

**PART-1**

**JHUGGI JHONPRI SETTLEMENTS  
IN DELHI**

**SOCIOLOGY DIVISION**

**TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING ORGANISATION**

**MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING / GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

SOCIAL SURVEY OF JHUGGI-JHONPRI SETTLEMENTS (SQUATTER) IN DELHI

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## FOREWORD

The large urban centres in India have absorbed much of the increase of 47 million people in the urban population during the last two decades. Studies have shown that the rate of increase of population of the large Cities is double the population growth rate. The social and environmental consequences arising from such growth processes are already evident in the cities. The inability of the cities to provide an adequate living environment to cope with the accelerating rate of rural migrants has led to the mushrooming of squatter settlements on pockets of available open land in the proximity of places of work.

However unwelcome such settlements are from the planners' point of view, they are a stark reality. Though deprived of basic services and community facilities, such settlements do act as regulators by which the processes of population growth and change in social structure are taking place. They also provide acceptable shelter for the present needs of the poor and act as compensatory factor for the inadequacy of housing programmes for the under-privileged. The squatter settlements illustrate the extent to which the squatters have been able to achieve a stable social system amongst themselves at high densities in environments that are highly degraded.

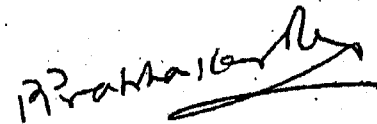
A study of the socio-spatial structure of these settlements and the use of limited resources may be able to yield significant insights into how such communities evolve and perform the function of socialisation of the urban migrants and thus

enable the cities to adjust to the new socio-economic pressures and tensions generated by such development. It may also reveal how housing and planning programmes could incorporate the socio-spatial elements of the existing settlements within a comprehensive planning strategy at a level of investment commensurate with resources.

The present study of the squatter (Jhuggi-Jhopri) settlements in metropolitan Delhi has been undertaken to inquire into the elements which enable the squatters to evolve their own socio-spatial structure in the form of self-generating settlements. It is spread over three phases. The first phase consists of an inquiry into the size, location, the growth of Jhuggi dwellers during the last two decades, the process of formation of squatter settlements and their social composition. The second stage will comprise an intensive study in the form of Area profiles of a sample of clusters representing the characteristics of the life - style of the squatters, along with an inquiry into the socio-economic characteristics of the households, social organisation of the settlements, the environmental quality and the use of space. The third and final phase of the study will constitute a comprehensive household inquiry for an in-depth analysis of sampled households from amongst the clusters chosen for Area Profiles.

The present report covers the first part of the study. I hope and trust that

the completed study would not only enable decision makers to formulate policies and programmes for improving the quality of life of the squatters and their socio-economic integration into the wider urban system but also lead to a better understanding of the social transformation involved in the urbanisation process from which the development planning to the cities can benefit.



(P. Prabhakar Rao)  
CHAIRMAN

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## SOCIAL SURVEY OF JHUGGI-JHONPRI SETTLEMENTS (QUARTER) IN DELHI

( A preliminary report on the social characteristics of Jhuggi- Jhonpri settlements based on their enumeration )

### The Urban Process and the formation of Jhuggi-Jhonpri Settlements

The metropolitan cities as the major beneficiaries of the fruits of development invariably produce social and economic imbalances, creating islands of growth and affluence in an environment of poverty and under-development. As Delhi grew into a modern capital city after independence, with its irresistible economic, social, acultural and political pull and with all kinds of work opportunities, it became the chief centre of attraction for migrants from its surrounding hinterland and from outside it. A great majority of these immigrants are from rural areas who come to the city to improve their lot and seek entry into the development process. Upon their arrival in the city they settle for any employment, out of the large variety of work opportunities being created in response to the increasing demand for the production of goods and services by the urban centre. Since their skill levels are limited, they accept whatever income the work brings to them.

The costs of housing services in Delhi surpass the purchasing power of a large section of this population. In addition, the quality of housing and urban services are of secondary importance to the desire of economic and social advancement to the immigrants. As a consequence, they accept whatever accommodations are available or can be quickly erected with materials that can be procured on low or no cost on open spaces which are unusable or lying unused. Generally the operation takes place in groups, initially consisting of relatives and kins or members from the same caste, village, district, region.

or language. This process often involves illegal occupancy or squatting on public or private lands. A very noticeable aspect of the formation of Jhuggi-Jhonpri or squatter settlements is their location near the work places. The process of the formation of Jhuggi-Jhonpri or squatter settlements thus makes it possible not only for a large number of immigrants to get themselves cheap dwellings but also to supply labour force for a vast variety urban functions at low costs. It is from this view point that the persistence and growth of Jhuggi-Jhonpri settlements has to be seen as a stage in the urban development process.

the Social world  
of the Jhuggi  
dwellers

One major characteristic of these Jhuggi dwellers is the rural or "neo-rural" pattern of their settlements. It seems to be an attempt for reinterpretation of rural life in an urban environment. Such a system makes possible recourse to a traditional security system prevailing in rural communities. The people of Jhuggi-Jhonpri settlements regard it separate from the adjacent residential neighbourhoods. To them the 'Jhuggi-Jhonpri' settlements and the residential areas are separate not only in physical aspects- the former being mainly a conglomeration of huts and hutlike tenements constructed out of mud, bricks, straw, bamboos, wood and such other sundry materials- while the latter is mainly a structure of concrete and bricks- but also in other socio-economic criteria. The inmates of the residential neighbourhoods are regarded as rich and well to-do people belonging to social groups separate from Jhuggi dwellers not only in respect of income and occupation, but also in education and social behaviour. Interaction

with the people of neighbouring residential areas takes place only in their respective capacities as employer and employee but not on social and cultural level.

The Impact of the  
Squatter Settlements  
on Urban Delhi

The squatter settlements, as is evident, are a form of urban residential settlements. It is formed by the low income immigrant families seeking mutual support in their striving for economic and social development. They constitute communities of under privileged living in marginal physical environment devoid of any public services and community facilities and remain relatively non-integrated to the central urban community. Although the Jhuggi dwellers provide the essential productive and domestic services at cheap costs to the urban community as a whole, they are yet to be accepted as an integral part of the urban development process and fully qualifying as citizens of metropolitan Delhi. The consequence is that in the city people are polarised into vast number of people living in squalor in Jhuggi-Jhonpris and those living in good residential areas. However, the growing number of jhuggi dwellers by creating their own settlement pattern and physical environment are fast altering the form and pattern of urban development. The social contours of the contemporary urban community and more so of that in future are likely to be shaped, to a large extent, by the nature of interaction between the life styles of Jhuggi dwellers and the dominant elitist groups.

These factors have far reaching implications for the planning of metropolitan Delhi. The type of urban development that is fostered has created striking contrasts

in the physical form and the living environment of the city. Tall buildings, posh tourist hotels, highly expensive and luxurious district shopping centres and well laid out high income group residential areas equipped with high standard of services and facilities are being rapidly built using the latest construction techniques and architectural designs in juxtaposition to the degrading and sub-human quality of environment of a very large number of urban dwellers. A huge proportion of scarce community resources is being utilised for the benefit and convenience of the elitist and high income groups when a vast section of the urban population is left to live in the hutment settlements. The decision makers and the planners responsible for shaping the destiny of this city seem, hardly, aware of the socio-political consequences of this painful pattern of contrast. The incongruence is accepted and perpetuated as something normal and inevitable.

The physical structure that is being planned and the quality of life that it is supposed to provide must have relevance to the emerging social structure. In planning the growth of metropolitan Delhi, one must pay more attention to the social and cultural background of the people who live in the city or are expected to live in the city in future. In the existing physical environment of the city, the Jhuggi dwellers have only peripheral interaction with the people of the other groups and they remain confined to their own social and cultural islands. In such a situation,

the physical structure fails to possess any utility for the vast majority of the underprivileged social groups.

The Scope and  
Objectives of the  
Study

The brief explanation given above about the nature of the formation of squatter settlements as a stage in the development process of Urban Delhi and its implications in changing the social structure and physical form of the city and consequently its bearing on the planning of Urban Delhi, provides the general framework of the social survey of the squatter settlements. In view of the large magnitude of population in the squatter settlements, the quality of life existing there affects not only its inhabitants but also the city's environs. An understanding of the social and cultural patterns of the "Jhuggi" dwellers and the process of their incorporation in the urban community is essential for evolving a low income residential settlements policy that will make it possible to control, guide and often prevent the haphazard growth and location of these settlements. A proper evaluation of the residential settlement needs and the quality of life of "Jhuggi" dwellers (Squatter Settlements) is necessary in the planning of housing, urban services, community facilities and physical environment of the existing and future population of metropolitan Delhi. The objective of providing a minimum level of living for those below the poverty line would require ensuring a minimum level of environment at the community level, the extent and composition of which has to be spelled out in the urban development plan.



The scope of the survey will include the analysis of social, economic and cultural background of the Jhuggi dwellers. It will also assess the quality of life obtaining in the Jhuggi settlements, the extent of social dynamism, the "grass roots" organisations, the type of leadership, fiscal and community resources along with the role and function of squatter settlements in the process of urban development. An evaluation of the existing programmes for improvement of the squatter settlements and their relation to the urban development policy will also form a part of the survey. This will provide the data base for determining the type of social, economic, physical and environmental programme of improvement for squatter settlements to be undertaken for their progressive integration with the urban community and the allocation of priorities for the various components of the programme. It will then also be possible to incorporate the programme or programmes in the investment plan of housing and urban infrastructure.

It is considered that the understanding of the process of the formation of squatter settlements and the social, economic and cultural background of those who inhabit these settlements would be <sup>extremely</sup> useful to planners not only for this city but for all other city areas which are being planned in the different parts of the country also.

Enumeration  
of the Squatter  
Settlements in the  
Union Territory of  
Delhi

The social survey of the squatter settlements has been divided into three phases. The first phase comprises the enumeration of Jhuggi- Jhonpri settlements in the Union Territory

of Delhi. It is meant to assess the magnitude and extent of the problem, the growth of Jhuggi dwellers and their settlements or clusters since 1951, the size and location of the Jhuggi clusters, area occupied, period of origin of the clusters, and their predominant occupational, caste community and regional background. The schedule for the cluster level inquiry is given in the Appendix. The second stage consists of an intensive study in the shape of area Profiles of a sample of clusters representing the various characteristics of the universe of squatter settlements along with the inquiry of all the households living in these sampled clusters in regard to income, occupation, family size, number of children per family, type of structure in which they live, the caste composition, the place of origin, the year of immigration to Delhi, and the year of their entry in the present cluster. The 'Area Profiles' of the squatter settlements will enable us to understand comprehensively the nature of the social and economic world of the Jhuggi dwellers in the various types of clusters, the physical form and the ecology of the residential settlements, the evaluation in the quantity and quality of public service and community facilities, the network of interactions between the various households, the nature of group life and pattern of sharing, community organisation at the cluster level, its effectiveness and its role in the mobilisation of community effort and resources, the quality of life obtaining in the cluster, the expectations and aspirations of the Jhuggi dwellers in shaping the future of social and physical environment of the habitat, the

felt needs of the community, the extent of the willingness of the people to contribute in terms of human labour and money to satisfy some of these needs and their capacity to absorb the improvement programmes. The third and final phase of the social survey will constitute comprehensive household inquiry for an in-depth analysis of the squatter families based on a sample of households from amongst the sampled clusters.

The Nature of  
Enumeration

The social survey of the squatter settlements excludes those living in slums and so called unauthorised colonies and the old village settlements. The characteristics of those residing in Jhuggi-Jhonpri is that they live in groups or clusters, of various sizes. They are seldom found scattered as individual family settlements. It is from this view point that an enumeration of the clusters was undertaken to determine their total number and the jhuggis contained in each cluster both within the urbanisable limits of Delhi and rural areas of the Union Territory of Delhi. A cluster has been defined as ten or more Jhuggis in close proximity to each other having physical and social identity of its own and can be distinguished on these criteria as an independent entity from such other groupings of Jhuggi and Jhonpris. A Jhuggi has been defined as a physical structure used for living or other purposes and made of mud, bricks, straw, wood, tin, asbestos and corrugated sheets etc. A single Jhuggi has been identified as

a physical structure having a separate roof for the purpose of enumeration. The Union Territory of Delhi has been divided into 9 zones comprising the areas falling within the urbanisable limits of Delhi and those in the rural areas, as follows :-

Zone A : The area is bounded by Yamuna River in the east, by Old Delhi Railway Station, Rani Jhansi Road, Faiz Road, Panch Kuan Road, and city walls in the south, comprising walled city, Sadar Bazar, Jhendewalan, Pahar Ganj etc.

Zone B : It is enveloped by Faiz Road, Ras Behari Marg, Northern Railway Lines in the west, Ganga Ram Hospital Road and Fusa Institute boundary covering the Anand Parbat, part of Sarai Rohilla, Karol Bagh, Rajendra Nagar, Fusa Institute and Naraina Residential areas.

Zone C : It is enclosed by Northern Railway main line towards Ambala, city walls in the South and Yamuna River in the East, comprising Kashmiri Gate, Delhi University area, Shakti Nagar, Kamla Nagar, Timarpur, Kingsway Camp, Adarsh Nagar, Rana Pratap Bagh, Model Town etc.

Zone D : This area is bounded by city wall in the north, Panch Kuan Road, Upper Ridge Road joining at Dhaula Kuan, Ring Road in the <sup>South</sup> ~~East~~, and Yamuna River in the East, comprising the President's estate, Chanakya Puri, Lodi Estate, Lody Colony, Meena Bagh; Moti Bagh, Purojini Nagar, Kidwai Colony, Defence Colony, Lajpat Nagar etc.

Zone E : This zone includes all the area, east of Yamuna river, upto the boundary of Union Territory of Delhi comprising Shahdara, Bhola Nagar, Vishwas Nagar, Ram Nagar, Gandhi Nagar etc.

Zone F : It is enclosed by Ring Road from Dhula Kuan in the north, Yamuna River in the east, Gurgaon Road in the west, Mehrauli Road and Badarpur Road from Qutab Minar, joining at Mathura Road, extending up to the Union Territory border in the south, including the residential areas of Ramakrishna Puram, Moti Bagh, Hauz khas, Green Park, Safdarjung Enclave, Anand Niketan, Vasant Vihar, Mehrauli, Malviya Nagar, Kalkaji, Greater Kailash etc.

Zone G . This zone is bounded by Northern Railway Lines, that is Rohtak Railway Lines in the north, and Northern Railway Line, towards Rowari, upto the crossing of Ring Road and Ring Road extending upto Dhula Kuan, and Gurgaon Road, enclosing numerous residential colonies like Ramesh Nagar, Moti Nagar, Rajouri Garden, Tilak Nagar, Delhi Cantonment, Madhipur, New Jail area, Palam Airport etc.

Zone H : It covers the area falling between the two Northern Railway Lines, one in the South and the other in the North, and the Ras Behari Marg in the East, comprising Shastri Nagar, Ashan Ganj, Trinagar, Rani Bagh, Haidarpur etc.

Zone R : The entire rural area outside the urban limits of Delhi and falling within the Union Territory of Delhi.

The above 9 zones have been further sub-divided into 109 Sub-units, each having its own distinctive physical boundaries, for reconnaissance and locating the clusters. It has taken about 3 months to complete the enumeration of the Jhuggi-Jhonpri settlements. The enumeration was started in the Second week of April 1973 and was completed by the Second week of July, 1973. The enumeration covered the entire area of the Union Territory of Delhi constituting of 1485 Square Kilometers. The data collected through enumeration has been computerised.

The Extent and  
Growth of the  
Jhuggi - Jhonpri  
Settlements and  
Jhuggi-Jhonpris

There are, in all, 1373 Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters comprising 141, 755 Jhuggis. Besides these Jhuggis, there are 6932 scattered Jhuggis which will eventually form part of the existing clusters or attract other Jhuggi households to group themselves into clusters. There are also 3973 purely commercial and industrial Jhuggis in 101 clusters. The purely commercial or industrial and scattered Jhuggis are excluded from the study. Of these 1373 clusters, 1101 are located in the urban area and the remaining 272 in the rural areas. Of the total number of Jhuggis, 87.1 percent (123536) are located in the urban limits of Delhi whereas the rest (18,229) are in the rural areas. The squatter settlements in the rural areas are part of the urban system since they have grown as a response to urban activities and needs and are sociologically and functionally linked with the urban process. These

settlements do not have any functional, economic or sociological relationship with rural activities or the rural communities. They have their own physical and social identity distinctive from that of existing settlements. The only similarity between the two is that they have the same type of residential settlement pattern.

During the period of 22 years, spread over from 1951-1973, the Jhuggi-Jhonpris have grown more than ten times since 1951. In 1951, there were only 12,749 Jhuggis but they increased to 141,755 in 1973. The growth of Jhuggis takes place by two separate processes i.e I) by the expansion of the existing clusters and, II) by the formation of new clusters. The table 1 A indicates the growth of Jhuggis due to formation of new clusters and on account of expansion of the existing clusters. If we see the process of growth of the Jhuggis on a five yearly interval basis, we find that the overall annual rate of growth during these five yearly intervals has varied from 11.9% in 1951-56 to 14.3% in 1971-73 (one and half year interval). The overall annual rate of growth for the last 22 years has been of the order of 11.8%. There was a fall in the annual rate of growth of Jhuggis between 1961-66 (11.5%) and 1966-71 (9.4%) as compared to that of 1956-61 (13.8%). The lowest annual rate of growth of the Jhuggis was recorded during the period 1966-71. During the two five yearly intervals from 1961 to 1971, the lower annual rate of growth of the Jhuggis was primarily due to the clearance of Jhuggi clusters at a

fairly large scale and the location of about 45,000 Jhuggi households in the J.J. colonies during the period. However, the effect of these action programmes was not sustained for a longer period and the Jhuggis started growing again at a faster rate from 1968-69. We find that from 1971 onwards they have been increasing at an annual rate of 14.3%. It is also reported that a very large number of families relocated in J.J.colonies have come back from these colonies to join the main stream of squatter settlements either in <sup>the</sup> shape of new clusters or as additions to the existing clusters.

Another feature that is revealed by Table 1A is that during all the five-yearly intervals from <sup>1951</sup> 1951 to 1973, except that during 1966-71, the annual rate of growth of Jhuggis due to the formation of new clusters has been higher than due to the addition in the existing clusters. The annual rate of growth due to the addition of new clusters has varied from 6.9% to 8.1% as compared to that of 4.6% to 5.7% due to the expansion of the existing clusters. The annual rate of growth of Jhuggis due to addition of new clusters registered a fall during the period 1961-66 (5.6%) and 1966-71 (3.5%). The growth of Jhuggis due to the expansion of existing clusters has maintained a steady rate over the years during 1951-1973. The study of growth patterns of the old and new clusters reveals that the clusters once formed grow upto a point and



then seal themselves for the new comers who in their turn locate new clusters and follow the same pattern as that of the old clusters. Besides, the limitation of the availability of land in the existing clusters for their further expansion, the proximity and cheap access to the sources of employment is a very significant factor in the selection of new sites by the Jhuggi dwellers. It, also, seems that the tendency to form homogeneous social group on the basis of caste, place of origin, occupation, region and language limit the extent of heterogeneous mix in old clusters thus encouraging the formation of new clusters.

Table :1 A

Rate of Growth of Jhuggi -Jhonpris in the Squatter Settlements between  
1951-1973 by Five Yearly Intervals

Year	Cumulative Frequency Distri- bution	Annual Rate of Growth at Five Yearly Interval	Rate of Growth due to new addition at five yearly interval	Rate of Growth due to expansion at five yearly Interval	Growth Percentage During Five yearly Interval	Cumulative Percentage Growth
1951	12749					
1956	22414	11.94	6.97	4.65	75.81	75.81
1961	42814	13.82	8.15	5.20	91.01	235.80
1966	73693	11.48	5.66	5.51	72.13	475.00
1971	115961	9.45	3.56	5.69	57.36	820.00
1973	141755	14.33	8.13	5.73	22.24	1011.18
For over all	141755	11.85	6.48	5.36	1011.18	1011.18

The table 1 B indicates the overall annual rate of growth of Jhuggis computed at ten yearly interval basis and also the decennial percentage increase of Jhuggis during the last 22 years since 1951. This will facilitate comparison of the rate of growth of the Jhuggi households with that of the total households of the Union Territory of Delhi. The highest decennial percentage increase of 235.8 was evidenced during the decade 1951-61. However, the percentage variation in the number of Jhuggis during 1961-71, was about half (170.6%) of that evidenced in the preceding decade, although the total number of Jhuggis in 1971 increased by more than eight times over 1951. The growth of Jhuggis has, again, been accelerated since 1971 as revealed by an increase of 22.2% during the short period between 1971-73.

Table : 1 B

RATE OF GROWTH OF JHUGGI-JHONPRIS IN THE SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS  
BETWEEN 1951-1973 BY TEN YEARLY INTERVALS

Year ( in decades )	Cumulative Frequency Distribution	Annual rate of Growth at ten Yearly Interval	Rate of Growth due to New Addition	Rate of Growth due to Expansion	Growth Percentage during ten yearly interval	Cumulative Percentage Growth
1951	12749					
1961	42814	12.89	7.59	4.96	235.82	235.80
1971	115961	10.48	4.63	5.60	170.58	820.00
1973	141755	14.33	8.13	5.73	22.24	1011.18
For over all		11.85	6.48	5.36	1011.18	1011.18

The overall rate of growth of Jhuggi households has been 11.8% as compared to that of 4.5% for all the households of the Union Territory of Delhi and 5.1% for the urban households. During the period of 1951-61, the annual rate of growth of Jhuggis was about three times higher than that of total number of households of the Union Territory and slightly more than two times of the urban households. In 1961-71 although the annual rate of growth for both the Jhuggi households and total households of the Union Territory and Urban Delhi declined, the annual growth rate of Jhuggis was higher by more than two times of the households of the Union Territory and the urban areas, respectively.

In 1951, the proportion of Jhuggis to the total number of households in the Union Territory of Delhi and urban Delhi was 3.9 and 4.7 percent, respectively but this increased to 16.6% and 18.4% respectively in 1973. The ratio of Jhuggi households to non-Jhuggo households for the Union Territory Delhi was 1: 25 and that for the urban area 1: 20 in 1951. In 1973, the ratio stood at 1: 5 and 1: 4.5 respectively, for these areas. It is evident that the quality of the housing accommodation in urban Delhi has deteriorated fast over the last 22 years since 1951. It also means that, during this period, an increasing proportion of the population growth in Delhi has been accommodated in the Jhuggi-Jhonpri settlements. At present, one out of every five households

in urban Delhi lives in Jhuggis. It, not only reflects the degrading quality of residential environment for a very large number of families but also the changing physical structure and physical form of the Urban Settlement pattern. The fast growth of Jhuggi-Jhonpri type of residential settlements accentuates the incongruence between the physical structure of these settlements and the rest of the urban area. This situation poses certain problems for the provision of urban services and facilities to these residential settlements. The urban services and facilities in their present pattern and form are geared to the needs of the modern pattern of urban development. It is very difficult to extend these services in their existing pattern and form to the Jhuggi-Jhonpri settlements without either altering their physical structure or the pattern of facilities and services.

Table 2. reveals the relative growth of Jhuggi and Non-Jhuggi households in the metropolis city of Delhi. The accompanying graph plotted on a semi-logarithmic scale also indicates the trend in the growth of Jhuggis as compared to that of the total households in Delhi.

Table : 2

RELATIVE GROWTH OF SQUATTERS AND TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS DURING 1951-73

Year	Squatter House-Holds	Total House-Holds of Union Territory of Delhi	Total House-Holds of Urban Delhi	Decadal Annual Rate of Growth of Squatter House-Holds	Decadal Annual Rate of Growth of Total House-Holds of Union Territory of Delhi	Decadal Annual Rate of Growth of Total House-Holds of Urban Delhi	Proportion Percentage of Squatter Households to total Households of Union Territory of Delhi	Proportion Percentage of Squatter Households to total Households for Urban Delhi	Ratio of Squatter Households to Non-Squatter Households for Union Territory of Delhi	Ratio of Squatter Households to Non-Squatter Households for Urban Delhi
1951	12749	326053	271360	-	-	-	3.89	4.69	1:25	1:20
1961	42814	575528	466186	12.89	4.69	5.56	8.30	9.13	1:11	1:10
1971	115961	790812	722454	10.48	4.37	4.48	14.86	16.10	1:6	1:5
1973	141755	861320	* 788780*	14.33	4.37	4.48	16.62	18.4	1:5	1:4.5
For Overall	141755	861320	788780	11.85	4.53	5.11	-	-	-	-

NOTE :- \* The Total number of Households both for the Union Territory of Delhi and Urban Delhi has been estimated at the decadal rate of Growth of 1961-1971 for 1973.

There were 199 clusters which accommodated 12,749 Jhuggi households in 1951.

In 1973, there are 1373 clusters, about six times more than that in 1951, accommodating 141,755 Jhuggis which are more than ten times than that existing 22 years before. In 1951 there was a cluster, on an average, for a group of 64 Jhuggis while in 1973 it is so far 103 Jhuggis. The reason for the increase in the average size of the cluster is that a part of the increase in number of Jhuggis is absorbed by the existing cluster while the rest leads to the formation of new clusters. Taking 1951 as a base, we find that in the continuous process of the growth of Jhuggis during the period 1951-1973, 67,461 have been added due to the formation of new clusters whereas 61,545 have been absorbed by the expansion of the clusters once formed at any point of time during the entire period mentioned. The tables 3A and 3B indicate the number of new clusters formed and the number of Jhuggis added by their formation during five and ten yearly intervals, respectively. They also reveal five yearly or ten yearly percentage increase in the number of clusters as compared to that of Jhuggis. It is found from the Table 3B that during the decade following 1951 (1952-61) the clusters increased by 173.4%, but the rate of the formation of the new clusters declined considerably during 1962-71 (106.6%). However, 249 new clusters have been formed during the last two years since 1971 adding 10,605 Jhuggis as compared to 308 clusters with 19,198 Jhuggis over a period of five years preceding 1971.



The table No.4 reveals that of the total number of 1174 new clusters that have been added after 1951, 44.4% (557) have been formed during the last five years. These have also contributed 47.4% of the total number of Jhuggis added due to the formation of new clusters. The Table No. 4 indicates the number of new clusters and Jhuggis added on five yearly interval since 1951.

The accompanying graph reveals the comparative growth of new clusters and Jhuggis on a five yearly basis, on a semi-logarithmic scale.

Table No. 3 A

GROWTH OF JHUGGIS AND JHUGGI CLUSTER DURING 1951-1973 BY FIVE YEARLY INTERVALS

Year	No. of Jhuggis	No. of Clusters	Percentage increase of Jhuggis during five yearly intervals	Percentage Increase of Clusters during five Yearly Intervals	Cumulative Percentage Growth of Jhuggis	Cumulative Percentage Growth of Clusters
1951	12749	199				
1952-1956	22414	313	75.81	58.3	75.81	58.3
1957-1961	42814	544	91.01	75.0	235.80	173.4
1962-1966	73693	816	72.13	53.3	475.0	310.1
1967-1971	115961	1124	57.36	46.67	820.0	464.8
1972-1973	141755	1373	22.24	28.3	1011.18	590.0
For overall	141755	1373	1011.18	590.0	1011.18	590.0

Table No : 3 B

GROWTH OF JHUGGIS AND JHUGGI CLUSTERS DURING 1951-73 BY TEN YEARLY INTERVALS

Year	No. of Jhuggis	No. of Clusters	Percentage Increase of Jhuggis During Ten Yearly Interval	Percentage Increase of Clusters During Ten Yearly Interval	Cumulative Percentage Growth of Jhuggis	Cumulative Percentage Growth of Clusters
1951	12749	199				
1952-1961	42814	544	235.80	173.4	235.82	173.4
1962-1971	115961	1124	170.58	106.6	820.0	464.8
1972-1973	141755	1373	22.24	28.3	1011.18	590.0
For over all	141755	1373	1011.18	590.0	1011.18	

Table No : 4

DISTRIBUTION OF NEW SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS ALONG WITH THEIR JHUGGIS DURING 1951-73

<u>Year</u>	<u>Jhuggis Added During five Yearly Interval</u>	<u>Clusters Added During Five Yearly Interval</u>	<u>Percentage Proportion of Jhuggis during five Yearly Interval</u>	<u>Percentage Proportion of Clusters During Five Yearly Interval</u>
1952-1956	6410	114	9.5	9.7
1957-1961	13879	231	20.5	19.7
1962-1966	17369	272	25.6	23.2
1967-1971	19198	308	28.4	26.2
1971-1973	10605	249	16.0	21.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>67461</b>	<b>1174</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

The Size of the  
Clusters and Their  
Distribution Over  
the Various Areas  
(Zones) of the  
Metropolis

The size of the clusters varies from the smallest one consisting of 10 Jhuggis to the largest having 4,387 Jhuggis. The total number of 1373 clusters have been divided into seven size groups viz, i) 50 or below; ii) 51-100 ; iii) 101-300 ; iv) 301-500; v) 501-1000 ; vi) 1001-1500 ; vii) Above 1501. The clusters in the size group of 50 and below consist of the largest proportion, 58.9 percent of the total number of clusters. 79.4 percent of the clusters have one hundred Jhuggis or less. The clusters in the size group of 101-500, whereas those constitute 17.1 percent of the total, above 500 Jhuggis account for only 3.5 percent. It is evident that the predominant characteristics of the Jhuggi settlements is the formation of small groups of 100 households or less. Many of these small clusters are located in close physical proximity to each other but each of them maintains a separate and independent social identity of its own.

The clusters with 100 or less Jhuggis though constituting 79.4% of the total number of clusters share only 28.3% of the total number of Jhuggis whereas 3.5% of the clusters in the size groups above 500 Jhuggis account for 37% of the total squatter households. The rest of the 34.7% Jhuggis are distributed among the 17.1% of the clusters of the various size groups ranging from 101 to 500. The

average size of the clusters varies from 25 in the size group of 50 and below to 2632 in the size group of over 1500. The following table (No.5) shows the distribution of Jhuggi Jhonpris in the various size groups along with the average size of the clusters in each of the size groups.

Table No. 5

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGI JHONPRI CLUSTERS IN THE VARIOUS SIZE GROUPS  
AND THE AVERAGE SIZE OF CLUSTER IN EACH OF THE SIZE GROUPS

Size Intervals	No. of Clusters	Percentages	Jhuggis at 1973	Percentages	Average No. of Jhuggis in each Size Group
Below 50	807	58.8	20450	14.4	25
51-100	281	20.5	19653	13.9	70
101-300	191	13.9	31599	22.3	165
301-500	45	3.3	17579	12.4	391
501-1000	36	2.6	26599	18.7	739
1001-1500	6	0.4	7449	5.3	1242
1501 & Above	7	0.5	18426	13.0	2632
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1373</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>141755</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>103</b>

Table Nos. 6 A and B reveal that the distribution of the Jhuggi clusters over the various areas of Union Territory of Delhi. The Union Territory of Delhi has been divided into 9 zones, eight of which comprise urban Delhi and the ninth is the rural zone. We find that the largest number of clusters (19.8%) are located in the rural zone whereas Zone A of Urban Delhi has the smallest number of clusters (5%). The F, D, and G zones among them account for more than 58% of the total number of clusters in Urban Delhi and 46.7% of those of the Union Territory. The share of the zones B, C, E and H varies between 5.5% for H and 8.7% for C. The clusters in the size group of 50 and below preponderate in all the zones except in rural zone. The size group of 51-100 accounts for the largest number of clusters in the rural zone. There are no clusters above the size group of 1000 in A, E and F zones. Zone R and H do not have any cluster of more than 1500 Jhuggis. The size composition of the various zones indicates that more than 80% of the clusters are confined to the size groups of 100 Jhuggis or less. The zones D, F and R share among them 49.3% and 73% of the total clusters in the size groups of 50 or less and 51-100, respectively. 50.8% of the clusters in the size group 101-300 and 72.2% in size group 301-1000, respectively are shared by the zones D, F and G. 89.0% of the clusters in the size group of 301-500 are located in the C, D, F and



and G zones. All the clusters in the size group of 1001-1500 are located in Zones D, H and R and those above 1500 in zones B, C, D and G.

It is revealed from Table No. 7 that the largest number of Jhuggis (23.3%) are clustered in Zone D while the smallest number (2.4%) in Zone A. Of the total number of 141,755 Jhuggis, 66.2% are located in D, F, G and R zones. The percentage distribution of the total number of Jhuggis into the various size groups in each of the planning zones can also be seen from this Table.

Table No :- 6

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J.CLUSTERS IN DELHI ACCORDING TO SIZE GROUPS AND ZONES

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size	Z O N E S								Rural	Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		
50 or below	64.1	69.5	62.2	54.6	76.2	65.2	59.5	42.2	42.3	58.9 (807)
51-100	4.4	13.7	11.7	16.2	8.9	14.5	13.5	18.4	40.8	20.5 (281)
101-300	10.1	12.6	16.0	17.6	12.9	14.1	13.5	27.6	8.1	13.9 (191)
301-500	-	2.1	7.6	4.2	1.0	2.7	8.8	2.6	-	3.2 (45)
501-1000	1.4	-	1.7	4.6	1.0	3.5	4.1	6.6	0.4	2.6 (36)
1001-1500	-	-	-	1.4	-	-	-	2.6	0.4	0.4 (6)
1501 +	-	2.1	0.8	1.4	-	-	0.6	-	-	0.5 (7)
TOTAL	69	95	119	216	101	255	170	76	272	1373
%	5.0	6.9	8.7	15.7	7.4	18.6	12.4	5.5	19.8	100.0

Table No: 6B

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CLUSTERS IN THE DIFFERENT SIZE GROUPS AMONG THE VARIOUS ZONES

Size	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	R	Total
Below 50	7.2	8.2	9.2	14.6	9.5	20.6	12.5	3.9	14.3	58.8 (807)
51-100	1.1	4.5	5.0	12.5	3.3	13.2	8.1	5.0	47.3	20.5 (281)
101-300	3.7	6.3	9.9	20.0	6.8	18.8	12.0	11.0	11.5	13.9 (191)
301-500	-	4.4	20.0	20.0	2.2	15.6	33.4	4.4	-	3.3 (45)
501-1000	2.8	-	5.6	27.8	2.8	25.0	19.4	13.8	2.8	2.6 (36)
1001-1500	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	33.3	16.7	0.4 (6)
1501 & above	-	28.5	14.3	42.9	-	-	14.3	-	-	0.5 (7)
TOTAL	69	95	119	21.6	101	255	170	76	272	1373
%	5.0	6.9	8.7	15.7	7.4	18.6	12.4	5.5	19.8	100.0

Table No : 7

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGIS AT 1973 IN THE J.J.C CLUSTERS OF DELHI BY SIZE GROUPS AND ZONES

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	R.	Total
Below 50	40.2	11.5	12.6	9.6	30.9	18.5	12.0	5.2	20.9	14.4 (2045)
51-100	6.7	7.5	7.9	8.1	12.6	11.6	7.6	7.9	49.1	13.9 (1965)
101-300	30.1	15.1	26.0	18.6	39.3	26.9	18.9	28.3	18.4	22.3 (3159)
301-500	-	7.2	25.5	10.8	6.2	12.3	27.5	6.7	-	12.4 (1757)
501-1000	23.0	-	10.0	21.0	11.0	30.6	25.8	31.8	5.5	18.7 (2659)
1001-1500	-	-	-	11.7	-	-	-	20.1	6.1	5.3 (7449)
1501 & Above	-	58.7	18.0	20.2	-	-	8.2	-	-	13.0 (1842)
Total	3445	12915	14028	33064	5289	22033	20491	12271	18219	14175
	2.4	9.1	9.9	23.3	3.7	15.5	14.5	8.7	12.9	100.0

The Period of the  
Origin of the  
Jhuggi-Jhonpri  
Settlements

The 1373 Jhuggi-Jhonpri settlements that existed at the time of enumeration in 1973 originated at different time intervals. 22.8 percent of the clusters are more than 17 years old while 40.6 percent came into being between 1967 and 1973. The remaining 36.6 percent of the clusters were established between 1957 and 1966. Thus a very large proportion (77.2%) of clusters have developed during the course of last 15 years. The clusters originating in 1951 or before account for 24.4% of the Jhuggis in 1973 whereas 33.5% of the Jhuggi belong to the clusters established between 1952 and 1961. The clusters formed during the period 1962-71 constitute 34.8 percent of the Jhuggis whereas 7.2% of the Jhuggis have been added by the clusters originating after 1971.

Table No. 8A indicates the <sup>1373</sup> size distribution of the clusters originating at different time intervals. It is revealed by this table that the proportion of the clusters above the size group of 300 falls with the shorter period of their origin. It is 14% among the clusters originating in 1951 or before, 12.3% in 1952-56, 9.9% in 1957-61, 7% in 1962-66, 2.3% in 1967-71 and 1.2% among those coming after 1971. Looking at the age distribution of the various size groups of the J.J. clusters, we find from table 8 B that among 1373 clusters having 100 Jhuggis or less, only 34% have come before 1962. Only 26.2% of the clusters in the size group of

101-300 have originated after 1966 while it is so far 13.6% of the clusters in the size group of 301-500. Of the 45 clusters above the size group of 500 more than 69 percent were formed before 1962.

The tables 8A, 8B and 8 indicate the distribution of J.J.Clusters and Jhuggis according to their time of origin and size.

Table No: 8A

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGI CLUSTERS IN DELHI ACCORDING TO SIZE AND TIME OF ORIGIN

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size Groups	- AGE GROUPS -						Total
	Before 1951	1951-56	1957-61	1962-66	1967-71	1972 & After	
Below 50	51.8	49.1	52.8	60.7	56.5	75.1	807 58.9
51-100	15.6	14.9	18.2	20.2	28.2	19.7	281 20.5
101-300	18.6	23.7	19.1	12.1	13.0	4.0	191 13.9
301-500	8.5	5.3	3.0	2.9	1.3	0.8	45 3.2
501-1000	2.5	5.1	6.1	3.3	0.3	0.4	36 2.6
1001 and Above	3.0	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.7	-	13 0.4
Total	199	114	231	272	308	249	1373
Percent	14.5	8.3	16.8	19.8	22.4	18.3	100.0

Table No : 8B

DISTRIBUTION OF CLUSTERS IN DELHI ACCORDING TO SIZE GROUPS AND AGE GROUPS

(- IN PERCENTAGE )

Age %	SIZE							Total
	Below 50	51 - 100	101-300	301-500	501-1000	1001-1500	1501 & Above	
1951 & Before	12.8	11.0	19.4	37.8	13.9	33.3	57.1	14.5 (19)
1952-56	6.9	6.0	14.1	13.3	19.4	-	14.3	8.3 (11)
1957-61	15.1	15.0	23.0	17.8	36.1	16.7	14.3	16.8 (22)
1962-66	20.4	19.6	17.3	17.8	25.0	16.7	14.3	19.8 (27)
1967-71	21.6	31.0	20.9	9.1	2.8	33.3	-	22.4 (30)
1972 & After	23.2	17.4	5.3	4.5	2.8	-	-	18.2 (24)
Total	807	281	191	45	36	6	7	1373
%	58.9	20.5	13.9	3.3	2.5	0.4	0.5	



Table No. 9A

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGIS AT 1973 IN THE CLUSTERS OF DELHI ACCORDING TO SIZE GROUPS AND TIME OF ORIGIN

	<u>Time of Origin</u>						Total
	Before 1951	1952-56	1957-61	1962-66	1967-71	After 1972	
W 50	7.6	8.3	10.1	14.6	21.9	44.0	20450 14.4
00	6.7	6.9	10.2	14.6	26.5	31.6	19653 13.9
300	17.0	26.6	25.1	20.6	29.8	12.3	31599 22.3
500	19.5	12.1	11.2	11.8	6.7	6.7	17579 12.4
1000	10.2	28.7	32.9	25.2	3.8	5.4	26599 18.7
and above	39.0	17.4	10.5	13.2	11.3	-	25875 18.3
ALL	34627	18348	29158	26847	22545	10230	141755
PERCENT	24.4	12.9	20.6	18.9	15.9	7.2	100.0

Table No. 9 B

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGIS IN 1973 IN DELHI ACCORDING TO SIZE GROUPS AND AGE GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Age %	Below 50	51-100	101-300	301-500	501-1000	1001-1500	1501 & Above	Total
1951 & Beofe	12.8	11.8	18.7	38.4	13.3	32.8	60.0	24.4 (34627)
1952-56	7.4	6.4	15.4	12.7	19.8	-	17.4	12.9 (18348)
1957-61	14.5	15.1	23.1	18.5	36.0	19.1	9.1	20.6 (29158)
1962-66	19.2	19.8	17.6	18.0	25.4	13.9	13.5	18.9 (26847)
1967-71	24.1	30.4	21.2	8.5	3.4	34.2	-	15.9 (22545)
1972 & Above	22.0	16.5	4.0	3.9	2.1	-	-	7.2 (10230)
<b>TOTAL</b>	20450	19653	31599	17579	26599	7449	18426	141755
<b>PERCENT</b>	14.4	13.9	22.3	12.4	18.7	5.3	13.0	-

The tables 10 A and 10 B reveal the distribution of J.J. clusters according to the time of their origin in the various zones. Of the 272 clusters in the rural zone, 68.1 % have come after 1966. Looking at the age composition of the various other zones in the urbanisable limits of Delhi, we find that a large majority (more than 59%) of the clusters in zone A and B have come before 1962. The Zones C, D, E and H have more or less equal number of clusters which originated before 1962 and thereafter while more than 60% of the clusters in F and G zones were formed after 1961. If we see the share of the various zones in the total number of clusters originating at different time intervals, we find that the zones D, F and R have among them 51.9% and 64.6% of the clusters formed during 1957-61 and 1967-71, respectively. The zones C and D account for the major proportion clusters established in 1951 or before. 48.6% of the clusters originating in 1952-56 are located in D, F and G zones. The zones F, G and R consist of 68.7% of the clusters formed after 1971 while it is true for 52.2% of the clusters of 1962-66.

The distribution of the total number of Jhuggis in 1973 corresponding to the number of clusters in the different zones formed at various time intervals can be seen from tables 11 and 12.

The tables 13 and 14 reveal the percentage increase in the number of Jhuggis

from 1951 to 1973 in the various zones and the growth in the number of clusters at various time intervals. All the zones have shown tremendous increase in the Jhuggi population during the course of the last 22 years. The zones A.D.E.F have experienced an increase of over five to about 10 times in the number of Jhuggis whereas the increase varies from 11 to over 31 times in the rest of the zones. The highest increase (31.8 times) in the number of Jhuggis has occurred in the rural zone while the lowest (5.4 times) in the A zone of urban Delhi. The four zones in the rank order of variation of Jhuggis are R, H, G and C respectively. Of the total number of 829 clusters added since 1952, 73.5% have gone to the zones D, F, G and R. The largest number of addition to the clusters population in the various zones since 1952, has also come in these zones.

Table No : 10 A

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J. CLUSTERS IN DELHI ACCORDING TO ZONE & AGE GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Age %	Z O N E S									Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	R	
1951 & Before	31.8	24.2	29.4	21.8	11.9	5.8	13.5	22.3	1.8	14.5 (199)
1952-1956	2.8	12.6	5.9	13.9	12.8	7.0	11.8	5.2	3.3	8.3 (114)
1957-1961	24.6	18.8	15.1	13.9	24.8	24.7	10.6	19.8	9.9	16.7 (231)
1962-1966	13.0	21.0	21.0	15.7	26.7	25.5	18.2	19.8	16.9	19.8 (272)
1967-1971	14.7	16.0	13.5	24.5	11.9	20.8	24.1	19.8	34.2	22.4 (308)
1972 & After	13.0	7.4	15.1	10.2	11.9	16.2	22.4	13.1	33.9	18.3 (249)
TOTAL	69	95	119	216	101	255	170	76	272	1373
%	5.0	6.9	8.7	15.7	7.4	18.5	12.4	5.5	19.8	

Table No : 10 B

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J.CLUSTERS IN DELHI ACCORDING TO ZONES AND AGE GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Age %	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	R	Total
1951 & Before	11.1	11.6	17.6	23.6	6.0	7.5	11.6	8.5	2.5	14.1 (19)
1952-1956	1.8	10.5	66.1	26.3	11.4	15.8	16.7	3.5	7.9	8.1 (11)
1957-1961	7.4	7.8	7.8	12.8	10.8	27.5	7.8	6.5	11.6	16.1 (23)
1962-1966	3.3	7.4	9.2	12.5	9.9	23.9	11.4	5.5	16.9	19.1 (27)
1967-1971	3.2	4.9	5.2	17.2	3.9	17.2	13.3	4.9	30.2	22.1 (30)
1972 & After	3.6	2.8	7.3	8.8	4.8	16.5	15.3	4.0	36.9	18.1 (24)
TOTAL	69	95	119	216	101	255	170	76	272	1371
%	5.0	6.9	8.7	15.7	7.4	18.5	12.4	5.5	19.8	

Table No : 11

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGIS AT 1973 IN CLUSTERS OF DELHI ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS & ZONES

AGE	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	R	TOTAL
1951 & Before	29.1	48.2	40.4	42.6	20.0	6.2	14.5	13.8	3.0	24.4 (34627)
1952-1956	0.8	29.9	10.2	11.1	20.5	4.9	29.0	4.9	3.3	12.9 (18348)
1957-1961	21.1	5.2	18.1	12.0	31.5	34.8	19.1	38.6	18.0	21.0 (29158)
1962-1966	27.6	11.1	19.1	17.1	17.6	23.4	14.9	34.2	15.1	18.9 (26847)
1967-1971	15.8	3.3	9.7	14.7	4.9	22.2	13.6	6.2	36.0	15.9 (22545)
1971 & After	5.6	2.3	2.5	2.5	5.5	8.5	8.9	2.3	24.6	6.9 (10230)
TOTAL	(3445) 2.1	(12915) 9.1	(14028) 9.9	(33064) 23.2	(5289) 3.7	(22033) 15.3	(20491) 14.5	(12271) 8.7	(18219) 13.2	(141755)

Table No : 12

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGIS AT 1973 IN CLUSTERS OF DELHI ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS & PLANNING DIVISIONS

Age	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	R	Total
1951 & Before	2.9	17.9	16.4	40.7	3.1	3.9	8.5	4.9	1.7	24.4 (346)
1952-1956	0.1	21.0	7.8	20.1	5.9	6.0	32.5	3.3	3.3	12.9 (183)
1957-1961	2.5	2.3	7.6	13.6	5.7	26.3	13.4	16.2	12.4	21.0 (291)
1962-1967	3.5	5.4	10.0	21.0	3.4	19.2	11.3	15.8	10.4	18.9 (268)
1967-1971	2.4	1.8	6.0	21.5	1.6	21.7	12.3	3.8	28.9	15.9 (225)
1972 & After	2.0	2.9	3.3	8.1	1.8	18.2	18.3	2.6	42.8	6.5 (102)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>(3445)</b>	<b>(12915)</b>	<b>(14028)</b>	<b>(33064)</b>	<b>(5289)</b>	<b>(22033)</b>	<b>(20491)</b>	<b>(12271)</b>	<b>(18219)</b>	<b>(141)</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>9.9</b>	<b>23.3</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>15.5</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>100</b>



Table No : 13

VARIAION OF JHUGGIS IN VARIOUS ZONES IN DELHI DURING 1951-1973

Planning Divisions	Jhuggis at 1951	Jhuggis at 1973	Increase between 1951 & 1973	Percentage Variation between 1951 & 1973
A	537	3445	2908	541.5%
B	1099	12915	11816	1075.2%
C	1077	14028	12951	1202.5%
D	4547	33064	28517	627.2%
E	760	5289	4529	595.5%
F	2099	22029	19934	949.7%
G	1300	20491	19191	1476.2%
H	755	12271	11496	1485.9%
R	555	18219	17664	3182.6%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12749</b>	<b>141755</b>	<b>129006</b>	<b>1011.9%</b>

Table No : 14

ADDITION OF J.J. CLUSTERS OF DELHI ACCORDING TO THEIR TIME OF ORIGIN (AGE) INTO VARIOUS ZONES

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	R	TOTAL
Before 1951	22	23	35	47	12	15	23	17	5	199
%	31.8	24.2	29.4	21.8	11.9	5.8	13.5	22.3	1.8	14.5
1952-1956	2	12	7	30	13	18	19	4	9	114
	2.8	12.6	5.9	13.9	12.8	7.0	11.2	5.2	3.3	8.3
1957-1961	17	18	18	30	25	63	18	15	27	231
	24.6	18.8	15.1	13.9	24.8	24.7	10.6	19.8	9.9	16.7
1962-1966	9	20	25	34	27	65	31	15	46	272
	13.0	21.0	21.0	15.7	26.7	25.5	18.2	19.8	16.9	19.8
1967-1971	10	15	16	53	12	53	41	15	93	308
	14.7	16.0	13.5	24.5	11.9	20.8	24.1	19.8	34.2	22.4
1972 & after	9	7	18	22	12	41	38	10	92	249
	13.0	7.4	15.1	10.2	11.9	16.2	22.4	13.1	33.9	18.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>1373</b>

The Occupational  
Composition of  
J.J. Settlements

A J.J. cluster has been assigned to a particular occupational category if 60 percent or more of the households living therein have been found to be engaged in that occupation. The settlements were characterised by mixed occupational group when no single occupation was found to be predominant. The mixed occupational category as well as the other predominantly single occupation clusters contain a vast variety of urban functions. However, for an overall view, all the J.J. clusters, have been classified into 10 occupational groups as follows :-

1. Building and construction workers
2. Stone quarry workers
3. Brick Kiln workers
4. Sweepers
5. Washermen
6. Factory Labour
7. Workers in other organised sectors (like corporation, N.D.M.C, D.E.S.U, Railway, P.&T etc.)
8. Unskilled manual workers
9. Other single occupations (like doll makers and puppet showmen, drum makers, carpet makers, potters etc.)
10. Mixed occupational groups.

The tables 15,16,17 and 18 indicate the occupational distribution of J.J.clusters, the size group of each of the occupational categories and the distribution of Jhuggi households among the clusters with various occupational backgrounds.

It is revealed from table 15, that the three most important occupational groups are mixed occupational groups, construction and brick kiln workers which constitute 33.5%, 23.3% and 17.5% of the total number of clusters, respectively. Thus they, taken together, comprise 74.3% of the total. If we combine those in the construction, quarry and brick kilns, it will be found that 42.2% of the clusters owe their existence to the construction industry. Workers in the factory and other organised sectors contribute to 6.3 percent of the clusters. Sweepers, washermen and other single occupations among them constitute 11.5% of the clusters while unskilled occupations comprising porters, Jhalliwallas, casual labour, domestic workers, peons, watchmen etc consist of 6.5 percent of the clusters. A large majority of clusters in the various occupational groups except those of brick-kilns, quarry and mixed occupations are in the size group of 50 and below. The major proportion (54.3) of the clusters of the brick-kiln workers belong to the size group of 51-100 whereas 37.4% of the clusters of mixed occupational groups are in the size groups of over 100 Jhuggis. Looking at the occupational composition of the various size groups, we find that all the clusters above 1000 Jhuggis belong to three occupational categories of quarry workers, workers in the organised sectors and mixed occupational groups. Among the size groups ranging

from 301 to 1000 Jhuggis, about 70 percent of the clusters consist of mixed occupational groups. It is revealed from table 16 that the proportion of clusters with mixed occupations goes on increasing with the increase in the size of the clusters. The occupational homogeneity of the clusters is generally sustained upto 100 Jhuggi households, although there are 45.6 percent of the clusters with predominantly single occupational background in the size group of 101-300.

The tables 17 and 18 reveal the proportion of Jhuggis in the clusters with various occupational backgrounds, 57.9 percent of the Jhuggis belong to the clusters in the mixed occupational category while another 23.3 percent to construction and brick kiln workers. The rest 18.9 percent of Jhuggis are shared by the other seven occupational groups.

Table No : 15

PATTERN OF DISTRIBUTION OF THE J.J. CLUSTERS BY SIZE AND OCCUPATION

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size	O C C U P A T I O N										
	Const- ruction	Quarry	Brick Kiln	Sweepers	Washer- man	Factory Labour	Organised Sector	Unskilled	Other Single Occupn.	Mixed	Total
50 & Below	75.1%	50.0	38.6	69.0	93.3	61.3	61.1	75.4	83.1	48.3	58.9 (807)
51-100	11.6	15.0	54.3	18.3	-	19.4	13.0	16.8	4.2	14.3	20.5 (281)
101-300	10.2	15.0	7.1	11.3	6.7	12.9	18.5	4.5	9.9	22.6	13.9 (191)
301-500	2.2	5.0	-	1.4	-	3.2	-	3.3	1.4	6.7	3.2 (45)
501-1000	0.9	10.0	-	-	-	3.2	5.6	-	1.4	5.7	2.6 (36)
1001-1500	-	5.0	-	-	-	-	1.8	-	-	0.9	0.4 (6)
1501 & Above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.5	0.5 (7)
TOTAL	321	20	241	71	15	31	54	89	71	460	1373
	23.3	1.4	17.5	5.2	1.1	2.3	4.0	6.5	5.2	33.5	100.0

TABIE NO : 16

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE VARIOUS SIZE GROUPS OF CLUSTERS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size	O C C U P A T I O N										
	Const- ruction	Quarry	Brick- Klin	Sweepers	Washer- men	Factory Labour	Organised Sector	Unskilled Occupn.	Other Single Occupn.	Mixed Occupn.	Total
Below 50	29.9	1.2	11.6	6.1	1.7	2.3	4.1	8.3	7.3	27.5	58.9(807)
51-100	13.2	1.1	46.6	4.6	-	2.1	2.5	5.3	1.1	23.5	20.5(281)
101-300	17.3	1.7	8.9	4.2	0.5	2.1	5.2	2.1	3.6	54.4	13.9(191)
301-500	15.6	2.2	-	2.2	-	-	-	6.6	2.2	71.2	3.2(45)
501-1000	8.3	5.6	-	-	-	5.6	8.3	-	2.8	69.4	2.6(36)
1001-1500	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	-	66.6	0.4(6)
1501 & Above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	0.5(7)
Total	321	20	241	71	15	31	54	89	71	460	1373
%	23.2	1.4	17.5	5.2	1.1	2.3	4.0	6.5	5.2	33.5	

TABIE NO : 17

DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF JHUGGLS AT 1973 BY SIZE AND OCCUPATION GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size	O C C U P A T I O N										
	Const- runtion	Quarry	Brick- Kiln	Sweepers	Washer- men	Factory Labour	Organised Sector	Unskilled Occupn.	Other Sigle Occupn.	Mixed Occupn.	Total
50 & Below	31.6%	4.8	23.3	31.3	74.5	14.6	12.2	33.8	35.5	6.5	14.2 20450
51-100	13.8	5.1	61.5	22.5	-	14.4	8.6	22.4	4.8	6.0	13.8 19653
101-300	28.8	10.3	15.2	36.1	25.5	25.5	22.5	16.0	30.1	21.8	22.7 31599
301-500	13.9	7.5	-	10.1	-	14.6	-	27.8	13.8	14.6	12.4 17579
501-1000	11.9	43.0	-	-	-	30.9	36.7	-	15.8	22.9	18.7 26599
1001-1500	-	29.3	-	-	-	-	20.0	-	-	6.1	5.3 7449
1501 & above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.1	12.9 18426
TOTAL	18466	4362	14430	3976	545	2915.	5996	4602	3546	82917	141755
%	13.0	7.7	10.2	2.8	0.4	2.0	4.2	3.3	2.5	57.9	100.0



Table No : 18

DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF JHUGGIS IN 1973 ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION  
IN EACH OF THE SIZE GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size %	Const- ruction	Quarry	Brick Kiln	Sweepers	Washer- men	Factory Labour	Organised Sector	Unskilled Occuptn.	Other Single Occuptn.	Mixed Occuptn.	Total
Below 50	28.6	1.0	16.4	6.2	2.0	2.1	3.6	7.6	6.1	26.4	14.2 (20450)
51-100	13.0	1.1	45.1	4.5	-	2.1	2.6	5.4	0.9	25.3	13.8 (19653)
101-300	16.8	1.8	6.9	4.6	0.4	2.4	4.3	2.3	3.3	60.2	22.7 (31599)
301-500	14.7	1.9	-	2.3	-	2.4	-	7.2	2.8	68.7	12.4 (17579)
501-1000	8.1	7.1	-	-	-	3.5	8.2	-	2.1	71.0	18.7 (26599)
1001-1500	-	15.8	-	-	-	-	16.1	-	-	68.1	5.3 (7449)
1501 & Above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	12.9 (18426)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18466</b>	<b>4362</b>	<b>14430</b>	<b>3976</b>	<b>545</b>	<b>2915</b>	<b>5996</b>	<b>4602</b>	<b>3546</b>	<b>82917</b>	<b>141755</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>57.9</b>	

The Period of  
Origin of the  
Clusters in the  
Various Occupational  
Categories

A large majority of the clusters in the occupational categories of construction workers (67.2%) and brick kiln workers (72.2%) have been formed after 1966. 54.9% of the clusters of the unskilled manual labour and 60.6% of those in other single occupational category came into existence after 1961. Most of the clusters of the sweepers, (59.2%), Washermen, (86.7%), factory and industrial workers and of mixed occupations originated before 1962. The formation of the clusters of the Quarry workers and workers of organised sectors have been spread over the last 22 years. Among the Quarry workers, the two largest group of clusters were formed in 1957-61 (35.0%) and after 1972 (25.0%), respectively while 50.2% of the clusters comprising workers in the organised sectors came into being during 1957-66.

If we see the occupational composition of cluster originating at different time intervals in table 20, we find that the major proportion of clusters originating in 1966 or before belong to the mixed occupational category. It is also borne out by this table that the proportion of occupationally heterogeneous clusters decline with the origin of the clusters in the later time intervals. Among the homogeneous occupational clusters, the construction and brick kiln workers predominate among the settlements formed in 1967 or after.

The following tables indicate the age of clusters having different

occupational characteristics and the distribution of occupational groups among the clusters originating at various time intervals.

TABLE NO : 19

OCCUPATION COMPOSITION OF THE CLUSTERS ORIGINATING AT DIFFERENT  
TIME INTERVALS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Age %	Const- ruction	Quarry	Brick- Kiln,	Sweepers	Washer- men	Factory & Industrial	Other Organ- ised	Unskilled Manual Labour.	Single Occuptn.	Mixed	Total
Before 1951	5.0	1.0	1.5	8.5	3.0	4.0	5.5	9.4	4.5	57.3	14.5 (199)
1952-1956	12.2	0.9	6.1	7.0	6.1	7.0	2.7	4.5	7.0	46.5	8.3 (114)
1957-1961	14.0	3.0	8.2	7.4	-	3.0	5.2	6.9	4.7	47.6	16.8 (231)
1962-1966	18.1	1.0	14.1	6.3	0.7	1.8	5.5	7.3	6.6	38.6	19.8 (272)
1967-1971	35.1	0.6	29.5	3.3	-	0.9	3.3	4.2	3.9	19.2	22.4 (308)
1972 & After	43.5	2.0	33.3	0.8	-	-	1.2	6.4	5.2	7.6	18.2 (249)
TOTAL	321	20	241	71	15	31	54	89	71	450	1373
%	23.4	1.3	17.6	5.1	1.0	2.6	3.9	8.5	5.1	33.5	

TABLE NO : 20

DISTRIBUTION OF NO. OF CLUSTERS IN DELHI ACCORDING TO THE AGE GROUP & OCCUPN. GROUPS.

Age %	Const- ruction	Quarry	Brick- Kiln	Sweepers	Washer- men	Factory & Indust- rial	Worker in Other Organ.	Unskilled Manual Labour	Other Single- Occuptn.	Mixed Occuptn.	Total
1951 & Before	3.1	10.0	1.2	24.0	40.0	25.8	20.4	21.3	12.7	24.8	14.5
1952-1956	4.4	5.0	2.9	11.2	46.7	25.8	5.6	5.6	11.2	11.5	8.3
1957-1961	10.0	35.0	7.9	24.0	-	22.5	22.4	18.2	15.5	23.9	16.8
1962-1966	15.3	15.0	15.8	24.0	13.3	16.2	27.8	22.1	25.2	22.8	19.8
1967-1971	33.6	10.0	77.8	14.0	-	9.7	18.5	14.6	16.9	12.8	22.4
1972 & After	33.6	25.0	34.4	2.8	-	-	5.6	18.2	18.5	4.2	18.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>1373</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>23.4</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>17.6</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>33.5</b>	

Regional Background  
of the Various  
Occupational Groups

The workers in the construction, brick-kilns and stone quarrying mainly come from Rajasthan, U.P, Haryana and are clustered either as single regional groups or as mix of these three states. 67.7% of the clusters of the construction workers are from Rajasthan only whereas among the brick kiln workers 66.8% are a mix of Rajasthan, Haryana and U.P. Of the total number of 582 clusters in these occupational categories, 48.8% are inhabited by people from Rajasthan alone, 7.9% from Uttar Pradesh and 2.9% from Haryana while the rest 40.4% of the clusters are made up of a mix of inhabitants from these three regions. The clusters of sweepers and washermen are predominantly inhabited by people from U.P, Rajasthan and Haryana in separate homogeneous clusters. 64.5% of the clusters belonging to the occupational category of factory workers are from U.P, 29.1% are a mix of Rajasthan, U.P and Haryana and the rest come from Eastern states. Although a major proportion of clusters in the categories of the unskilled labour, mixed occupations, workers of the organised sectors and other single occupations, is constituted by the people from U.P or by the mixed group from U.P, Rajasthan and Haryana, there are also substantial number of clusters of people belonging to other regions in the country, among these occupations.

If we see the occupational distribution of the various regional groups, we find that a very high proportion of those from U.P, Southern states,

Central and Western states, Pakistan (refugees) and Delhi are not concentrated in particular occupations but are spread over a vast variety of functions. The clusters with heterogeneous regional composition are also composed of households engaged in different kinds of occupations. As compared to this, a predominant proportion of the households located in the clusters of Rajasthan, Haryana and a mix of Rajasthan, Haryana and U.P are occupied in single occupations like that of construction, brick kiln, sweepers etc.

The following tables (21 and 22) reveal the regional composition of the occupational groups and the occupational composition of the clusters with different regional backgrounds.

TABLE NO : 21

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J. CLUSTERS ACCORDING TO REGION GROUPS AND OCCUPATION GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Region	O C C U P A T I O N										Total
	Const- ruction	Quarry	Brick Kiln	sweepers	Washer- men	Factory Labour	Organised Sector	Unskilled Labour	Other Single Occupn.	Mixed Occupn.	
Rajasthan	67.6	40.0	25.0	12.7	-	-	3.7	24.7	15.5	5.2	25.7 (352)
U.P	9.0	10.0	6.2	26.8	66.7	64.5	37.0	37.2	31.0	29.8	22.3 (307)
Haryana	0.3	10.0	1.2	22.5	-	-	5.6	6.7	8.4	2.6	3.6 (49)
Mixed of Adjoining States	17.1	35.0	66.8	35.2	26.7	29.1	24.1	20.2	15.3	40.9	36.3 (498)
Southern	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	1.9	1.1	-	2.2	1.0 (13)
Eastern	1.3	-	-	-	-	3.2	-	-	-	0.2	0.4 (6)
Central & Western	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	3.7	-	2.9	1.1	0.8 (12)
Mixed States	3.1	5.0	0.4	-	-	-	22.2	4.5	2.9	10.0	5.6 (77)
Refugees	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	1.9	2.2	7.0	4.6	2.2 (30)
Delhi	-	-	0.4	2.8	6.6	3.2	-	3.4	7.0	3.3	2.1 (28)
TOTAL	321	20	241	71	15	31	54	89	71	460	1373
	24.1	1.4	16.9	5.1	1.1	2.2	4.0	6.4	5.2	33.5	



TABIE NO : 22

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE J.J. CLUSTERS WITH DIFFERENT REGIONAL BACKGROUNDS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Occupn./ Regions.	Const- ruction	Quarry	Brick Kiln	Sweepers	Washer- men	Factory & Industrial Labour	Worker Other Organ.	Unskilled Manual Labour	Other Single Occupn.	Mixed	Total
Rajasthan	61.5	2.3	17.0	2.5	-	-	0.6	6.2	3.1	6.8	25.7 (353)
U.P	9.5	0.7	4.9	5.9	3.3	6.5	6.5	10.8	7.2	44.7	22.4 (307)
Haryana	2.0	4.0	6.1	32.7	-	-	6.1	12.3	12.3	24.5	3.6 (49)
Mixed of Adjoin- ing States	11.0	1.4	32.3	5.0	0.8	1.8	2.6	3.6	3.6	37.8	36.3 (498)
Southern States	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	7.7	7.7	-	76.9	0.9 (13)
Eastern States	66.7	-	-	-	-	16.6	-	-	-	16.7	0.4 (6)
Central & Western States	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	16.7	41.6	0.8 (12)
Mixed	13.0	1.3	1.3	-	-	-	15.6	5.2	2.6	61.0	5.0 (77)
Refugees	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	3.3	6.7	16.7	70.0	2.2 (30)
Delhi	-	-	3.5	7.1	3.5	3.5	-	10.0	17.9	53.7	2.1 (28)
TOTAL:	321	20	241	71	15	31	54	89	71	460	1373
	24.1	1.4	16.9	5.1	1.1	2.2	4.0	6.4	5.2	33.5	

The Caste Structure  
of the J.J.Clusters

The caste composition of the clusters has been broadly classified into three main groups based on social and ritual distance scales. The lower castes include all those groups which come under the category of scheduled and backward castes and scheduled tribes and are placed at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. The upper castes consist of those groups which are traditionally known as the "twice-born" like Brahmin, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Rajputs, Kayasthas etc. The intermediary castes are placed in the middle zone and include mostly functional and cultivating castes like the Ahirs, Yadavs, Lodhs etc. Muslims and other religious groups like Budhists and Christians etc have been classified separately. A cluster has been classified as belonging to a specific caste or religious group if more than 60 percent of its inhabitants belong to that caste or religious group. There is also a mix of caste groups or different religious groups. The mixed/<sup>caste</sup> or religious clusters have been classified according to the predominant characteristics of themix. The table, 23 indicates the classification of the clusters according to caste and religious composition.

Of the total number of 1373 clusters, 59.6 percent consist of lower castes, 5.7 percent of intermediary castes, 4.3 percent of upper castes, 1.7 percent of Muslims and 0.4 percent of other single religious groups (Budhists and Sikhs). There are only 10.7 percent of the clusters which consist of a mix of upper,

lower and intermediary castes or of several religious groups. In 8.4 percent of the clusters, lower and intermediary castes are mixed. Lower and upper castes are found together in 72 percent of the cluster whereas it is so far the intermediary and upper castes in 2 percent of the clusters. It is revealed from table 23 that 71.1 percent of the clusters are habitats based on homogeneous caste groups or religious communities. In another 17.6 percent of the clusters of the composite character does not go beyond the combination of two caste groups. It will thus be found that the reliance on primordial group identities persists in order to seek social and economic security and that the Jhuggi residential settlements based on caste groupings <sup>are</sup> situational adaptation to the highly stratified urban structure.

Analysing the size of the clusters of the various caste groups, we find that more than 80 percent of the clusters with homogeneous caste or community composition do not contain more than 100 households. The clusters with 100 or less Jhuggis also predominate (more than 60%) among the two caste group combinations, but the introduction of some element of social heterogeneity leads to the formation of an increasing number of clusters with larger size. The proportion of large size clusters further increases in the clusters which have a mix of all caste or religious groups. However, it may be mentioned that even

within the large habitation areas, there is a marked tendency among the Jhuggi households to cluster around <sup>similar</sup> caste groups.

Looking at the caste composition of the clusters in each of the size groups in Table 24, we find that the lower caste clusters preponderate in each of the size groups consisting of 500 Jhuggis or less. The next important caste group in these size groups is that of intermediary castes. The high proportion of lower caste cluster in the size groups ranging between 50 and 1500 is due to the fact these clusters are a combination of several low caste groups living together. It may also be noticed that among the clusters in the size group of over 500 households, the clusters with mixture of two or more caste <sup>Groups</sup> or several religious groups outnumber those with homogeneous caste composition. 85.6 percent of the clusters in the size group of above 1500, are a mix of all caste groups or religious communities.

The tables 25 and 26 reveal the distribution of Jhuggi households corresponding to the distribution of clusters in tables 23 and 24. It is revealed from these tables that the proportion of total number of households in the mixed cluster of two or more caste groups and of mixed religious groups is much higher than their proportion of clusters both individually and as a whole. This is due to the fact that the larger the size of the cluster the greater is the heterogeneity. Of the total of 141,755 Jhuggi households, 25.8% belong to clusters with a mix of

all three caste groups or religious groups, 19.1% to one of the two caste combinations, 49.4% to lower castes and 4.7% to the homogeneous upper or intermediary caste group.

TABLE NO : 23

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J. CLUSTERS IN DELHI ACCORDING TO CASTE GROUPS AND SIZE GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

CASTE GROUPS

Size	Upper Castes	Intermed- iary Castes	Lower Castes	Lower & Inter- med- iary	Low & Upper Castes	Inter- med- & Upper	Lower, Inter- med- & Upper	Muslims	Other Reli- gious Groups	Mixed Reli- gious Groups	Total
50 & Below	71.2	88.5	58.4	48.7	47.4	82.1	47.4	70.8	60.0	51.9	58.8 (807)
51-100	10.2	5.1	24.1	21.7	21.2	14.3	16.8	16.7	-	7.7	20.4 (281)
101-300	15.2	5.1	12.1	18.3	19.2	3.6	21.2	8.3	40.0	25.0	14.3 (191)
301-500	3.4	1.3	2.8	8.7	5.0	-	2.1	4.2	-	1.9	3.3 (45)
501-1000	-	-	2.1	2.6	6.1	-	6.3	-	-	7.7	2.5 (36)
1001-1500	-	-	0.4	-	1.0	-	2.1	-	-	-	0.4 (6)
1501 & Above	-	-	0.1	-	-	-	3.2	-	-	5.8	0.4 (7)
TOTAL	59	78	818	115	99	28	95	24	5	52	1373
%	4.3	5.7	59.6	8.4	7.2	2.0	6.9	1.7	0.4	3.8	

TABLE NO : 24

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J.CLUSTERS ACCORDING TO CASTE IN EACH OF THE SIZE - GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size	Upper	Inter- mediary	Lower	Lower & Inter- mediary	Lower & Upper	Inter- mediary & Upper	Inter- mediary, Upper & Lower	Muslims	Other Reli- gious Groups	Mixed Religi- ous Groups	Total
Below 50	5.2	8.5	59.2	6.9	5.8	2.8	5.6	2.1	0.4	3.3	58.8 (207)
51-100	2.1	1.4	70.1	8.9	7.5	1.4	5.7	1.4	-	1.4	20.5 (281)
101-300	4.7	2.1	51.8	11.0	9.9	0.5	11.0	0.1	0.1	6.8	13.9 (191)
301-500	4.4	2.2	51.1	22.2	11.1	-	4.4	2.2	-	2.2	3.3 (45)
501-1000	-	-	47.2	8.3	16.7	-	16.7	-	-	11.1	2.6 (36)
1001-1500	-	-	50.0	-	16.7	-	33.3	-	-	-	0.4 (6)
1501 & above	-	-	14.3	-	-	-	42.8	-	-	42.8	0.5 (7)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>818</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>1373</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>59.6</b>	<b>8.4</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>3.8</b>	

TABLE NO : 25

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGIS IN 1973 IN DELHI ACCORDING TO CASTE GROUPS AND SIZE GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size	Upper Castes	Inter-medialy Castes	Lower Castes	Lower & Inter-medialy	Lower & Upper Castes	Inter-medialy & Upper	Lower & Inter-medialy & Upper	Muslims	Other Religious Groups	Mixed Religious Groups	Total
50 And Below	27.8	50.1	17.6	10.8	9.5	54.5	5.6	26.0	18.4	4.8	14.2 (20450)
51-100	14.4	10.2	19.5	13.1	11.3	29.4	6.2	21.4	-	2.0	13.8 (19553)
101-300	36.3	20.0	23.6	30.4	19.2	16.1	18.3	23.3	81.6	14.0	22.7 (81599)
301-500	21.5	11.7	12.9	31.1	14.1	-	3.5	29.3	-	2.8	12.4 (17579)
501-1000	-	-	17.5	14.6	35.5	-	22.2	-	-	18.8	18.7 (26599)
1001-1500	-	-	5.2	-	10.4	-	11.9	-	-	-	5.3 (7449)
1501 & Above	-	-	3.6	-	-	-	32.3	-	-	57.6	12.9 (18426)
TOTAL	3361	2686	69983	13289	13307	862	20590	1215	375	16007	141755
%	2.9	1.8	49.4	9.2	9.3	0.6	14.5	0.8	0.2	11.3	



TABLE NO : 26

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGIS IN 1973 ACCORDING TO CASTE-GROUPS IN EACH OF THE SIZE-GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size	Upper Castes	Inter-mediary	Lower	Lower & Inter-mediary	Lower & Upper	Inter-mediary & Upper	Inter-mediary, Upper & Lower	Muslims	Other Religious Groups	Mixed Religious Groups	Total
Below 50	4.6	7.6	60.9	7.1	6.2	2.3	5.7	1.5	0.3	3.7	14.4 (20450)
51-100	2.5	1.4	69.0	8.8	7.6	1.3	6.5	1.3	-	1.6	13.9 (19653)
101-300	3.8	1.7	52.2	12.8	8.1	0.4	11.9	0.9	0.9	7.1	22.3 (31599)
301-500	4.3	1.8	51.4	23.0	10.8	-	4.1	2.8	-	2.6	12.4 (17579)
501-1000	-	-	46.4	4.3	17.7	-	17.2	-	-	11.4	18.8 (26599)
1001-1500	-	-	48.6	-	18.5	-	32.8	-	-	-	5.2 (7449)
1501 & Above	-	-	13.6	-	-	-	36.1	-	-	50.3	13.0 (18426)
TOTAL	3361	2686	69983	13289	133060	862	20590	1215	375	16087	141755
%	2.4	1.9	49.4	9.4	9.4	0.6	14.5	0.8	0.3	11.3	

Castes and Occupation

In general there is a marked tendency among the clusters which are homogeneous in caste to be so also in regard to their occupational composition except among those of the upper caste and Muslims where a majority of them have mixed occupational status. Among the lower and intermediary caste clusters, only 2.2% and 37.1%, respectively, have heterogeneous occupational composition. The proportion of mixed occupations increases in the mixed caste or religious group clusters as explained by the fact that more than 50 percent in the category of the mix of three caste groups or several religious communities have heterogeneous occupational structure. More than 50 percent of the clusters in the two caste group combinations belong to the mixed occupational category, except those of the mix of intermediary and upper castes.

On viewing the extent of the clustering of caste groups among the various occupational categories, we find that 75 to over 90 percent among the clusters of construction workers, quarry, brick-kiln workers, sweepers and wahhermen belong to lower or intermediary caste groups. 77.8 percent of the clusters of the factory labour are habitation areas of lower castes or of mixed caste groups of lower and upper castes and upper and intermediary caste groups. Among the clusters formed by unskilled manual workers, 66.3% constitute of Jhuggi households belonging to lower and intermediary caste groups. The clusters of mixed occupations and other

single occupations are spread over all caste groups. A marked feature observed is that lower caste clusters are not only spread over in all occupational categories except that of washermen, but account for the highest proportion of homogeneous caste group clusters among the various occupational categories.

The following tables (27 and 28) show the distribution of J.J.Clusters according to caste and occupation.

TABLE NO : 27

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE VARIOUS CASTE GROUP CLUSTERS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Caste Groups	Const- ruction	Quarry	Brick- Kiln	Sweepers	Washer- ment	Factory Labour	Organi- sed Sector	Unskilled Labour	Single Occu- pations	Mixed Occu- pations	Total
Hindu Upper	13.6	-	-	-	-	1.7	11.0	5.1	15.2	52.6	4.3 (59)
Hindu Inter.	7.7	1.3	2.6	-	17.9	2.6	6.4	10.3	14.1	37.1	5.7 (78)
Hindu Lower	29.3	2.2	26.3	8.2	-	1.2	2.1	6.3	3.6	20.9	59.6 (818)
Hindu Lower & Intermediary	19.0	-	9.6	1.0	-	2.6	4.3	2.6	4.3	54.8	8.4 (115)
Hindu Lower & Upper	10.1	-	11.1	-	1.0	7.1	3.0	6.1	6.1	55.5	7.2 (99)
Hindu Inter. & Upper	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	21.4	10.7	14.3	39.3	2.0 (28)
Hindu Inter. + Upper & Lower	8.4	1.1	1.0	2.1	-	4.2	7.4	2.4	5.3	62.1	6.9 (95)
Muslims	12.5	-	-	-	-	-	4.2	16.7	4.2	62.4	1.7 (24)
Other Religious Groups	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	40.0	0.4 (5)
Mixed Religious Groups	40.0	-	1.9	-	-	-	5.8	5.8	-	46.1	3.3 (52)
Total	33.4	1.4	17.5	5.2	1.1	3.3	3.9	6.5	5.2	33.5	100

TABLE NO. ; 28

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J. CLUSTERS OF DELHI ACCORDING TO CASTE GROUPS & OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Caste Groups	Const- ruction	Quarry	Brick- Kiln	Sweepers	Washer- men	Factory Labour	Organised Sector	Unskilled	Single Occup.	Mixed Occup.	Total
Hindu Upper Caste	2.5	-	-	-	-	3.2	13.0	3.4	12.7	6.7	4.3 (59)
Intermediary	1.9	5.0	0.8	-	93.3	6.4	9.2	9.0	15.5	6.3	5.7 (78)
Lower	74.8	90.0	89.2	94.4	-	32.3	31.5	57.3	40.9	37.2	59.6 (818)
Lower & Intermediary	7.2	-	4.6	2.8	-	9.7	9.3	3.4	7.0	13.7	8.4 (115)
Lower & Upper Caste	3.1	-	4.6	-	6.7	22.6	5.5	6.7	8.5	12.0	7.2 (99)
Upper & Inter- mediary	-	-	-	-	-	12.9	11.1	3.4	5.6	2.4	2.0 (28)
Upper & Inter. Lower	2.5	5.0	0.4	2.8	-	12.9	13.0	9.0	7.0	12.8	6.9 (95)
Muslims	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	1.9	4.5	1.4	3.3	1.7 (24)
Other Religious	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.4	0.4	0.4 (5)
Mixed Groups	6.5	-	0.4	-	-	-	5.5	3.3	-	5.2	3.8 (52)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>860</b>	<b>1373</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>23.4</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>17.6</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>33.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Regional Background  
of the J.J. Settlements

A very large number of the families living in the J.J. Settlements come from a culturally homogeneous hinterland of Delhi. 88.3 percent of the Jhuggi clusters belong to the states of Rajasthan, U.P, Haryana or to a mix of these regions. The two most numerous groups of single region clusters are that of Rajasthan and U.P which account for 25.8% and 22.5% of the total clusters, respectively. There are only 89 clusters, including those of refugees and Delhi, comprising 2.8% of the total of 141,755 Jhuggis which belong to southern, eastern, central and western regions. Another 77 clusters consisting of slightly more than 13,000 (9.20%) Jhuggis are such where people from all regions live together. It may be mentioned here that a cluster has been assigned to a regional group when more than 60 percent of its residents come from the same region.

It is also observed that more than 80 percent of the clusters belonging to various regions excepting those of the southern states, mix of adjoining states and mix of all states, are habitation areas of households not exceeding 100. An increasing proportion of large size clusters is only found among the clusters which are a mixture of several regional groups. Among the clusters of southern, eastern, central and western states, refugees and Delhi, there are no settlements above the size group of 300 Jhuggis. The clusters in the size group of over 300 Jhuggis consist less than 5 percent of the settlements of Rajasthan, U.P and

Haryana. Looking at the time of the origin of the clusters with various regional composition we find that a great majority of those belonging to Rajasthan and Eastern states have been formed after 1966, while a major proportion of those belonging to Haryana, Refugees, Delhi and mix of all states originated before 1962. A majority of the clusters of U.P and southern states came into being during 1957-66. The clusters of the mix of adjoining states are spread, more or less evenly, over the various time intervals. The tables 29, 30, 31 and 32 show the distribution of J.J.Clusters and Jhuggis according to regional composition, size groups and the time of origin;

TABLE NO: 29

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J. CLUSTERS ACCORDING TO REGIONAL GROUPS AND SIZE GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size/Region	Rajasthan	U.P	Haryana	Mixed of Adjoining States	Southern Region	Eastern Region	Central & Western States	Mixed of all States	Refugees	Delhi	Total
Below 50	69.9	70.7	72.0	41.4	61.6	63.3	63.3	45.4	63.3	65.7	58.8 (807)
51-100	21.5	12.4	14.0	27.2	7.15	-	16.7	15.6	20.0	10.7	20.6 (281)
101-300	5.4	12.4	6.0	19.8	30.6	16.7	-	26.0	16.7	3.6	13.9 (191)
301-500	2.3	3.0	2.0	4.8	-	-	-	5.2	-	-	3.4 (45)
501-1000	0.6	1.2	2.0	5.0	-	-	-	5.2	-	-	2.4 (36)
1001-1500	0.3	0.3	-	0.6	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	0.4 (6)
1501 & above	-	-	-	1.2	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	0.5 (7)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>353</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1373</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>25.0</b>	<b>22.5</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>36.3</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>2.0</b>	



TABLE NO : 30

REGIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE CLUSTERS IN EACH OF THE SIZE GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size Groups	REGIONAL GROUPS										
	Rajasthan	U.P	Haryana	Mixed of Adjoining States	Southern Region	Eastern Region	Central & Western States	Mixed of all states	Refugees	Delhi	Total
50 & Below	30.6	27.0	4.5	25.5	1.0	0.6	1.2	4.2	2.4	3.0	(80)
51-100	27.0	13.5	2.6	48.2	0.3	-	0.6	4.4	2.2	1.1	(28)
101-300	10.0	20.1	2.0	51.9	2.0	0.5	-	10.5	2.5	0.5	(191)
301-500	17.8	20.0	2.2	51.1	-	-	-	8.9	-	-	(45)
501-1000	5.6	11.2	2.6	69.4	-	-	-	11.2	-	-	(36)
1001-1500	16.7	16.7	-	50.0	-	-	-	16.7	-	-	(6)
1501 & Above	-	-	-	85.8	-	-	-	14.2	-	-	(7)
TOTAL	25.8	22.5	3.7	36.3	0.9	0.4	0.8	5.5	2.1	2.0	1373
	353	307	49	498	13	6	12	77	30	28	

TABLE NO : 21

DISTRIBUTION OF JHUGGIS IN 1973 ACCORDING TO REGIONAL GROUPS & SIZE GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Size/Region	Rajasthan	U.P	Haryana	Mixed of Adjoin- ing States	Southern Region	Eastern Region	Central & West- ern States	Mixed	Refugees	Delhi	Total
Below 50	30.9	23.0	28.4	7.7	16.1	47.8	59.4	5.9	28.3	58.3	14.2 (2045)
51-100	26.4	12.4	17.0	11.8	5.0	-	40.6	7.6	33.3	20.0	13.8 (1965)
101-300	13.4	29.9	18.4	21.1	78.9	52.2	-	23.7	38.4	21.7	22.7 (3159)
301-500	15.5	17.0	14.2	11.1	-	-	-	13.0	-	-	12.4 (1757)
501-1000	6.8	12.9	22.0	24.2	-	-	-	19.8	-	-	10.7 (2659)
1001-1500	7.0	4.8	-	4.4	-	-	-	10.8	-	-	5.3 (7449)
1501 & Above	-	-	-	19.7	-	-	-	19.2	-	-	12.9 (1842)
<b>TOTAL</b>	19365	21356	2800	80705	1099	322	325	13093	1392	1098	141755
<b>%</b>	13.1	15.0	2.0	57.9	0.7	0.2	0.2	9.2	1.0	0.7	

TABLE NO: 32

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J. CLUSTERS IN DELHI BY AGE GROUPS AND REGION GROUPS

( IN PERCENTAGE )

Age Groups	Rajasthan	J.P	Haryana	Mixed of Adjoin- ing States	Southern Region	Eastern Region	Central & Western States	Mixed Groups	Refugees	Delhi	Total
1951 & Before	2.8	13.7	26.5	17.5	7.7	-	25.0	19.5	46.7	50.0	14.5 (199)
1952-1956	2.8	11.4	4.1	10.6	7.7	-	8.3	11.7	3.3	7.2	8.3 (114)
1957-1961	9.4	25.7	22.5	16.3	23.1	16.7	-	20.8	13.3	10.8	16.8 (231)
1962-1966	15.3	27.7	14.3	18.9	38.4	-	8.3	13.0	26.6	26.4	19.8 (272)
1967-1971	38.4	14.7	10.2	21.7	15.4	50.0	16.7	28.6	6.6	3.6	22.4 (303)
1972 & After	36.3	8.8	22.4	15.1	7.7	33.3	41.7	6.5	3.3	-	18.2 (249)
TOTAL	353	307	49	490	13	6	12	77	30	28	1373
Percentage	25.0	22.5	3.7	36.3	0.9	0.4	0.8	5.5	2.1	2.0	100.0

Land Occupied By  
Jhuggi-Jhonpri  
Settlements

A total of about 610 hectares of land is occupied by the 1373 clusters. Of this total land, 89.24 hectares or 14.7% is inhabited by 11,272 Jhuggi households in the 272 clusters in the rural zone. The rest of the land is occupied by the clusters in the urbanisable limits of Delhi. The largest proportion of land (161.28 hectares) is occupied by the clusters in the D zone. The planning divisions D, G and H among them comprise 55.6% of the total land inhabited by the Jhuggi households.

The 1088 clusters with 100 or less Jhuggis are located on 27.9% (170.28 hectares) of the land whereas 285 clusters above the size of 100 jhuggis occupy 72.1% of the land. 70.6 percent of the total land belongs to public agencies. Most of the private land occupied by J.J. clusters lies in the rural zone and is owned by the brick-kiln owners who have put up the settlements for the labour working in the kilns.

The following tables reveal the distribution of land occupied by J.J. clusters in the various planning divisions, land occupied by the various size group of clusters and the ownership of land by the various agencies.

TABLE NO : 33

LAND OCCUPIED BY J.J. CLUSTERS IN THE VARIOUS PLANNING DIVISIONS

Planning Divisions	Total No. of Clusters	Total Jhuggis	Area in Hectares	Percentage to Total
A	69	3445	0.76	1.4
B	95	12915	43.60	7.1
C	119	14028	72.43	11.9
D	216	33064	161.28	26.4
E	101	5289	22.64	3.7
F	255	22033	88.89	14.6
G	170	20491	88.82	14.6
H	76	12271	38.84	5.6
R	272	18219	89.24	14.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1373</b>	<b>141755</b>	<b>609.56</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABIE NO: 34

LAND OCCUPIED BY VARIOUS SIZE GROUPS OF J.J. CLUSTERS

Size Code	Total No. of Clusters	Total Jhuggis	Area in Hectares	Percentage to Total
50 & Below	607	20450	78.52	12.9
51-100	281	19653	91.76	15.0
101-300	191	31599	140.84	23.1
301-500	45	17579	80.00	13.1
501-1000	36	26599	121.96	20.0
1001-1500	6	7449	31.04	5.0
1501 & After	7	18426	65.36	10.9
TOTAL	1373	141755	609.56	100.0

TABLE NO : 35

DISTRIBUTION OF J.J.CLUSTERS BY OWNERSHIP LAND & AREA OCCUPIED

Ownership of the Land	Total No. of Clusters	Total Jhuggis	Area in Hectares	Percentage to Total
Private Land	474	30989	149.72	24.6
Public Land	653	104127	430.40	70.6
Private & Public Land	30	3595	18.72	3.0
Ownership Not Known	16	3044	10.72	1.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1373</b>	<b>141755</b>	<b>609.56</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The Social Structure  
of the J.J. Settlements  
as a means of  
Socialisation of the  
Urban Immigrants

The study of the social composition of the JhuggiJhonpri settlements reveals certain basic features of their living in the Urban system. It is also unfolds some of the elements of the social and cultural context of a metropolitan city in India. The characteristic Jhuggi Jhonpri settlement is comparatively a small group occupying from half an acre to one acre of land and housing about one hundred families in small huts of mud or mud bricks with roofing of sundry material made of thatch, asbestos or wooden sheets, tin sheets etc. Generally the huts are occupied by family units rather than by rot less individuals. Although there are substantial number of large clustefs, the basic nucleus of living together in them is fifty to hundred families forming a physical identity of their own.

The residents of these settlements have brought to the urban centre their village identity with them. Village and territorial networks play a large part in the recruitment of workers to the urban labour force and people from the same village or from neighbouring villages show a preference for living together in their new places of work. Linguistic, caste and kinship ties are the other important factors which form the basis of settlement and community formation of the Jhuggi dwellers.

All social groups live in space in the city but the mere fact of living together creates bonds of mutual dependence which vary generally from one



social group to another. In these settlements we find that bonds of living together find expression in both vertical solidarity of the village district or region and the horizontal solidarity of caste and kindship. Personal contact plays a vital role in articulating traditional structures such as lineage, caste and village. A very large proportion of the U.J. clusters are small in size and thus reinforce the ties of locality and caste. The close-knit network of social relationship is made possible through the basic sense of identity involved in living together in a particular area. The residents exhibit an intense identification with the locale of their habitat. It is in the settlements that they hold together to provide mutual aid in the face of difficulties that are potentially always close at hand. Thus the area of settlement provides the core of extensive social integration that characterises the Juggi dwellers.

While it is true that there is juxtaposition of many social groups and a greater interpenetration between these social groups in the urban context, it is equally true that the new networks of relationships that emerge out of this are still based on personal ties. What is happening can perhaps be seen as an extension of the choices open to individuals but these are choices which even now have to be largely within the framework of traditional obligations and loyalties. In

this way, the quality of social life in the city evidenced in the J.J. clusters has a basic continuity with that prevails in a village. In both, the obligations of kinship, caste and locality are important though perhaps in different degrees. In both the individual's social network includes numerous links based on these three factors and indeed such networks play a most important part in articulating the rural social structure with the urban.

However, the social composition of the J.J. settlements in the city though based on locality, caste, language and kinship is not exactly the replica of these ties in the rural communities but are fundamentally different as these result from situational adaptation to structural placement of the low income group immigrants.

The continuity of the traditional social groupings is a means by which heterogeneous population categorise one another and reduce a plethora of individual differences to a manageable index of friends and strangers of varying social standing and social proximity.

The social grouping of the J.J. clusters based on the net work of relationships from the same village, caste, or region, are thus the means by which the immigrants become socialised in the urban environment. They offer the immigrants a secure

base with which to confront the large and highly diversified urban community and to explore the social terrain. Within this context, the J.J. dweller not only relies on village fellows or castemen to help find housing and job and interpret the cultural and social idioms of the city, but he can also maintain some continuity and value preferences of his home area. Thus, the social groupings of the J.J. dwellers build for them a cultural bridge and in so doing they convey them from one kind of social universe to another. But the involvement in the traditional ties also implies a certain conservative element which may result in the J.J. dwellers becoming encapsulated within too restricted a network of social relationships which may inhibit the development of other ties useful in the urban context.

A distinctive feature of the social composition of the J.J. settlements is that it consists of a large proportion of lower castes (Scheduled and backward castes). These people come from the lowest stratum of agrarian hierarchy whose social environments in the villages is becoming invested with increasing uncertainty and insecurity despite considerable social and economic development. These people not only belong to the bottom of the heap in the social hierarchy of the rural communities but are also economically and politically

deprived. The migration to the city in their case is not so much a move of desperation as it is an alternative way of life. It means a transition for them from backwardness to development and an entry from a system of cumulative inequalities to an open system where possibilities to move out of them through social mobility exist. Although they remain at the bottom of the heap in the social system of the city also, they are able to overcome, to a certain extent, the fact of their social origins in securing a relatively favourable social and economic position in comparison to their placement in the rural socio-economic environment. The residential pattern of the J.J clusters provides the spatial framework for coherence of the social units of the lower caste groups and self-identity vis-a vis the other social groups in the urban structure.

A very large proportion of the Jhuggi dwellers live on casual labour. These people have thus no security of employment and no assured minimum wage. Since this class is unorganised in so far its economic interests are concerned., it is unable to derive economic benefits from the urban system. However, the close knit social organisation of the Jhuggi dwellers based on primary group loyalties does provide them a placement in the occupational sectors where particular social groups are well entrenched. The primary group communities of the Jhuggi-dwellers also

perform the function of finding residential space which they can not afford in the urban land and housing market. It is only at the group level that the settlement comes into being. Although the individual rights of occupancy in the settlements are respected by the group, it is the group which secures such a right by identifying itself as a collectivity with <sup>in</sup> the space of the settlements.

The Socio-physical environment of the Jhuggi-dwellers is essentially that of urban human settlements. They form natural communities in the metropolitan city. These settlements can not be considered as transitional "way stations" as some imagine them to be. Socially, they cling together and form primary group associations to squat on public property to enable them to survive. The Jhuggi Dhopri settlements thus represent a response of thrust towards a new concept of living. The social structure of these human settlements by incorporating traditional practices and attitudes facilitates social and psychological adjustment of the Jhuggi dwellers to the rapidly modernising urban community. If they successfully manage to go through this transition without grave dislocations to the urban socio-physical system, their accelerated adjustment may contribute to the pace of economic and social development. However, if the system is not able to accommodate their demand successfully, they may add to the disruptive instabilities that characterise

the growth of cities in India. In an effort of planned social change and concrete action programmes for the social development of the Jhuggi-Jhonpuri settlements, it is imperative that the dynamics of the process that leads to the formation of such settlements is correctly understood.

ENUMERATION SHEET OF JHUGGI CLUSTER

PLANNING DIVISION

NAME OF INVESTIGATOR

NAME OF THE CLUSTER

DATE STARTED

DATE COMPLETED

A. LOCATION

1. IDENTIFICATION :\*

2. OWNERSHIP OF LAND

3. PREDOMINANT USE                      RESIDENTIAL/COMMERCIAL/MIXED

4. ESTIMATED AREA COVERED. LENGTH                      YDS BREADTH                      YDS

B. SIZE :

NUMBER OF JHUGGIS

C. AGE :

1. YEAR THE CLUSTER ORIGINATED :

2. NUMBER OF JHUGGIS AT THE TIME OF ORIGIN

3. YEAR THE MAJOR EXPANSION WAS WITNESSED :

4. JHUGGIS ADDED LAST YEAR :

5. WAS THE CLUSTER LOCATED ELSE-WHERE                      YES/NO

IF YES    (I) WHERE  
          (II) WHY SHIFTED

## (III) REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE PRESENT SITE

D. SOCIAL COMPOSITION

1. RELIGION
2. CASTE
3. REGIONAL BACKGROUND STATE/DISTT.
4. OCCUPATION

E. REMARKS IF ANY


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\* Main road, side road or lane, neighbouring residential colony if any, well - known Building or Public Institution ( Mark on the Guide Map of Delhi ).

Jhuggi to be defined as a temporary physical structure used for living or other purposes and made of straw, mud, loose bricks, tin, wood, corrugated sheets etc.

A single Jhuggi for enumeration purpose to be identified as a physical structure having a separate roof, and independent entrance.

(Pacca regular structure using regular foundation and old village settlements to be excluded).

Ten or more Jhuggis in close proximity to each other to be identified as a separate Jhuggi cluster.