme.

B. Manik Prabhu (41) expresses "Going to the cinema is a costly affair, it would cost a minimum of Rs. 20/- and the whole family cannot enjoy going out for movies. I bought the T.V. as my children insisted on purchasing one. Although we have to cut on food and clothing, still I decided to buy a T.V. Set. I can at least bear this much of sacrifice for the sake of the children."

An interesting case can be cited of K. Nageswara Rao 35, and a R.T.C. Mechanic. He recollects "Initially, my job was temporary. I had incurred debts for building this house and was not in a position to incur any extra expenditure. But I had to buy a T.V. when the popular Hindi serial 'Ramayana' was on air. My wife who wanted to see 'Ramayana' but could not go to neighbour's house, refused to cook food till I got the T.V. Finally, I had to buy a T.V. on installment for Rs. 2,000/- after five days".

People like M. Chandulal (40) have bought a scooter. The reason he bought a scooter was he says "All my friends had a Luna or scooter and I did not like going to office on a cycle or in a bus. I asked my mother-in-law to contribute half the price to buy a scooter.," He bought a second hand scooter for Rs. 5,000/- six years ago. "Although we have bought the scooter, we hardly use it since we cannot afford to spend money on petrol. But now that we have bought one we feel satisfied. Moreover, it enhances our prestige in the eyes of our neighbours.

Similarly, Subhash Chandra Bose, in his fifties working in a private company as a Class IV employee) bought a luna for his son who is in college. His son insisted on buying one, as it would increase his prestige in the college.

HEALTH:

As most of the houses in Category 'C' are congested and ill-ventilated with open-garbage and filth lying around, attracting flies and other disease agents. Such a condition was the result of the negligence of the municipal organisation. The slum is also characterized by 'katcha roads' becoming a pool of diseases during the rainy season. There are small open drains flowing from kitchens and bathrooms into the main road. Such an environment invites diseases like measles, worms, gastroenteritis, skin-infections and respiratory diseases - which are common in this slum.

Being residents of the slum, the people in this category too ~~also~~ suffer from the following diseases.

Measles, fever, worms and skin-infections (Boils, rashes), diarrhea are common among the people.

People of Category 'C' do not approach a doctor for ailments like fever, measles, cough, cold, running nose, sore eyes, dental problems, stomach pain, etc, due to the fact that they have to pay the doctor his fee (Rs. 10/-) for every visit and they also have to purchase the prescribed medicines. Normally when anybody is suffering from any illness, the people wait for 2 - 3 days and allow the ailment to subside on its own. If the case gets serious, then they approach a private Allopathic doctor.,Till then they use home remedies like herbal treatment and special diet.

G. Ramaswami 45, working as a Class IV employee in the state Government says, : "Everybody at home has cold, cough, or fever. My wife suffers from body pains and lack of appetite; during rainy season, invariably somebody or the other falls sick very frequently. We administer some treatment at home. If we go to a doctor, he will ask us to come again and for every visit we have to pay Rs. 10/- plus, the extra charges for medicines. We do not go to the doctor unless it is very necessary."

B. Manik Prabhu(41) working as a Class III employee in Public Sector whose youngest son has a 'squint' which they have not shown to a doctor. He says, "Government hospitals are very far from here and I do not have the time during office-hours to take him to the hospital and waiting for the

office-hours to take him to the hospital and waiting for the doctor in the queue for every regular check-up. I cannot afford to take leave for every visit."

Rudrappa's wife expresses that "we do not go to the government hospital, although we get free medicines there. Traversing to and fro to the hospital is costly and as it is situated far off. Moreover, the doctors are rude in their behaviour towards us and they even scold us badly when we cannot make for the routine check up. The whole day is wasted if we go to the government hospital. I do stitching on the sewing machine and over the past ten days I have pain in my chest and legs. But I will remain at home and take rest for a day and two, rather than go to a doctor."

When surveyed, 13% households in this category had children suffering from rashes and sores of the skin. During the in-depth study, it was found that the families did not consider it very important to get it treated. The sores were being regularly washed and allowed to heal on its own. Only when it takes very long and is seen spreading to other parts, do they show to a doctor. They say, "The sore gets dry on its own within a week".

Measles is not considered as an illness; M. Ballaiah (a Class IV employee) says "No special treatment needs to be given. It subsides on its own within four - five days. Even after four-five days, if the red rashes do not disappear, we take them to the doctor".

None of the families interviewed said that they were hospitalised for any serious ailments.

PRIORITY ASPIRATIONS:

The main aim of the people in the Category 'C' is to live a better life i.e. better enough to be able to pay for their basic necessities like housing, education and food; paying off their debts and avoiding living on credit and also fulfilling their social duties like marrying off their daughters early.

They are unable to afford good food and new dresses even on festival days. They cannot go out to entertain themselves for e.g. the cinema, is too costly to afford. As there is only one earning member in the family, providing for school fees, books and school dress and shoes for the children becomes very difficult and lot of sacrifices have to be made. A stable source of income and a full meal daily would bring a lot of happiness in their lives clouded with innumerable anxieties and miseries.

How values are affected by the environment is clearly manifested in the demand for dowry. These people see others in the cities using various luxury goods. The desire to possess such goods invariably creeps into them. But their state is such that they cannot afford to buy it themselves. Hence such items are included in the demand for dowry.

G. Ramaswami (45) has three daughters and two sons. "I do not know how I am going to arrange for my daughters' marriages. I have three daughters to be married. The eldest is 15 years old. Wherever I get proposals for the first question asked is how much dowry will be given to

If I get all my daughters married, I will feel satisfied that I have fulfilled my responsibilities."

B. Manik Prabhu 41, and a Class IV employee with the Public Sector, stays in two rooms with his four children and wife. Two years ago he bought a T.V. set on installment basis. He dreams: "I do not want to purchase a lona or a scooter. I am satisfied with my two room accommodation and do not want to buy any luxury items for the house. In case there is an increase in my income, I would channelize it towards my children's education. I would want to give them as much education as they would like to pursue. But these days a bachelor's degree is the minimum asked for any proper job, hence I wish that they get a bachelors degree and secure a job for themselves".

Chandulal (40, a Class III employee in State Government Service) has given priority to purchasing a scooter and a T.V.set. Now he finds himself surrounded by various problems., "The loan we took to build this house is yet to be repaid. We are in debt of nearly Rs. 20,000/- taken for construction of the house and buying a scooter and T.V. set. Once we repay our loans we hope to see better days. In fact, I want to add another room and give it out on rent, It will go a long way in taking care of part of the financial burden of running the household".

CASE REPORT (201 - 500)

M. Ballaiah, 38 is an illiterate and is presently working at A.P.S.E.B. (Andhra Pradesh State Electricity

Board), as a 'Mali', on a temporary basis. Earlier, he worked as a 'Mali' in a private company. His wife is also a sweeper in APSEB in a temporary post. Their monthly income is Rs. 650/- and Rs. 700/- respectively.

The family consists of Ballaiah, his wife, two daughters and a son. The daughter is the eldest studying in IXth standard. Son is in 3rd Standard and their youngest daughter is in Class I. They all are enrolled in a private school. Ballaiah pays Rs. 150/- for their school fees.

He is a 'Mala' (Scheduled Caste). They stay in one room house which is ill-ventilated with no windows. Asbestos sheet is used for roofing and the flooring was of stone-slab. Everything i.e. kitchen, Dining, Bed room, are all confined one room, so the house looks very congested.

Ballaiah, came to Hyderabad at an age of 18 due to family differences. He is from 'Siddipet' (a village near Hyderabad) where his father was a casual labourer with no regular employment. After coming to Hyderabad, he stayed with his friend who helped him provide a job in a private office as a helper. Ballaiah kept on changing jobs for nearly two years, but finally settled in a private office as a 'Mali'. The officer of the private company had a friend working in APSEB and the present job was provided through his recommendation (as Ballaiah was a very hard working person). That time there was a vacancy in APSEB, as the permanent member had died. Ballaiah after joining accommodated his wife too in a temporary post as a sweeper.

They have been working for more than 10 years, still their employment is temporary (Before joining APSEB, wife had done odd jobs like working near constructions sites as a 'coolie' for Rs. 5/- per day. She also worked as a maid servant for quite sometime).

Earlier Balliah's family stayed in a one-room rented house for (Rs. 50/- at 'Begumpet'. When they could not afford to pay the rent (which was increased to Rs 70/-) they decided to purchase their own plot. Through friends he bought this plot (73 sq yds) for Rs. 2,000/- "as land were cheaper here". Initially, for 4 to 5 months they built a hut and started staying in it. Slowly could they afford to build this* house by selling his wife's property at village and by taking loan from outside which was Rs. 5,000/-. They could repay the loan within five years by joining the 'chitti' where by every month Rs. 100/- was paid in a 'chit' of Rs. 1,000/-. Presently, they do not have any debts.

They have a ceiling fan (bought at down payment for Rs. 500/-). They also have a cooking gas connection (L.P.G.). They do not have a T.V. but their children always fight with them for buying one. In fact, they were planning to purchase a T.V. (B&W) on instalments. All these days, they did not buy as "children were made to understand the situation, now they do not listen to us".

CONSUMPTION PATTERN

60 - 70 Kgs	:	Rice (Rs 7 per kg)
5 Kgs	:	Wheat
2 Kgs	:	Dal

3 Kgs : Edible Oil
Milk = Rs.1/- daily (for tea)

In the morning, the Husband and wife would leave for job at 8.30 and come back in the evening at 6.30 p.m. They drink tea in the morning and carry lunch for their work (Rice and chutney). Children eat bun/Chapati/Upma, in the morning and take lunch at home after coming back from school at One O' clock (Afternoon). The lunch is very simple consisting of only rice and dal. The whole family has dinner together - they cook either dal or vegetable and eat with rice. The children manage the house in the absence of their parents doing jobs like fetching water when water tanker comes, washing, cleaning, studying (children do not go for private tuition) sometimes when wife has duty at officer's residence, she comes back for lunch and finishes off chores at home, or else her eldest daughter takes care of all the things at home.

When asked what would they like to do, when they have more money; the wife laughs and asks "who will give us money?" and "whenever the money is there, it goes for paying children's' school fee and the electricity bill. They feel if some loan can be provided from government, they can get their daughter married. Presently they are not able to save anything as whatever they earn evens out with their expenditure. Out of their earnings of Rs. 1,350/- Rs. 800 to 900 goes for food; Rs. 150 on school fees and books; 200 for paying electricity bill, gas cylinder (cooking gas) and

other expenditure.

For them life ten years ago was better as their "children were small, hence the monthly expenditure was less; moreover at that time prices were low (Rice was available for Rs.2.50". They could manage themselves "well enough" (eating full meals twice in a day) with a salary of Rs. 500/-. The family never faced the problem of starvation or near starvation as they would borrow from people repay whenever they had money. Even now when they do not get salary on time, i.e. for 2 - 3 months, they take money from friends/shops and return when they get the salary.

The family had to face financial problems (some 12 - 13 years back) when Balliah's wife was hospitalized. His wife was aborted 'twice' and her condition was very serious. In fact she was nearly on her death bed. The treatment costed them more than Rs. 7,000/- for which he took the loan from the company and his in-laws also helped him. He could repay the loan within four years. The family at that time had E.S.I. facility, hence all the 'hospital expenses' were met by the Company. His wife felt that government hospitals are good, as medicines are free of cost and they do not have to pay for the doctor.

Health: Children often have slight fever but it gets back to normal within two - three days. Only when their condition is serious do we take them to a private doctor. They do not take the full prescribed medicine. "We ask the doctor which is important and we purchase it". Now Balliah's family cannot avail the government services or E.S.I. as

they are working on a 'temporary post'. Almost every year the children get measles (red rash with fever) as they play with other children". Whenever the children have 'red rashes' and fever does not subside within three-four days, we take them to the private doctor who charges Rs. 40 to 50 per patient.

When interviewed, the husband complained of constant problem of loose motion, nausea, stomach pain, dehydration and fever. He found the allopathic medicine to be ineffective; and had now switched over to diet control and home remedies.

Their monthly expenditure on medical treatment averages about Rs. 30 - 40/-.

CATEGORY 'D'

(P.C.I. : 501 - 1,000)

Of the total 200 families surveyed and categorized, group 'D' whose per capita monthly income ranges between Rs.500 to Rs.1,000/-; has 24 families (i.e.12% of the total sample). This category has the highest per capita income among all the four groups of A, B, C and D.

There are various factors contributing to this. The first being, that the total incomes of the people in this group is much higher than the rest. Their monthly income ranges anywhere between Rs.1,400/- to Rs.3,500/-. However, total earnings of majority of the families i.e. 83% ranges between Rs.2,000/- to Rs.3,500/- per month.

The main feature about this category was that all the families were assured of a stable income. The earning members were either Class III/IV Government employees; some were regular industrial workers; or running a successful small time business or were old people retired from government service with pension.

41% of the families had more than one earning member working as a Class IV employee in private or government sectors, each of them earning more or less Rs.1,500/- per month.

The family size in this group was small. A majority (71%) of them had the family size of 4-5 members; while 12%

families had a size of 6-7 members. 17% were marked by the absence of children as they were old, retired people staying alone.

HOUSING: Finance is a major force in deciding why despite their being in the middle income category, these residents are forced to stay in the semi-developed slums. The rates of both land and housing being very high in the rest of the city, these people, for a lesser amount of money, could afford to buy more land and cheaper housing facilities in a slum like 'Habeb Fatima Nagar'.

As **Laxmana Chari** (54) a Class IV government employee, expressed "the plots in the city are very costly which a middle class man like me cannot afford to purchase. This plot of 150 sq. yards I have bought here for Rs.250/- per sq.yd. the same amount of land at 'Narayana Guda' (a middle Class residential colony) where I had earlier rented a house the value of the land was more than Rs.1,000/- per sq yd."

The same was the opinion of many others who felt that land was very costly in other parts of the city whereas at Habeb Fatima Nagar, it was cheap and affordable.

M. Sreeram (66) who had retired from IDPL says "when I retired from service, I received Rs.50,000/- as a part of my Provident Fund from the Company. With that money I could not have afforded to buy a land or build a house in any of the other residential areas. This is the reason why I chose

'Habeb Fatima Nagar', because I could purchase the plot and build a house within Rs.60,000/- without taking any loan from outside."

N. Satyanarayana (60) also a retired employee from the postal service agrees with Sreeram and says "I had only Rs.60,000/- when I retired and with this money my choices were limited. I could either move 25 - 30 Kms away from the main city or live in a slum within the city limits. The advantages of living in the slum is that I get access to facilities like water, electricity, milk. But living in a slum has its own problems. My family does not like living here because the residents of this slum are not decent people. But if we decide to live in a good locality we would have to pay Rs. 2,000/- just towards rent. Since we have no alternative, we are forced to stay here."

A number of plots were allotted to the economically weaker sections when the Society was formed in 1978. The extent to which the scheme has benefited the weaker sections can be assessed from **Bhumayya's** (who is now in his sixties), He recalls "I was paying Rs.70/- per month as rent for one room in 'Begumpet'. But due to my poor financial position, it was very difficult for us to survive and also pay the rent. A friend advised me to build my own house at Habeb Fatima Nagar where the land was being sold to the weaker sections for Rs.300/- per plot (65 sq yds), Thereby I could save the monthly rent. Initially we built a hut and after five years we were able to build one room".

Houses of these residents stand out in the slum. They are built of brick and cement, tastefully white-washed and painted, very well ventilated and well-planned. The floors are made of either tiled stones or polished black stone slabs. Except for 8% of the families, all the others have two-four rooms. A section of the houses (33%) even have a staircase leading to the terrace.

A major problem faced by these residents is that of shortage of water, but almost all these families could afford to build a permanent cement tank in their courtyards for conservation of water. A couple of well-off families could even afford to dig bore-wells to tap underground water.

EDUCATION: The level of education of the earning members of Category D varied from illiterates to graduates. There was one exceptional case where the earning member was a Doctor. 29% were illiterates; 46% have done their schooling till Xth standard and 25% completed their graduation.

The nature of occupation of these people reflected to a large extent their level of education. For e.g. those who are carpenters, shop owners, and people like A. Bhumayya, M. Sreeram who worked as peons and office attendants were illiterate. On the other hand, people like Laxmana Chari and D. Suguna Rao, who were working as storekeepers, wiremen, and the other Class IV employees in Govt.

organizations or in private sector had studied till 10th class. And those working in higher posts such as Accounts' Supervisor and Head Post Master (Retd) like B. Satyanarayana and N.Satyanarayana had completed their graduation.

Educated or uneducated, the people were aware of the necessity and importance of education as a survival weapon in the present world. This awareness has made them ambitious about their children's future both the sons and daughters. The emphasis is to provide regular schooling (in English medium schools) and at the same time providing them private tuitions for extra attention.

B. Satyanarayana works as an Accounts Supervisor in a State Government office and has three sons. It is his dream to make one son a 'doctor' and another son an 'Engineer'. He wanted to provide them with a secure and better future. He also feels that if his children do exceptionally well in studies, it would enhance his status among his relatives and friends. Hence, Satyanarayana paid a donation of Rs.30,000/- for an admission for his eldest son, when he could not get a rank in the State Entrance Examination. Now his eldest son is in Maharashtra studying to become Homeopathy Doctor. Satyanarayana sends Rs.10,000/- yearly for meeting other expenditure. "We face the problem of paying such an amount, but somehow we do manage to put things together by borrowing the money, doing overtime etc. We have only very simple food consisting of dal, rice, chapati and we never go out for movies."

Not every one is lucky enough to have the backing of a regular income. However, even those who were illiterate and who have had to struggle very hard to earn a decent living made an effort to give as much education as possible to their children.

For e.g. **M. Sreeram** (66) for whom maintaining a family in the city was an expensive affair, left his family in his native village, Nalgonda, while he worked in Hyderabad. He remitted his income to his family in Nalgonda which paid for the education of his three sons and for buying agricultural land in the village. Education beyond Class Xth, however, was a luxury which Sreeram could not afford for his sons. He says "higher education means more college fees, more money required for books and dresses. Matriculation is necessary for a job which would help them to earn a living and get settled. I had other responsibilities of the family to attend to. It is not possible for every one to become Class I officers". Today his children work as Class IV employees in a private organisation.

Another interesting case is that of **A. Bhumayya** (in his mid sixties). Even though it was very difficult for them to make both ends meet, Bhumayya tried his level best to educate his three children. "We ate only once a day, to educate them. But economic hardships forced our son to quit education after Class VIth. He took up a job as a Helper in

the same company where I was working". However, he could provide education to his two younger daughters (one stopped education after 9th standard while the other is studying in Xth standard in Telugu medium). He says "Recently for the admission of my grand daughter (son's daughter) in a private english medium school, I paid Rs. 3,000 donation."

The main purpose of education for the people of Category 'D' was to get better employment than what was available to them at present. As A. Bhumayya (65) says "being educated is better than being illiterate and employed as a labourer."

M. Sreeram (66) has this to say "education is needed for getting some job (any Class III/IV) jobs and it is not imperative everybody become a Class I Officer. If you can make a decent living and sustain yourself; that is more than enough".

FOOD: As incomes of the category 'D' are higher than those of other categories, they are in a position to afford more quality food. They eat three times a day and the food consists of rice, chapati, dal, vegetable and curd. Nearly 60% of their earnings is spent on food. There is no discrimination as regards eating patterns and the whole family eats together. None of the families suffer from any nutritional deficiency or disorders. Milk consumption is very less and is limited only to tea and curd (where more water is added so that it is sufficient for everybody).

CONSUMER GOODS: After their basic necessities have been met, the surplus money is used to purchase items which would enhance their social status. Almost all the families own a T.V. (i.e. 80% of them have Black & White TV), radio, ceiling fans, two-in-one and other consumer durables; which are not treated as luxury items but have become part and parcel of their daily life. They consider possession of gold jewellery, colour TV, a petrol driven vehicle, telephone, refrigerator and other consumer durables as an indicator of an individual or family's social status.

B. Satyanarayana (55) who owns a Luna, and a Black and White Television, says "For the time being I do not want to purchase a scooter as the Luna that I have is sufficient; but I would definitely like to have a telephone connection in my house which I feel is a social status symbol. In this slum, none of the families have a telephone connection."

D. Suguna Rao (55) who owns a two-in-one and a B and W television says "Both my sons are demanding for scooters as their colleagues possess one. Even they want to go to work on a scooter. Similarly my wife is demanding a beautiful sofa-set. I have not purchased it yet, as the room we are living in is very small.

B. Ranga Naik (40) is among the very few who possess a colour T.V. "When we were staying in a rented house, the owner had a colour T.V. We were very much accustomed to watching pictures on colour that when we decided to purchase

a. T.V. we preferred a colour T.V. for which I had to take loan a from the company (for Rs.12,000/-).

A. Bhumayya utilised every installment of bonus that was given by the Company towards purchasing consumer durables like Television, Tape Recorder and furniture for the house. "Without these things, nobody will give you any respect. It looks nice to have these things in the house."

PRIORITIES: Dreams, aspirations and desires can only be fulfilled by a proper management of financial resources and rearranging priorities in life. The people in this category work, save, plan and are in a position to fulfill their immediate demands, whether to give a good education to their children or constructing an extra room, digging a borewell or arranging dowries for their daughters.

For e.g. B. Ranga Naik "The house I am staying in has one room. Till this day, I did not give priority to build another room as my children were very small. Now they have grown up. My son is 14 years and daughter is 12 years and I have to give top priority to build another room which will cost me Rs.15,000/-. I would like to save some money so that I can give them good education in future when the time comes. I do not want finance to be a hindrance to them in pursuing any course in the future or taking up private tuition if the need arises."

Similar priority is shared by D. Suguna Rao who stays

in a one room house. "This room is too small for a family of six. I wanted to build an extra room but two years ago I got my eldest daughter married and I have not cleared the debt of Rs.10,000/- which was borrowed for her marriage. I have another daughter to be married. But since both my sons are earning now, I would go in for a loan and build another room".

For **Laxmana Chari** (54) and **A. Bhumayya**, it was more important for them to arrange adequate 'dowry' for getting their daughters married. The dowry being demanded was Rs.50,000/- in cash, or a plot and a scooter. They plan to borrow and repay the loan through 'chitti'.

N. Satyanarayana possesses a T.V and a Scooter. He stays in a very beautiful house consisting of four rooms. "The water problem in this locality is very severe. We purchase water from the other lane. It will not seem nice when we are running after the 'water tanker' or carrying water from other place. If I have money, I plan to dig bore-well in my compound. I am saving money now. It will cost me Rs.15,000/-. Since all my children are settled and I have this house, I do not have any other liabilities.

HEALTH: Most of the families are well off and can afford visits to a private doctor when the need arises. **B. Ranga Naik** (40) says "when our son had malaria last year, we took him to a private hospital which cost us Rs.1,000/-. The whole course of medicine was taken".

M. Sreeram, a retired Class IV employee, has this to say "when I was in service, I had to undergo Appendicitis operation. The whole cost was borne by the E.S.I. Now I have the problem of cataract of the eye. The operation will cost me Rs.2,000/- .Presently I do not have this much money, so I have postponed it to next year".

Being regular income earners whose employment is stable, these families are in a position to afford medical leave without any loss of pay and can avail the services of the government hospitals for serious ailments, which would otherwise have cost them more, had the treatment taken private.

B. Satyanarayana says "I maintain good health. Many years ago I had the problem of fits and the doctor advised me to take complete rest. I took medical leave for one week without any fear of loss of pay".

A. Bhumayya is a worker in Allwyn. His wife is a B.P. Patient and also has heart problem. They take medicines and go for regular check up to E.S.I. Hospital.

CASE REPORT (501 - 1000)

Laxmana Chari (54), works as a store keeper at the Endowments Department of the State Government, earning Rs.2,500/- per month. They belong to the Brahmin Community. The family consists of his wife, two sons, a daughter and a daughter-in-law. The eldest son is a 'pujari', earning

Rs.1,000/- per month having failed in his class X examinations. He is also married. The second son and his daughter are studying in Xth standard. Both the children are studying in a private school, so the fees are Rs.60/- each, plus a private tuition fee of Rs.50/- for each of them.

Earlier they were staying at 'Narayana Guda' in a two room rented house (for Rs.150/-). With his brother's help they bought this plot. At first two rooms were built and later when they could afford it, two more rooms were added. No loans were taken for this, but it was built with their savings. Even for marriage of his elder daughter he did not take any loan.

Chari hails from Karimnagar. He studied till 10th class in a Government school. The family by profession are "pujaris". He came to Hyderabad at the age of 23 years as a "cook" at an officer's house. They did not come here with any dreams - to survive and have a earning job was their only intention as the earnings in the village were insufficient due to the less number of families staying there. (The pujaris have to depend on one another's charity). Moreover, he says, his share of temple headship would come once in 15 years. Hence, he sold the house at the village and migrated to Hyderabad, 30-40 years ago. In 'Habeeb Fatima Nagar' he has been staying for more than 12 years.

The present job was provided to him by the same officer for whom he used to work as a "cook". At first he joined as a clerk and is now a storekeeper. Chari says that, "to feed a family of six 'just on one's salary' is not possible; you have to engage yourself in other things". For that, he worked as a pujari, doing pujas, ceremonies at temples and at other residences, he also worked as a "cook" at functions and ceremonies. He smiles and says that during marriage season, he always used to take leave from the office or attend the functions in the morning and join duty in the afternoon or attend them after office hours. His priority was always to earn extra income as the job he had was permanent. He grabbed opportunities to earn extra money in whatever way possible.

The family never had the problem of sleeping on an empty stomach as food, money and clothes were given to him by families for whom he provided his services as a 'pujari'. Hence, he could save the office income, which he utilised for building the house and getting his eldest daughter married.

CONSUMPTION PATTERN: They buy rice 100 kg quantity for 3 months, and dal 50 Kg for the whole year, at a time. Hence the stock is always there. They sometimes face the problem of buying vegetables when they are costly. But they buy 1/2 litre milk (daily).

Chari says there has been no change in lifestyle for the past 10 - 15 years. Though earlier his salary was low, the prices also were low. Now the salary is increased and so also the prices (especially rice). When asked, how he bought T.V., Sewing Machine, Fan, radio, he replies "so what, everybody has all these things now". The T.V. was bought on installments for Rs.,4,000/- on insistence of his children and to avoid boredom. The sewing machine was bought, to stitch blouses and petticoats as the tailoring charges were very high. They do not have any intention of buying a Luna. He says, "I am going to retire very soon and my son is working as a 'pujari' near by, at the Basti, so there is no need for it as of now, in fact it is unnecessary.

His family never had any serious health problems. For minor ailments like fever, cough, stomach pain etc., they visited the private clinic.

Now his only aim is to find a suitable match for his daughter but is slightly worried as the 'dowry' being asked is Rs. 50,000/-; still he is happy and says he has done his duty of providing education to his children and will somehow get his youngest daughter married as his elder son is also employed.

CHAPTER V

THE CHALLENGE OF SURVIVAL

We have examined the different categories in details in the previous chapter. In this chapter we attempt to look at the variations within these categories. We attempt to understand the nature of stratification and the implications of these stratifications in the lives of slum dwellers. The various aspects that we examined are stratification and its relationship with occupation. We also examine its implications for housing, possession of luxury items and illness patterns. We then examine certain major trends of change.

The cleavage in the society has been depicted as the have and have nots, as rural-urban divide; and the rich-poor of the cities and the villages are obvious. However, such simplifications do not reflect the deeper stratifications that exists. Even the urban poor, dwelling in the slums, have various sections ranging from utterly sub human and deprived state to, those who comprise the lot of better-off. The latter are in a position to partially fulfill their necessities and desires.

One of the primary findings of this study is the nature of stratification that exist within a complex nature of slum. Even in poverty there exists a range, and our study brings it out clearly.

The differences between the various strata within the poor slum is reflected in the spheres of living conditions, housing, food consumption pattern, education, possession of

luxury items, health, priorities, aspirations and dreams people have for future.

Within the slum there was a section that was uneducated and had acquired no skill. These were the labourers, the vendors, the rickshaw pullers, the domestic servants and the loader's (Hamali) in the markets and shops. Coexisting alongside were those who have acquired some skill or vocational training and were working in the service sector in the industries, and employed in the lower rungs of private and government jobs as electricians, plumbers, mechanics, operators, clerks, accountants, and linesmen.

The basis of stratifications that we used in the Habeeb Fatima Nagar slum was their total monthly income. We weaved into this two other aspects: (a) occupational differences (b) the nature of contribution of other members in the total earnings of the family. These have been looked at in relation with each other. Within the economic category are also examined housing and luxury items.

This study reflects the variations in the four different economic categories earmarked as A (non-regular income), B (P.C.I. less than 200) C, (P.C.I. 201-500), D (P.C.I. 501-1000). The degrees of variations in the economic sphere of lives of the people belonging to these different categories is observable.

Variations in 'Total Monthly Earnings' of Households in each Socio-Economic Category

Category A consists of households who do not have a regular source of income. Their earnings are on daily basis. The daily income of households in this category ranges between Rs. 15 to Rs. 70 per day, and nothing on days when they do not have any employment. In Category B the monthly income of households ranged between Rs. 250 to Rs.1500. Category C comprises of households who had total monthly income ranging between Rs. 800 to Rs.2500. The monthly income of households in category 'D' ranges between Rs. 1500 to Rs. 3500.

Thus we find that a wide variation exists in their minimum and maximum earnings.

Occupational Differences

The occupations followed by the head of the households also reflects some variations which can be shown in Table No. 5.

(Table to follow)

Table :5

Occupational Distribution Across the Heads of Households in Each Economic Category

Occupation of Head of the household	Categories (Total no.s)				% Distribution (row-wise)				% Distribution (column-wise)			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
1. Govt. Employees T= 36 (18%)	-	8	18	10	-	22	50	28	-	11	46	42
2. Regular Industrial Workers T= 36 (18%)	-	20	11	5	-	56	30	14	-	29	28	21
3. Self-Employed T= 12 (61%)	66	39	8	8	54	32	7	7	100	56	21	33
4. Retired T= 6	-	2	2	1	-	50	33	17	-	4	5	4
Total = 198	66	69	39	24					100	100	100	100

T= Total Number of Households in Each Socio-Economic Category).
Self employed = Tailor, painters; carpenter, mechanic, plumbers, driver, artisans, shop owners, electrician, and the daily wage-earners.

When we look at the Table-5, we notice that among the four types of occupations; government employees (all belonging to class III and IV) and regular industrial workers were equal in numbers (36 each) constituting 18% each. The self-employed are the highest in number (121) and constitute 61% of the total employed persons.

In the 'self-employed group', the table shows an inverse relationship between the level of the income groups and the number of employed. As we move from category A towards category D, the number of self-employed workers decreases from 54% to 7%. They represent highest proportion in the low income categories of A and B. In both the categories A and B 'self employed' constitute 86% of the total. From Table No.5 it can also be seen that the maximum number of households that are well represented in all per capita income categories are the 'Regular Industrial Workers' and 'Self-employed Groups. This shows the range of income in the industrial sector.

When we compare these two occupational groups, we find that the 'self employed' are more in number than the 'regular industrial workers' in economic categories A, B, and D. They are the highest (61%) in our study population and they are also maximum (86%) in the lowest income categories of A and B. But the regular workers who are employed in the industries are relatively much more secure than those who are self-employed as the later category have their own petty business with no income securities.

The Nature of Contribution of other Members in the Total Earnings

The contribution of other members in the households towards the total family earnings is also varied.

In category 'A' they contribute Rs. 100 to 150 per month. The wife's contribution is in the form of wages as labourers, maidservants or undertakes embroidery and repairing or mending clothes (by which she earns Rs. 2-3 per day). The contribution of son is through being an apprentice under a carpenter, painter or mason or as a auto-rickshaw driver.

In the category B they contribute Rs. 150-200 per month. The wife and the daughters do not go out to work. They stay at home and usually take up tailoring job. The sons in this category also work as apprentice; mechanic, plumbers, at vehicle repair shops or work under a mason or a painter.

It was seen that in the category 'C' besides the main earner, the grown-up male members of the family like the younger brother or the son were engaged as a mason, mechanic, electrician, managed a pan shop or a chicken shop. The wife contributed by working as a tailor or class IV employee in government services (peon, sweepers etc.). The daughter would be engaged as a school teacher in primary schools like 'Balwadi'. These members were able to earn Rs. 250 to Rs. 700/- per month thus adding to the family income.

The 'other members' contributing towards family earnings in the category 'D' are working as class III and IV employees in private or government sector. The wife is employed as teacher, tailor or is in government services as class IV employees. They earn Rs 500-1500 per month (approximately).

The Stratification creates differential in many other areas such as possession of luxury items and also in areas such as priorities and values. In the following sections we examine these.

Housing : Differentials were observed in the number of households in different categories sharing the number of rooms. This is shown in Table 6.

Table 6
Number of Family Members in a Household Sharing the Number of Rooms

Category	Hut like dwelling	1 Room struc- ture	2 Rooms struc- ture	3 Rooms struc- ture	4 Rooms struc- ture	5 Rooms struc- ture	6 Rooms struc- ture
A T=66	T=4 %=6 R=(4-5) AV=4.2	T=24 %=36.3 R=(4-9) AV=6.6	T=27 %=40.9 R=(5-12) AV=6.2	T=9 %=13.6 R=(5-8) AV=7.0	T=2 %=3 R=(7-8) AV=7.5		
B T=69	T=2 %=2.8 R=8 AV=8	T=15 %=21.7 R=(3-8) AV=5.6	T=29 %=42 R=(3-13) AV=6.2	T=15 %=21.7 R=(4-14) AV=7.4	T=7 %=10.1 R=(2-12) AV=7.5	T=1 %=1.4 R=10 AV=10	
C T=39		T=4 %=10.2 R=(4-7) AV=5.5	T=13 %=33.3 R=(2-9) AV=5.5	T=12 %=30.7 R=(2-8) AV=5.1	T=6 %=15.3 R=(3-7) AV=4.6	T=2 %=5.1 R=7 AV=7	T=2 %=5.1 R=5 AV=5
D T=24		T=2 %=8.3 R=(2-5) AV=3.5	T=3 %=12.5 R=(2-6) AV=4.3	T=10 %=41.6 R=(2-5) AV=4.4	T=7 %=29.1 R=(2-6) AV=4.2	T=2 %=8.3 R=(3-7) AV=4.5	
Total =198	T=6 %=3	T=45 %=22.7	T=72 %=36.3	T=46 %=23.2	T=22 %=11.1	T=5 %=2.5	T=2 %=1

T= Total no. of households (i.e. in each category/within a category).
 %= Percentage of households within a category.
 R= Range i.e. no. of family members
 AV=Average no. of family members in each category.

Table 6 shows the difference in the family size in the different economic categories. Category B had the highest range where the range (i.e. number of family members) was found between 2-12. In categories A and C the range existed between 2-9. In category D, it was found to be less, i.e. between 2-6. It can be seen from the table that with the increase in income, the percentage of households residing in more rooms also increases. When we look at 3 rooms structure, we notice that in category A, only 13.6% of households reside in it. But as the income category increases, the number of households sharing it also increases. In category B, it increases to 21.7% and in category C it further increases to 30.7%. In category D it is the highest i.e. 41.6%. Similar trend is observable in households residing in 4 and 5 rooms structures.

Luxury: The distribution of luxury items in various categories can be shown in Table no.7.

Table 7
Distribution of Luxury Items in different categories

Category	Nothing	Cycle	Radio	Fan	T.V.	Petrol driven vehicle	Sewing machine	Others
A T=66	28 %=42.4	17 %=25.7	11 %=16.6	15 %=22.7	18 %=27.2			
B T=69	18 %=26	24 %=34.7	13 %=18.8	31 %=44.9	29 %=42	1 %=1.4	10 %=14.4	1 %=1.4
C T=39	2 %=5.1	10 %=25.6	20 %=51.2	35 %=89.7	33 %=84.6	4 %=10.2	7 %=17.9	2 %=5.1
D T=24	1 %=4.1	8 %=33.3	20 %=83.3	22 %=91.6	20 %=83.3	4 %=16.6	2 %=8.3	1 %=4.1
Total= 198	49 %=24.7	59 %=29.7	64 %=32.3	103 %=52	100 %=50.5	9 %=4.5	19 %=9.5	4 %=2.0

Others= Tape recorder, Air Cooler.

T = Total households in each category.

% =Percentage out of total in each category.

When we look at the distribution of luxury item in various categories, we find that Category A which is the poorest, have the maximum percentage of households who do not possess anything (42.4%).

The common modes of entertainment found were T.V. and Radio. In all the categories, percentage of people owning T.V. is more. The interesting thing to observe is that people in Category A, despite their poverty, have given much importance to possession of T.V. as 27.2% families own a T.V. set.

For comfort, fan and radio were common. As expected, possession of fan and radio within the categories is proportionately high in the well off i.e. in Category D.

The common mode of conveyance found were cycle and petrol driven vehicles. As expected only the better off, i.e. Category D, had more number of households (16.6%) who possess petrol driven vehicle. The distribution of cycles shows that in Category A, the percentage of households who possess cycle (25.7%) are similar to other categories thus putting them in par with the well off.

14.4% in category B and 17.9% in Category C had sewing machines which helped women in increasing these family incomes.

Survival Choice for the Poor

During the indepth study it was found that majority of the slum dwellers were migrants with rural background. There were few cases wherein the slum dwellers were residents of Hyderabad. (A migrant is defined in this study as one who was not born and brought up in Hyderabad city, but has been residing in Hyderabad/slum at the time of the survey. All those born in Hyderabad city were considered as residents).

Majority of the migrants were from Andhra Pradesh with rural background specially from adjoining places like 'Medak', 'Sangareddy', 'Zaheerabad' etc. A few were from other district headquarters too. It has also been observed that migrants were not only from Andhra Pradesh, but from neighbouring states like Karnataka (Hubli, Bangalore, Bidar). Maharashtra (Osmanabad, Latur, Nanded, Nasik) and Tamil Nadu (Madras).

Majority of the slum dwellers migrated to Hyderabad mainly for the 'economic reasons'. These migrants, in villages were engaged in traditional occupation 'agriculture'. They had either small agricultural holdings of 4-5 acres or they worked as labourers in agricultural fields. Few of them were engaged in traditional occupations like carpentry, weaving, artisans, or as temple priests.

These families had decided to leave their village as the life became too difficult for them in village due to

failure of monsoons or meagre earnings from infertile land, or they were the landless who could not find employment. Families following occupations other than agriculture, too had difficulty in making a living as the earnings were meagre.

There were cases where people migrated for better employment opportunities as unemployment was more rampant in villages. Artisans, agricultural labourers, weavers, carpenters faced the problem of unemployment due to destruction of their occupations or modernisation of technology which changed labour requirements.

The other reasons given by the families were quarrels with their other family members in villages. These families were staying in a joint family system and had disputes over the property issues. A few cases were also observed where in government employees came and settled in Hyderabad when they got promotion and were transferred from district headquarters.

The families migrated Hyderabad with the help of relatives or friends who helped them in getting jobs. But most of the families migrated Hyderabad without any linkages. They either stayed in rented house and when could not afford were forced to squatter on pavements.

These migrants were the poorest or not so well off in their villages. And in this slum also, they are amongst the poorest sections for whom food, clothing and fulfilling

other responsibilities is a problem. When they came to Hyderabad they had no desires or aspirations. To get some job and subsist were their main intentions.

The cost of living in city is very high which is beyond these people's reach. Hence the survival choice of these people are very limited. With no help from any quarters, they are forced to live in subhuman conditions. Nevertheless they prefer city than a village as they know that village does not ensure even their survival. In villages, the problems of hunger and debts constantly grip them. The main reason given by the families for residing in the slum were their non affordability of payment of rents in the cities (Rs. 30-40). These families due to non-payment of rents were forced to shift in a place like Habeeb Fatima Nagar. Which was devoid of any basic amenities like electricity, water, roads, sanitation, etc. In the beginning of their stay they built a hut like structure and nearly after 5-7 years of their stay, could they afford to build a room by borrowing, or by selling whatever little property they had in village or their wife's jewellery. Many of them took up odd jobs and overtime work and by forgoing one meal, only then could they afford to build their house. Still these people are burdened with repayment of loans. Category A and B, the poorest in this slum, are still in the grip of poverty and hunger.

Priorities in the Lives of Slum Dwellers

The households in this slum have priorities ranging from meeting elementary demands like food and clothing to things like purchasing scooter or getting a telephone connection in their house. Their priorities range from providing education to children and meeting their social responsibilities like getting their daughters married, and clearing of old debts and the like.

The variations in priorities of each category is noticeable and is given as under.

Category A consists of daily wage earnings for whom acquiring two square meals is a difficult thing. These people gave top priority to food and clothing. They are very much aware that for meeting demands, money is the main factor. They do not dream of competing with others or of providing good education to their children. However, there is also a great need for clearing old debts which have accumulated over the years taken for construction of their house or for the marriage of their daughters.

If money be given, they would like to construct an extra room, or purchase an auto rickshaw which will help them in supplementing their meagre earnings. Children's education does not feature in their priority list. At best they give importance to elementary literacy not to proper education. A common aspiration relates to dreaming about a smooth life, devoid of the hassles, big and small that these

people face in their everyday lives.

Category 'B' The economic condition of the households in category 'B' is more or less similar to that of category A. They have low earnings but more members to be fed. Even their priorities are similar to those in category A, i.e., food (acquired without any difficulty) and clothing. Some households have assigned a priority to the construction of an extra room, or to open a shop or purchase an auto for earning the extra income. Education is given importance at par with the demand of construction of an extra room. They know that providing education is difficult given their economic conditions. Nevertheless they prefer giving education till Xth standard. But still, the desire to have their children contributing into earnings is urgently felt.

Category 'C' is a little better off than the previous two categories. It has been noticed that these households are in a position to afford better food, but they consume a simple food consisting dal and curry. As far as education is concerned, they prefer providing education till standard Xth. But preference is given for providing their children (both girls and boys) some vocational training like typing; tailoring, which will help their children in pursuing job in future.

Equal importance has been given to possession of T.V.,

scooter or any petrol driven vehicle for maintaining social status among friends and relatives. Clearing off their debts, getting their daughter married is the third segment of the priority list.

Category 'D' had given importance for education of their children (both, sons and daughters). The households in this category prefer to provide an education beyond matriculation, which will help in shaping their children's future.

Equal importance has been given for luxury items like T.V., petrol driven vehicle. They desire for possession of things which would enhance their social status, like gold, telephone connection.

Health in Priorities

People have given importance to health only after food and education of their children. But in practice, people have given priority to consumer goods, at the cost of food and health. A doctor is approached only when the case gets serious, or the person is unable to bear the pain.

(Table to follow)

Table 8
Disease Affliction Since Past Three Years

CATEGORIES					
Disease	A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	Total
Malaria	4 (23.5)	7 (41.1)	3 (17.6)	3 (17.6)	17
Measles	30 (28.3)	36 (33.9)	22 (20.7)	18 (16.9)	106
Skin Diseases (infection, boils, rashes)	6 (46.1)	5 (38.4)	2 (15.3)	-	13
Fever (bedridden for more than 5 days)	10 (28.5)	9 (25.7)	10 (28.5)	6 (17.1)	35
Worms in Stool	9 (29.0)	11 (35.4)	7 (22.5)	4 (12.9)	31
Respiratory diseases (cold, cough with chest and body pain)	4 (44.4)	2 (22.2)	2 (22.2)	1 (11.1)	9
Jaundice			1 (100)		1
Typhoid		2 (100)			2
Polio	3 (60)	1 (20)	1 (20)		5
T.B.		1 (50)		1 (50)	2
Others* (Heart problem eye infection, Appendicitis)	1 (12.5)	2 (25)	1 (12.5)	4 (50)	8
Total					229

Total = No. of cases per disease.

% = Percentage affected out of total.

Perhaps it was this pressure of the more pressing demands for survival which make their health needs less

visible. In the data on illness in the past three years, the people could remember, we found a total 229 cases of illnesses. This gives only a rough picture of the health problems and perceptions.

The interesting thing to observe is that the distribution of all perceived diseases was higher in the poorest categories of A and B. The reported diseases ranged from Malaria, Measles, Skin diseases, Fever, Worms in Stool, Respiratory diseases, Jaundice, Typhoid, Polio and T.B.

For treatment depending on affordability, they approach a quack, Hakim (who charges Rs. 5/- per visit and gives medicines free of cost).

For skin infections, passing out worms in stools, measles, fever, cold, cough (with a chest pain) body aches with fever etc., the doctors are not approached until it becomes critical or they are unable to carry out a days work.

It has been observed that category 'A' has more faith in allopathic doctors. The earning members of category A, even for slight fever, approach an allopathic doctor. They prefer paying Rs. 10/- for an injection and medicine, than letting the problem become acute. The labourer class takes treatment at home for body pains and ailments by taking kerosene massage.

Whereas category B, C and D, who can afford for health,

neglect going to private doctor (until it is serious). In their opinion, the private doctor charges more, and gives just prescription of medicine. Any deformity in body, skin upper respiratory infections, or any problems, etc. are neglected by the household of category B and C and to some extent by category D households. Where as for the same illness families in category 'A' wishes if they had money, they would want to go for a private doctor.

As the availability of voluntary organization services are erratic in this slum, people are forced to go for a private doctor; who charges Rs. 10/- per visit. The system that exists in this slum shows that the doctors tries to exploit the people by giving only an injection and the prescription of medicine for which Rs. 10/- are charged for every visit. For treatment of measles, the fees charged are Rs. 40-50. The slum dwellers too believe that an injection gives them faster relief. It is mostly the labourer class and rickshaw pullers who go to these private practitioners.

The services of voluntary organization functioning in the slum are sought for minor ailments like loose motions, cough and fever, or minor accidents.

As the government health services are not in proximity of the slum, people who can avail the government services are unable to do so (especially the class III and IV government employees). These dwellers had bad experiences like ill treatment met by doctors and the time spent on

queues.

An important finding has been that none of the women in any categories have taken any extra measure like eating more or taking any nutritious food at the time of pregnancy. Most of them were ignorant about these facts. Their poor economic conditions has limited the women folk from taking any measures for their health.

It is noticed that Category 'A' had the highest infant deaths. We found 10 infant deaths among the 18 households of rickshaw pullers and vendors (who are the poorest among the lot) whereas in other categories it was found only in one or two cases.

Food Consumption Pattern in Various Categories

It has been observed that in category 'A' which is the lowest income category, the maximum earnings of household is spent on food (85%). The major food item purchased is rice. The other food items like dal, vegetable, edible oil, milk etc. are purchased according to the availability of money.

Where as in category 'B' which is slightly better off than category 'A', the households expenditure on food is 75%. 'Dal' consumption is very limited (1/2 kg- 1kg). Importance has been given for purchasing rice of inferior quality (20-30 kg) and 'Jawari' which costs less.

Category 'C's expenditure on food ranges between 60-70%

of their income. These households can afford to buy milk and dal. However they do not purchase it according to the required nutritional level. It was observed that only 1/2 litre of milk and 2 kgs of dal are purchase which are similar to the consumption pattern of category B.

It was observed that as the income increases, the percentage of income spent on food does not increase proportionately. Category D which has the highest per capita income among all four categories, spends just 60% of their earnings on food. The milk consumption is also limited to one litre per day.

A comparison of consumption pattern is given in Table No. 9.

Table 9

Food Consumption Pattern of Households in Different Categories (Monthly) (Average 6-7 Members)

Category	Rice(Kg)	Dal(Kg.)	Edible Oil (litre)	Milk (litre) Per Day	Jawari (Kg)	Wheat (Kg)	Amount Spent (%)
A	40-50	Depends on Earnings	Depends on Earnings	Rs. 1 (Daily)	-	-	85%
B	20-30	1/2 - 1	Depends on Earnings	1/2	10	-	75%
C	40-50	2	2	1/2	-	-	70%
D	60-70	4	4	1	-	-	60%

Whatever be the categories in consideration, it was always observed that preference was given to purchase of consumer durables rather than raising of the nutritional level. Category 'A' which have the lowest income, and cannot afford to buy two square meals a day, preferred to buy radio, fan, T.V. The families who do not possess these items, desired for purchasing them. They consider possession of such luxury item as an indicator of rise in social status or put them at par with the rest of the slum dwellers.

Category C and D who are in a better position, prefers for scooter or any petrol driven vehicle, refrigerator, etc. to enhance their social status or put them at par with the rest of the city dwellers.

Nature of Change

The change in the perspectives, outlook of these slum dwellers is perceptible.

During the interview it was found that people preferred cities in comparison to the villages. The women strongly favoured staying in the cities. The people in the category A and B were of the opinion that living in city is more advantageous as children could be provided some education in the cities whereas, had they stayed in village their children would have remained illiterate and would just be employed in traditional occupation agriculture. All of the dwellers opined that the cities provide larger scope for

vocational training. Thus greater opportunity for securing a living is possible in the cities when compared to the village.

The problem of unemployment is more so in the villages was the unanimous comment of the people who migrated from the villages. In the villages they were employed in traditional occupation as an agricultural labourers and were always burdened with debts which were taken for food and for dispensing other responsibilities. The debts kept on mounting and clearing the same became impossible. Poverty and unemployment forced the people in the category A, B and C to leave the villages and come to the cities in search of employment or obtaining some job. They did not come with any dreams or desire, but obtaining some employment was their only criteria.

Another reason given by slum dwellers for their preference of a city, is the easy and better availability of medical facilities. If the child is very ill he can be taken to a hospital. In cities those facing major health problems or those in a critical condition can be rushed to doctor and life could be saved. This was not possible in a village.

Yet another reason given for preference for the cities is the glamour of life styles around the speeding cars and the cinema halls, music and stereo-systems, add to creation of an atmosphere which they find very attractive.

Staying in city they become accustomed to the life patterns of city. In one case it was found that a girl who was married in the village came back to live with her parents in the slum since village life was too monotonous and one had to work in the fields and there was no light, fan or T.V. These people prefer getting their daughters married in the cities even if they have to pay a huge amount of dowry. They do not want their children to be in the same condition as they faced in the villages before migrating to the cities.

From the survey it emerged that the women especially in the 'A' and the 'B' categories strongly favoured living in the cities than in villages. Life in cities they felt is far better than working in fields under the strong sun and rain and leading a life in abject poverty. In the cities they can remain at home and take up tailoring and embroidery to supplement family income. They do not necessarily have to go out to work and even if they do work as household-maids it is better than working in scorching sun in the fields.

Women in category 'B' and 'C' said that in the villages they stayed in joint families and were not expected to go out and work. Hence, in the cities they prefer to stay at home, look after the children and do domestic work and take up jobs like tailoring and embroidery for which they do not have to go out. It was observed that others, to make an earning and for supplementing the family incomes would not mind even if they have to go out and work. They join low

level jobs like that of peon and sweepers. Those who had studied till std. Vth worked as teacher in the primary or adult education schemes for the slums.

Another significant observation was that the women in the groups 'A', 'B' and 'C' had a very strong desire to supplement the meagre income of the family by working. They were of very strong opinion that they should be given some training (preferably in the 'slum' itself) which would benefit them to work and earn money while staying in the slum itself.

Consumerism : Staying in city, these families are very much influenced by their surroundings. To them possession of T.V., Radio, Fan, Cycle are a status symbol which would enhance their status among fellow being or would put them at par with those who possess them. They feel that if their fellow friends in slums can afford why cannot they!

Seeing other slum dwellers how they have acquired such consumer durables, the others purchase goods on instalment, despite the fact that they find very difficult in repayment of the instalment every month. The money is required for meeting other demands like food, education, clearing off their past debts taken for house construction or for meeting any other responsibility.

It has been noticed that families in B and C category despite their innumerable financial problems have gone

forward and purchased refrigerator, scooter and other petrol driven vehicle, colour T.V., Tape Recorder, for simple reason that possession of such consumer goods enhances their social status among relatives, friends (at their work place and in slum).

In category 'A' there are families who do not possess any of the consumer durable like fan, transistor, cycle, but have given preference only for T.V. despite their poverty. They agree that payment of instalment is very difficult for them nevertheless, they feel satisfied and happy that they too can possess such a luxury item. "Foregoing food or sleeping empty stomach is a common thing with us, but when our fellow people can possess, such items, even we can."

Consumerism is reflected in other aspect also. At marriages urban poor watching their fellow beings in city, ask for a grand marriage, with beautiful light arrangement. During survey it was observed that in marriages, people go in for expensive marriages, with beautiful decorated mandaps, with latest film music being played, feast being served on table and chairs (which were brought on rent).

The dowry demanded is Rs.30,000 or a scooter and a plot. The system that people have in marriages is that everybody in the family contributes together. It was observed that only consumer goods - fan, suitcase, radio, T.V., dressing table, etc. are given as a gift for bride.

Despite poverty, children of this slum are not required to contribute to the family income before the age of 12-15 years. Only children of very poor family start contributing to the total family earnings early. Hence, slum dwellers do not prefer their children taking up work. They feel that even they will be considered extremely poor. So they prefer suffering than send their children for work.

Occupational Mobility

In a closed system of village society, not only are people's occupational roles limited but are ascribed and embedded in kin, caste and community.

The new economic opportunities offered by the city provides a wide range of occupational choices to the rural poor which represent a shift from traditional to non-traditional occupations.

This has been very much among the slum dwellers of Habeeb Fatima Nagar. There has been considerable changes from occupation that was followed in village and occupation in Hyderabad. In village he may be an agricultural land owner, or a temple priest, or unemployed youth, or agricultural labourer, or carpenter. But in Hyderabad he got an opportunity, to enhance his status by following non-traditional occupation. He works as a clerk, storekeeper, mechanic, attendant driver, electrician skills which he starts acquiring.

Similarly it was also observed that many high caste households heads had taken to manual work and other low status occupations. These households had quarrels with their family, and have left village. When they came to Hyderabad, they had nobody whom they knew; neither any skill which could have given them opportunity to take up a job. Hence, they have taken up whatever employment opportunities were available that of labourer, rickshaw puller, helper in offices. Women also had taken up job as a maid servant, labourers at construction site, sweeprss in private organization etc.

But it was observed that due to lack of skill and educational levels, the extremely poor have only been able to enter low status occupations and social mobility has been very limited. They work as petty shop owners, labourers, vendors, rickshaw pullers, unskilled workers in industry. However, by availing the opportunity for better prospects in a city, they are in a position to earn more which has made an important difference in their lives.

Thus more conspicuous is the horizontal social mobility among these lowest income groups. The urban situation has led to changes from their traditional occupational pattern as agricultural labour to a wider network of occupational opportunities.

Although a significant number among them continue to pursue traditional occupations (labourers, Artisans,

carpenters) they do so for greater profitability and higher incomes. On the other hand, a large number among them have taken to other occupations which was not possible in the village community (rickshaw puller, watchman, peon, painter, tailor, electrician etc.) Thus it was observed that traditional occupations persisted together with occupational change.

These overall changes have also influenced people's health seeking behaviour. They now depend more on local medical practitioners and allopathic drugs. This however is sought only when their home remedies, diet at control fail and treatment cannot be avoided.

Our study demonstrates that the daily struggles of the slum dwellers specially the poorest, keeps them preoccupied with problems of procuring minimum subsistence such as food, shelter, clothing etc. This leaves very little space and opportunities to worry about illness. Illness then is relevant only when it obstructs the processes of their day to day survival strategies. Our study thus shows that for the poor health can only be understood as a problem of subsistence and survival.

CONCLUSION

The main objective of the study is to explore the nature and degree of transition in the lives of the slum dwellers over the past ten years and, the place of health in their present priorities. To achieve this goal we tried to study the nature of stratification that exists within the slum; the different priorities, value system in the lives of the slum dwellers. The problem they face in achieving their priorities.

The study was conducted in Habeeb Fatima Nagar, (part of New Hyderabad). A variety of tools, such as observation, group discussion, case reports, indepth interviews, interviews with key persons and detailed household schedules were employed to generate qualitative and quantitative data. The household schedule was administered on 200 households. 45 households were studied intensively.

The Main findings of the study are as follows:

1. In our stratified economic groups of A, B, C, and D, the maximum number (68.5%) belongs to the poorest economic categories of A and B. Category D, the well off, represents 12% of the total. .
2. The slum dwellers followed varied occupations which ranged from unskilled to semi-skilled. In our study population, 61% were self employed (painters, mechanics, drivers, artisans, carpenters, tailors, electricians, plumbers, shop owners, and daily wage earners). 18% were government employees (all belonging to class III and IV) and 18% were in industrial sectors as regular workers. The retired people represented 6% of the total.

- The 'Regular Industrial Workers' and 'Self employed' groups were well represented in all the four economic categories.
- The representation of the 'Self-employed' decreases from 54% to 7% as we move from category 'A' to category 'D.' -- The representation of the industrial workers' is zero in category A. Their number decreases, with the increase in per capita income. It decreases from 56% to 14% as move from category B to Category D.
- The representation of government employees in category 'A' is zero.

Occupation mobility is observable among slum dwellers of Habeeb Fatima Nagar. Majority of them have deviated from pursuing traditional occupation (agriculture, weaving, carpentry, temple priest) to non traditional occupations (painters, electricians, plumbers, mechanics, clerks, accountants, shopkeeper etc).

- Noticeable changes are observable in the role and occupation of women. In villages they were not expected to go out and work. But to supplement the meagre earnings of the family, the women in Habeeb Fatima Nagar were seen contributing to the total income in the form of, labourers, maid-servants, tailoring, embroidery, as class IV employees in government organisations. Those who received some elementary education had taken up teaching job, teaching at the local school.

To study the life patterns of the people in the four economic categories i.e A,B,C and D, the various aspects

covered were their housing conditions; education; food consumption patterns; possession of consumer durables; health; their priorities and aspirations.

-- The slum dwellers gave top priority for housing. Even among the poorest i.e., category A, houses were seen to be built with brick and plastered with cement (though unpainted).

-- Despite poverty, the slum dwellers have assigned education of their children as one of their main priorities. Nature of education provided varied in different categories. Category 'A' due to non affordability could send their children to Government run 'Balwadi' schools in the slum. Whereas in others categories the children were enrolled in private schools. In all the categories the stress was more on providing vocational training to their children. (both daughters and sons) the emphasis is that after acquiring some elementary education children should contribute towards the family income as soon as possible.

-- Our study shows that with the increase in income, the Percentage of income spent on food does not increase proportionately. The poorest category 'A', spends 85% of their income on food whereas category D spends 60% of their income on food.

-- It has been observed that despite poverty the slum dwellers possess luxury items like fan, radio, T.V., petrol driven vehicle, (all bought on instalment), and they go in for expensive marriages. In category 'A', 27.2% families own a T.V. set. The possession of luxury items are seen as a mode for enhancing one's social status.

-- clearing off old debts, taken for construction of house or dispensing their responsibilities, is the major problem faced by all the economic categories.

Lack of any government institutions and the very erratic services provided by voluntary organization personnel pushes people with no option but to go to private practitioners, who charges high fees.

-- Debt, responsibilities, daily struggle for food, shelter and clothing leave the slum dwellers in such a situation that health and nutrition are something far fetched and any attention towards health is only given when it hinders in their day to day survival strategies.

To conclude, the slum dwellers equate consumer goods with social status. These value changes in the lives of slum dwellers, affected by mobility, living conditions and the greater environment would be crucial for further studies.

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APPENDIX - 1

1. House No: - Caste :
- Religion :
- No. of Rooms:
2. Name of the head of the household:
3. His Age :
4. Year of Stay (in H.F.N.) :
5. No. of earning members :
6. Occupation/Occupations :
7. Total Income (daily/monthly) :
8. Family size and composition (Total No:)

	Age	Sex	M/U	Relationship
1. H				
2. W				
3. Children				
i)				
ii)				
iii)				
iv)				
v)				
vi)				
vii)				
viii) Others				

9. Education (of Head of the household & other earning members) :

10. No. of School going Children :

Nos.	Class	Age	Fees (Monthly)	Pvt. tuition (fees)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				

11. Possession of Consumer goods :

a) Cycle ()	e) Tape Recorder ()
b) Fan ()	f) Any Petrol driven vehicle ()
c) Radio ()	g) Cooler ()
d) Television ()	h) Refrigerator () and any other

12. Cases of illness in past three years :

- Measles
- Malaria
- Skin Diseases
- Worms in stool
- Fevers (bedridden for more than five days)
- Diarrhea
- Respiratory diseases
- Any nutritional deficiency disorders
 - Night Blindness
 - Anemia
- Jaundice
- Any other