RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF LOW-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS
IN HYDERABAD, INDIA

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by

Jonathan Dharmaraj Pothula

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DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS
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The thesis examines the residential location of low-income households in Hyderabad. It reveals the current distribution of low-income housing both in the formal and informal housing markets composed mainly of old city tenements, government housing, unauthorised settlements, illegal sub-divisions and private housing.

Through in-depth case studies of families and household interviews selected from various types of settlements all over the city, the thesis shows how the low-income households chose their residential location within Hyderabad. It also looks in detail at the structure of the owner-occupied housing sub-markets for low-income groups, analyses the various residential choices and alternatives available in the city and investigates the way in which the residential location of low-income households has changed over the last four decades in different parts of the city.

The thesis also shows how the government actions have contributed to the deepening housing crisis through the allocation of inadequate financial resources in state plan outlays for low cost owner-occupied housing. A major reorientation of housing policy is called for, in which the current priorities for housing and infrastructure provision and the control of resources especially land and tenure are taken care of.
Finally, the thesis provides a conceptual model and a methodological basis for improved understanding of residential circumstances and household changes of low-income households in Hyderabad.
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CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION - REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

BACKGROUND:

1.0. INTRODUCTION:

The purpose of this thesis is to improve our knowledge of the processes through which the low-income households acquire their residential location. The study is focused on the demand side of housing.

There are three main reasons why the study of residential locational choices is important. The first is that the examination of housing locational choices provide a reliable way of measuring residential preferences. It is not possible to predict behaviour from attitudes expressed in a situation of non-active choice (Finsbein, 1966; Desbarats, 1977, p.284). Residential behaviour is the best indicator of residential preferences. Residential decisions are an active expression of the value placed on different residential attributes. They provide a more reliable guide to preferences because they are made in a situation where the household must take account of constraints and consider more closely the consequences of its decisions. Therefore, knowledge of preferences can be based on realistic attitudes, behavioral intentions or actual choice, rather than vague optimal choices.
Information about the household characteristics of migrants and the causes of residential movement also assists government agencies in policy making. Migration is the main determinant of change in social and demographic structures (Hall, et al., 1973; Willis, 1974), and these structures are important indicators of the problems and needs which planners wish to anticipate, remedy or satisfy. As such, they can provide valuable input into the preparation of local plans, thereby assisting in the formulation of new policies, illuminate the failings in the past policies (Lowry, 1980) and through their monitoring function, especially between inter-censal years, give an early indication of the failure of existing policies (Clark & Moore, 1980). They can also assist with the prediction of the household characteristics of peripheral urban areas. This depends partly on a knowledge of the causes of household movement as well as the characteristics of residentially mobile households. Though the search for explanation can transfer the problem of prediction to a succession of independent variables, there are well argued reasons (Willis, 1974) to support the view that a knowledge of the determinants of migration, assists the formulation of dynamic¹, prediction models, rather than static projections. Explanation is a pre-requisite to more accurate prediction. The policy instruments control supply characteristics (Clark & Moore, 1980), but the way in which these should be regulated depend on the household demand characteristics.

1. Dynamic models incorporate information about changes in the determinants of rates and characteristics of changes due to migration, "static" projections assume no changes in the determinants of such changes.
The third and arguably the most important value of this kind of residential location study concerns its contribution to knowledge in the field of housing. It helps to explain the characteristics of urban social structure. Given the existing pattern of housing and residential fabric, household movement is responsible for the location of households within urban areas. An understanding of the causal mechanisms at work in residential location of low-income household process is essential for the construction of any truly dynamic model of urban structure. These depend on the changing relationship between the residential environment on the one hand, and household needs, preferences and characteristics on the other, as well as forces of housing allocation and supply which shape the decision making environment.

The main purposes therefore, of this thesis, are to reconcile some of the competing theories that have been advanced to account for residential location, to extend an understanding of the residential circumstances and household changes and to assess the ways in which households satisfy their residential needs and consider the influences of tenure, land cost and affordability in the process of residential location.

1.2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:

The purpose of this review is to describe and evaluate the existing knowledge about the various changes that the household makes in choosing his residential
location from the various options available to him. It aims to consider the variety of findings and pinpoint the areas of uncertainty. The first part discusses the theoretical perspectives within which the residential locational choices of low-income household lies and looks at the various models of intra-urban residential location. The second part consists of a review of analyses attempting to explain the changes in the family life cycle, tenure choice, land tenure and informal sub-markets and its influence over the household in choosing his residential location.

1.2.1. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES:

Progress in social sciences has often been seen in terms of paradigm shifts (Johnston, 1979; Bird, 1979). Housing is an excellent case in point, having moved from social ecology to the empiricism of neo-classical economics, onto behaviouralism and phenomenology, and most recently coming to rest in the embrace of the structuralists, the advocate of radical and socially relevant research who see the urban problems in the context of the development of particular forms (Bassett & Short, 1980). These four approaches to housing differ fundamentally. Social ecology focused on the description of patterns of residential differentiation in urban space but placed too much emphasis on family life-cycle in attempting to explain spatial patterns, and was given to unfortunate analogies equating urban life with biological invasion and succession, conflict and competition (Bassett & Short, 1980). The demise of the ecological approach was paralleled by an upsurge in the logical positivism, made most explicit in the use
of micro-economic equilibrium theory to explain the operation of the housing market (Alonso, 1964; Muth, 1969; Evans, 1973). Empirical studies have a long and respected tradition in urban geography. The analysis of elasticities of supply and demand for different housing tenures and multivariate models of 'tenure choice' are commonplace particularly in the World Bank (Struyk, 1974; Lim, et al., 1980, p.13). The notion of individual utility maximisation via a trade-off between spatial location and transport costs was extended to the 'Third World Cities' in John Turner's (1968) model of residential decision making in which households balanced different facets of dwelling environment (Tenure, Security, Space needs and Location) in order to arrive at their optimum position within the housing market. Dissatisfaction with the narrow empiricism of the micro-economic modelling gave birth to two different traditions: behaviouralism which focused on the individual actor in the housing market and his perception of reality and structuralism which placed housing problems firmly within the wider context of social structure and the distribution of political power among different social groups. Social ecological, neo-classical economics and the behavioral approach to housing all shared one fundamentally important characteristic; their emphasis on individual choice, on demand as the basic dynamic in the housing market even at low levels of income. Structuralism rightly reacted against the unreality of this assumption and focused its attention on the supply factors which limit choice and force households into particular sectors of the housing market.

Any of these theories could be used to conduct a study of Residential Locational
Choices of Low-Income Households. The best way to achieve this is the wholesale abandonment of one theory and the acceptance of another or by blending of theories and techniques from each of these theories.

As Bassett and Short (1980) point out, within this area (of housing studies) there is no hegemonic social theory, it is a polyparadigmatic field of enquiry. The best way to understand the residential locational choices of low-income households lie in the selective use of tools and concepts from the ecological and economic approaches of these theories.

The choice and constraints are important factors in the operation of the housing market. The key to understanding the residential locational choices among low-income households lies in untangling this balancing between choice and constraints. While it is true to say that the structure of the society determines the extent to which housing preferences may be exercised, these preferences do vary and the tools and techniques of classical economics may be important aids in understanding exactly what they do.

**HOUSING AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE:**

Any theoretical analysis of housing must begin with a deceptively simple question: what is a house? Marxian analysts define housing as a commodity, although a rather unusual one because of its peculiar characteristics (Clark & Grinsburg, 1975;
Housing represents but a particular example of the commodification of production under capitalism (Forest & Williams, 1980). The value of a physical unit is determined by the socially necessary labour time required for its production (Ball, 1978, p. 83). Because the only exchangeable commodity the working class possesses is its own labour power, the commodity status of housing acts to reinforce the structure of social classes created by capitalism. More specifically the determining elements of the housing problem must be sought for in the commodity status of housing objects which are produced and exchanged in a society dominated by the capitalist mode of production (Burgess, 1978).

Urbanisation is viewed as a spatial manifestation of industrial capitalism, designed to accelerate the rate of accumulation of surplus value by concentration of wealth on the means of production and reducing the costs of reproducing labour power. Conventional Marxian Theory then holds that social classes stem from the capitalist mode of production and the particular structure of labour relations which capitalism creates: class boundaries are forged in the workplace not in the housing market. Tenure is therefore irrelevant to the definition of class - it cannot affect the position of the proletarian vis-a-vis the capitalist since labour relations over-ride differences in tenure (Ball, 1976; Saunders, 1979). Since social classes are defined on the basis of objective, material differences, variations in housing tenure can play only an ideological role in dividing the working class (Saunders, 1979). The essence of Marxist analysis is the materialistic conception
of social life, the ways in which human beings produce and reproduce the material means and form of their existence. In the classical Marxian model, terraced housing owned by absentee landlords or renting was the natural tenancy for the working class, since ownership was beyond their financial reach and state housing almost non-existent (Cowley, 1979). But even in Britain where the theory was developed, recent changes in the forms of tenure available to low-income groups have forced a re-evaluation of marxian thought. The rise in working class owner-occupation and the expansion of public sector housing have exacerbated economic and ideological divisions within the proletariat. Elsewhere in the developed capitalist world, tenancy never was the preserve of the working class (Duncan, 1976; Kemeny, 1978, p.p. 313-314).

In the Third World the theory is of less value. Here economic development has not created an industrial proletariat in the marxian sense of the word, a homogeneous social class linked to the workplace, defined by objective material differences and possessive of a cohesive class consciousness. The urban poor are an extremely heterogeneous group (Bendix, 1974). They have few interests in common and are fragmented internally by the labour market, the structure of the national economy and the actions of elite, divisions which are necessarily reflected in the forms of housing they occupy (Leeds, 1974). Roberts (1978) points out that particular occupations in the Third World that do not carry with them the same collectivity of status attributes as in the developed realm, so that the link between production and social class is much more complex. Political action is extremely
limited, usually parochial in outlook and conservative in nature (Cornelius, 1975).

As in many advanced capitalist nations, the rise of owner-occupation among the urban poor of many Third World countries has further complicated the application of Marxist theory of housing. Rising rates of low-income home-ownership have been a striking feature of urbanization in many Third World countries over the past four decades. The growth of irregular settlements\(^2\) has brought "home-ownership" within the reach of substantial proportion of the urban poor by drastically reducing the costs of producing housing. Though some Marxian analysts still adhere to the classical tradition, conventional theory has undergone considerable modification in the light of the developments pinpointed above (Saunders, 1979; Harloe, 1979; Bassett & Short, 1980). The simple dichotomy between ownership and renting or consumer and supplier of housing, the belief that the social class is entirely unrelated to housing tenure, have been replaced by more complex neo-Marxian ideas (Saunders, 1979). While suppliers live off-property and renters live in it, the owner-occupier does both, so there can be no dichotomous class antagonism between different tenure groups or between suppliers and consumers in the housing market. Though tenure is still seen as subordinate to the control of the means of production, the neo-Marxian school feel that property relations cannot be divorced from the general class struggle.

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2. Settlements which have violated the building and planning permissions, illegal land sub-divisions, unauthorised colonies and squatters (who are illegally occupying the public land).
Housing is still an essential element in the social reproduction of labour power, but at the same time it is a commodity which may be used as a material base for the actual production of surplus value and the accumulation of capital (Boddy, 1976). So the housing process has both an ideological and a material or economic dimension. Ownership may give rise to increasing inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth via fiscal advantages, enforced savings, inflationary gain (among landlords) and the receipt of rent. Hence within each social class, differences in housing will create differences in material living standards (Saunders, 1979). Unlike owner-occupiers, renters are rarely able to realise the exchange value of the dwellings in which they live. Saunders (1978, p.239-241) has taken this argument a step further by identifying owner-occupiers as a distinct political force as members of a property class, defined not by status but by the potential they share for capital accumulation. This represents a considerable departure from traditional Marxian analysis, if indeed it can be called a Marxian idea at all, but it is of no great use in this study. The differences between low and high income owners are far too great to allow them to be grouped into a single class, however defined.

Tenure groups are not defined by objective material differences. If a definable urban proletariat exists then owners and renters are most likely to find themselves in much the same position within it, but this is a very broad conclusion. While Marxian approaches are useful aids to understanding the nature of society at this level of abstraction they are of less value in the much finer analysis of local
housing markets. They cannot answer why certain low-income households own their homes while others rent precisely because variations in housing tenure do not correspond to differences of class. To understand the residential locational choices of low-income households one needs a much more flexible theoretical approach which can accommodate the role which the individual housing preferences/choices play in residential decision making.

What alternatives are there to Marxian and neo-Marxian approaches to housing tenure and social structure? Weberian political economy is the logical source of alternatives, but the writings of the neo-weberians pay scant attention to many of the theoretical issues raised by their marxian counterparts. This is particularly true of two fundamental important issues. First is the marxian definition of the value of housing and the second is the supposed ideological content of home-ownership, both of which were noted in the earlier discussion. Briefly, Marxian approaches see the value of housing in specifically material terms: labour power. However, the concept of value possesses both a material and an existential dimension. The value of housing lies not only in its use or exchange within the capitalist (or indeed any) mode of production but also in what it does for people (Turner, 1968; 1976). This is the central theme of the liberal school of housing headed by John Turner. Home-ownership provides a measure of security, privacy and independence which renting cannot. The housing problem may be a problem for each individual and therefore the value of housing should be seen in both material and existential terms. This is to say that housing should be viewed both
as a commodity produced and exchanged under a specific economic and social system and as a verb, a vehicle for social mobility and a provider of security and status.

In the above discussion we have seen that there was no single definition of housing that no existing theory explained satisfactorily the relationship between tenure and social structure. But any analysis of housing must also address itself to the forces which underpin the development of the housing market, the nature of decision making and the distribution of power within the society, and the uneasy equilibrium between individual choice and structural constraint, between anatomy and allocation. It is important to understand how the social structure, housing and the state might be linked together if one is to have any success in locating the key elements which lie behind the evolution of patterns of owning among the low-income groups. One may begin at one extreme of an artificial but convenient theoretical continuum with the liberal school, and progress through the ideological spectrum from managerialism to instrumentalism.

As I understand Turner's position, he makes no claim to have developed a theory of housing, but his ideas do mask certain theoretical and ideological viewpoints whose validity is implied in the near universal advocacy of self-help housing. For Turner the fundamental issue at stake is increasing the range of choices available to low-income groups. Since centralizing technologies decrease individual autonomy and flexibility they must be replaced by dweller control of the housing
process, by networks of power based on the local community which switch the locus of decision-making from central authority to individual. Supposedly, it is the poor themselves who eventually decide the allocation of scarce resources. Implicit in these ideas is the acceptance of individual choice as the basis for housing provision. This raises the spectre of micro-economic equilibrium theory and its inability to explain the operation of the housing market in any but the most abstract terms. Though Turner states that access is restricted technologically rather than institutionally (and therefore ideologically), and that capitalism is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the success of self-help strategies, the notion of dweller autonomy implies a minimum of government interference, and therefore that centrally planned economies are incapable of maximizing choice in this way.

The major problem with this approach is that access to housing is usually unequally distributed in market economies because the state, social structure and housing provision are inseparably linked. 'Choice' in housing is a rare commodity among low-income groups, even though as has already been stressed, preferences do play their part in owning a house/plot of land.

Turner's model was essentially normative despite its positivistic pretentions, he was describing what he felt should be the case rather than what was the case. Few however would argue that housing markets are free from social and political constraints. Once the state is recognised as an important influence on housing
development the question of just how important comes immediately to mind. The managerialistic and reformist approaches to the study of housing, award government bureaucrats a fundamental role in the allocation of scarce resources (Norman, 1975; Williams, 1978). Within a pattern of differential constraints on the levels of access enjoyed by different groups within society, sets of managers or controllers of such access play an important part in determining the outcome of any allocation in a system of continuous conflict of interests (Robson, 1979). In order to understand the patterns of housing tenure, then one should concentrate upon those who control the distribution of housing resources.

This approach has been heavily criticised in recent years, particularly by the neo-marxian theoreticians who stress the importance of the social and political structures which constrain the actions and decisions of urban managers themselves (Duncan, 1977; Lambert, 1978). Lambert in his study of Birmingham concluded that the effect of managers was to establish and sustain the present mode of provision by controlling allocation, presenting scarcity as an inevitable part of the economic order. Far from exercising autonomy, then managers are seen as serving the interests of the dominant classes and of ideological orthodoxy, reinforcing the social 'status quo' by manipulating the allocation of housing resources. The truth of the matter probably lies somewhere between these two view points. As Pahl (1976) himself acknowledges, managers are more likely to play a mediating role between the state and the private sector (between the centralised power and the local population) than an autonomous role in the
distribution of resources.

The proportion of owners and renters among the low-income populations vary considerably between different cities in Latin America. The reason for this variation is not very clear, but the fact that the local state reacts very differently to irregular settlements (unauthorised colonies, squatters and illegal land subdivisions) must be an important factor in determining the horizons of the urban poor (Gilbert, 1981; Gilbert & Ward, 1981a).

The most important conclusion of the discussion thus far is that no single theory possesses sufficient power adequately to explain the evolution of patterns of tenure among the low-income households in each and every city of the Third World. Hence the approach to the study of residential locational is both eclectic and pragmatic. It is eclectic because it borrows from a number of different theories (Marxian, Weberian and Liberal) and paradigms (Ecological, Economic, Behavioral and Structural). It employs the techniques of the empirical and behavioral traditions within a research framework defined by the structure of the local society, economy and politics. It is pragmatic because the basic objective of the study is to produce an empirical survey (or interpretation of the empirical data that is collected) of patterns of ownership and location, and to suggest some practical alternatives to which government might turn their search for a more effective housing policy. This pragmatic eclectic approach recognises that the constraints on housing improvement are basically structural in origin, inadequate
housing and restrictions on choice in the housing market have their roots in poverty, and hence in the structure of the local society and economy, but it is unrealistic to present structural transformation as a pre-requisite for housing the low-income households. Like Gilbert and Ward (1978) I feel that partial and incremental solutions are better than none.

The pragmatic orientation of this research is extremely important. All academic work in this should aim at producing workable solutions to the problems it addresses. On purely pragmatic grounds the need for a flexible housing policy which offers the poor a wide range of alternatives or choices for owning a house/plot of land is undeniable. With this research it is hoped to make contribution to the development of realistic, effective and flexible housing policies aimed at improving levels of spiritual and material well being among the low-income households.

1.2.2. MODELS OF INTRA - URBAN RESIDENTIAL LOCATION:

Several attempts have been made to devise a model which will illustrate intra-urban residential location. The early classical models still widely discussed today: Burgess (1925) concentric ring theory, and Homer Hoyts (1939) sector theory are perhaps the most well known. Also important are Quinn's (1940) model based on different zonal patterns which occur in relation to time, cost and to equal transportation. Lowry's (1960, p.367) model based on the filtering process and
the family life-cycle location process discussed by others in 1960's are also important attempts to explain the intra-urban location process.

Schnore (1964) suggests six types of intra-urban residential location patterns and in doing so makes some observations about different residential patterns which emerge in different cultures. His six types suggest that with the onset of modernisation the residential spatial pattern of urban areas changes. The end product is a change in the relative location of the best educated, highest paid and occupationally most prestigious groups from the concentration in the central city area to over representation in the suburbs. Synthesising his work on American cities, Latin American cities, New Zealand cities, Johnston (1971, p.133) also suggests a model which illustrates development of residential areas within an urban area as a town becomes modernised from its pre-industrial shape onwards. Johnston's model has three stages: The first or pre-industrial stage is characterised by a small elite and a large artisan class. Each cultural group lives in its own quarter of the city. The second stage, the industrial take-off period is characterised by a rapid increase in population, occupational differentiation increases and the middle class begins to grow very fast. Kinship communities tend to break down and residential patterns reflect the social changes as income groups become relatively segregated from each other. Johnston further suggests that a spatial form also emerges at this stage, which initiates a high status sectoral development. Dickinson (1962, p.221) and Pollins (1964) commenting on this process point out that innovations of public transport favour the well to do who
then move away from their workplace.

Johnston comments that the relative importance of each method of finding new housing is determined by capital availability, the size of the elite who moved from the central and proletarian income and employment levels. These, Johnston suggests, lead to a spatial pattern with the elite living on the edge of the city. But such a suggestion does not explain the presence of elite groups who lived in central city locations such as the Goldcoast in Chicago and Mayfair in London. The third stage of Johnston's model is what he calls the contrasting modernisation stage. At this stage Johnston notes there is an increase in the expert, and the professional, and characteristic people in these sub-groups, he suggests, tend to move to the suburbs.

Both Alonso (1964) and Muth (1969) suggest models to explain the relation of location by income. Alonso's model flows directly from his model of bid price functions in a monocentric city on a featureless plain. The slope of an individual's bid curve for land he expresses as an equation, which compares the cost of land relative to the centre of the city with the cost of commuting. Alonso notes that if the demand for land increases faster with income than does the marginal cost of commuting distance, then the shape of the bid curves, defined for persons with identical tastes will decline (at a given location) as the persons income rises. He then establishes that those persons with lower bid price curve slopes will live further away from the Central Business District (CBD).
Muth (1969) takes the argument a stage further. By removing commuting from the utility function and assigning a time cost component instead, he is able to show that the total marginal cost of commuting would be inelastic with respect to income.

Making empirical observations in fifty different locations in Chicago, Diamond (1980, pp. 11-12) disagrees with the findings of Alonso and Muth. Using Muth's methods, he finds that one of the most statistically economically significant findings is that the value of access to the Central Business District (CBD) rises more than proportionately with income. This implies a contradiction of Muth's assumption that the value of time spent commuting rose proportionately with income and thus the total cost of commuting rose proportionally. Diamond finds that his observations are supported by the fact that higher income families tend to live closer to the Central Business District (CBD), not further away, as Muth concluded. Further Diamond suggests that other amenities may also be important determinants of residential location patterns.

McDonald (1979, p. 291) who made an empirical random study in Chicago of about one hundred blocks within the city from the 1970 census, also disagrees with Muth's model. Muth's theory implies that net population density in a small area is a function of the factor prices of land and capital, the income of the residents of that area and the mean household size of the residents. Mc Donald finds that whereas there is a strong confirmation that income and household size
influence density, the influence of land value on density is zero.

A survey of 500 households in Southern U.S.A. Non-Metropolitan cities was made by Stegman and Sumka (1978, p.51). They find that the demand for housing is highly inelastic with respect to income, particularly for large poor or black households.

Ravillon (1979, p.213-214) questioned the generally accepted theory put forward by Muth (1969) that the difference in commuting costs between Central Business District (CBD) and local workers (at the same residential location) gives rise to a wage differential while that between CBD worker appears as a rent differential. Muth had suggested that there is a negative wage gradient away from the CBD whereas Ravallon suggest that there is the possibility of non-negative wage-gradients in a variety of places. This view is supported by Evans (1973) whose empirical studies on the negative wage gradient is inconclusive.

As can be appreciated from the above discussion one of the difficulties in constructing a model of residential location is the complexity of the process involved. Despite this difficulty Berry and Rees (1969) have attempted to create a framework for a comprehensive model. Their model is based on an assumption that a city's social structure contains two major dimensions, socio-economic status and stage in the life-cycle. The model is based on the graduated squares with household units arranged down one grid according to education, occupation and
income, while on the second grid each household is differentiated according to the number of children in the family. Together these independent dimensions produce the urban space which is then mapped as housing space. Berry and Ree (1969, p.464) find that the socio-economic dimension is reflected in the price or rent of housing, its size and its quality. The life-cycle dimension on the other hand correlates to housing type. Childless families tend to choose apartments and those with several children tend to prefer single family houses. Each individual household unit has a social position which is associated with the type of home it occupies and since people of different types tend to live in similar areas, Berry and Ree find that this produces a community space. Districts are then recognised by both socio-economic status and family characteristics.

Finally, the various communities are then assigned to a location in the city's physical space, organised around the Central Business District. This takes the form of a series of zones and they suggest that the high socio-economic status groups pre-empt the most desirable residential districts ensuring their exclusive use of them through economic, social and sometimes legal restraints. The other sectors are occupied by the other status groups. Berry and Ree acknowledge distortions to their model, for example the distortion of minority groups usually are of relatively low socio-economic status and tend to live in highly segregated communities. Another complexity arises from a secondary workplace which create minor nuclei around which communities cluster, as they do around the Central Business District (CBD). Despite the acknowledged distortions to the
model, Berry and Ree provide perhaps the best attempt to create a model which takes into account some of the complexities of the intra-urban residential location process.

1.2.3. CHANGES IN THE FAMILY LIFE-CYCLE:

There is a great deal of agreement amongst urban researchers that the most important determinants of intra-urban mobility are the changes in the family life-cycle. Short (1978) confirms the conclusions of Simmons (1968, p.628-629) that "as a generalisation it can be stated that the movement arises from the changing space requirements associated with changes in the life-cycle". There is also evidence linking demographic change with neighbourhood and accessibility (Rossi, 1955), but this role is accepted as much less important than its influence on housing space satisfaction. The focus, therefore, is on the association of space complaints circumstances.

Studies that differentiate between the characteristics of residually mobile and other households have shown the significant correlates of household mobility to be a stage or a change in the family life-cycle (Rossi, 1955; Abu-Lughod & Foley, 1960; Speare, 1970), marital status (Speare, 1974) and age of head of the household (Morrison, 1971; Jones, et al, 1978). Evidence is ambiguous or even contradictory in the case of household size (Rossi, 1955; Brown & Kain, 1972), and household composition (Morrison, 1972). More significantly, perhaps, increases
in family size (Brown, 1975; Morgan, et al., 1975) and changes in marital status (Fredland, 1974) have been associated with mobility.

These analysis differ in their statistical sophistication and rigour, but whereas the better of them may provide good predictive models of household mobility, they do little to further understanding, as household characteristics are unlikely to directly affect the decision to consider moving. For example, although more young than old people move this cannot be explained by saying that growing old directly causes residential immobility. A possible explanation is that the needs of younger households in the expansionary stages of the family life-cycle change more quickly, so that more frequent moves are necessary to keep their housing provision in line with their needs, but this is only one of several possible interpretations. Even when it is shown that movement coincides with an increase in family size (Brown, 1975), there is no basis for assuming that this is the cause of mobility.

In other studies, a common approach has been to ask respondents to describe their purposes for moving, or alternatively, to single out their reasons from a list of possible reasons. Work by Rossi (1955), Clark (1976), Michelson (1977), and Short (1978) are examples of this method of enquiry.

Rossi's (1955) work has had a strong and enduring influence on subsequent studies as well as review generalisations. The main conclusion is that "the
decision to move out is primarily a function of the changes in family composition which occur as a family goes through the life-cycle", and typically which make the old dwelling space inadequate to its requirements. In fact, these needs accounted for 44 per cent of voluntary movement, but only 24.9 per cent of all movement (Rossi, 1955). If other kinds of move influenced by family life-cycle change are added (i.e. marriage, divorce and neighbourhood complaints that may be due to qualitative family changes) a maximum of 33.7 per cent of all local movement purposes reflected life-cycle influences. These figures were based on the complaint assessment procedures (Rossi, 1955).

Short (1978) studying four areas in Bristol attributes 18 per cent moves in the combined areas to either a "change in the household size" or a "changing space requirement". This corresponds to a 19 per cent move resulting from household composition changes report by Murie (1974), for the West Riding of Yorkshire, though the bases for these figures are not identical. Herbert (1973) in contrast, finds that over half the movement reasons were related to life-cycles, and that these mainly concerned space complaints.

Clark's (1970) comment that "almost all the persons indicating changes in personal affairs and those indicating space as an important reason can be categorised as movements related to life-cycle" is speculative. Housing space is likely to be viewed by better-off households as a facet of dwelling quality, and space complaints would just as easily reflect a preference for a larger and hence
more prestigious house. The generalisation is that changes in the family life-cycle are the most important cause of mobility (Simmons, 1968; Short, 1978).

1.2.4. TENURE OPTIONS:

The tenure structure of a city is the outcome of social political and economic forces operating in the city. It is these structural factors that determine broad tenure constraints. Yet within these constraints, individual households can, and do opt for their particular tenure form which they perceive is best suited to their resources and their needs. This assessment is generally based upon household stage in the life-cycle, and is restricted by what is available at a price they can afford. In the sense, households have constrained choices. They are constrained by what is available at a price they can afford, but within the constraints there are usually alternatives to choose from.

Much of the literature portrays housing tenure primarily as an outcome of choice (i.e.) people choose the form of accommodation they prefer (Turner, 1968; Peil, 1976, p.163). Turner (1968) argues that rented inner city accommodation is best suited to the needs of "bridgeheaders", (newly arrived migrants), as it is highly flexible and enables them to live near employment centres. As the household "Consolidates" and becomes more settled in the city, the priorities change. An owner-occupied dwelling on the periphery best fulfils the household's revised needs. This notion that some households positively choose to be non-
owners has increasingly been challenged by more recent research in Latin America (Edwards, 1982; Gilbert, 1983; Van Lindert & Verkoren, 1982). It is now argued that tenure patterns are a reflection of constraints on choice as ownership is generally the preferred forms of tenure regardless of the households stage in the life-cycle or migrant status. The choices relate to households stage in the life-cycle. The link between this cycle and households tenure priorities and possibilities is well documented in studies about Latin America and elsewhere in the Third World. Owner-occupiers tend to be older and larger households (Rossi, 1955; Pickvance, 1974; Carliner, 1974; Edwards, 1982; Gilbert, 1983). The greater space, privacy and security, generally associated with owner-occupation in the suburbs or the periphery, become more highly valued as more children are born, and the household becomes larger and more stable. Whilst, younger, smaller households may prefer to own, it is a low priority, and they may opt to spend any excess income on consumer goods etc. Likewise recently arrived migrants may wish to establish an economic niche in the city prior to buying a house/plot of land.

The constraints are occasionally sufficiently great to prevent a household acquiring its preferred form of housing tenure. Some households never make the transition to ownership although they would like to do so, and for the great majority that do succeed it takes much longer than they would wish.
LAND TENURE:

Most of the policies advocated by governments in the Third World consisted in acceptance and found practical for existing housing rather than eviction and rehousing of the squatter settlements. It took until the mid 1970's for these new policies to become widely accepted (Ward, 1983; Rodell & Skinner, 1983). In the mean time it gradually became accepted that land tenure regularisation should be one of the principal elements of foundation of settlement improvement in so called upgrading programmes (Baross, 1983; Angel, 1983; Martin, 1983).

It is not clear to what extent the work of researchers such as Mangin and Turner was directly responsible for the appearance of the regularisation programmes. It has been suggested that their approach was derived from peruvian government policy and that it reinforced the informed policy changes both in Latin America and elsewhere (Llyod, 1979). In Peru, an early land tenure legislation scheme was introduced in 1961 in the form of law on the remodelling, sanitation and legislation of barrios marginal (Collier, 1976). Even at this early date, security of tenure for barrio-residents was linked to the provision of full legal titles, which squatters could receive after paying for installation of services and settlement remodelling. It is possible that one reason for the emphasis on land title provision was the desire to stimulate the demand for mortgages in Peru. It is likely, however, that the main concern of the politicians who supported the law was to reduce social conflict and incorporate the poor into a conservative ideology.
by diverting their attention from the issues of poverty and class struggle to the benefits of home-ownership (Collier, 1976; Lloyd, 1980).

Turner's work is most closely associated with many of the arguments for regularisation (Dwyer, 1975). He maintained that increased security of tenure was essential if squatters were to become land owners and improve their dwellings (Turner, 1968). Security, which Turner recommends as the basis for housing improvement, does not necessarily involve granting settlers formal, de-jure title to their land (Turner, 1972). In fact, Turner saw security as just as likely to be derived from squatters stamina and resistance to eviction (Turner, 1972) and to solid building that enables them physically to resist settlement eradication. An interesting reversal of the argument that security leads to housing improvement (Turner, 1970). However, elsewhere his writings do suggest that he is actually thinking of legislation in terms of land title provision (Turner, 1968). The overall impression given of his opinion on the question of land titles is not clear, and not as simple as implied by recent criticism of this aspect of his work (Burgess, 1982).

Turner argued that security was important for housing improvement and the policy recommendation that has evolved is that the provision of formal, documentary security of tenure is the way to stimulate investment in settlement consolidation (Linn, 1983). This policy has emerged in the face of various examples of consolidation taking place without the benefit of the formal settlement legislation, for example, where official intervention in Peruvian barriadas was taken by residents to increase security, although no land titles had
yet been provided (Mangin, 1970; Llyod, 1980).

Other arguments that have been advanced concerning the effects of land tenure regularisation are that it promotes service installation and settlers adaption to urban life (Dwyer, 1974; Grimes, 1976). It has been argued that regularisation or granting security of tenure can strengthen social relations within the family (Dwyer, 1974). It can also diminish urban discontent because settlers who become property owners adopt conservative political views (Abrams, 1966; Mangin, 1970). There is however at least one danger associated with regularisation, in so far as it appears to condone illegality, it promotes further illegal development elsewhere (Jordan, 1979). Also granting security of tenure or regularisation may result in an unfair subsidy to some groups who are not necessarily the poorest in the society, they receive land and services for less than their market value (Grimes, 1976).

Despite these reservations, most liberal writers have basically been favourably disposed towards land tenure legislation, while Marxist writers have generally criticised the granting of security of tenure and regularisation programmes. They object that it incorporates illegal settlements into the formal land market, and therefore facilitates the penetration of commercial interests into these settlements (Burgess, 1982; Amis, 1983). For example, land prices rise because the availability of land titles encourages the entry of middle income groups into the regularised settlements. What were once the low income settlements will "upmarket", beyond the means of the poor. Moreover, some of the people already living in these
settlements may be forced to leave, as living costs are increased by payments for granting tenure and the associated changes for service installation and property tax.

Many of these arguments have been advanced without substantiation through empirical evidence. Strangely until the 1980's, it appears that few people sought to test these propositions, although some of them had attained the status of conventional wisdom (Ward, 1983). In the last few years a handful of studies touching on the subject of land tenure have appeared (Angel, et al, 1983; Rodnell & Skinner, 1983; Tanphiphath, 1980). In many other works referring to granting of tenure and regularisation, it is not even clear whether settlement regularisation policies have included measures to provide formal tenure rights for settlers, in addition to service installations. Various comments on the application of law in Peru fail to establish how extensively titles were granted to squatters and even give contradictory accounts of the matter (Jordan, 1979; Mangin, 1970; Llyod, 1980).

Contrary to the conventional wisdom on regularisation, the granting of full private property and conventional ownership rights with individual land titles is not the only possibility for formalising tenure rights in illegal settlements (Ward, 1983). Nor is it the only form of regularisation that has been employed in practice. Mostly, the conferring of private land titles on settlers is a Latin American form of regularisation, for example in Mexico, Venezuela, Columbia, Peru and Ecuador (Schnier, 1982; Strassman, 1982; Moser, 1982).
In Africa and Asia other forms of regularisation appear to be more common, including the granting of long term leases in Lusaka (30yrs), Manila (25yrs), Bangkok (30yrs), Karachi (99yrs), (McClain, 1978; Wegelin, 1983; Tanphiphat, 1980; Baross, 1983). Restrictions may be imposed on the transference of leases, but in some cases occupants have the option of purchasing outright title to the land (Baross, 1983). The minimum level of formal intervention aimed at increasing security of tenure seems to be a public commitment to excluding settlements for a limited period from the areas susceptible for redevelopment. In Caracas, special legal agencies have been created, aimed at assisting settlers threatened with eviction by means of legal advice or a conciliation service (Perez Perdomo & Nikken, 1982; Varley, 1985). Where they are evicted they are compensated for their dwelling and the improvements made (Gilbert & Ward, 1985).

The success of granting of tenure and regularisation scheme depends partly on the kind of tenure involved. Generally it is easier to manage a scheme in which fewer interest groups are involved. Thus, granting of tenure and regularisation of invasion settlements on government lands generally presents less problems than in the case of settlements on private land where plots have been leased to settlers or occupied without permission. In some cases, complications have arisen impeding the transfer of title to occupants (Baross, 1983). Another critical element in the success or failure of regularisation programmes is the willingness of the settlers to purchase legal rights to their land. Although evidence is available to demonstrate that settlers welcome and even campaign for
regularisation (Cornelius, 1975). Given the sale of land titles may be intended as one way to raise money to pay for other elements of an upgrading package. Such miscalculations as to the demand for land tenure regularisation may have serious consequences (Martin, 1983).

The example from Karachi quoted above offers an important insight into the relationship between de-facto and de-jure security of tenure, which is of considerable importance for arguments concerning the consequences of land tenure regularisation. It suggests that settlers are well able to distinguish between formal and informal guarantees of tenure security. In many situations, the later may be more significant in shaping the decision to invest in improving their houses (Doebel, 1983; Zetter, 1984).

STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT POLICIES TOWARDS URBAN LAND:

The constitutions of most developing countries require that any land taken for public purposes must be compensated for at full market value. Given the highly speculative nature of the land markets in most cities, and the ease with which existing large landowners can ascertain government intentions in advance, "market price" for even the most modest government programmes is increasingly prohibitive.
Furthermore, even when the governments have the funds and the political will to act, outmoded legislative provisions regarding expropriation, and/or inadequate cadastral and recording systems make all acquisitions painful and protracted, often running as long as two, or even four years, by which time other costs, or even the nature of the problem, may have substantially changed. The improvement of cadastral and recording systems and the streamlining of legislation regarding government acquisitions are therefore threshold steps toward increasing land accessibility.

Direct rent and price controls over the land and housing, including the "land ceiling" act in India (Das, 1987) and "housing property ceiling" law in Sri Lanka (Selvarajah, 1983) have been attempted, but have not been notably successful. In some cases the administrative machinery has been inadequate for enforcement. In other words, the mechanisms themselves have been self-defeating, for much the same sorts of reasons that rent controls generally have negative long-term effects.

Heavy taxation of vacant land holding and/or betterment values caused by government actions are two other methods by which structural reorientation and new legislation could attack the present situation. These would obviously have heavy going in the political climate of most countries today.
1.2.5. INFORMAL HOUSING SUB-MARKETS:

One of the more important advances in our understanding of how lower-income groups find accommodation has come from various studies in the third world (Hardoy, 1986). All of the studies have shown that low-income groups have a range of different sub-markets through which they can get access to accommodation. The various forms and the relative importance of these sub-markets vary from city to city. For example, a study in Bucaramanga (Columbia), a city which had around 500,000 inhabitants in 1980 found four different forms of owner-occupation within the low-income housing (Edwards, M.A., 1982). A study of low-income housing in Rio-de-Janeiro (Brazil) found two different types of owner-occupied forms, squatter settlements and illegal sub-divisions (Leeds, 1974, p.67) while in Bangkok (Thailand) seven distinct housing sub-markets were found for lower-income groups (Tanphiphat, 1983) and in Calcutta (India) eight different types of sub-markets were found (Roy, 1983).

The idea of identifying different housing sub-markets through which individuals or households with different incomes and different preferences find accommodation in any city obviously fits with the idea that within the lower-income groups there is a considerable diversity in needs and priorities for location, housing type and price. And the idea of a range of housing sub-markets which is particular to each city is strengthened by research showing major differences between cities in different nations in the mechanisms by which low-
income people get access to land for housing (Hardoy, 1986). In this, traditional and legal attitudes to illegal housing developments are perhaps the most critical (Baross P. 1983). A study of the three Latin American cities (Bogota, Mexico city and Valencia) suggested that the process of land allocation depended on the pattern of ownership and the nature of the state (Gilbert & Ward, 1985).

The best way to arrive at a better understanding of how lower-income groups find accommodation in any city is to identify different housing sub-markets and the reasons for the development of each sub-market. Then it becomes possible to understand better the problems faced by the households of each sub-market in finding better accommodation. Perhaps the definition of these housing sub-markets is most usefully undertaken through indicators relating to location with regards to employment, tenure and price for the occupiers.

Categorising any city's housing market into different sub-markets allows a better understanding of the range of choices open to any individual household or social group. The lower or more unstable the individual's income, the smaller the range of choices likely to be open to them. The predominant forms that the various housing sub-markets take within any city will be influenced by many different factors. For instance, they will be influenced by the economic and employment structure of the city and income distribution within its inhabitants. They will be influenced by the rate at which the population is growing and new households are forming. For the supply of land for new housing, the pattern of land ownership
or tenure and the rights given to individuals or the community under the legal framework will be important, so too will the actual availability of undeveloped land. It will also be influenced by government's attitudes to illegal settlements, by existing regulations, norms and procedures on building and sub-division (and the extent to which these are enforced). The fact that the relative importance of such factors are different for each city and change for each city over time makes it difficult to generalise.

At some point in the physical and demographic growth of the third world cities, the supply of existing buildings which could be profitably sub-divided into tenements was fully utilised. The pressure of rising numbers and often the fact that there were more profitable avenues for investment than building tenements led to illegal settlements becoming the main new source of low-income accommodation. Public transport system often made undeveloped land around the city more accessible to inner city employment or job opportunities began to develop outside the central districts as richer consumers and certain businesses became concentrated there (Hardoy, 1986).

1.2.6. ILLEGAL SETTLEMENTS:

An interest in illegal settlements first emerged in the 1960's as part of the concern with self-help housing as a potential means for helping to resolve the housing problems of many Third World cities in which the poor are effectively denied
access to conventional or government built housing. References to the significance of settlement illegality are scattered throughout much of the housing literature, and it can be argued that the ideas advanced by the proponents of self-help have played their part in the promulgation of regularisation programmes as one aspect of settlement upgrading schemes. However an overview of literature suggests that until recently there had not been a critical reflection either on the ideas of settlement illegality first advanced in the 1960's and largely unchanged since that time, or on the efficacy of land tenure regularisation as a means to encourage settlement consolidation and the improvement of housing quality.

A review of settlement illegality in the housing literature can appropriately be divided into three parts: The first concerns the nature of the settlement illegality, the second concerns the significance of settlement illegality - Why have illegal settlements developed and what are the consequences of their illegal status, for the households and the state. The third concerns the recommendations made for the state intervention to regularise illegal settlements.

THE NATURE OF SETTLEMENT ILLEGALITY:

A review of housing literature reveals a certain confusion with regards to the nature of settlement illegality. This confusion or general lack of clarity is typified by the widespread use of the "Squatter Settlements" to describe illegal housing areas, although the term "Squatter" may not be apt to describe many areas
(Rodell & Skinner, 1983). Difficulties arose from the inclusion of criteria relating to patterns of land acquisition, tenure, the means of construction and settlement location, amongst others. Surprisingly, no consistent use of a single term evolved amongst the various authors writing in 1960's and the 1970's. Settlements were referred to as spontaneous, unplanned, self-generated and marginal. In addition, local terms were also employed. However, one term which proved remarkably tenacious was that of squatter settlements. This was unfortunate because the use of the word "Squatter" in English has come to be associated chiefly with the invasion of unoccupied property, and invasions are by no means, the only, or even perhaps, the major mode of illegal settlement formation to be found in the Third World cities (Varley Ann, 1985; Hardoy, 1986). The reason why the term squatter settlement has been used so often is probably that it was employed by some of the influential writers who argued that illegal self-help housing areas were not the urban blight that had previously been assumed. Turner and Mangin based their writings on field experience in Peru, where most of the squatter settlements around Lima were the product of the forcible preemption of land (Abrams, 1966). So influential was this work in reshaping ideas about self-help housing, that the term squatter settlements stuck, and has been carried over, inappropriately to contexts where illegal housing has developed by other means.

In fact Mangin recognised that "Squatter Settlements could be formed by means other than organised invasions (Mangin, 1967), and Turner included "clandestine sub-divisions", where people bought their plots, amongst the housing types he was
considering in Peru (Turner, 1969, 1972). There are even accounts of people buying land in a squatter area (Butterworth, 1970). Nevertheless, the picture which emerges overwhelmingly from the writings of the 1960's is of illegal settlements, the range of characteristics displayed by the so-called "Squatter Settlements" is far more rich and complex. The category of invasion itself is too broad. Mass, organised invasions of relatively large areas of land may be distinguished from squatting on individual plots of land associated with the incremental development of a housing area (Moser, 1982). Similarly, it is possible to distinguish between the invasion of private or public land (Abrams, 1966). In some invasions, landowners subsequently charge ground rent and it is not clear whether residents should then be described as squatters or as renters (White, 1975; Roy, 1983).

Settlements may also be illegal because their physical layout or servicing levels do not meet the planning requirements. The failure to comply with the planning norms is often associated with the lack of prior authorization for the sub-division of an area of land into housing plots, since satisfactory planning standards are a pre-requisite for the granting of sub-division authorization. These settlements are given a variety of names: unauthorised, pirate and clandestine sub-divisions.

The absence of land title registration or lack of tenancy documents may also make a settlement illegal. Papers may be unavailable because the land in question is subject to litigation, or because the registration system is inefficient
(Peil, 1976; Payne, 1982). Alternatively settlers may lack documents because they rent housing plots from landlords who fail to provide tenancy documents (Van Velsen, 1975; Wee, 1980). In extreme cases, all sub-divisions not undertaken by government authorities may be illegal (Cardoso, 1983).

The lack of land titles may well be associated with a conflict between two distinct land holding systems. The most common example arise where customary and European land tenure systems co-exist in ex-colonial African or Asian countries (Stren, 1976; Naiker, 1983; Lea, 1983). In such circumstances people acquire land by tradition and as far as they are concerned legitimate means, but fail to comply with formal conveyancing or registration systems. Another legal problem often arises in urban settlements on customary lands is that the inheritance system makes it extremely difficult to identify all heirs who should formally be consulted before a change of use or ownership can take place (Peil, 1976, p.163).

The various types of legal problems encountered in self-help housing areas are not mutually exclusive, they are often to be found together. In Peru, a law passed in 1961 to regularise the illegal settlements known as barriadas listed several criteria for deciding to which settlements the measure should be applied: lack of legal title, the absence of an approved plan for physical layout of the settlement, failure to comply with building code or lack of public services (Jordan, 1979). It is important to distinguish between different factors contributing to settlement illegality, because different types of action may be required to deal with the
problems produced by each one.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SETTLEMENT ILLEGALITY:

Some writers deny that the issue of settlement illegality is significant. They believe that to become involved with legal questions will only serve to distract attention from the pressing issue of how to improve the material quality of life for the residents of illegal settlements. "A strict legalistic attitude towards the settlers will not generally resolve the problem" (Abrams, 1966). Alternatively, discussion of settlement illegality may be shunned because the use of judicial terms is taken to imply an acceptance of the categories and ideology of a bourgeois legal system (Alonso, 1980). From this point of view, the fact that the land acquisition fails to respect private property rights and/or state control of the urbanisation process is important, not on legal grounds, but on political ones, the capacity of the settlers housing demands to become the stake in the formation of an urban social movement "to link urban demands and political criticism" (Castells, 1982).

For the early writers the significance of illegality was not the foremost issue. Writers such as Abrams, Mangin and Turner were trying to counter an overwhelmingly negative attitude towards "Squatter Settlements" that was to be found in both official pronouncements, media coverage and academic analysis at the time (Mangin, 1967; Ward, 1982). One of the main pre-occupations of the previous writings on illegal settlements was the "social disorganisation" that was
thought to be associated with life in these areas (Mangin, 1967). The illegal origins of the settlements were symbolic of their chaotic nature and crime. It was logical, therefore, that those who were trying to replace such a hostile conception of "squatter settlements" with a more positive image should underplay the question of settlement illegality. Indeed they sought to emphasise the law abiding and conservative nature of the residents. The squatters are not political revolutionaries except in the original seizure of land (Mangin, 1970). Abrams also drew a picture of poor people engaged in desperate struggle to find a home, and suggested that squatting could more easily be condoned than other types of illegal seizure (Abrams, 1966). The law and order question does therefore, emerge as a concern in Abrams writings, even if only as an attempt to persuade critics that although some settlements presented such a problem, the great majority did not (Abrams, 1966).

Since this early work, only partial discussion of the significance of settlement illegality can be found in the literature. Three broad areas of concern appear: first the reasons for emergence of illegal settlements, secondly the explanation of state tolerance of such settlements and thirdly the consequences for both residents and governments of settlement illegality.

First the appearance of illegal settlements has been explained from either an economic or a legal viewpoint. In both cases, it is assumed that people's will, if possible, prefer to act within the law, because of the greater security of tenure
that this allows them. The appearance of illegal settlements is therefore a residual phenomenon, in the sense that it is a measure forced upon people excluded from legal means of land and housing acquisition. In economic terms the reasons for this are simply that legal methods of house purchases are too expensive for the poor (Grimes, 1976), high land prices result from speculation and the failure to tax speculative or development gains and tax evasion (Dwyer, 1974). In addition, the unavailability of mortgage finance also accentuates the recourse of illegal alternatives (Abrams, 1966).

To a certain extent, therefore the authors appear to believe that government authorities failure to develop access to cheap land and to penalise speculation contributed to rising land prices. In a similar fashion government neglect to change existing property law statutory controls on urban development also contributed to the emergence of irregular settlements. The settlements illegality may result from a mismatch between different legal systems coexisting in the same country, or the inadequacy of the administrative machinery needed for customary land, the current practice with regards to land use zoning, sub-division control and building codes has been described as leading to a negative approach to urban development (Strenstein, 1974).

The second area of concern about the significance of settlement illegality centres on the question why illegal settlement formation is tolerated by the state. One explanation is that the scale of these settlements is so large that government
authorities are important to do anything but accept it (Dwyer, 1974). Other writers argue that the interests of the state are served by the development of illegal low-income housing which is functional both to capital accumulation and to the maintenance of the existing political system (Gilbert & Gugler, 1982; Roberts, 1978). Illegal settlements provide cheap housing alternative for those denied access to conventional housing, and therefore acts as an economic and political "safety valve" (Gilbert & Ward, 1982). There are certainly numerous examples to support the idea that invasions are permitted as a means of generating political support and patronage for politicians (Moser, 1982; Collier, 1976; Cornelius, 1975).

Thirdly, settlement illegality has consequences for residents and government bureaucracy. For government authorities, illegal settlements entail a commitment to instal urban services which are almost always lacking. The appearance of extensive unauthorised settlements on the urban periphery therefore presents a considerable financial burden on the city authorities responsible for installing services. However, because the settlements are illegal the authorities can refuse to provide services for their inhabitants (Llyod, 1979). In practice, unauthorised housing areas do receive services, in spite of legal stipulations to the contrary (Nikken, 1982). In part, explanation for this is political. Servicing may be used by the state to buy the political cooperation of the poor (Gilbert & Ward, 1985; Ward, 1985). It is also pragmatic. Services are often stolen, and so it is better for the authorities to formalise arrangements and charge for the services consumed.
For residents, settlement illegality may generate vulnerability to manipulation from politicians, the bureaucracy and local leaders (Cornelius, 1975; Eckstein, 1977). Some would argue that there is a causal link between illegality and resident behaviour. An extreme example is the existence of "professional squatters" who move from one invasion to another, having sold their previous house and plot or sometimes having received compensation for its destruction by the government (Moser, 1982, p. 162). Another somewhat bizarre example is the suggestion that living in an illegal settlement encourages residents to take up illegal occupations (Drakakis Smith, 1979).

Much more significant is the purported relationship between settlement illegality and housing construction and improvement. The argument can be summarised concisely. The lack of land titles hinders housing improvements (Llyod, 1980; Strassman, 1982). The reasoning behind this argument is that settlement illegality deprives residents of security of tenure, and that the lack of tenure security prevents people from investing in permanent, non-movable housing improvements. Illegal land holdings often bars households from access to formal sources of credit for home improvements. The importance of tenure security and its role in determining the material conditions of self-help housing was stressed by the pioneering writers on the subject (Abrams, 1966; Turner, 1972) and has since become one of the foremost topics in the housing literature.
1.3. CONCLUSIONS:

The empirical studies in the literature have shown the importance of workplace location in helping to explain the residential location choice. The alternatives to the workplace based residential location models assume that a household's residential locational choice can be explained on the basis of a household's tastes and preferences and other locational characteristics without regard to place of work. These alternative models would predict a high association between moving and changes in household characteristics. They would not predict an association between workplace change and residential change. Since these formulations of the residential location decision, workplace has at best only a minor influence on residential choice, changes in workplace should have only minor influences on housing choice and should not be highly associated with intra-urban moving.

By contrast, the journey to work models assume that the workplace location influences the residence choice through the effect on the gross prices (housing and transportation costs) of housing. The journey to work models predict that changes in workplace location change the gross prices, and, therefore, serve as an incentive for households to adjust their housing consumption. A positive association between workplace and residential change is a direct corollary of the journey to work models. The test of the association between workplace and residential change is a test of the alternative models for explaining residential location.
The empirical analyses show that households with job changes are more likely to move, that households with job moves outside of their original work zone have the highest moving rates, and that the likelihood that a household will move is greater if the new workplace requires an increase in the worktrip. The analyses further indicate that life-cycle, tenure and income changes all have an important effect on household moving, and that these effects are substantially different for owner and the renter households.

It is also evident that the importance of life-cycle, tenure, income and other household characteristics in a comprehensive explanation of household mobility and residential location. The major thrust of the study would be the need for combining the numerous discipline models of residential location and intra-urban movement into a broader structure.

Finally, the study should demonstrate the necessity of concentrating on changes in household characteristics to explain intra-urban residential location. Previous studies of the relationship between the residential moves and the characteristics of households have described moving households rather than establishing the causes or reasons for moving. For understanding the dynamics of the urban housing and land markets, we must determine which changes are most important for explaining intra-urban residential location. For this reason the previous research is of limited value. Hence the study would concentrate on the dynamics of the household locational decisions and choices.
1.4. CHOICE OF RESEARCH LOCATION:

Hyderabad city was an appropriate locale for several reasons. First despite being the capital city of Andhra Pradesh State, very little research work has been done on housing and particularly low-income housing, relative accessibility to research students, it had not been the locus of in-depth research of this nature.

According to 1991 census, Hyderabad city had grown to become the fifth largest city in India overtaking other cities like Bangalore and Ahmedabad with 4.2 million population, only next to Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras and its rapid growth had given rise to innumerable planning problems. Secondly, large areas of slums and squatter settlements existed and have been increasing at a very fast rate. Indeed by 1991, 30 percent of the city's population were living in 755 slums and squatter settlements and thus had a faster relative growth rate than other residential types. Thirdly, despite growing literature on low-income housing in south asia, very little effort has been made by planners to incorporate these ideas or adjust the direction of formal response towards housing needs of the low-income groups, rather the government continued to allocate meagre resources to low-income housing projects in the state plans which does not match with the demand for ever increasing population in the low-income category. Lastly, the impact of the studies on south asian countries acted as a further stimulus to carry out detailed research into eight settlements to understand the process of how the
low-income households choose their residential location.

1.5. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND ISSUES:

To identify different housing Sub-Markets through which individuals or households with different incomes and preferences find accommodation. Even among the lower-income groups there is a considerable diversity in needs and priorities for location (with regards to work centres and various infrastructural facilities), tenure (various forms of owner-occupied and rental), price of the house/plot (their affordability to pay for housing i.e. their income).

A distinct can be drawn between the owner-occupier sub-market which allows us in understanding better the range of choices open a household. The lower the income, the smaller the range of choices likely to be open to a household.

The low-income households who opt for ownership purchases plot/house from the range of choices available to them in the informal sub-markets. These informal

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3. Housing Sub-Markets: Housing market tends to be compartmentalised into segments, characterised by different kinds of housing supply. These different segments or sub-markets serve different groups of households in other words the housing market in a given area consists of groups of sub-markets which are related to one another in varying degrees serving different groups (Grigsby.W.G;1963).

4. Anything that is not formal or legal is termed as informal and illegal (Geoff Payne,1989).
sub-markets which take shape are influenced by various factors such as population growth and household formation, the pattern of land ownership and tenure, government attitudes towards illegal settlements and the urban land ceiling act. Gilbert and Ward (1985) have developed a typology of housing sub-markets for Latin American cities and have demonstrated empirically in Bogota, Mexico city and Valencia and suggested that the process of land allocation to housing was based on pattern of ownership and the nature of the state (among other factors being equal).

In India, access to land and housing for lower-income groups is found through various sub-markets operating at the city level. In Calcutta the early development of settlements were known as "bustees". These, in origin, are essentially informal sub-divisions on what was the fringe of Calcutta's built-up area. In the late nineteenth century they were considered temporary rural phenomenon. These operated through land owners, letting out parcels of land, through agents, for hut buildings. The builders might live in the structures or rent them out. As in many informal and illegal sub-divisions, since there was no systematic planning or provision for infrastructure, some of the company and government housing was provided in these bustees. By 1980, there were some 3,000 bustees scattered all over Calcutta Metropolitan District with the population of each bustee varying from 100 to 20,000 people. Refugee colonies which have not been granted tenure

5. The typology has been shown in detail in "Informal housing and land sub-divisions in Third World Cities: A review by Geoff Payne (1989).
of the land they occupy and squatter settlements are the other two most common forms of illegal settlements within Calcutta today (Roy, 1983). In Delhi and other major metropolitan cities the instances are similar but having a different approach. All these illegal or informal forms of housing and sub-divisions cater to the low-income groups.

In Hyderabad, like any other metropolitan cities in India, various types of housing sub-markets exist. These sub-markets open up access for low-income households to find accommodation. This enables a large proportion of households to find land/housing at a cheaper price outside the legal or formal market. There are number of non-economic forces which may distort the pure functioning of the economics of supply and demand. Social and political factors play an important role in influencing the low-income households in these sub-markets.

The research primarily addresses factors relating to location, land and tenure, price and the different moves a household makes in the city (mobility) before he owns house/plot, and seeks to explain the various reasons for a low-income household to choose his residential location from the available options within the constraints.

The hypothesis is formulated based on an assumption that the location of work centres are distributed all over the city and the city is multinucleus. Though the work centres are spread all over the city, each area specializes in a particular
activity. In the case of low-income households the majority of them are in the
construction industry as skilled and semi-skilled workers, rickshaw pullers, auto
rickshaw drivers and fruit vendors. Hence distance to the place of work may not
be the major factor in choosing his residential.

The following hypotheses is framed based on the argument discussed above and
would seek answers to it by testing it empirically for Hyderabad.
1. "Low - income households opt for locations where cheap land/accommodation
is available rather than staying closer to the work centres".
2. Low - income households have easy access to the informal sub-markets where
the land available is cheap rather than formal housing provided by the
government where accessibility is difficult.

1.6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

As it has already been mentioned, the objective of this study was to gain an
understanding of the way in which the low-income households choose their
residential location. This requires a definition and understanding of various
components, its functions and interrelations. Such a task has to include an
analysis of the context of the socio-economic development of the city, of which
housing system is a part.

The way in which the specific types of housing supply function for the users and
society, as a whole, must be identified, analyzed and evaluated. Relationships between these housing types, such as their substitutability, sequence of use and the flow of resources and the people between them must also be known.

An identification of user needs, priorities, resources and the way they are used is necessary in order to understand the demand pattern. Next step would be to define the main demand profiles and compared with the ranges of supply available. This enables us to find the principal mismatches between demand and supply.

Following the various theoretical concepts outlined, the subsequent step will be an analysis of the basic resource markets and service provision systems that determine the supply and functioning of different housing types.

An analysis of such a system, identification of causes requires primarily qualitative information. Once a system's components are defined and the basic relationships understood, the quantitative dimension becomes more important. This applies to both principal scales of analysis: the city level and the household level.

Introductory information, especially on national and metropolitan levels, and the statistical data, in general, was to be collected from secondary sources - previous studies, etc. In fact however, very little data is available on low-income housing in Hyderabad. Statistics are very poor in general. Moreover, very little
information exists on old city slums, squatter settlements and illegal sub-divisions in the city and the periphery, characteristics of the whole informal housing sector etc.

The basic data especially on the household level, was to be collected from the field survey.

Initially, the study was to have developed in parallel, on two levels: city level and settlement level, with continual feedback between them. Information collected at the city level would facilitate an understanding of the system at the settlement level; similarly, the results of the settlement analyses would modify an understanding of the dynamics at the city level. In practice, however, the scarcity of relevant city level data made this feedback very limited, and increased the importance of the field work.

Field work consisted of three principal steps. Census information and other city level data, mainly maps, were used to select the settlements and households (see appendix for more detail) for field surveys. Field surveys was the next step. It included family interviews and settlement surveys.

The single most important sources of information were the in-depth case studies of families selected from the survey sample.
Key aspects of demand analysis, such as knowledge of the user's needs, priorities, resources and willingness to contribute them, and especially the patterns of these family characteristics, etc., can only be addressed on the basis of the case study type data. For this purpose, an in-depth family case study has been chosen for the analysis as a smallest scale representation of the large system.

The methodological assumption is that such a case includes the basic variables of a general metropolitan system and that its small scale permits an holistic analysis not possible for the entire metropolitan area. The case study method provides more reliable information than the shorter surveys, since data can be verified through longer contact with the family. It is also particularly well suited for the incremental research process with limited resources. Even a single case finds certain approximation of the understanding of the system it is a part of; additional cases improve this understanding.

In contrast, the survey methods produce data that is explanatory only after the whole sample has been processed and analyzed. Furthermore, data gathered in surveys can be interpreted only in view of the implied causal model of the system. Case studies permit development of such a model. Survey data, if accessible before the case studies also enables a more representative selection of cases.

The case studies should represent the main variants of the low income housing and household histories in the studied area and all effort was made to assure such
representativeness. During the research in Hyderabad it was found, however, that even completely non-typical cases are only a little less useful than the carefully selected typical ones; that is, even if family and housing histories may be particular, the general housing system they illustrate is the same. With a sufficient number of analyzed cases the proportional representation of existing housing categories is therefore less essential than in statistical analysis. The case studies of families were paralleled by the case histories of selected localities.

The two other important sources of information were interviews with public agency officials and other key individuals, and the monitoring of the daily press. These are the main sources of data on the city level. Appendix one includes more information about data sources, the process of fieldwork and analysis methods, etc.

1.7. ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS:

The organisation of the thesis reflects the combined macro and micro approach of the research. The first half examines the urban characteristics to explain the land and tenure of the city. These include locating the city within the context of the development of the area, the process of migration and the nature of the location of the settlements by low-income populations. This includes much of the original matter about the growth of the city. The second half focuses upon the interaction of individual households within the wider urban context. It includes
the socio-economic characteristics, life-styles and tenure of owners and renters.

Chapter one discusses the broad theoretical concepts and practical considerations from which the research questions develop. It explains why this research was chosen, why Hyderabad is selected as a case-study and its contribution to the literature on the studies in the south Asian countries. It would set out the principle research aims, and major issues which are to be addressed. These would be based upon the review of the relevant literature and would further be defined by the momentum generated by the research itself.

Chapter two creates a background for the research by introducing the country. It discusses the process of urbanisation and the housing policy in general to give a broad view of the housing situation in the country.

Chapter three locates the city of Hyderabad within the national and the regional context. It examines the population shifts in Hyderabad to explain the growth of Hyderabad's development. The chapter also describes the development of Hyderabad over a period of time and the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh. It also looks at the socio-economic, ethnic and political characteristics of development and assesses the consequences of social, ethnic and economic changes.

Chapter four examines the operation of the land market and its relation to the
emergence of a residentially segregated city. The link between the city's growth prior to 1976 (Urban Land Ceiling Act, 1976) and the tenure structure is then examined. It would look into the low-income housing system in Hyderabad, and the accessibility of the target group to land and housing both in the formal and informal market. It would also describe the history and the process of squatter settlements (both Public and Private land) as the most common method of opening up land for low-income households. It would look into the origins of the development of these settlements, the type of operation of land dealings in the settlements.

Chapter five looks into the migration and intra-urban migration of the households in the low-income category and the various moves a household makes within the city.

Chapter six describes the formation of the settlements chosen for the study during various periods of time and in different parts of the city. The analysis of the data and the survey findings and the case histories are discussed.

Chapter seven starts with a critique of the existing literature concerning housing preferences of the low-income population in general. The most general literature which links tenure to life-cycle is then considered. The chapter aims to identify the owners and the renters, and analyses the influence of factors such as household age, size, composition, income and migrant status. It also compares
the everyday lives of owners and renters to assess how tenure influences not only
the physical accommodation but also the life-style of households.

Finally the conclusion in chapter eight would summarise the principal findings and
would seek to link the preceding chapters together to form a coherent whole.
This is done by constructing a framework for analyzing the residential location,
which incorporates and interlinks the various parts of the thesis and its
implications on housing policy. Following this, the most important findings would
be discussed and the ways in which they may be incorporated in future research
would be suggested.
CHAPTER - 2.0.

INDIA - NATIONAL CONTEXT

2.1. Introduction.

Urban housing in India has major constraints and problems. The first one being that the levels of poverty ensure that a substantial number of the urban dwellers are without shelter. The second is that a very large number of dwellers have to live in slums and squatter settlements, both because legal access to land and housing is not available and because the formal public housing lies beyond their level of affordability. The third being the growth of housing stock not keeping pace with the growth of population, resulting in overcrowding in these settlements. The fourth is that India's land policy, building regulations, system of housing finance all combine to restrict the supply of land, discourage new construction and, therefore, push land and housing prices to artificially high levels. The response of the State has been to intervene directly in the land market through acquisition and in the housing market through building/constructing public housing. The fact is that 30 per cent of the urban population lives in slums and squatter settlements but some of the major metropolitan cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi have a higher percentage than the national average figure. The percentages in these cities may rise upto 70 per cent by the turn of the century, suggest that the policies adopted so far have not succeeded in dealing
with the housing problem.

The backlog of housing needs in India was of the order of 23.3 million units in 1981 (16.3 million units in rural areas and 7.0 million in urban areas). To prevent any backlog, the rate of addition to the housing stock had to be accelerated to the level of 5.6 million units per year during 1980's, as compared to the rates of 1.4 and 2.1 million units per year achieved during 60's and 70's respectively. Trends clearly indicate that during the 80's, the housing stock has been increasing at much below the required rate and by the year 1990 the backlog of housing stock is estimated to rise atleast to the level of 29.0 million units. The impact of this mounting backlog continues to be most severely felt by the urban poor.

They are forced to live in sub-human conditions in slums and squatter settlements. Population in slums and squatter settlements has been increasing at an alarming rate, more so in metropolitan cities where such sub-standard colonies provide shelter to more than one third of the total residents. If appropriate corrective measures are not initiated in the right earnest, it is expected that by the turn of the century, as much as 70 per cent of the population in major metropolitan cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi will be forced to live in conditions totally unfit for human habitation.

All housing exists on land and, therefore, land becomes the single most crucial factor in housing. In fact land is the medium on which the entire superstructure
of human settlements is created. This is what the National Commission on Urbanisation has to say about land and its management. "Where land is managed with foresight, sympathy and understanding, an environment is built up in which the whole ecological system tends towards equilibrium. Where, however, land is mismanaged and exploited rather than used, resulting in urban chaos. Land is the principal resource for urbanisation. In large measure, it is our attempt to plan land use, divorced of a larger understanding of human behaviour under the stress of city dynamics which has contributed to the present urban chaos" (Buch, 1990).

Since land is a crucial factor in housing and urban development, land policy must aim at ensuring that the supply of land, keeps pace with demand, resulting in prices remaining reasonable and not pushed up through the ceiling because of scarcity value. How is this to be achieved. For this purpose it might be worthwhile to disaggregate the land requirements for housing and classify them according to potential users. Assuming that about a third of the urban population will consist of people below the poverty line, who cannot afford to pay even a subsidised market rate for land, the state will have to intervene in order to ensure that this class is given legal access to land at a price which it can afford, which may be very near zero. It has been suggested that even this category of persons should be given land by private sector, with cross subsidies being available through commercial sale of the balance of the land. The private sector, quite rightly, is reluctant to take on the role of a charitable beneficiary of the poor, because cross subsidies are always difficult to administer and the private
developer, in any case, is in the game for profit. Direct State intervention as a provider of land to this section of society is, therefore, unavoidable. One reason why the policy in this behalf has worked with only marginal success in the past is that the State has been reluctant to make land supply to the poor a direct charge on the exchequer and, therefore, has largely moved in this behalf through development authorities, whose funding pattern has forced them into the same trap as that faced by the private developer. The coordination of cross subsidies to the poor with income from sale of high value land has never been achieved, with the result that either prices are being pushed through the ceiling or the supply of land is so restricted that the plots made available at subsidised rates pass from the poor to the relatively well to do in a clandestine manner. Therefore, in order to discharge its duty to the poor adequately, the State should revert to a system of exchequer budgeting for land for the poor, with the taxpayer directly paying the subsidy.

Integral to the land policy is the provision of land at reasonable cost to those who can afford to pay for it and build better quality housing. The bulk of the middle class fall within this category. The attempt of the State to provide land to this class of people through a virtual Government monopoly has not succeeded because the hiatus between land acquisition and land allotment has been so great that land has become an extremely scarce commodity in most urban centres. There are many ways in which the State has acquired a monopolistic status. In Delhi, for example, the Delhi Development Authority was virtually made the sole
agency for land development by the private sector, by cooperatives, individual land holders and real estate developers. However, because the quantum of land acquired fell far short of that which was notified, supply remained short of demand. This resulted in land prices being pushed very high, whilst at the same time unauthorised land development also gained momentum. A city such as Delhi, therefore, has had to face the dual disadvantage of high land prices and large scale unauthorised, unserviced, unserviced development which has gravely endangered the urban fabric.

In addition to the monopolistic status of public agencies, legislation has also tended to be inimical to land development. The Urban Land Ceiling Act, for example, has not been enforced, thus preventing private land from passing into public ownership. Simultaneously it has led to clandestine development of land, in which the land market has become so perverted and land values so skewed that the whole land picture becomes blurred. In other words, without the land market being free it has, nevertheless, not remained regulated either and any plans to make land available for housing thus stand negated.

For participative housing, therefore, a beginning has to be made from land. As already stated, for the very poor land will have to be provided by Government through acquisition and equitable distribution. So far as the income groups which have some stable income are concerned, the State will have to act as a facilitator. This means that within a given urban area land use planning will have to be so
detailed that a private owner would be able to place his land on the market, especially for housing, with a minimum of formality. This will involve detailed layout planning and the super-imposition of the network of services which any developed site requires. Urban land consolidation schemes may also have to be applied so that, through a system of value equalisation and land exchange, the land owners may retain usable plots, whilst surrendering a portion for the services network and other community use. Had such a planning approach been adopted in Delhi when the first Master Plan was drawn up, there would have been no unauthorised colonies. The State and its agencies would be responsible for extending infrastructure, which would be paid by the land owners. However, because planning would be permissive rather than restrictive, there would be a steady supply of developed land and the market mechanism would ensure that the price remains within manageable limits. This approach really brings about participation between land owners, house builders and Government.

2.2. URBANISATION AND HOUSING:

In the recent years most of the developing countries view urban development and housing as being the most complex and difficult problems to deal with. It has been realized that major distortions are to a great extent due to the rapid increase of population in the urban areas and poor management of urban land. These experiences focus on the need for efforts at all levels - national, regional/state, and local - to mitigate the situation. National policies on urban
development and housing in the developing countries, often take root from the political and administrative perspective of human settlements that is realized at the national level. Therefore, viewing the existing policies and programmes in India will need a background understanding of the national perspective on housing and urbanization. In India, as in many developing countries, urbanization and the problems of development have become significant to capture the attention of the planners and the policy makers.

Recent trends in urbanization in India clearly show the beginning of a period of rapid urbanization. The average annual growth rate of 4.6 per cent for the urban population during 1971-81 has been the highest since the beginning of the century. In one decade (1971-81) the urban population increased by 47 million. It has reached a level of 156.2 million which is even larger than the total population of most independent nations. Though now only 23.73 per cent of the total population lives in urban areas, India has one of the largest urban population. At this rapid rate it is estimated that by the turn of the century over 278 million will be living in the urban areas. Numerically the magnitude is alarming. If this trend continues it will have a significant impact on the metropolitanization process.

From only one million plus city in 1901, to five by 1951 and to twelve in 1981, rapid growth is quite evident. Since 1951 the metropolitan population has increased fourfold to reach over 42 million, which is 26.91 per cent of the total
urban population. Further, over 65 per cent of this population lives in the four largest metropolitan cities, and on an average their population increased by about 39 percent between 1971 and 1981. Among the top four metropolitan cities, Delhi with 5.71 million in 1981, has registered the highest growth with a 56.66 per cent increase in the decade up to 1981.

Realistic estimates show that the larger cities, particularly the metropolitan cities, will have a continued accelerated growth during the next two decades resulting in further convergence of the urban population. It is also claimed that many of the existing maladies in the present urban structure are due to this skewed pattern of urban growth. Sharp deterioration of the quality of living for a majority of large city dwellers, slow increase in gainful employment, apparent scarcity of land for development and inflation of land prices beyond the affordability of a vast majority of the population are the commonly known characteristics of the metropolitan cities. Nonetheless, relatively speaking these metropolitan cities have efficient economic structures and high potential for development. Some of the major metropolitan problems are identified and addressed in the following discussion.

The migrants to the metropolitan cities are the relatively young (below thirty five years old) who come in search of new employment. But qualitatively, nearly half of the male migrants are illiterate with no formal education whatsoever, and less than 19 per cent have attained some higher level of education. The condition of
female immigrants in this respect is even worse. Because of this and the very low level augmentation of gainful secondary employment a majority of the immigrants become absorbed into low productive activities.

Because of the increasing dependence on the low productive tertiary activities, the average economic conditions of a major part of the urban population are deteriorating, and the number of people below the poverty line is increasing. Fifty nine million people (about 45 per cent) in urban areas were classified as below the poverty line in 1978. In 1981, the government estimated this population at 50 per cent of the total urban population. On the employment side, the organized or formal sector constitutes only a third of the total employment in the metropolitan cities. There is a bloated tertiary sector with extensive marginal employment. This sector is also unable to absorb the growing population. The dependency ratio is on the increase which, in absolute terms, is reducing the per capita level of income. The incidence of unemployment and underemployment also has recently significantly increased in the metropolitan cities. In 1976, the national survey conducted by All India Centre for Monitoring of Indian Economy, Bombay, put the unemployment and underemployment levels at 3.1 and 6.6 per cent of the urban population respectively. But the figures are highly conservative. Added to this, there exists a significantly high disguised unemployment sector.

Along with this slow growth of gainful employment, the economy of the
metropolitan cities also cannot meet the demand for housing and necessary life supporting infrastructure and facilities. Overcrowding in built-up areas, and mushrooming of squatter and unauthorized settlements are common in all metropolitan cities. On the housing side the picture is dismal. A 1975 survey of the National Building Organization shows that 41.7 per cent of the urban population lived in single-room dwellings, and the average number of persons per room was 4.6; the congestion is greater in metropolitan cities with 4.9. Though the Sixth Five-Year National Plan (1978-83) indicates, on the average, only 20 per cent of the urban population living in slum conditions, the proportion is as high as 42 per cent in Calcutta, 38 per cent in Bombay, and 25 per cent in Delhi; these proportions are steadily increasing. In 1981, estimates showed that nearly 40 per cent of the total urban population living in slums is in the top ten metropolitan centres. Besides, along with the slow pace of new housing construction, there is a steady deterioration in the existing housing stock due to lack of maintenance. During the last decade, several significant policy measures and programmes have been initiated in the metropolitan cities to improve the situation. Yet, little progress has been made in solving the problem. For example, Delhi needed housing construction at a rate of 20,000 dwellings per year for the period 1981-91, but the rate of addition to the housing stock only 8,000 to 9,000, which is nevertheless the highest rate among all the metropolitan cities. Increasing pressure of population, inadequate flow of money in the housing market, and ineffective urban land management are the major causes of the present gloomy housing situation in the metropolitan cities.
With regards to the provision of physical infrastructure the situation in the metropolitan cities is still worse. While 94 per cent of all urban centres do not have a sewerage system, in the metropolitan cities the available system serves only 30 to 50 per cent of the population. In Delhi the existing capacity meets only one third of the requirement and again one third of the sewerage is left untreated. However, provision of drinking water is relatively better, but the shortage is great and the problem is accentuated by ineffective distribution. In Delhi nearly 20 to 30 per cent of the population do not have access to any solid waste disposal. Delhi generates less than a third of its power requirement. High dependence on other sources makes power supply uncertain, and power cuts and load shedding are frequent. Calcutta is the worst sufferer with the most uncertain and fluctuating levels of power supply. While the present lag in the provision of infrastructure is alarming, the immediate prospects at the current rates of provision seem bleak. For a population of 12 million by the turn of the century, Delhi will require 2.5 times the present levels of water levels of water supply, five times the power supply, and six times the sewerage capacity. The infrastructure situation in smaller cities and towns is even poorer. One third of all urban centres have no provision for a protected piped water supply, and in another 50 per cent the supply is significantly short of the requirements.

2.3. HOUSING POLICY IN NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE:

The development of housing policy is influenced by the structural and contingent
conditions of society. In India, the structural conditions are its status as a developing country, its capitalist inequalities moderated by a social justice approach to political economy, and its instruments of state which reflect democratic relations and a federal pattern of government. The main conditions concern the nature of Indian society and its politics, and the course of economic development.

2.3.1. NATIONAL HOUSING POLICY:

The national housing policy is revealed as having high intent and usefulness in understanding housing in the context of a developing country. It is not, of course, a document which spells out elaborate programme details of means and specified targets. In fact, the execution of housing is not within the widespread control of the government of India, rather it lies with the private sector and the states. It is for this reason that the National Housing Policy had to be resolved and accepted by the states in preparatory meetings of housing ministers in 1987 and 1988. The National Housing Policy has good intent, and it offers criteria by which future performance can be monitored and assessed. The policy which is operative since June 1988, looks at the problem of housing from various angles - physical, financial, fiscal, institutional and legislative. The policy statement, at the outset, recognises the need of relying on a multiplicity of actors in stepping up

efforts for production and improvement of housing. The policy suggests that the role of public agencies should be mainly that of facilitating housing development rather than being directly involved in actual production of housing. Towards this end, the policy recommends several measures by which formal and informal private sectors can be stimulated to provide housing at an accelerated pace, not only for the upper income brackets but also for the poor. Action on some of the measures recommended in the policy statement already begun. In the same year, another policy document with far reaching implications for promotion of housing efforts in India was brought out by the Central Government in the form of the Report of the National Commission on Urbanisation\(^7\). The report contains a chapter on Urban Housing incorporating suggestions regarding strategies, financial institutions, legislative amendments and fiscal measures needed to augment housing supply. The essential ideas contained in these two documents and related follow-up actions that have already been initiated are discussed below.

2.3.2. Access to Developed Urban Land:

The new policy, recognizes that several measures need to be initiated to increase the access of households to developed urban land if the housing supply rate is to be accelerated. It is suggested that changes should be made in the land acquisition procedures so that land can be acquired expeditiously and without

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heavy investment. Also, it is essential that the existing developed urban land be utilised in an optimal manner. The land which has not been used efficiently through the passage of time, must not be so locked up but recycled for better uses. For example, land under obsolete industrial use can be freed to allow for new developments such as social housing, commercial, landscaped open spaces or such other uses. Similarly, areas developed at low density can be allowed to be redeveloped at higher densities subject to considerations related to infrastructure and quality of environment.

The National Commission on Urbanisation has supported the National Housing Policy recommendation that holding of land for speculative purposes should be discouraged and land should be forced into the marked through fiscal mechanisms. The vacant land taxation rates should be made more punitive. Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation (ULCAR) Act, 1976 which had been enforced with the sole purpose of socialising developed urban land has actually resulted in locking of such land in various legal battles. Under the act, various State Governments were able to take possession of only 3,800 hectares of excess vacant non-agricultural land upto 1988, particularly glaring is the example of Delhi where only two hectares have been acquired. As against this, a total of 166,200 hectares of land has been frozen under the Act. Out of the total land acquired, only four per cent has been constructed upon of which only 15 per cent has been allocated for residential uses. Presently, the various State Governments are reviewing this Act with the intention of making it more effective.
2.3.3. Rental Housing:

The committee on National Housing Policy had realised that, given the magnitude of housing deficit in India, policies for extending the ownership base of housing and making the ownership option affordable to all could not ultimately succeed even if pursued in the form of least cost "Site and Services Programme". The continuing role of rental housing must, therefore, be recognised, especially for low income groups. As a national policy, investment in housing for rental purposes should be stimulated. The existing rent control laws have impeded housing construction activity. Under the new policy it is suggested that these laws should be amended to allow for a reasonable return on investment in housing. Some of the suggested amendments are the ones regarding allowing periodic upward revision of rents, expeditious return to the owner for self occupation in the event of necessity, exempting new constructions entirely from the provisions of rent control acts, and releasing private sector housing for rental purposes from stranglehold of legal hurdles and controls. A beginning has already been made in this direction in Delhi and the State of Maharashtra, rent control acts have been amended.

2.3.4. Development of Infrastructure:

Efforts to increase the supply of developed urban land for housing purposes are essentially tied up with the issue of generating finance for extending municipal
services and related infrastructure to undeveloped areas. However, financing infrastructural facilities is a highly difficult task. The local agencies responsible for urban management have extremely restricted access to capital funding and municipal incomes are totally inadequate for coping with the expenditure levels required for an acceptable urban environment. To help ease this problem, Government has proposed setting up of an Infrastructure Development Corporation as a nodal agency for funding development of infrastructure. Simultaneously, the Central Government, is presently processing through the national parliament a constitutional amendment bill with the main purpose of strengthening urban local agencies by giving them more administrative powers, providing some assured sources of income, and opening to them the option to borrow from the capital market. It is expected that after the proposed amendment, the urban local agencies will be suitably revitalised to be able to take up the task of development and maintenance of infrastructure in a more efficient manner.

2.3.5. Sources of Institutional Finance:

The Seventh Plan (1985 -1990) and the National Housing Policy documents have emphasized the importance of easy access to housing finance by expanding flow of funds from both the formal and informal sources. The formal sources comprise of:

i. Central and State Governments through budgetary allocations.
ii. General financial institutions/organisations like Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC), General Insurance Corporation (GIC), Commercial Banks, Unit Trust of India (UTI), a host of public and private agencies operating Provident Fund Accounts, and lately nationalised banks subsidiaries set-up specifically for disbursing home finance.

iii. Specialised housing finance institutions such as Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), apex and primary co-operative housing finance societies, and a few housing finance companies set up in the private sector such as Housing Development Finance Corporation (HDFC).

The approximate annual outlay of all formal housing financial institutions, both in the public and private sectors, is currently of the order of Rs.10,000 million (US$625 million). Contributions from formal and informal sources are in the ratio of 20:80 which do indicate how small is the coverage of formal financing institutions in the total contributions for financing housing.

2.3.6. National Housing Bank:

As follow up of the National Housing Policy, the most significant action that the government has taken to ease the flow of housing finance is to set up the National Housing Bank. The bank, with its headquarters at Delhi, has become

operational since July, 1988. The bank’s major objectives amongst the many listed in the National Housing Policy document are:

i. To mobilise resources for the housing sector, particularly to help the low-income groups.

ii. To promote housing finance institutions both at local and regional levels and

iii. To provide financial, technical and administrative assistance to such institutions

The bank has been set up with a rather small equity of one billion rupees (US$62.5 million), but the Reserve Bank of India and other financial institutions will make special additional contributions. USAID has approved a programme which will provide a loan guarantee for US$50 million. The bank proposes to mobilise additional finance through innovative schemes to attract household deposits, and aims to become catalyst for land development activities throughout the country.

Vis-a-vis its second priority, the National Housing Bank has already supported the establishment of regional level housing finance institutions such as the Housing Promotion and Financed Corporation (HPFC) at Calcutta to serve north-eastern and eastern India, and Can Fin Homes at Bangalore which will operate mainly in southern India. A similar corporation for the northern parts of India is likely

to be established at Delhi. Such efforts need to be supplemented at State and local levels as well.

2.3.7. Division of Public/Private Responsibilities in Housing:

The year 1988 will be remembered as a landmark year in the shelter history of India. In this year, two important policy documents: i. National Housing Policy and ii. Report of the National Commission on Urbanisation were adopted by the Government of India and both contained useful suggestions for accelerating the pace of housing development in the country. Planners faith in the policy of slum eradication had begun to diminish during 1970's and they had shifted their support to the more realistic 'environmental improvement of slums' approach. During the late 1980's, the shelter policy in India was modified again quite significantly. As a result, policy makers and administrators now clearly realise that public sector housing agencies role of being directly involved in house construction can at best be of a marginal nature keeping in view the enormity of the housing backlog. Consequently, development authorities and other public agencies involved in housing are being advised by policy makers to channelise their efforts only in those areas where they can be most effective, and leave the rest to be taken care of through self help and private sector efforts. A new division of responsibilities between public and the private sectors is clearly emerging.
2.3.7.1. Public Sector Responsibilities:

Public sector agencies in housing are now being seen more as promoters and facilitators, and are being asked by the policy makers to reorient their activities to better serve the interests of the most disadvantaged sections of the population. The tasks in which the public agencies are now expected to be engaged in are as follows:

i. Mobilise resources for the housing sector on an adequate scale and stimulate development and supply of developed land, especially to Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) and Low-income Groups (LIG).

ii. Build up an elaborate information system on land records, project housing needs in a scientific manner and prepare perspective plans that are in tune with the available resources and thus fulfil the role of being efficient land developers, particularly for low-income groups.

iii. Recognise slums, squatter colonies and unauthorised residential developments as people's effort to provide a shelter for themselves in the absence of the State being able to meet their needs, and help them financially or otherwise to improve their environment to a level that they can be regularised. Extend support to them by granting security of tenure so that they may develop a stake in maintaining and improving their habitat. However, it should be realised that security of tenure and other material support to residents of slum areas and squatter colonies can have a lasting effect only if their economic condition improves. Material support, should, therefore, be supplemented with efforts to start them on some occupation,
even if it has to be operated from within their own residential premises. Zoning regulations should be liberalised, if so required, to allow for such multiple use of space.

iv. Encourage financial institutions to launch innovative schemes to achieve a manifold increase in the resources mobilised from the household sector. Already considerable efforts have been initiated in this regard. These efforts need to be firmed up with the introduction of mortgage insurance, secondary mortgage market and second mortgage on property to facilitate development of a national housing finance and institutional changes should be carried out. Public agencies involved in mobilisation of housing finance should ensure a fair share for Economically Weaker Sections and Low-income Groups amongst the beneficiaries.

v. Promote involvement of non-governmental organisations in community development, popularise co-operative movement amongst low income communities, and encourage them to adopt self-help techniques. Those who can afford and are willing to make a move for a better living environment should be guided to settle at an alternative location where developed land can be made available to them. It is also necessary to involve beneficiaries in house construction and promotion of locally available building material and low cost technology.

vi. Get involved in distribution of building materials and components at reasonable rates, provide technical and advisory services, and develop and extend the use of appropriate technology on a mass scale.
vii. Bring about necessary changes in legislation, associated bye-laws and regulations, and standards about housing and physical environment in a manner that all those provisions that inhibit housing are removed. Existing standards are often unrealistic, rigidly framed and unrelated to the dynamism of human settlements. Public intervention in matters such as these should be carefully articulated and technical assistance provided with a view to promote sensitive and responsive approaches rather than introduce controlling regulations or inflexible guidelines.

2.3.7.2. Suggestions for Enlarging Private Sector Responsibilities:

Whereas some thinking has been done at governmental levels regarding the needed changes in the role of public agencies in increasing the rate of supply of housing, little has been thought about involving private agencies. Public agencies operating on their own have failed to supply land and develop housing at a scale that can make any appreciable dent in the grave housing problem in the country. Public agencies are now beginning to realise that private agencies should be encouraged to supplement their efforts. Steps that need to be taken by public agencies to stimulate private sector activities in housing should be to encourage the private developers by giving incentives to invest in housing for the low-income groups.

Such a cooperation between public and private sector agencies will go a long way
in alleviating the sufferings of the poor as far as the housing needs are concerned.
CHAPTER 3.0

HYDERABAD CITY AND ITS GROWTH.

3.1. Historical Background: Hyderabad city was founded in the year 1591 A.D. by the ruler Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah when he ordered his architects and masons to start building of the city in a vast open land south of the river Moosi in proximity to the old bridge and along the main road to the premier post of the kingdom - Masulipatam. The city is the successor of fortress town of Golconda (1510 A.D.) about four miles west of Hyderabad. Both Golconda and Hyderabad shared the government functions of the state until 1687 when both fell to Moghul forces and the Kingdom of Golconda was annexed to the Moghul Empire. Since then the glory of Golconda lost its importance as a military town, yet the city of Hyderabad placed preferably to perform civil functions had passed through several historical stages, and has grown size and population and now (1991) is one of the five metropolitan cities of India and has remained the capital city from its inception.

The selection of Golconda as the capital city of the new kingdom seems to have been guided by historical and sentimental factors rather than geographical. The only two geographical factors that supported its selection as the capital city were its advantageous site for defence being surrounded by hills, forest and water and the other being its location on a commercial route from Masulipatam on the east
coast to Bidar and Aurangabad being a great military and trading centre, 300 miles to the north-west. It had attained highest position in the field of trade and commerce. It became a world market as the raw material of the kingdom was being exchanged for the manufactured goods imported from abroad through Masulipatam, which played an important role as a centre of great commercial activity. Even the merchants from Turkistan, Arabia and Persia resorted to it and were so well treated that they returned frequently. As a result of this hundreds of artisans and industrialists flocked to Golconda, and by 1576 the fortress, which was the central nucleus of the defence, had become very congested and there was no scope for further expansion within its walls. So in 1578 the ruler Ibrahim Qutub Shah, had built a bridge at its narrowest point on river Moosi two miles east of Golconda with a view of founding the new city on the south bank. The construction of the city could not start because of the king's illness followed by his death in 1581. The building of the bridge however opened the prospect of building a new city on the south bank.

Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah, the fifth ruler of the dynasty and the founder of Hyderabad ascended the throne of Golconda in 1581. During his long, peaceful and prosperous reign, trade and commerce reached its zenith. During his early parts of his reign the commerce of Golconda touched new peaks of prosperity and the fame for its diamonds, steel and printed cloths attracted merchants from other parts of Asia and Europe. People again flowed in from the surrounding region and the neighbouring countries. In 1591, besides the nobles and retainers the
fort's military population alone exceeded 40,000 men.

As the population increased day by day and as a result, it had not only become congested but it was also giving way to disease and pestilence. Owing to the increase in population and congestion the environment was being infected and the people had to face the danger of deadly diseases. Besides this the political activities of the kingdom were growing and the capital was insufficient to meet the increasing demand of the people. The influx of foreigners who visited the capital every time caused new problems. The existing drainage system could not withstand the pressure and had given rise to insanitary conditions resulting in epidemics and cholera. The present water supply was inadequate to meet the ever increasing demand. However pressed by pestilence and recurring diseases of malignant type, all sections of the nobility submitted a petition to the king that a new city may be ordered by the Sultan to be built and he graciously acceded to the request of his noble. Further the nobles impressed upon the Sultan that the fort of Golconda was no longer worthy of the residence of the king and, therefore, it was essential that a new and beautiful city which would have no equal among the cities of the world be laid out. Pressed by these conditions, steps were taken to create a new capital. An extensive area south of Moosi, comprising seven villages, and along the main commercial route of the kingdom leading to Masulipatam, was selected for the new capital. A plan of the city was prepared and on an auspicious day in 1591 A.D. (1004 A.H., Muslim Calendar) "when the moon was in the constellation Leo and Jupiter was in his own mansion," its
foundation was laid by the king. He named it Hyderabad after the title of fourth Caliph of Islam. It was then popularly known as Bhagyanagar.

The origin of the second name Bhagyanagar is disputed. One school ascribes the name to that of a beautiful Hindu girl, Bhagmati, who lived in one of the seven villages, Chichlam. The other school suggests that the original name was Baghnagar, meaning the city of gardens, but this hypothesis lacks support from the contemporary sources, for the court chroniclers of seventeenth century an English merchant, Ralph Finch, who did not even visit the city, referred in the account of his travels, to the "King of Golconda whose chief city is Bhaganagar."

The chosen site of Hyderabad was the most desirable in the vicinity of Golconda. No other place near the commanding fort combined the favourable features of an open grass-covered, gently-sloping, well drained land, a location on the main commercial highway of the kingdom and a large perennial irrigation tank (Jalpalli) available for domestic use. The inhospitable character of the higher land to the west and north of the Fort precluded expansion there.

3.2. Chronological Development of Hyderabad - Secunderabad:

The development of Hyderabad-Secunderabad can be classified under eight stages:

i. The Qutub Shahi Stage or First Twin City Stage between 1591-1687.
ii. The Transitional Phase: 1688 - 1725.


iv. The Second Twin City Stage: 1799 - 1874.

v. The Railway Stage: 1875 - 1908.

vi. The Modern or Metropolitan Stage: from 1908-1955.


These stages indicate the occurrence of a significant political event or the introduction of new economic factors having a marked influence on the forms and functions of the twin cities.

A characteristic feature of the growth which culminated in the modern urban complex of Hyderabad-Secunderabad has been its development through two phases of twin settlements. Hyderabad city was founded as a capital city sharing the functions of Golconda. This first Twin-City phase (Hyderabad-Golconda) ended with the collapse of the kingdom and the subsequent abandonment of Golconda fort. The second Twin-City phase (Hyderabad-Secunderabad) commenced about a century later with the creation of the British Cantonment of Secunderabad which in due course emerged as a mature, though secondary, city with its own distinctive form and functions. While Hyderabad superseded Golconda, Secunderabad being a British Cantonment had only subsidiary status and was always overshadowed by the capital in economic growth. Although these
two settlements (Hyderabad-Secunderabad), have now been brought, through an
Act of Legislature (1960), under the administrative jurisdiction of a single
municipal corporation, still they retain their distinctive functional characteristics.

**First Twin City Stage 1591 - 1687:** The city of Hyderabad was planned on a grid
pattern consisting of two main roads, running east to west and north to south and
intersecting at Charminar (four minarets), the city centre. It thus formed four
quarters. According to contemporary sources the city was divided into 12,000
precincts (mohallahs) and its main thoroughfares were lined with 14,000 buildings
including shops, mosques, rest houses and Madarsas (Oriental schools). Of its
four quarters, the north-western was set apart for royal palaces and state offices,
and north eastern for the residences of the nobles. City building during this
period was stimulated by the king who constructed numerous palaces, created
beautiful gardens in the city and suburbs, patronised men of letters and
encouraged commerce which resulted in a phenomenal growth of the city.

The scientific planning and grandeur of the city of Hyderabad and its buildings
were not only appreciated by the local people but also foreign travellers. Almost
all the historians and travellers who had visited Golconda in those days expressed
their profound admiration of the grandeur of the city and its planning. The
famous French traveller, Tavernier, who had come to Golconda many a time,
highly praises the city when he writes: "The city has been planned with a good
taste and it has good roads and highways". M.Thevenot, another french traveller,
praised the city in these words: "Having adjusted by measures, I found that Baghnagar was five thousand six hundred and fifty from the bridge to the towers and from thence three thousand two hundred paces.

The Royal Palace was in the N-W quarter of the city while according to Thevenot the nobles had constructed their residences in the N-E sector where the Peshwa (Prime Minister) had his residence and office (Haveli). Adjoining the Peshwa's haveli near the bank of the river a nucleus of settlement had also emerged. Another nucleus had developed round the Moghalpura Lashkar (Cantonment), which was established in 1640 near the tank of Mir Jumla South-East of Charminar. Besides these emerging settlements, Karwan, between Hyderabad and Golconda, was a thickly populated suburb about two miles long. Though "only built of earth and thatched with straw the houses can be reckoned no more than huts, it was where all the merchants, brokers and artisans dwell".

Within a short period of its creation Hyderabad became the commercial metropolis of the kingdom of Golconda. Tavernier found local businessmen transacting business with foreign traders and de Thevenot was surprised to see in this city the large number of rich merchants, bankers, jewellers and skilful artisans "not only native but also Persians and Armenians".

Founded as a civil capital, Hyderabad rapidly outshone the fortress town of Golconda and became the nerve centre of the kingdom, directing its
administrative, intellectual, cultural and commercial activities. Golconda's rock was difficult of access and the walls of the citadel constricted the opportunities of city's growth which the increasing stability of the kingdom, its growing military power and rising commerce demanded. On the construction of the bridge (now known as Purana Pul) the possibility for expansion towards the south bank was opened out and thus Hyderabad soon supplanted Golconda both in size and wealth. Hyderabad's growth continued E-W along commercial highway of the kingdom until 1687. It was suddenly halted by the annexation of the kingdom to the Moghul Empire.

The Transitional Phase 1687 - 1725: During this period the development of Hyderabad came to a halt. The seat of authority was shifted from Hyderabad to Aurangabad which was made the headquarters of the Southern province of the Moghul Empire (The Deccan). Meanwhile Aurangabad suffered a setback due to political instability and consequently the situation at Hyderabad was also unstable. But towards the end of 1725 political conditions stabilized, Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah founded the Asaf Jahi dynasty of Hyderabad, which lasted until 1948, and took firm control of the Deccan and the Hyderabad City. The city wall was completed by Asaf Jah I in 1740, defined precisely the limits of the city, provided for the security of the people and thus made possible the return of the population which had shifted back to Golconda in 1687.
The early Asaf Jahi Period 1725 - 1799: This period has two distinct phases of development, one of inhibition during 1725-1763, and the other of acceleration from 1763-1798.

The first period was the crucial one for Hyderabad because Aurangabad was still the capital and many wealthy feudal landlords had migrated there. The death of Asaf Jah I in 1740 and the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy over the Deccan (1750-1760) had adversely affected Hyderabad's growth. Even the construction of the ruler's palace and of his minister's mansion in the S-W quarter of the city could not check the stagnation caused by other factors. The city was only partially filled and crowded near the royal palaces with dwellings. There was no expansion of the city and the mansions of the nobles were deserted and in ruins. Most of the Hyderabad's bazaars and the main bazaar (Chauk), were half empty. All the symptoms of perversion were evident.

The second phase started in 1763 when the Nizam of the Deccan, Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1796) shifted his headquarters to Hyderabad. Hyderabad thus re-emerged as the chief city of the Deccan after a lapse of seventy-six years. As a result of this decision the nobles of the court and their retainers also returned to Hyderabad from Aurangabad and thus the development were accelerated. The urban renewal programme commenced within the city walls, old dilapidated buildings were demolished and replaced by new ones. Settlements expanded beyond the walls around one mile mainly towards the south.
This great increase in the power, wealth and population of the city reflected in enhanced commerce and craftsmanship. While in 1763 there had been only one grand bazaar and no organised wholesale trade, by 1798 there were three grand bazaars flourishing and one wholesale district in its northern suburb.

Although the city's major axis of growth still ran E-W, yet significantly the main road north of Charminar emerged towards the end of this period as an important business thoroughfare.

The Second Twin City Stage 1788 - 1874: In 1798 two significant political decisions profoundly altered the course of the city's development. In the first instance the Subsidiary alliance of the Nizam with the East India Company in 1798 created Secunderabad and consequently ushered in the second phase of the development of Hyderabad through twin settlements and, secondly, the Nizam's permission for the construction of the British Residency on the north bank changed the trend of Hyderabad's growth.

Origin of Secunderabad: The subsidiary alliance of 1798 stipulated the permanent residence of the British East India Company's forces within the Nizam's state and granted them certain economic concessions. Article 4 of the Alliance reads that "the duties on grain and all articles of consumption, as well as all necessaries whatever for the use of the new Subsidiary force, shall be commuted agreeably to the practice that obtained with the former detachment."
A place likewise shall be fixed on as the headquarters of the said force where it shall always remain except when services of importance are required to be performed\(^{10}\). Soon after the treaty was signed 5,000 British troops arrived near Hyderabad and camped to the north of Hussain Sagar and near the village of Hussain Shahpura and so was established a new twin-settlement replacing the old Golconda-Hyderabad development. The ridge with an elevation of 150 feet above the river occupied a commanding position and an healthy site for cantonment about five miles north of Charminar.

The growth of cantonment was rapid with an area of four square miles occupied by troops and natives and grew upto seventeen square miles with an increase in population to about 50,000. The cantonment was named Secunderabad in 1806 after the then Nizam, Secunder Jah. The growth of Secunderabad Cantonment from 1798-1874 can be divided into two phases: (i) 1798-1835 and (ii) 1836-1874.

(i) **1798-1835**: During this phase Secunderabad occupied an area of six square miles and its major axis of growth was in the East-West. The cantonment consisted of three distinct areas, the northern, central, and southern, occupied respectively by the Army barracks, the Officers quarters and the native settlement called the General Bazaar which drew large number of people from the

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surrounding villages due to business opportunities.

(ii) 1836-1874: In Secunderabad the cantonment ceased to expand East-West after 1836 because of the shift of the military barracks further north to Trimulgherry, Bowenpalli, and Bolarum. The part of Secunderabad originally occupied by the Army looked deserted by 1874 and a correspondent of the "Madras Times" complained that "the glory is gone from it as we see from the long empty lines of officers' bungalows".

The General Bazaar where native population, including bankers and merchants, lived was fast expanding its commerce, taking advantage of the economic concessions contained in Article 4 of the Subsidiary Alliance of 1798. The native merchants not only supplied the cantonment but extended its sphere of business to the other parts of Secunderabad and more towards the south in the direction of Hyderabad.

Secunderabad being a British cantonment was developing a cultural pattern quite distinct from that of the capital. As commerce formed the core of Secunderabad's economy while in Hyderabad the feudal system prevailed. Despite these differences the two were being fused into one through their military and economic association. This was one of the main reasons for the future growth of twin-cities.

The plan for constructing the Residency was mooted in 1798 and its buildings
were completed by 1806. Following its construction, there came up several shops and dwelling houses around the residency. As there was less security in the old trade zone of Hyderabad (Karwan) many bankers and merchants migrated from Karwan and moved to Chaderghat which was closer to the Residency. Although many civil servants who held important positions in the Nizam's Government moved to Chaderghat to be near protection of the Residency. Confirming this Saunders said that "a large European Society which has grown up in the vicinity of Hyderabad holds a position and a very respectable one - among the inhabitants of the Bazaar and hence the community at Chaderghat has greatly increased and multiplied." 11

This European-Eurasian Colony adjacent to the Walled City was a valuable addition to Hyderabad's cultural development. The influx of bankers and civil servants into the Residency area stimulated its banking and commercial activities. Though the area was not large yet "it is covered with populous bazaars, some of whose merchants possess great wealth and extend their transactions all over India." 12.

As in Chaderghat and Residency Bazaars, settlements also rapidly extended in the city's northern and southern suburbs. Towards the mid-nineteenth century the

city was restored to order and peaceful conditions prevailed. The emergence of British East India Company in the early nineteenth century as the paramount power in the Deccan lent political stability to Hyderabad State and its capital. This naturally stimulated commerce and encouraged immigration. The density in the city increased particularly towards the east.

This rapid economic growth of the Walled City and its suburbs and of the Residency Bazaars and Chaderghat stimulated contacts between the two and generated movement of people and goods in either direction. This was further increased by the introduction of two more bridges across river Moosi, one at Chaderghat and another at Afzalgunj in 1839 and 1857 respectively. Of the three bridges across river Moosi, Afzalgunj was the most central and this was the direct link between the Nizam's palaces on the south and the British Residency in the north. Its central location was of vital importance in the future growth of Hyderabad.

The establishment of British Residency across the river on the northern side contributed to the city's expansion and introduced a significant change in its growth pattern and added new social values and fresh cultural horizons to its expanding landscape.

**The Railway Period 1874 - 1908:** The introduction of Railways to the rapidly expanding cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad made a great difference. The
railway line spanning from Bombay to Hyderabad and Secunderabad in 1874 was extended to Madras via Warangal in 1898. The addition of another line in 1900 linked the twin cities with the rich cotton tracts of Hyderabad State in the North West. Regionally, the railways made a tremendous difference by transferring the trade Hyderabad from Masulipatam to Bombay and Madras. Locally, their effect was no less powerful, they accelerated the expansion of Hyderabad in the northern side, assisted the industrial development of the two cities, and reinforced the commercial importance and compact development of Secunderabad.

Prior to 1874 there were no modern industries, but a few years later, a couple of railway workshops were established and four factories sprung up south and east of Hussain Sagar. These units later became the nuclei of the new settlement. Owing to the increased economic pull of Secunderabad, the growth of Hyderabad south of the river was practically halted and its axis of growth was definitely turned northwards. Due to the rapid expansion of the city and the movement of people and goods across the river necessitated the construction of the fourth bridge (Muslam Jung bridge) in 1897, sited between the Old bridge and that of Afzalgunj.

There was a considerable expansion of wholesale and retail business in Secunderabad during this period. Being located on the junction of Broad and Metre gauge railway systems it could extend its wholesale business to the other towns of the state. Locally, its retail trade, specially in luxury goods, was
Source: Census of India, Andhra Pradesh, 1981.
Map 3.3

HYDERABAD IN 1900

stimulated by the further overcrowding of Europeans and Eurasians, most of whom were employees of the Nizam.

3.3. Hyderabad and its Growth 1908 - 1955: The modern era of the city and its metropolitan growth was ushered in the wake of a catastrophic flood which seriously disrupted the establishment pattern of life in the city of Hyderabad. The authorities became serious conscious of the need for a planned Hyderabad. The flood of 1908 was subsequently followed by events of considerable economic and political significance which changed the social, cultural, political and economic structure of the city, and therefore radically altered its total framework. To comprehend the interaction of these complex forces on the growth of the city, it appears feasible to study them under the following:

i. The flood of 1908 and its effect-internal reorganisation of Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

ii. Influence of rail-road transport development on metropolitan growth.

iii. Integration of the two cities and

iv. Political events influencing metropolitan growth.

Reorganisation of Hyderabad - Secunderabad: This was the worst flood ever experienced at Hyderabad. The disaster was magnified because of the main population concentration lying on either side of the bank between Old bridge and Chaderghat bridge, were the worst affected. The first task was to rehouse
thousands who have been rendered homeless overnight, the authorities first employed temporary measures but subsequently appointed a City Improvement Board in 1912 to take care of the problem of city's development. On the advice of the Board two reservoirs for controlling the flood were constructed upstream in 1917 and 1927 respectively. The river banks on either side of the Old bridge and Chaderghat bridge were raised 30 feet and lined with stone and cement. The residential areas which were most affected along the river banks were converted into playgrounds and parks, and alongside prominent public buildings like the Central Hospital, High Court, State Library etc., were constructed. These measures prevented the river from future floods on one hand and on the other it beautified river front.

Soon after the floods most of the state offices were transferred to Chaderghat; the Nizam also took up his residence there signifying a shift in centrality from the walled city to Chaderghat. Subsequently the nobility also was attracted towards the north of the river where the settlements further increased.

Although Secunderabad had not been affected by the floods, its general environmental conditions worsened in the General Bazaar and needed immediate attention. The Cantonment authorities established a Town Improvement Trust in 1930 to carry out work similar to that of the Board in Hyderabad. The trust concentrated on developing residential neighbourhoods for the working class, although one of its major achievements was the creation of Kingsway (now
Rashtrapati Road) in 1936 to relieve congestion in James Street (now Mahatma Gandhi Road), which before 1936 was the only thoroughfare.

**Development of Rail - Road Transport:**

By 1928 the railway system of the state was completed and by 1936 bus routes radiated from the capital to all district headquarters. Shortly after the completion of the rail system, two major industrial districts sprang up in the city and its suburbs.

The city was well served by suburban rail and bus services by 1928 and 1932. These two have increased building commercial, residential and industrial activities along the transport routes. The bus services were particularly valuable in connecting both Hyderabad-Secunderabad effectively. The rapid increase of transport services saved the part of Hyderabad south of the river from disintegration and depopulation and considerably extended industrial and educational activities across the river in the northern part of Hyderabad. Transport also urbanised adjoining villages, increased the radius of direct metropolitan influence in business activities, and enabled the factory and office employees to live away from their centres of work. There was thus both concentration at the centre and expansion out to the suburbs.
Integration of Twin Cities: The changing pattern of the city both socially and economically have strongly influenced the growth of the suburbs and their types. The traditional character of the suburbs, consisting of large palatial villas of the nobles, have been largely replaced by suburbs of a dynamic character having functional distinctiveness and capable of attracting residential development. Most of the villas of the nobles are in ruins but many modern suburbs of different types such as residential, industrial, military, educational, recreational, religious and commercial, have developed around the metropolis, stimulated by the expansion of the suburban transport services.

Political events influencing the Metropolitan Growth: The two Acts of Rendition of 1936 and 1945, the Police Action of 1949 and the Re-organisation of States in 1956 marked a series of political events within the two decades of reaching significance on the city's history.

The Rendition Act of 1936 released the Residency Area from the Resident's administrative control and integrated it with the Hyderabad Municipality. The Secunderabad city was created by the second Rendition Act of 1945 when 3.6 square miles covering the civil area of Secunderabad Cantonment was separated and transferred over to the Nizam's control. Secunderabad's freedom from the British control had given the chance to expand further to more than 20.72 sq.kilometres. The two cities were able to grow into one community, even though they remained separated administratively till 1960.
The partition of India in 1947, the reorganisation of Hyderabad State with the Indian Union in 1948 were political events which had manifold effects on the twin cities.

After partition and the communal riots in the northern part of India has attracted a large number of Muslims to migrate to Hyderabad State and particularly to its capital. This movement had hardly ceased when the government of India launched Police Action to integrate the State of Hyderabad with the Indian Union. This has caused a great economic crisis in Hyderabad City because on one hand the rich wealthy Muslims began emigrating to Pakistan on the other Muslims from the neighbouring districts started moving in to the city. These shifts in population were of great significance. Taking advantage of the political conditions of the State, the communist terrorists became active in the rural areas of Telangana. These terrorist activities compelled the local landlords to migrate to Hyderabad and Secunderabad with their wealth, which they invested in building, commerce and industries. These landlords came in at a time when the economic structure of the cities was on the verge of collapse and proved an invaluable factor in salvaging its economy.

3.4. Formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh 1956 onwards: On 1st November 1956, Hyderabad City was declared the capital city of the enlarged State of
Andhra Pradesh. The offices of the State of Andhra from Kurnool and Guntur were moved into Hyderabad city. Though the trifurcation of the State took away several people to Maharashtra and Mysore (Now Karnataka) States, the twin cities were more than made up by those who came from Andhra area. Overnight, the city had to provide accommodation for the new comers. This provided a landslide boom in the industrial, commercial and constructional activities of the twin cities. Every available space in the city was rapidly filled up to accommodate thousands of people. Residential development and Building activity were most conspicuous in Chanchalguda, Ameerpet, Mallepalli, Masab Tank, Punjagutta, Chikkadpalli, Domalguda and Amberpet in Hyderabad and in Secunderabad again Maredpally, Begumpet, Seethaphalmandi and Walker Town were the most notable. The astonishing rapidity with which houses started were sprawling is exemplified by the fact that Chikkadpalli, an area of three kilometres in Mushirabad, which was only half filled till October, 1956 is now virtually stuffed with houses. This was the area east of the Tank Bund which Dr. Balfour in 1865 described as "an unending stretch of paddy fields". It is in this area now, in 1956 which is an endless pile of brick and stone, mortar and lime. It has metamorphosed beyond recognition.

13. On the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission, the boundaries of the Indian States were re-drawn on a linguistic basis. The State of Hyderabad being composed of three linguistic units (Marathi, Kanarese and Telugu) was dismembered and its Telugu speaking area, Telangana, was joined with Andhra, a Telugu-speaking state, to form Andhra Pradesh.
3.5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF DEVELOPMENT: Besides the historical facts mentioned above, the rapid growth of Metropolitan Hyderabad is also attributed to several socio-economic factors, such as large scale immigration of rural population, fast expansion of administrative functions and services, growth in trade and commerce, nodality of the city, etc.

The following table brings out that from 1881 to 1931, the growth of the city was not very significant and remained between 10 and 15 per cent. However, there was a spurt in the growth of the city from 1941 onwards which continues even today. The decadal growth rate during the last

**POPULATION GROWTH IN HYDERABAD (1881 - 1991)**

Table 3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Growth Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>3,68,169</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>4,15,039</td>
<td>12.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>4,48,466</td>
<td>8.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>5,02,104</td>
<td>11.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>4,05,630</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>4,66,894</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>7,39,159</td>
<td>58.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>11,29,467</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>12,51,119</td>
<td>10.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>17,96,339</td>
<td>43.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>25,45,836</td>
<td>41.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>42,73,498</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GROWTH OF AREA OF HYDERABAD CITY

Table 3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area (Sq.Kms.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>79.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>224.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>260.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>333.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>217.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, Andhra Pradesh, Provisional Population Tables, 1981.

fifty years has been mostly above 40 per cent (1951-61 being an exception due to adoption of a more strict definition of an urban settlement by the Census of India in 1961). Although the population of Hyderabad city had been growing steady, its area has not proportionately increased. (Tables 3.1 & 3.2).

A significant point in table 3.2 above, is an unusually large area of the city reported in 1971 Census; which is mainly due to inclusion of several adjoining rural areas within the Standard Urban Area of the City. After the establishment of Hyderabad Urban Development Authority in 1975, the limits of Hyderabad Metropolitan city were redefined and as such the area reported in 1981 census is 217 sq.kms. However, irrespective of the area of the city, the density pattern has
been one of the constant change (Table 3.3.). From 1961 to 1981, the density of the city of Hyderabad has almost been doubled. When compared to other major metropolitan cities of India, Hyderabad is the only city which shows a trend of high increasing densities. In fact, Calcutta and Madras are the two cities where through land use and development control, it has been possible to check the growing density; due to which the pressure of population on land being 28,434 per sq.km. in 1961 it could be brought down to 10,797 in Calcutta and in Madras from 13,644 to 7,499. The high and growing pressure of population on land within the city has grave economic consequences. Besides the constant rise in land values and real estate, it also reflects in the rapid change in functional growth and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Density (Population/sq.Kms.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>28434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>9486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>7225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>13644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>5678</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, Provisional Population Tables, 1981.
development as well as socio-economic infrastructural pattern.

Presently, the city of Hyderabad is divided into 23 wards, of which 9 wards are located on the south of river Moosi, comprising the old city. The Cantonment Area is not under the Municipal Corporation, but it is a part of Metropolitan Area. Secunderabad, for a long time,, has been under the separate Municipal Corporation; but for the past 20 years the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad have only one Municipal Corporation.

Immigration:

The city has been receiving immigrants at a rate of about 25 per cent. This can be seen in Table.3.4.

**MIGRATION IN HYDERABAD**

**Table 3.4.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of Immigration</th>
<th>Census of India</th>
<th>Other Surveys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prior to 1951</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since 1971</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demographic structure and the trends of Metropolitan Hyderabad are considerably influenced by the higher proportion of immigrants. One interesting aspect of the migrant population in the city was brought by the household survey conducted by Hyderabad Metropolitan Project (1964-68) that more than 75 per cent of the migrant population lives in the northern part of the city, including Secunderabad, and only 24.5 per cent migrants live in southern part of Hyderabad which not only shows the lack of interest of the migrants in the historic core of the city but also that the civic amenities and services are rather poor and of a low level as compared to the northern part of the city. Even today the majority of the migrants are not interested in the southern part of the city due to the frequent communal riots in the old city and lack of facilities.

As compared to other major metropolitan cities India, Hyderabad city has a weaker social structure which is also corroborated by the low levels of literacy during 1961-81 (Table 3.5.). It should be noted that Hyderabad city has not reached, even in 1981, the level of literacy attained by Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras in 1961.

There is a great similarity in respect of composition of working population in the city of Hyderabad and other metropolitan cities. This is significantly brought out by the percentage of male workers in Hyderabad and other major metropolitan

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14. HARP Osmania University, Hyderabad.
centres (Table 3.6.) during 1961-81. However, this picture is quite reversed when looked at micro-level. In terms of percentage of male workers in household and non-household industry, it may be noticed that while a city like Calcutta had 2.94 per cent of male workers in household industry in 1971, Hyderabad had 7.76 per cent; in respect of non-household industry, while Calcutta had 44.73 per cent, Hyderabad had 12.36 per cent only. This brings out that while there is a greater emphasis on handicrafts, artisans and other household crafts in Hyderabad city (which is mostly taken up by the migrant population), there is more emphasis on the small scale enterprises and manufacturing industries in Calcutta city. Hyderabad city, as compared to other major metropolitan cities has a rather weak

**LITERACY RATE IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN CITIES IN INDIA 1961-1981.**

Table 3.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>57.29</td>
<td>57.56</td>
<td>65.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>63.96</td>
<td>67.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>56.25</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>62.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>59.47</td>
<td>62.05</td>
<td>65.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>47.88</td>
<td>52.21</td>
<td>55.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, Provisional Population Tables, 1981.
industrial base. The industrial growth in and around Hyderabad city has not been in proportion to the growth of the population. Moreover, the higher rate of urban growth has also not been able to generate sufficient resources for strengthening the socio-economic infrastructure and the urban employment potential.

**COMPOSITION OF WORKING POPULATION IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN CITIES OF INDIA**

Table 3.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Percentage of Male Workers 1961</th>
<th>Percentage of Male Workers 1971</th>
<th>Percentage of Male Workers 1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>47.75</td>
<td>47.53</td>
<td>40.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>50.07</td>
<td>48.42</td>
<td>49.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>47.31</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>52.79</td>
<td>49.54</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>53.18</td>
<td>48.53</td>
<td>46.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>5.55</td>
<td>48.08</td>
<td>44.73</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>26.77</td>
<td>33.27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>18.83</td>
<td>23.76</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.19</td>
<td>19.73</td>
<td>25.01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>7.76</td>
<td>6.72</td>
<td>8.67</td>
<td>12.36</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, Provisional Population Tables, 1981.

Therefore, Hyderabad city has remained economically weak as compared to several other major metropolitan centres.

One of the significant aspects of immigrant population into metropolitan cities of India has been the growth of slums. It is interesting to note that in this respect,
Hyderabad city has an edge over other major cities as the percentage of slum population has remained more or less constant over the years, (Table 3.7.). While most of the major metropolitan cities have recorded a growth of above 10 per cent slum population during 1974-81, Hyderabad has recorded only a little over 1 per cent.

GROWTH OF SLUM POPULATION IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN CITIES OF INDIA

1974 - 1981

Table 3.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population of City (in millions)</th>
<th>Slum Population (in millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>9.16</td>
<td>3.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>8.23</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6. ETHNICITY IN HYDERABAD:

Hyderabad city has always had a reputation of being a cosmopolitan city where people of various racial groups believing in different faiths and speaking different languages had gathered and lived in amity and in due course fostered a synthetic culture known in common parlance as the Deccan culture. The history of the city reveals the circumstances under which people with variegated cultural backgrounds were attracted to the city, the inter-relationship between the various groups and the part played by each in the unified life of the city contributed largely to foster a synthetic culture. Even though the city was ruled for over 400 years by the Muslim rulers it still retained the unity and cultural harmony between various religions. The city of Hyderabad or Bhagyanagar, as it was originally known, owes its origin to the fancy of one of the rulers and his romance with a local dancer named Bhagmati who lived in the village of Chichlam where the great city of Hyderabad came to be built upon and where Charminar stands it is said that Bhagmati lived in her cottage. Thus the seeds of fusion of cultures in the city seem to have been laid at the very inception of the city. Thus the city over a period of time has developed into a cosmopolitan city.

The population of the city consists of many communities but the main population being Hindus and Muslims. The following map shows the distinct areas in the city where these communities are predominantly settled. The residential patterns of the settlements are to some extent influenced by both cultural and economic
ETHNIC ZONES IN THE CITY

Source: Census of India, Andhra Pradesh, 1981.
factors. Members of different ethnic and cultural groups may have distinct needs and norms in the field of household formation and home acquisition. Simultaneously, the economic position of both individuals and entire groups will affect their ability to operate successfully in the housing market. Cultural and economic factors are difficult to disentangle, particularly in the area if discrimination against ethnic minorities (Berry, 1979). There is a tendency for the minority or disadvantaged ethnic groups to be over-represented in the rental market (Bourne, 1981; Fredland, 1974). As there is hardly any previous studies of such phenomena in urban context of Hyderabad, the following chapter attempt to address the relationship between ethnicity and housing in Hyderabad. Of specific interest is the extent to which housing patterns and ownerships are ethnically or culturally determined.

Such issues are particularly pertinent to Hyderabad where both wider urban structures and position of individual households are so clearly bound up with the ethnic division in the city. These divisions are a direct result of the massive inflow to the city of culturally distinct communities. Although the population represents various communities, once in the city a process of ethnic aggregation occurs, and they tend to become channelled in major distinct groups like the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians etc. Ethnic divisions, moreover, are particularly prominent in the competition for scarce resources. Thus, an ethnic dimension to the allocation of land and housing in the context of rapidly developing urban areas is to be expected. Building on this theoretical
background, the present study examines the residential location of low-income groups in Hyderabad in the light of the ethnic divisions in the city. It aims to assess the extent to which the residential patterns are organised according to ethnic and cultural criteria. Statistical data is examined for evidence of a relationship between ethnicity and housing. Do members of one ethnic group tend to locate at a specific location or do the other ethnic groups mix up, if the housing tenure is ethnically patterned, what is the relative influence of cultural preference and discrimination.

Ethnically distinct tenure patterns may be volitional or prescribed. It may be that an ethnic group's cultural norms lead to different housing expectations and needs, and hence diverse housing patterns. Alternatively, the minority ethnic groups may be denied or their access to land may be made difficult. Either of these alternatives means that different groups will adopt distinct housing strategies as diverse options are available to them. Both process are explored using case study material from different ethnic groups. Housing patterns are examined in order to explain the mechanism by which some groups are more advantaged than others.
3.6.1. COMMUNAL POLITICS:

In Hyderabad, the communalization of politics took place in two phases. The first was the building up of the Congress leadership immediately after Hyderabad state was merged into the Indian Union. During this time, the minority (mainly Muslim) communities were pursued thereby communalizing politics in order to cut the vote bank of the well stabilised left parties. In the second phase, the emergence of a Hindu party, the Jan Sangh, as a counter to the Muslim communal party, the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimin (referred to as MIM or the Majlis). The emergence of the Jan Sangh was facilitated by the delimitation of constituency boundaries which inadvertently created Hindu vote banks in Muslims areas. The second phase also was the internal fighting within the Congress.

The political parties, particular the MIM and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) had a major hand in provoking enmity between the communities. With the transformation of Nizam's subjects into Indian citizen and the growing consciousness of their rights, there was a questioning of the dominance of Islamic culture and norms by the Hindu majorities. The Arya Samaj played a leading role in awakening the consciousness among the Hindus. The MIM which, when it was founded in 1927, was merely a federation of Muslim religious heads, soon became a defensive organisation to counter the militant demands of Hindus led
by the Arya Samaj. Due to the infighting in the Congress party the Majlis took advantage of this and was successful in capturing 19 out of 64 seats in the first municipal elections.

The consolidation of Muslim communal base by Majlis had given rise for Hindu communal psyche. The Jan Sangh made its entry into Hyderabad politics by fielding a candidate in the walled city. This was the best time for the Jan Sangh to consolidate itself by mobilising Hindus in the walled city area which already had Muslim communal aggression. Like wise the MIM and the Jan Sangh (now known as BJP) was active and established their party offices in all the municipal wards of the city.

In the walled city due to the outmigration of the Muslims, particular the upper class there was a decline in the Muslim population and increase in the Hindus as most of the businessmen had purchased houses plots which were vacant due to the outmigration of the muslims. In the adjacent districts and in the other parts of the city the deteriorating condition of the minority community, the walled city became the symbol of both security and cherished values for the Muslims. Thus the proportion of Muslims as against the Hindus in the walled city increased again. A significant consequence of the peculiarly communal electoral battle in the walled city constituencies has been the efforts made by the Majlis leaders to attract migrants from the rural districts in order to strengthen their support base. These migrant settlements have been named after their leaders. There is also
some evidence that, for reasons of security, the Muslims from heterogeneous slums and squatters elsewhere in the city are moving into predominantly Muslim areas.

Communal antipathy is at its most intense in the walled city. Ill-will between the communities is fed by the peculiarly communal electoral campaigns which seem to have become a regular feature of the old city. In fact, the important spokesman for the Hindus and Muslim communities (who are members of the State Legislative Assembly) are natives of the old city. Moreover, one can find the spatial juxtaposition of aggressive religiosity in the old city.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the rapid growth of Hyderabad city, has already started showing trends of imbalance between physical growth and economic development. Further, instead of voicing their problems in the old city the two communal leaders herd the communities so as to pit them against each other with their religious sentiments rather than on the issues of the economic development which should be of concern to all communities.

3.6.2. CULTURE OF COMMUNAL CONFLICT:

The communal riots between Hindus - Muslims in the recent years in Delhi, Moradabad, Meerut, Ahmedabad and Hyderabad have brought attention of the politicians a great deal of concern. The riots always seemed to start in the walled
city, the historic core from which Muslim imperial power emanated, has today become the battleground for war between the communities which divided the subcontinent. I thought that the Muslim dominated walled city is a victim of an eternally incomplete urban ecological cycle. The usual ecological cycle is one of competition, invasion and succession, wherein one community displaces another in an area. The Islamic walled city has always had a considerable number of Hindus who were integrated in the feudal structure. With the flight of the Muslim population after partition, Hindus from other parts of the country migrated into these areas. However, the invasion of Hindus in large numbers into the old city, which bear an indelible stamp of Islam, has led to friction, making defensive minority cling on even more firmly to age old symbolic ties.

The city of Hyderabad was dominated by Muslim rulers as early as 1249. Since then the walled city was dominated by the Islamic culture, although this dominance was amalgamated with native Telugu culture. Much later, during Asaf Jahi period, the cultural influences of migrant groups from other regions in India, also penetrated in the walled city.

After the partition of India in 1947 many of the Muslims had left Hyderabad for Pakistan. With the flight of Muslim population reducing from the walled city during 1951 - 61, there was an invasion of Hindus into the area. The prices of land and houses must have fallen during those uncertain times, and Hindus, more confident of the future, took advantage of this fact and invested in them. Thus
the proportion of Hindu immigrants into the walled city increased during 1951-61 to 56 per cent of the total immigrants and their proportion in the population increased from 21 to 40 per cent during the decade.

We know from the literature that elsewhere in the world this classic pattern of out-migration of one ethnic group and invasion of the inner city by another usually results in "succession", whereby the culture and character of the inner city evolves into a new pattern. This did not happen in Hyderabad. As can be seen from the table, not only there is a reversal of population trends during 1961-71 as compared to the previous decade, the proportion of immigrants to the walled city, who are mostly Muslims, begin to increase, and continue to do so until the 1981 census.

In comparison, the immigration of Hindus during the last two decades declined while out-migration showed an upward swing (Table 3.8). The trend depicts the flight of the lower classes of the minority community from the districts to the safe haven of the walled city identified with the symbols of Islam culture. Indeed the walled city of Hyderabad as elsewhere in India (Delhi, Ahmedabad, Meerut and Moradabad) has become the battleground of the Hindu-Muslim conflict that divided the country four decades earlier.

As already discussed, between 1961-71, there was a dramatic reversal of population trends as compared to the previous decade with Muslims and Hindus
Table 3.8.
Percentage Distribution of In-migration and Outmigration, Walled City, 1951-81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>In-migration</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Outmigration</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.0 Muslims</td>
<td>36.15</td>
<td>56.37</td>
<td>57.54</td>
<td>73.33</td>
<td>63.66</td>
<td>43.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0 Hindus</td>
<td>56.14</td>
<td>38.25</td>
<td>40.14</td>
<td>19.48</td>
<td>31.92</td>
<td>53.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0 Others</td>
<td>-7.71</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All communities</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

standing at 55 and 44 per cent respectively. But in 1981 the proportion of Muslims in the walled city's population was 61 per cent with the Hindus comprising 38 per cent.

Thus in recent years, the erstwhile walled area seems to have begun to conform to the popular image of the slum, consisting increasingly of one ethnic community and that, too, of its most deprived classes. While the physical wall of the city has disappeared the psychological walls separating the communities seem to continue to multiply. Whereas different communities lived alongside each other for centuries, their ritual and cultural life is today much more intense and potent with mutual conflict. There is fear, but also, especially among the minority community, a jealous defence of the community's way of life, and indeed, even the feeling that the spatial rights of the community must be defended. During my field work in the old city I came across Hindu houses surrounded by Muslim mohallas. Many of the families in these enclaves had been evacuated in the wake of riots and settled in the new city. But the houses have not been entire vacated, one or two male members have remained behind, feeling that unless they defend their spatial rights, the entire area may be taken over by the Muslims. The walled city during the last decade has been the troubled area, frequently torn by riots in 1978, 1983, 1984 and in 1990. The Hindus staying in the walled city moved out to untroubled areas in the new city as they felt insecure in the Muslim dominated area. But the Muslims, tied to the sentiments and symbols of the area seem to have rooted themselves even more deeply in old city.
CONCLUSION:

In a life span of 400 years (from 1591 to 1991), Hyderabad has undergone an extensive transformation owing to changing historical, social, political and economic forces. It has inherited a rich culture reflected in its architecture and the composition of its population. Although the city area and the population have increased enormously since its creation, yet the growth was punctuated by phases of decay and inhibition. The social and economic setting of the city has totally changed. The decadence of a feudal society has been replaced by a trend towards a democratic, socialistic system, and the non-productive economy of the past is giving way to a more productive and commercialized one. Hyderabad has all the elements of dynamic urban growth and its metropolitan tendencies are fast expanding, yet in its development it is still guided, as it has been at each of its stages, by strong local circumstances.

Although Secunderabad owes its origin to the attraction of Hyderabad, yet it has long remained an independent entity with functional distinctiveness. However, its proximity to the rich capital of what was once the largest feudal state in India, and its close commercial ties with that city, provided it with an opportunity, unrivalled by any other cantonment in India, to grow from a small military station into a mature city. Although the dominant city was Hyderabad, Secunderabad's influence was strong, exerting a pull on its sister community that explains many of its ecological and functional developments. Today the two settlements are so
closely linked with each other that the functions and ecological structure of one cannot be isolated from the other, but each contributes to the formation of a greater community and the emergence of a modern metropolis.
4.0. LAND MARKET, TENURE STRUCTURE AND LOW-INCOME HOUSING SYSTEM

4.1. Land Prices and Home-Ownership:

The most important element in housing is the land component. In India and other cities of the third world the problem of land has been very evident. In Hyderabad where the government-built housing is expensive and has very limited access for the low-income households, the land prices both in the formal and informal land markets play a fundamental role in governing access to home-ownership amongst the low-income households. The cost of building materials is also likely to be an important factor. If real land and material prices rise at a faster rate than real incomes, then a larger proportion of the low-income households may be forced to opt for the informal housing sub-markets where the land is easily accessible at a price they can afford.

It is, therefore, important to look at how the land market and the real prices of land and building materials have changed over time.
4.2. Land Market and Tenure Structure:

In general, it seems that when other things are equal land availability is a crucial determinant of tenure structure (Gilbert & Ward, 1985). This is evident when comparing different cities over time, within one city or changes on the city periphery. Inevitably further questions about what determines land availability are generated. In Hyderabad the major determinants have been the physical geography of the city's environs and the level of political tolerance towards unauthorised occupation of land (squatter settlements). Both of these factors have ensured a constantly growing supply of land, some of which has been allocated to the low-income population by various government agencies like the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad.

4.2.1. Land market Mechanisms:

All land is allocated a price (whether direct or indirect) and those who can afford to pay more live in the most desirable areas. This results in residential segregation according to income, the rich and the poor live in distinct areas of the city. It is particularly pronounced where income disparities are high, poor people are excluded from the best land or perhaps any land at all (Gilbert & Ward, 1985). As illustrated earlier that low-income population occupy the worst land with the worst acquired characteristics eg: the least services, and usually the worst inherent characters too.
The land market, however, does not operate in an economic vacuum but responds to the socio-political and institutional environment which may distort the pure economic laws of supply and demand. Indeed, according to Angel et al (1983) the land issue is largely political and institutional one as the market is subject to regulations imposed by the government. In Hyderabad, the functioning of the land market is determined by a combination of land, planning legislation and squatter settlements who have not purchased the land at the market price. The market price of the land at any given location is rarely static as the development on the land or the surrounding areas changes. This is particularly pronounced in Hyderabad as growth has been dramatic, causing frequent changes in the nature and value of land.

First, as the city grows, land which was formerly of agricultural use is incorporated into the urban area. This has been the constant feature of any city, in particular of Hyderabad since its growth after the formation of the state in 1956, affected by planners, private developers, squatters and illegal sub-divisions on the periphery particularly after the Urban Land Ceiling Act(1976). At the same time, the huge amounts of land owned by individuals on the periphery of the city were converted into the illegal sub-divisions.

Secondly following the provision/installation of infrastructural services the land values rise rapidly. Hence rises in the land prices may reflect the rate and type of service provision rather than the supply of land. For example an unserviced
plot of 100 sq.yds on the periphery was bought for Rs.500/- in 1976 was being
sold for Rs.2000 to 3000/- after physical infrastructural facilities were provided.
More profits are made by landowners selling serviced land rather than 'raw' land
as the former is in short supply (Linn, 1983).

Thirdly as the city grows, the land which was formerly on the periphery becomes
relatively more central. One household who reported buying a plot for Rs.50/ for
100 sq.yds during the late 50's and early 60's and has sold it in 1976 Rs.10,000/-. Later in 1990 it was in the fully serviced central area and was sold for Rs.50,000/.

Fourth the land market may be distorted by speculation. Many residents speak
of vast fortunes that have been accumulated in this manner, and planners
denounce speculators as the principal obstacle to harmonious development, blaming high land prices on its retention with speculative ends. The large number of empty plots in the city referred to are cited in evidence. Nevertheless, it is a common phenomenon that people believe price rises to have been very much more dramatic than in reality, as people's perceptions are geared to nominal rather than real prices (Villamizar, 1980). Throughout history, the speculator has been a favourite scapegoat. Evidence from studies on Hyderabad by researchers suggest that in Hyderabad the level of speculation has been over estimated.

The prevalence of squatters in the city has a direct effect upon the supply of land
in the city. The main objective of squatter leaders is that their organisation and
orientation is predominantly political. Squatted land is generally unserviced, and lacks documentation, so its incorporation into city does not immediately affect the formal land market which determines prices in the upper income areas. Yet, the land which is occupied illegally soon becomes incorporated and integrated into the formal land market in that it acquires a price. Not only this occurs, like all land, the commercial value is subject to market forces, planning decisions and servicing policy (Gilbert&Ward, 1985). All areas legal or illegal, have commercial value, the differences in price reflect differences in location, services, prestige, legality and availability (Gilbert&Ward, 1985). Thus the distinction between a formal and an informal market does not affect the process of valorisation is the same for legal and illegal land. The distinction is rather in the sphere of acquisition, between those who buy land through legal channels, and those who acquire land illegally through squatting.

The limited data available on land prices suggest that prices paid by squatter households (indirect payment) tend to depend totally on the relationship with the leaders and the household involvement in the party activities in these squatter settlements.

The operation of the land market is therefore complex, being subject not only to the economics of supply and demand, but also to wider political influences. The congruence of these forces explain the fluctuations of land prices in the city.
4.2.2. THE DETERMINANTS OF LAND PRICES:

The average price of land in each settlement will have a number of components. The first component will reflect the location and level of consolidation of the settlement itself. The price of the land is likely to rise as services are installed and the settlement is legalised. Households buying plots later in the development of the settlement will probably be purchasing serviced land rather than vacant land; hence, the land prices will tend to rise regardless of what is happening in the land market elsewhere in the city. One cannot, therefore, compare price changes in different low-income settlements unless variations in levels of consolidation are taken into account.

The second component will reflect levels of supply and demand in the land market throughout the city. This price will depend on a large number of factors, including the physical availability of land in the city, the pattern of land ownership, the government attitudes towards different types of development, urban growth rates and the demand for labour, income level of the households, the use of land for speculative purposes.

The third component will reflect the changing accessibility of the settlement to the centre of the city as the urban boundary is extended. Land is fixed in location and its supply at any given point cannot be increased to meet a rise in demand. Rising demand may be satisfied either by increasing residential densities or by
incorporating new land into the city. The addition of new areas increases the locational advantages of land already within the urban boundary and therefore increases prices in each different zone of the city with its accessibility (Dunkerley, 1979). Hence the often reported negative exponential price gradient from central business district to the urban periphery (Clark, 1977; Villamizer, 1980). This process should result in a gradual increase in the average price of land in each settlement.

The fourth component will reflect the physical quality of the land being surveyed. Plots situated on steep hillside or in areas liable to flooding or erosion should be priced lower per square yard than plots in higher quality environments. A further component of the plot price will reflect the potential of the land for different and or competing uses, as well as the likelihood that the land will be serviced in the future.

These components of the overall price of land at any given location are extremely difficult to disaggregate, and may in fact move in different directions. Although variations in the supply of, and the demand for, land throughout the city will be reflected in average plot price in each settlement, price measurements from a single settlement will not be sufficient to enable generalizations to be made about price movements in the city as a whole.
4.2.3. THE MEASUREMENT OF LAND PRICES:

The market price of land at any given location is an aggregate of a number of different prices, each of which responds to a distinctive set of factors within and outside the settlement. This in itself creates serious difficulties for the analyst, but there are also problems when one actually comes to measure variations in land prices.

Each plot of land is a unique commodity, no two plots are identical in terms of location or character. However, for comparative purposes one has to use a mean land prices calculated from a number of different sample settlements. This may be a misleading figure because it disguises variations in the characteristics of each plot of land included in the average. The use of mean is even less satisfactory when one comes to compare the price of completed dwellings, because dwellings are highly diverse in terms of floor area, standards, finishes and so on. These differences may produce wide variations in prices even when standardized in terms of rupees per square yard.

4.2.4. LAND LEGISLATION: The government has not invested much into housing when compared to other sectors of development due to limited resources and for various other political reasons. It has however been active in framing legislation. The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 was amended in 1984. This Act, though, has got detailed and meticulous provisions but at the time of execution,
The land Acquisition Officers are facing more difficulties and land being very scarce in urban areas, most of the land owners are challenging the proceedings. In most of the cases, the proceedings are set aside by the courts on various grounds, mostly on procedural aspects.

The Agricultural Land Ceiling Act, the Protected Tenants Act, the Urban Land Ceiling Act, etc. have further complicated the matter, as the Land Acquisition Officers have no jurisdiction to acquire the lands covered under these enactments, and for payment of compensation. The following are the deficiencies in the aforesaid Acts:-

i. Interestingly, there is no provision in the Urban Land Ceiling Act to deal with the properties where the land owners have not filed the declaration, but there is a provision for prosecution. Where the declarations are filed and fictitious ownership right is created and cases are being challenged before the court of Law.

ii. Interestingly, the declared surplus lands are surrounded by compound walls or some sort of fencing boundaries and the owners have allowed the hut dwellers to raise huts with the help of influential people and as much as about 50 slums came up between 1978 to 1980 and the Municipal Corporation Act and the Registration Act have no provision to prevent the sale and purchase of lands without layout.
4.3. LOW-INCOME HOUSING IN HYDERABAD:

Hyderabad grew from 1.13 in 1951 to 4 million in 1991. By the end of this period over 75 percent of the urban population was low-income. The majority of the households are living predominantly in two types of housing: Rented accommodation in the old city prior to 1956; and in unauthorised colonies all over the city. These unauthorised colonies are formed by illegal occupation of land both on the government and private land by the households who are encouraged by the local leaders who have political patronage and illegal land sub-division in the periphery. The majority of the households staying in the old city who had come from the neighbouring districts during the Nizam's period in seeking for protection from Hindus who were harassing them. They had come with hope and expectations of socio-economic mobility in the city. The more successful were the ones who quickly got adjusted to the urban skills and slowly acquired better jobs, and accumulated savings. This almost invariably coincided with process of family growth.

The most common next move of these families was to the unauthorised colonies due to the easy availability of land at a nominal price. A percentage of them, however, decided to remain in the old city close to their relatives. The households that remained in the old city, were migrants who usually had experienced less socio-economic mobility. However, they moved their houses looking for a better one.
The third type of the low-income population comprised of households who were born in the city (many being the children of parents who had come to the city and did not experience upward mobility), but who were, themselves, often experiencing high upward mobility.

There were practically no households that began their urban experience in the peripheral low-income sub-divisions, as almost all of the migrants moved directly into the city, the peripheral settlements being a relatively new phenomenon.

Exceptions to the above itineraries were some households who had relatives or friends in the city whose residence was their first urban location, or who had come to the city and did not need access to the diversified market of low-skill employment. Cycle rickshaw pullers were the typical examples. The percentage of which is increasing with the growth of the city, increase of its low-income population and a certain dispersion of the low-skill job market.

4.3.1. BASIC LOW-INCOME HOUSING SYSTEM:

As majority of migrants moved to the old city, this was one of the two basic sub-markets that experienced a dramatic growth, and the population rose to 1.2 million people, over 30 percent of the city's population at the beginning of the 1992.
By 1956, after the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh, the majority of the low-income households who had come to the city were in the old city and the rest were in the new city.

The growth of the peripheral low-income illegal sub-divisions was even more dramatic. More of the settlements coming up after the introduction of Urban Land Ceiling Act (1976).

The housing system as described above worked reasonable well for the low-income population and for the other sectors of the society. The cheap, low quality peripheral settlements served well both the newly arrived migrants, called "Bridgeheaders" by Turner (1970), and the economically non mobile lower strata of the low-income population.

For the households, who initially did not have urban skills, the unauthorised settlements offered easy access to the diversified unskilled employment of the city. The individual household could take advantage of all the local information about existing opportunities. As the households had occupied the plot without authorization. They did not have to pay rent to the leaders monthly, only a lumpsum amount at the beginning when they were erecting their rooms. The physical conditions of the shelters were primitive by developed countries standards, but far better than the ones in the old city. The current costs were proportional to the value of the services and relatively low, which, a household
making his first step in the city (in search of work), was far more important than the standard for shelter.

These characteristics of the cheap unauthorised settlements also met the demand of the non-mobile population of this subsystem, and the possibility of finding a better quality of house (with increased space) often within the same settlement, provided for the demand of upwardly mobile families who preferred to remain in the same settlement.

Peripheral low-income settlements, more often referred to as "illegal sub-divisions" by Gilbert and others, were successfully satisfying the needs of the second group of low-income population whom John Turner called "Consolidators". Possessing some savings, they could best improve their security of tenure by becoming owners of their plots/houses. In the case of a job loss, the owned plot even with the most primitive hut, is much better than the rented house, and the development of the equity in land and shelter. Incremental construction is the only form consistent with a family financial capacity that is characterised by small and irregular earnings. It allows the possibility of growth and change with changes in the family composition. The current costs of housing in the periphery were usually lower than in the centre of the city. The investment costs were relatively high, especially during the period of payments for land, but the incremental character of construction permitted the distribution of the cost of the house over a long term. Prices of land were still not high when compared to the
regular land market, and the user who controlled the construction process saved up to sixty percent, as compared with the regular construction prices in the market. In general, the quality of shelter which was initially poor, improved gradually at a pace permitted by the family’s financial possibilities. The access to the city centre was far, but it was of less important, once income contributors had adjusted to the city’s occupational pattern, given the options they were commuting long distances to the place of work. In the early periods prior to 1956, distances were also smaller and the majority of the new industrial location were relatively near the peripheral areas.

The construction of the houses in squatter settlements and illegal sub-divisions produced a new demand for low-cost construction materials and other branches of the construction industry. It also permitted the conversion of the households by local councillors into the regular tax payments to the corporation which made them feel more secure.

4.3.2. LOW-INCOME HOUSING SITUATIONS AND PATHS IN HYDERABAD:

As stated earlier the low-income population represents 75 percent of the population of the city. The majority of the households are migrants from the adjacent districts and the city born who live in one of the settlements discussed above. The number of geographic itineraries that households follow tends to become highly diversified.
The settlements in the old city, the most common in the period prior to the formation of the state in 1956, is now reduced to an insignificantly small percentage of the population. The single most common itinerary is: a direct move from the old city to the unauthorised settlements in the city and the periphery, many of which are being made by people who already have contacts with relatives and friends in these settlements. Majority of the households who cannot afford to purchase land in the formal legal market, the price of which is ever increasing, decided to squat, or to buy land in the illegal sub-divisions in the periphery. The percentage of households who rent in these unauthorised and illegal sub-divisions is very small.

Rental housing was common during the earlier stages prior to 1956 in the old city, but now the majority of the households either squat or unauthorisedly occupy public/private land, or settle down in the illegal sub-divisions in the periphery of the city due to increasing availability of land at a cheap price. The population coming to these areas are not the migrant population from the adjacent districts any more but from the other settlements who are already staying in the city. Therefore, the new unauthorised colonies and illegal sub-divisions have a higher percentage of households who were born in the city rather than from the rural districts.
4.3.3. THE CATEGORISATION OF THE BASIC SYSTEM:

Rapid population growth in the city during the last two decades increased dramatically the demand for cheap land for ownership. Government responses to this rapid population growth were all inadequate.

The best feasible solution the low-income households were looking for is the squatting or unauthorised occupation of public/private land. There are very two distinct types of squatters: one who are the poorest who cannot even get access to occupy on public/private vacant plots and the others who aspire or settle for home ownership in these unauthorised settlements without any legal titles.

The first type of squatters are households who built small enclaves of shacks in the city, close to the railway lines, besides naalas (canals carrying the drainage sewage of the city) and on public and private vacant lands. It was their best choice, being unable to pay the market price for a piece of plot. We can also find them on the periphery.

The second type of households are the would-be owners or unwilling to pay present market prices for land. They choose locations where their chance of future tenure legalization is the best. Their main costs were in the insecurity of tenure, with a danger of losing all the investment in their dwelling if the settlement were eradicated. Illegal sub-divisions, the most informal kind of
commercial land supply were less risky. The land-lords on the periphery whose land was under agricultural use had converted it into urbanised land without planning permission and illegally subdivided and sold it to the prospective purchasers using the device of the "power of attorney" which ostensibly left ownership intact but confirmed unrestricted use-rights of the purchaser. In all these cases the households were suffering from a lack of basic utilities and services until the time when land titles became legalized.

Successful occupations were possible only on the land not usable for higher income groups, due to its particularly difficult environmental conditions, poor accessibility etc. The lack of tenure security, especially in the squatter areas discouraged households in investing on a large scale in the consolidation of the dwelling. On the other hand, however, the fact that the whole process was outside the legal framework facilitated incremental construction, the building byelaws were not enforced in the areas that officially were non existent.

Illegal land subdivisions, by the true owners of land, but not complying with regulations were the commercial response to the inviability of the open market. The land bought in this way was relatively safest, but the prices were higher.
4.3.4. SPATIAL PATTERN OF THE LOW-INCOME HOUSING:

Analysis of the evolution of the spatial pattern of the low-income housing demonstrates how the housing supply was adjusting to the changing needs of the users. This adaptability is now greatly limited, leading to the categorisation of the housing system described in the preceding section.

In the present-day city of Hyderabad, the low-income area can be seen expanding rapidly on three sides of the city on the North, West and East. The low-income areas in the south are shrinking as there are frequent communal riots in the old city. In the periphery, 20 kilometre from the centre, almost all low-income housing consists of owner-built and owner-occupied dwellings in the process of construction, on land of varying degrees of tenure, legality and security. There are practically no renters.

Between those two extremes, we can see a range of development stages; in many cases, the completion of the initial household dwelling was followed by the construction of additional temporary rooms or sheds for the expansion of the family and need for more space.

This housing system adjusted rapidly to the city's growth, its social and economic change, and to the subsequent changes in housing demand. The diversity of specific housing sets (location, tenure, standard of the dwelling environment, cost,
etc.) was unlimited, as hundreds of suppliers, at many locations, with an endless variety of housing types are uniformized by any central program. What was supplied could be also easily altered: an unbuilt, unserviced plot could be serviced and/or built upon, a room could be converted into a complete dwelling, a plot could be subdivided, and so on. Sale, lease of the plot/house are also flexible. Also, households building for themselves could adjust the type and pace of construction to their changing needs and priorities.

This low-income housing system resulted, in spatial terms, in a sequence of rings, or partial rings, with different and changing mixes of housing types.

The discussion over intra-urban distribution and the typologies of low-income housing areas is linked closely with the discussion of migrant reception areas and of the intra-city migration patterns.

It starts with the concept of the uniform peripheral slum, located outside the city-an idea prevalent until the 60's. The centre-periphery model, distinguishing two basic functional types of low-income housing areas was developed by Turner in the 60's on the basis of his studies in Lima, Peru. In generalisation, identifying three types of areas in the larger cities, the centre, intermediate ring, and the periphery - was proposed by Turner and Brown.

This three zone model proved to be a useful gross approximation for describing
the patterns of intra-city migration on the basis of the questionnaire data gathered from my study. However, it is important to remember that each month or year, the limits of each of the three rings will be changing outwards, while yesterday's periphery is becoming today's inner-ring, and in some cases, even the central core of tomorrow.

To account for those changes, Ward (1976) in his study of squatter settlements, uses the term past-periphery when he refers to the earlier periods of some of the present intermediate ring settlements.

In this study there will be reference to both the centre-periphery and centre-intermediate ring-periphery models, but always in relation to the specific moment in time.

For the purpose of describing the low-income housing areas and their changes over time, a slightly different and more complex typology of areas is suggested, dividing the low-income housing areas into three different zones, old city, new city and the periphery in three different periods based on the household interviews and in-depth case studies.

i. Prior to the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh in 1956.


This proposal is based on the observation that the limits of the old city, new city and the periphery are not only changing constantly, but almost impossible to determine clearly at any moment. I would suggest, on the basis of data analysis, that we are dealing with a continuum of low-income housing areas going through the common development process, reflected in the common sequence of housing types in use.
CHAPTER - 5.0.

MIGRATION AND INTRA - URBAN MIGRATION PATTERN

5.0. Migration:

Migration was one of the important component of the growth of Hyderabad Population during the early 1940's and 50's. However, recently its importance has been decreasing in relation to natural growth.

The findings presented in this section are based on in-depth family case studies (one from each settlement), and on a sample of 280 households in eight settlements from the three zones of the city (Old city, New city and Periphery).

5.1. Migration:

The analysis of migration patterns is undertaken at a variety of levels and establishes controls for certain variables. Usually the first level is that of the data combined for all the eight settlements. This is followed with a separation by settlements. Where differences exist between the data for the eight settlements it is necessary to ascertain the degree to which they reflect real differences between populations, or express differences in the migration process over time, given that the settlements were chosen on the basis of their different
establishment dates.

Therefore migration data are also analyzed controlling for year of arrival to the city prior to the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, between 1957-1975, and from 1976 onwards. The year of first arrival of the migrant (both single or with the family) is displayed in table 5.1 and 5.2. for each settlement. While it is apparent that the majority of the present households arrived prior to the formation of the settlement in question, they do not swamp each class interval. This means that each settlement is not automatically correlated with the year of arrival to the city, though clearly they are interrelated to certain extent. What is thought that a bias might exist, the analysis controls for certain data, usually by excluding data for that particular settlement. Finally, the settlements are considered individually and over time.

YEY OF FIRST ARRIVAL

Table 5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old city</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
<td>50.5%</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New city</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periphery</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29.33%</td>
<td>50.13%</td>
<td>20.54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kala</th>
<th>Tapp</th>
<th>Moosa</th>
<th>Phool</th>
<th>Naga</th>
<th>Adda</th>
<th>Rama</th>
<th>Kukat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bef 1956</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-75</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>74.3%</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-1991</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2. Household Sample:

In the household interview schedule migration data were collected chronologically using a life history format. The respondents were asked about all the places of residence in which they lived for more than six months, the type of house, tenure, family and their occupation histories, so that a complete chronological record of the respondent's physical mobility may be built-up rapidly and accurately. Wherever necessary this may be related to his family and the occupational status. The size of the locality was classified by birth and thereafter at the time of each move. (a full description of the method of application are provided in Appendix one.

From the following table 5.3., that 47 percent of the households were migrants, and there was a significant difference to be found between the households in all the eight settlements. The lower proportion of migrants in most of the
settlements is explained by the majority of the households who were born in the city that have since inherited the dwelling from their parents or opted for alternative accommodation.

MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT POPULATION

Table 5.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old city</th>
<th>New city</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrants</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City-born</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Kala</th>
<th>Tap</th>
<th>Moos</th>
<th>Phool</th>
<th>Naga</th>
<th>Adda</th>
<th>Rama</th>
<th>Kuka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrants</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City-born</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>97.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3. Migrant Origins:

Studies on migration by researchers have shown that movements tend to be short distances. Studies have shown that the majority of the migrants to Bogota, 60 percent were found to have come from surrounding localities (Simmons and Cardona, 1972), and in another study, Flinn (1968, p.p.77-78) found that 68 percent of migrants in his sample area came from within 100 miles of Bogota. A similar pattern is repeated for Hyderabad from my study that the majority of the migrants were from the immediate adjacent districts surrounding Hyderabad on all the four sides. The detail pattern of migration and the location of the districts is shown in the figure 5.3.

The second most important region from which migrant came is that of the South and the East of Hyderabad. It is clear from the table that considerable difference exist. In Moosarambagh (1979) in old city, the largest single group of migrants came from south of Hyderabad from the districts of Mahbubnagar and Nalgonda which are less than 100 kilometres in distance. Regional groupings are of interest in as far as they might reflect different social organisation, migration and the process of the settlement formation that have operated within each settlement. In Montarray (Mexico) the common practice of immigrants living with, or near to kin upon arrival, has resulted in strong regional clustering (Vaughn and Friendt, 1973, p.395). However, it is necessary to ascertain whether the importance of these regions differ from the overall structure of the city migrant
PATTERN OF MIGRATION TO THE CITY

Map 5.1.
PATTERN OF MIGRATION TO THE CITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>N.HYD</th>
<th>S.HYD</th>
<th>W.HYD</th>
<th>E.HYD</th>
<th>O.CITY</th>
<th>N.CITY</th>
<th>PERI</th>
<th>OUT.HYD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kala(0.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>59.99</td>
<td>17.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tappa(0.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62.86</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>14.28</td>
<td>17.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moosa(0.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54.26</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phool(N.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28.58</td>
<td>54.28</td>
<td>17.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga(N.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>57.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adda(N.C)</td>
<td>17.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>37.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raman(P)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17.14</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>28.58</td>
<td>51.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukat(P)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22.86</td>
<td>74.28</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph.5.1.
population, and second, if they reflect discrete patterns of migrant organisation or are simply product of the different relative importance migration cohorts from certain districts. The questions that now arise are, how far do the eight settlements demonstrate important regional groupings? Are these groupings common in low-income settlements in Hyderabad and if so, how do they evolve.

5.4. Directionality of Movements to Hyderabad:

The origins of migrants now residing in Hyderabad city, and the relative importance that different districts play in the composition of the households of the settlements has already been mentioned. In this section the directional patterns of people's movement to the city is examined. Kemper (1971) proposes three categories of migration direction; the direct pattern which, he argues prevailed in the early literature on migration in Latin America. Stage migration which involves one, or a series of steps, up through the urban hierarchy, either by a single individual or following a generalisation patterns whereby one's children make the final move to the large city. This pattern has been emphasized in more recent research into Latin American internal migration. Third, migrants may move in a random fashion which Kemper refers to as Swallow migration. At a theoretical level it is possible to speculate whether migrant directionality is likely to change, and whether it could be expected to become increasingly direct or indirect. On the one hand direct migration may increase now that longer distance moves are more feasible and as direct moves to the metropolis become relatively
cheaper, so it encourages migrants to move directly to the doorstep of a kinsmen in the city. Conversely, intermediate towns and cities might be expected to assume greater importance as they become accessible and the proportion of step-wise movements would increase correspondingly.

It seems probable that the social context of kin in the migration process is becoming increasingly important, yet the intervening economic opportunities of intermediate cities can also be expected to increasingly affect migration behaviour. In an effort to unravel the relative importance of these alternatives the data are analyzed by settlements in different zones (table 5.5.).

In all the three zones direct migration from urban areas is the majority component. In all the settlements indirect migration from rural areas is almost negligible. These data concur quite closely with Balan's (1973) findings for Monterray (Mexico), where 63 per cent of all migrants were recorded as having moved directly from their community of origin. However, there is little difference observed in all the three zones of the city. The data indicate that the proportion of the direct moves to the city have increased over the period of time (table 5.6.)

Having examined directionality and its changing relative importance it is possible to return to the question of migrants and their urban experience. Prior to 1956 it appears that a large number of migrants were from the immediate district headquarters, the majority of them coming direct from Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda
DIRECTION OF MOVEMENTS FOR MIGRATION BY SETTLEMENTS

Table 5.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kala</th>
<th>Tap</th>
<th>Moo</th>
<th>Pho</th>
<th>Nag</th>
<th>Add</th>
<th>Ram</th>
<th>Kukat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dist.hqtrs</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DIRECTION OF MOVEMENTS BY DIFFERENT MIGRANT COHORTS

Table 5.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct from rural areas</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct from Dist.hqtrs.</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and Warangal. During 1957-75 the same proportion of the households followed the same pattern as in the first period. More recently 1976-91 there has been a change in the pattern with the majority of the households have experienced urban or semi-urban experience prior to their arrival to the city. The stereotype that inhabitants of squatter settlements are ruralites may therefore be seriously questioned. If city-born and early child arrivals are included in the urban category then the majority of the household heads are ruralites in the classic
sense, and this pre-supposes that they have come direct to the squatter settlement without spending periods living elsewhere in the city. The data confirm that it is entirely erroneous to perceive squatter settlement populations as manifestations of a ruralisation process in the city, or that all migrants moved directly from the district headquarters. It is clear that while a substantial body do originate in the rural areas and may have held jobs in the agricultural sector, the process of the city-ward migration is both complex and liable to temporal change. More and more migrants are assisted by better information and the fact that the majority can count on a contact - usually a kinsman or friend - at the destination who will help them find their base. In the final section of this chapter the importance of contacts and aid are discussed with reference to their implications for the migration process and the pattern so far described.

5.5. ANTECEDENT CONTACTS AND ASSISTANCE:

The importance of migration as a component of city's growth has declined relatively in recent decades and has been subsumed by natural increase. Nevertheless, the very large population who arrived during the first two periods, means that most migrants had a kinsman or friends living in the city when they migrated. In all the settlements studied the large majority of migrants had previous contacts residing in the city, usually Kin or friends (Table 5.7.) from whom they received some sort of assistance.
Two broad types of assistance are common. First, an individual may be provided with information and orientation from his contacts, while being left to find for himself. Alternatively, he might be offered material aid, such as accommodation, little bit of financial aid, food and so on. In the latter case, the individual migrant would almost certainly benefit from both types of aid, so that while he enjoyed direct material benefits, his search for work would be guided by the experience of his contacts.

Information is very important in that it makes use of established networks which may be crucial in the securement of one, or several of the following:

**MIGRANTS WITH CONTACTS UPON ARRIVAL IN THE CITY**

Table 5.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No contacts</th>
<th>Kala</th>
<th>Tapp</th>
<th>Moos</th>
<th>Phool</th>
<th>Naga</th>
<th>Adda</th>
<th>Rama</th>
<th>Kukat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Information: The attractions of the unauthorised settlements have high demand by the low-income households can be attained through first having knowledge that there are plots vacant in these settlements; and second possessing the finances to secure the piece of land through a friend who intercedes on his behalf. Residential behaviour inevitably accentuates residential proximity of kin or friends - a feature that is clearly illustrated in all the settlements where many kinsmen or friends, or younger households who have married recently, have left the household of orientation and acquired a small plot in the same settlement or in another unauthorised settlement.

Employment: The process of securing employment operates in a similar way, with contacts interceding in most cases. Detailed interviews with the leaders of the settlements revealed that the majority of the migrants who had come to Hyderabad had secured employment through the intermediaries rather than on their own.

Certainly for both migrants and city-born alike, access to the better jobs in the offices (white collar) is handled solely by the intermediaries who take huge amounts of money to procure employment. Even then the possibility of getting a job in the offices is not very sure and one has to take risk.

Accommodation or Residential Space: The most common form of material aid extended to migrants is that of accommodation. It would be very rare for a
migrant to arrive on a kinsman's or friend's doorstep and be refused accommodation, if only for a short period. This process is only temporary and the arrangement terminates when the migrant secures a steady job.

**Finances:** The offer of cash handouts to migrants is not so common in that it is easier for low-income families to provide aide in kind, rather than in money. However, small amounts would be given where necessary, such as a short loan to meet his expenses in the city. An indirect form of monetary aid is to provide free meals, etc. This is common in all the low-income settlements all over the city in Hyderabad.

**Social interaction:** Given that accommodation is the most common form of aid received, it is inevitable that the individual is very quickly introduced to the social network of his benefactors, be they kinsmen or friends. Contacts play a crucial role in the adaptation and success of migrants in Hyderabad. The degree to which they are sustained, or, more importantly may become a hindrance. Empirical evidence suggests that in Hyderabad there is a tendency for dependence upon kin or friend networks to atrophy with upward socio-economic mobility (Lomintz, 1975). This is related not simply to a lessening of dependence as the migrant is integrated into the city life, but also reflects a reluctance to maintain the obligations - usually of an economic nature - that are expected within networks. The redistribution of resources that occurs within inter-dependent networks is a barrier to socio-economic mobility, so that it is not
uncommon for successful individuals to withdraw spatially by moving out of close physical proximity with kin or friends.

**Conclusion:**

The above section has attempted to put into perspective some of the stereotypes about the process of migration to the city, and, more particularly, about the composition of low-income populations. Far from being a simple rural-urban mobility, migration pattern are seen to be highly complex and vary both between low-income communities as well as over time. Given these complexities, it is not possible in a study of this nature to go beyond a commentary on its own findings by speculating upon future migration patterns. To achieve this, studies must be longitudinal and endeavour to relate observed patterns with the economic conditions that operate at the state and local levels, intervening opportunities, infrastructural improvements as well as attempting to provide a greater understanding of the psycho-social motivations that promote a decision to migrate. This section has, however, indicated that to a stereotype low-income households as ruralites, who lack urban residential experience and move directly to the city, is a huge generalisation, more often erroneous than correct. This analysis suggests that decision-making of migrant household heads who eventually squat, even where they might have originated in the districts and moved directly to the city, is highly cognitive and rational. There is little evidence to suggest that the concepts of helplessness and mal-adjustment apply, basically because of the very
process of migration and the aid that is extended by antecedent migrants.

5.6. INTRA - URBAN MIGRATION IN HYDERABAD:

Despite the upsurge of interest of social scientists in squatter settlements-be they squatter settlements or low-income illegal land sub-divisions, very few have examined the processes whereby migrants and city born move through the urban complex in their attempt to adjust their demands for housing to the available supply. Indeed, only a few authors (Turner 1968; Sudra 1976) have carried out in-depth analyses of the actual housing priorities of the urban poor and of how they vary.

The main purpose therefore is to describe and explain household's intra-urban migration patterns in relations to the dynamics of the low-income housing system in Hyderabad over the past four decades.

One of the classic stereotypes referred in the literature portray the mushrooming squatter settlements as a reception area of the migrants arriving at the periphery of the city. The literature abounds with statements that view the periphery as the first staging post of migrant's integration into city life.

On the basis of extensive investigation in Lima, Peru and elsewhere, Turner has proposed a model to organise intra-urban migration behaviour of migrants,
arguing that upon arrival a newcomer has three functional priorities which govern his decision-making and residential search behaviour (Turner, 1968, p.359). They are location (proximity or access to the non-skilled sources of employment), tenure and amenity. He suggests that upon arrival to the city a migrant has a high demand for a residence close to the source of employment centre for unskilled employment, usually found around the city centre. At this juncture, the migrant requires cheap rental accommodation and usually expects to opt for living space in a city centre tenement, as he attempts to procure regular employment and stabilise his income.

Once the latter are achieved his priorities alter, in addition to other factors such as changes in the family life-cycle become important. The congested living condition with small amount of living space in the city centre, threats of eviction, consistent loss of money in rent, convince him to sacrifice his locational advantages for more space and hopes for home ownership and stability. Therefore he chooses to move to the relatively isolated, without any infrastructural facilities at the periphery of the city. He takes risk by squatting in return for the chance of eventually securing legal land rights, and slowly consolidates his house over a period of time. At this point distance to his place of work becomes expensive both in terms of money and time as he has to travel long distances to work in public transport which is not subsidized and expensive. By obtaining the plot additional financial security is obtained because he does have opportunities for sub-dividing, or as a last resort selling his plot, even though
he may still lack legal entitlement. Similarly, house consolidation is congruent with household constraints, be they of household size or economic in nature. His demand for other amenities is also sacrificed, particularly in the earlier stages of squatter settlement consolidation. However, in response the government legalises the squatter settlement, and his demands for improved amenities are met and he improves his property by consolidating the house by building with regular brick and putting up permanent roof etc.

This model has considerable empirical support (Mangin, 1967; Turner, 1968; Peattie, 1969), it is evident that squatters have usually been living in the urban area for considerable period of time prior to their move to the squatter settlement. Flinn (1968, p.87) found that it was the more affluent and occupationally better qualified migrants who moved directly to the peripheral shantytown in Bogota; the poorer migrants went first to the centre. Moreover, of those who later moved from the centre to the peripheral shantytown, the majority had experienced upward social mobility, measured by occupational status. Similarly, Butterworth (1973) working in Mexico found that the majority of the squatters had lived in the city centre some time prior to moving to the periphery. The classic model proposed by Turner was that typified by the migrants moving from the rural to the city centre and then to the periphery. This model was widely accepted elsewhere in the Latin American cities.
BROWN'S MODEL:

Turner's model was essentially a static one that made no allowance for the changing housing opportunities created by the growth of the city. Evidence gathered by Brown (1972) in Mexico city has made it necessary to re-evaluate the model. Brown argues that "the basic functional priorities of the dwelling environment-location, tenure and amenity-continue to operate for the poor and unskilled in the migrant population at differing stages of the urbanization and economic history of a nation in the way that the Turner theory suggests. However, the ways in which these functional priorities are translated into geographic routes within the city change in predictable ways at differing stages of urban development and do not confirm to the expectations of the Turner model" (Brown,1972).

Brown's work demonstrates that the core area no longer functions as the primary reception zone for Turner's "Bridgeheaders" and suggests that it has failed to do so since 1950's. As a consequence, the low-income households in the central city has become increasingly stable and immobile. Instead of the two zone centre - periphery model she suggests the inclusion of an intermediate zone, composed in part of the older squatter settlements established in the 1940's and early 1950's. She suggests that this zone is now the reception area for Turner's "Bridgeheaders", who settle initially as renters and later move out to the periphery where they consolidate as owner occupiers.
Referring to the first Turner model, she suggests that "a careful review and analysis of the available data reveals that, while this was indeed the case until perhaps the early 1950's, direct migration to the central city tenement areas has decreased markedly in the recent years. Today's central city slum districts are no longer significant reception areas for bridgeheaders" (Brown, 1972).

Drawing upon data from various empirical studies (Cornelius, 1973) she reappraises the Turner thesis and suggests that given the stability of the city core population, the move from the centre to the periphery is no longer an expression of upward mobility. Indeed, the residual core population has a higher socio-economic status than the intermediate and peripheral zones. Moreover, renters in the intermediate zones are of equal or lower status than owners on the periphery. The homogeneity of tenurial characteristics in consolidating low-income settlements is also challenged, and Brown contends that the increased proportion of renters that are forced to settle outside of the core has resulted in a decline of the proportion of owner occupiers in the older squatter settlements. It appears that there is a gradient linking decreasing proportion of renters with increasing distance from the city centre. This is related more to the degree of consolidation of any settlement rather than simply a product of distance.

As a result of these insights Turner has reappraised his earlier model and agrees that as a result of urban growth and legislative procedures such as rent control, the functioning of a low-income system may alter considerably over time.
According to Turner (1968), during the period 1956 - 1971 Hyderabad grew from being a 1.13 million "early transitional city" to that of a 1.8 million "mid transitional metropolis". At that time, the majority of the migrant population came from the other districts and small towns. They arrived directly at the core and later moved to the other parts of the city in accordance with the process already described. Virtually no families began their urban careers in the peripheral settlements. Continued urban growth between 1956 and 1991 increased the population of the metropolitan area to over 4.2 million, which Turner classified as a "late transitional metropolis".

With Hyderabad being the capital of Andhra Pradesh after the formation of the State in 1956, the influx of population from other districts increased due to the city expanding both economically and industrially. The shift of the administrative offices and the commercial activities to the new city created problems for housing. Government built housing in the new city for the low-income groups was very limited and the majority of the households had to make their own arrangements in providing accommodation for themselves. For example, the increasingly common practice of paying money to the local leaders in order to get a piece of land in the unauthorised settlements to satisfy their housing needs.

The increased residential stability in the new city in Hyderabad has meant that more recent migrants and city born had to be accommodated elsewhere, and Brown argues that they are absorbed in the older, intermediate zone, where
earlier squatters or speculators have sub-divided plots and sold them. This represents the best that can be obtained in the circumstances, and while it conforms after a fashion with Turner's suggested priorities - location, tenure and amenity-it is not perfectly matched or consistent with an individual's needs (Turner, 1970; Sudra, 1976). Most trajectories have therefore changed to those of old city - new city-periphery; or from district-direct to the new city or the periphery, with the classic movement into the old city reduced to a minimum.

Lomintz (1975), in her description of intra-urban migration in the south-west of the city of Mexico populated during the early 1960's suggests that the intra-urban migration patterns do not correspond with the Turner and Mangin's findings for Lima. She notes that out of 164 heads of households only 23 had their first residence in the city-centre slums. Those that did originate in the centre had usually been born there, while the reminder arrived at, or were born in, the southern part of the city.

The data in this section refers to all heads of households (both migrants and city-born), in Hyderabad, unless otherwise stated. In all the eight settlements, the densities were found to increase considerably as they age, or consolidate. This increase is pertinent at this stage of the analysis as it has already been hypothesised by Brown that it reflects the influx of later migrants to the already established unauthorised squatter settlements.
This chapter attempts to interpret intra-urban mobilities from two viewpoints derived from the Turner model; first the directionality between different zones of the city; and second between the various low-income housing system described earlier in chapter four.

To take the latter first, the record of previous residence in other housing system was collected in the life history section of the questionnaire, described in detail in Appendix one. A combination of visual aids and sub-questions were put to respondents to define the appropriate sub-system. They were asked which sub-system was most typical of the houses in settlements in which they were living at a particular time, and, once established further questions were applied to ascertain, for example, if the old city tenements was of the classic form, or a recently constructed house in the government built housing or the unauthorised/illega land sub-division in the periphery. If the latter, then which type and so on. Similarly, another crucial distinction which had to be made was between an incipient unauthorised settlement and an illegal sub-division. Both are likely to be physically similar, and additional questions were asked to discover the type of tenure and age to differentiate clearly between the two sub-systems. In this way data were gathered for a respondent's changes between different housing system-up to a maximum four-prior to his arrival in the present squatter settlement. The low-income housing sub-systems incorporated into the analysis are listed below.

i. Unauthorised squatter settlement (both on public and private land).
ii. Illegal land-subdivisions.

iii. Government built housing.

The other part of the Turner theory examined in this chapter is the zones in which migrants (now living in the squatter settlements) arrived, as well as the directional trajectories that both migrants and city-born follow. Given the different dates of establishment of each settlement it should be possible to examine the degree to which trajectories have changed over time.

Turner (1970) define three broad urban residential zones; the old city centre with a radius of 3 kilometres; an intermediate ring extending from 3-9 kilometres from the locale; and the periphery extending beyond a radius of 9 kilometres. However, rapid growth of the city since 1956, and in particular unequal expansion on the north west and the east at different periods, makes it necessary to adjust the zones. Carefully scrutiny of the maps of urban growth was made, and the zones defined. Broadly speaking, the central core was defined as the urban area prior to 1956, that is the old city which was the central business district (CBD) in the south. The new city is defined which is across the river Moosi in the north. The periphery was all round the city which was beyond 15 kilometres from the new city.

All the moves were coded on the basis of a perceptual definition of the zone to which the individual was moving at the time of the move. Three zonal groupings
are defined; the old city; new city and the periphery. If the Turner theory is correct, and for the notion of a breakdown to the system to be upheld, evidence should be found of the following:

**Directional Trajectories:** First, the majority of the movers to the old city in the first period should be found in the old city. Second, the new city - periphery trajectory should decline in relative importance during the second period, and be less conspicuous in the more recently formed settlements. Third, in the more recently formed areas it should be possible to observe an increase in the frequency of the new city and the periphery as foothold zones for migrants, (that is to say those areas in which migrants first take up residence on arrival in the city), with the latter become increasingly the more dominant of the two. Last, it is to be expected that there has been a substantial increase in the number of recent households (bridgeheaders according to Turner) in the old city.

**Changes between housing sub-systems:** First the corollary of the centre - periphery, in the unauthorised settlement movement should be relatively important, and be seen to decline since the formation of the State in 1956. Second, in the peripheral squatter settlements there should be a greater proportion of movers coming from the old city or from other settlements in the new city. Third, the old city should be found to contain a proportion of households who are moving between rental accommodation.
Intra-Urban changes between Housing Sub-systems: Respondent moves between different housing sub-system were recorded up to a maximum of three changes prior to their situation at the time of interview. Given that there were different housing solutions, the presentation of changes was large, and it was feasible only to examine the last change, that is from the respondent's penultimate house, as well as the original sub-system.

Original Sub-system: The data show the declining importance of the classic old city tenements as the first original for most of the squatters. However, it remains an important component in Kaladera, Tappachabutra and Phoolbagh. Given that the old city was no longer an important foothold zone, it is clear that these tenements are largely those that were built in the late 1940's. Therefore classic old city tenements continue to represent an important niche within the low-income housing system.

The importance of unauthorised settlements as footholds for residents of the more recently developed settlements, is clearly demonstrated when data for these are compared with the old city settlements. In the new city a large number of respondents registered as having begun their urban careers in these unauthorised settlements than might be expected given the hypothesised changes to the overall system, but the majority are recent arrivals, who for the most part, have located themselves initially in the new city.
5.7. CONCLUSIONS:

The data collected for migration patterns to unauthorised low-income settlements in Hyderabad corroborate the concept of a breakdown in the operation of the classic system over the past four decades. The trajectories of these settlements, described originally by Turner for Lima and Mexico and corroborated elsewhere, may alter dramatically with the city's growth, legislative procedures and relative expansion of different housing sub-systems. An understanding of the dynamics of the functioning of the system is a necessary preliminary to any description of the changing relative importance of intra-city migration patterns. In Hyderabad the fact that the traditional old city no longer offers the same advantages or possibilities for accommodation does not necessarily imply that gross mismatches of people's demands for housing will occur. Rather, as a result of urban expansion, adaptation to local economic and housing opportunities appear to be taking place and represent an increasingly meaningful resource for satisfying individual demands.
6.1. The settlements were identified in all the three zones of the city. Three from the old city, Kaladera (1949), Tappachabutra (1965) and Moosarambagh (1979) were chosen while in the new city Phoolbagh (1949), Nagamayakunta (1974) and Addagutta (1978) and in the last peripheral zone only two were selected as there was no settlements during the first period. The settlements selected were Ramantapur (1975) and Kukatpally (1978). Following is the brief description of the settlements:

6.1.1. KALADERA (Old city):

The settlement is located across the river in the old city. It is one of the oldest unauthorised squatter settlements in the city established in 1949. The settlement is on a private land. The majority of households staying in this settlement are muslims. Even though the settlement is established during late forties, majority of the households do not have legal rights to the land. There are 345 households staying in the settlement. Most of the households work in the nearby areas in the old city. The majority of the households in the settlement are engaged in cottage industry matchsticks, agarbattis (a kind of perfumed sticks), bangle making and hat making. The income of the households in the settlement is very low when
LOCATION OF THE STUDY SETTLEMENTS

OLD CITY:
1. Kaladera (1949)
2. Tappachabutra (1965)
3. Moosarambagh (1979)

NEW CITY:
4. Phoolbagh (1949)
6. Addagutta (1978)

PERIPHERY:
7. Ramantapur (1975)
8. Kukatpally (1978)

Map.6.1.
compared to the other settlements. The houses in the settlement are mostly kaccha with mud walls and asbestos or tinned roofing. The land price has not risen. The average plots of 20-30 sq.yds are sold at very nominal price of Rs.300-400/- per sq.yd (approx.£8/-). The majority of the households staying in the settlement are original owners. A very few households have sold their plots and left the settlement. The settlement does not have proper infrastructure facilities. The settlement has community toilets and community taps for drinking water. The sewage system is bad. The settlement overall lacks legal titles and infrastructure facilities. The households are waiting for the legal titles so that they can improve their dwellings.

6.1.2. TAPPACHABUTRA (Old city):

The settlement is on the western side of the city in the old city area. This is predominantly a Muslim area but there are a good percentage of Hindus also living in these areas. This area is supposed to be one of the sensitive areas. Every time there's a communal riot, this area is one of the prime areas where communal riots take place. Even recently in Dec 90/Jan 91 when the communal riots took place, this was the place where the trouble started initially. The households living in these areas have come from other parts of the city specially from across the river and beyond Charminar. The major road which connects the old city to the Golconda Fort goes through this area. The land here belongs to
Kaladera: A hut erected with the collected waste materials.

Photo.6.1.

Tappachabutra: Kaccha (temporary) houses with asbestos roofing; a common feature in the settlement.

Photo.6.2.
the private land lords and houses built are of traditional style with country tiles and are kaccha. Some of the owners have let it out for rent while others have built kaccha temporary houses on the lands which were vacant, which belonged to the actual owners who have migrated to Pakistan during partition. In case of these absentee land lords the local leaders and mediators have made money by selling these plots at cheap prices without any legal titles. The households have bought these properties and erected huts/temporary rooms with tiles and asbestos sheets roofing. In all these cases the households have moved from within the city. They had made only one or two moves before they had settled down here. The households in these areas are poorer than the households in the other settlements. In this settlement most of the men are either rickshaw pullers/auto rickshaw drivers/mechanics and helpers in the welding workshops. Most of the households send their children to work in support of their family as they have low levels of income. The muslim women in the houses who have the gosha (a gown covering from the head to the bottom not showing their faces to the males outside) work at home making beedi and matchsticks, while some of them take up hat making. The Hindus who are staying in the settlement also work as labourers in the nearby 'sabji mandi'(wholesale vegetable market supplying for the whole city) and 'kamela'(slaughter house) and as rickshaw pullers. Most of the households have their plots of 20-50 Sq.yds. The demand for resale of these plots is not much because of the recent disturbances. They earn on an average Rs.300-500/pm. The house hold size of each family is large around eight on an average. Hence the children are also forced to work at an early age due to their
low incomes.

6.1.3. MOOSARAMBAGH (Old City):

The settlement is in the old city established recently. This is on government land. The households have unauthorizedly occupied the land and have put up their huts. It was established in 1979. The majority of the households have come from the nearby adjacent districts of Nalgonda and Warangal. The households are mostly working in the construction sector as unskilled labourers and skilled masons, carpenters and plumbers. The households have built kaccha houses with mud walls and asbestos sheets. They do not have proper infrastructural facilities. They have to go to the nearby public taps and get water. Only community toilets are provided. They are not maintained properly. The local leaders are pursuing with the corporation for getting more facilities to the settlement. The plots are generally of 20-30 sq.yds. Majority of the households have paid the local leaders a nominal amount of Rs.200-300/- (approx.£6/-) while they were unauthorisedly occupying the plot.

6.1.4. PHOOLBAGH (NEW CITY):

The settlement is located in the heart of the city. It was established in the year 1949. The settlement has 347 households. The majority of the households are vegetable/fruit vendors. Only a small percentage of households are engaged in
other occupations. The settlement is established on private land. The households are waiting for the legal titles (pattas) from the government. The settlement has community taps and toilets. The municipal corporation has extended the health facilities to the households funded by the ODA (U.K.). Even though the land prices are quite high in the heart of the city (approx.£10/- per sq.yd), the majority of the households have kept for themselves and are expecting the legal titles any time from the government. The settlement has close links with the ruling party.

6.1.5. NAGAMAYAKUNTA (New City):

The settlement has been established in the year 1974. This piece of land adjoins a sewage naala. The settlement is in a low lying area fifteen feet below the road level. The settlement is adjacent to Azamabad industrial area, one of the oldest industrial areas of the city which was established in 1960's. The settlement is established on a private land and covers an area of three acres. The land is in litigation as some of the adjacent colony owners claim that it belongs to them, but they have no proper evidence to prove it. As the land was empty during the early seventies, people have come from the neighbouring districts and from within the city itself erected huts. The huts and temporary structures are erected on a 20-50 sq.yds plots sub-divided irregularly. The development is a haphazard one. The people had paid money Rs.200-300/- to the local leaders to allow them to erect their huts. Most of the households in the settlement are in the informal sector of employment such as rickshaw pullers, house maids, Autorickshaw drivers,
construction workers, hawkers and salesman in the provision shops etc. There is a small percentage of people who are in the regular government service. The present rate of income of these households is around Rs. 30-50/per day (one pound). The income is not stable but it fluctuates. But on an average each household earns around Rs. 700-900/-p.m. In case of the regular government employees, they earn around Rs.1000-1200/-pm. Since 1974 the households have a community leader and in all matters pertaining to the settlement, they try to fight out collectively. In 1976 the households have been evicted by the people who claim to be the owners, but within one week again they have come back and erected their huts. Since then they did not have any problems of eviction. Even though the land is under litigation, the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad have identified it as slum and they have extended their programmes to this settlement. The settlement has a Balwadi, a clinic which is run by the corporation. Under the environmental improvement programme they have their narrow streets paved with shahbad stone. Regarding electricity they have street lights and individuals have taken connections. Community water taps are placed in some lanes from where they get the municipal water. The community toilets are in one corner of the settlement. All the households are paying their house tax and they have house numbers allotted. Even the corporation is waiting for the court decision to take up the housing programme. It is surprising to note that even though the settlement is adjacent to the industrial estate, there are hardly any who are employed in the industrial estate. Autorickshaw drivers, rickshaw pullers and construction workers do not have a definite place of work. They go all around
the city. In case of Autorickshaws, they cover the whole city around 20-25 Kms radius, while the rickshaw pullers who have to pedal manually confine themselves to below 5-8 Kms radius, whereas the construction workers whether skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled have a definite place of work for a limited period until the building is complete. Normally the job lasts 3-5 months on a particular site. This is in case of workers who are employed by the big masons or small contractors. In other cases they have a central market place, generally in some areas of the city called an 'ADDA' a place where they sit to get work every day. Sometimes they get the work and sometimes they don't. In such cases there's no definite place of work. The ladies in the house do work at home making beedi's, which is a common feature all over the city, and some work as house maids in the nearby housing colonies. Presently around 20-30 % of the original owners have sold their piece of land without any titles to others who have purchased it on a risk. These 20-30 sq.yds. plots were sold for 10-15,000 depending on the size of the plot and the structure erected in it. They have left the place because they were tempted for money. Most of them who sold their plots were unskilled labourers and rickshaw pullers. They have gone to the other parts of the city and squatted again. As the land values are quite high here in this part and it is easily accessible to various facilities by walking. Hence most of the households do not want to sell their plots but are waiting for the court decisions, that once they get the legal titles they would construct permanent houses.
Moosarambagh: Peripheral settlement close to the main road.
Photo.6.3.

Moosarambagh: Kaccha (temporary) houses built with mud and brick.
Photo.6.4.
Phoolbagh: Settlement in the heart of the city.

Photo.6.5.

Phoolbagh: Semi-pucca houses with asbestos roofing.

Photo.6.6.
Nagamayakunta: Semi-pucca houses with asbestos, tin roofing, and wooden planks

Photo.6.7.

Nagarnayakunta: Dense development with very little open space.

Photo.6.8.
6.1.6. ADDAGUTTA (New city):

The settlement was established on an small hillock in Secunderabad area adjacent to posh colonies of Marredpally and Mahendra Hills. It is on a private land where the households have unauthorisedly occupied the land through intermediary leaders. There are 369 households living in the settlements. The land is under litigation and the households are waiting for the for the court decision for legal titles (Pattas). The settlement is controlled by an advocate practising in the city civil court of Secunderabad who has his dwelling in the same settlement. Most of the households come from the neighbouring districts of Warangal and Medak. They have originally come to the city in search of jobs and have stayed in the nearby areas of Sitaphalmandi, Musheerabad and Chilkalguda areas which are within a distance of 5 kilometre radius of the present settlement. It was difficult to have access as it was rocky. The house holds had put up their huts on this uneven sites. All the house holds have temporary structures roofed with either thatch or asbestos roofing. The households in the settlement are in different occupations working mostly as rickshaw pullers, auto rickshaw drivers, masons, carpenters and as unskilled labourers in the construction industry. The nature of the occupations are such they do not have a permanent place of work. The jobs are all mobile. The rickshaw pullers confine themselves to Secunderabad area within a radius of 5-8 Kms where as the auto rickshaws go all around the city. The other households who are in the construction industry go out as far as 10-15 Kms for their daily work. Most of the households who are in the construction
industry do change their work place every 3-5 months. In all these cases, the house holds earn between Rs600 - 900/- per month. The ladies in the houses either go to the nearby construction sites to work as unskilled labourers or try to find a job in the nearby colonies as maid servants, but the percentage of the female workers working as maid servants is very less. They earn anything between Rs.75-100/- p.m.

Even though the households do not have pattas (legal titles) the households are very confident that they would not be evicted as they have strong political backing. Most of the households do join some political party or the other. The households who are idle in the houses run local tea stalls or small pan shops. The households have paid a nominal amount to the leaders towards the cost for putting up the case in the court. Without having any legal title the house holds have managed to get the physical infrastructure facilities. The roads are kaccha with murrum, the street lightings are laid and the individuals can apply for electric connections even though they do not have legal titles. Some of the households do tap the electricity from the main poles illegally. The water supply is through community taps which is at the bottom of the settlement. The women folk find difficult to take them up into their houses. The individual households do not have toilet facilities in the houses but they have to use the community toilets. The overall infrastructure facilities are very poor. Every now and then the households pay the advocate Rs 30-50/-for attending the case in the court.
Addagutta: Women and children waiting for their turn to fetch drinking water

Photo 6.9.

Addagutta: Temporary houses with tin/asbestos roofing on the rocky surface.

Photo 6.10.
6.1.7. RAMANTAPUR (Periphery):

This settlement is on the eastern side of Hyderabad and is 15 Kms away from the centre of the city. The settlement was originally a urban village, where most of households had buffalos and they used to work in the nearby agricultural fields as labourers. They used to come to the city to supply milk and grass. Slowly the settlement expanded as the people thought that the land which they were getting was cheap. They had purchased the plots of 20-30 sq.yds for Rs.10-15/sq.yd during late seventies. The originally belonged to a private land lord who had handed over to the local panchayat distribute it to the poor. The land was given free of cost to the households who were poor, but soon after they were allotted, majority of them about 60-70 percent of them had sold their plots and had gone out to the other places in the city. These plots have been purchased by the rickshaw pullers and auto rickshaw drivers and some people who are working in the nearby industrial area of Uppal. The original plots which were sold to the 2nd owners were sold at Rs 15 sq.yd, but now the 30 sq.yds plot with a built up room and an open space is sold at Rs.15,000/-. The community has mixed population of both Muslims and Hindus. Most of them are earning between Rs 600-900/-per month. Some of them go into the city to work in the private offices, some sell onions, and other vegetables in the city going around 10-15 Kms. The people working in the nearby industrial areas as casual labourers either go by walk/bus/bicycles to their place of work which is around 5 Kms. The rickshaw pullers confine themselves to the nearby areas covering a distance of 8-10 Kms
radius. The old people staying in the houses either take up beedi making or
matchstick making. The ladies in the Muslim houses also do the same beedi
making/matchstick making. Most of the households are from within the urban
area, i.e. from various parts of the city. The settlement has Murram road (a kind
of yellow mud mixed with stone chips and rammed well to withstand the load of
the vehicles with street lighting. The water supply in the settlement is mainly
underground supplied through hand pumped borewells. The people who can
afford to pay the electricity bills have taken connections while others have tapped
from the mains illegally.

Even though the industrial area is close most of the households go out into the
city to work as labourers and peons/attenders in the private companies. The land
values in the settlement have gone up recently due to the establishment of the
T.V studios in the nearby area. Even though the land values have gone up the
households are not selling their plots but are keeping for themselves and trying
to consolidate their housing.

6.1.8.KUKATPALLY (PERIPHERY):

The settlement is located on the North-West of the city along the national
highway road going to Bombay. It is 15 Kms. from the city. It is established in
the year 1978. The majority of the households are from the nearby villages. The
government have divided the plots and allotted it to the poor. The households
are working in the construction sector and the nearby factories and brick kilns. Even though the settlement is closer to the industrial estate only a small percentage of them are working in the factories. The settlement has over 323 households. Over 25 per cent of the original households have sold their plots and have gone to the other settlements. The original households who are still staying have consolidated their houses over a period of time from kaccha to semi-pucca and in some cases pucca houses. The settlement is legal and the government have given legal titles to the households when they were allotted. The infrastructure facilities are quite good when compared to the other settlements. They have community taps and toilets. The settlement is overall well developed.
Ramantapur: Kaccha houses with more open space and wide roads.

Photo.6.11.

Kukatpally: Peripheral settlement with proper infrastructure.

Photo.6.12.
6.2. SURVEY ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

6.2.1. Introduction:

The data for this thesis was gathered in three main ways. First, interviews with officials, and municipal authorities, study reports, maps and census reports provided to give a general picture of the city and to identify the settlements.

Second, the data on the low-income areas were gathered through informal talks with local leaders and other household heads in these areas.

Third a survey in eight low-income settlements identified in the old city, new city and the periphery provided data on the households. The sampling ratio chosen for all the settlements was 10 per cent, the sampling unit being the household. The total buildings which were of residential use were counted in each settlement and 10 per cent of the sample size was taken. In all 280 sample households were interviewed.

For the analysis of the data the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) and epi.info programme was used. Harvard Graphics and Quattro Pro software packages were used for graphics to produce bar charts etc. Analysis was carried out using descriptive statistics to describe data for different variables. To avoid too many tables only the analysis of the total sample and the settlements are
6.3. DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS:

6.3.1. Size of the Household;

It was found that the household size for the whole sample (all the eight settlements) was 5.42, while the old city had 5.8, new city with 5.76 and the periphery 4.35. The detail of the distribution of the household size by settlement type is mentioned in the following table 6.1. There seems to some interesting variations and relationships with the survey findings when compared with the different zones of the city. While it showed that the average household size in these low-income settlements is 5.42 more than that of the city which is 5.0. The interesting feature is that between the three zones of the city, old city has the highest with 5.8 while the periphery which is comparatively new development has much lower household size of 4.35. Further, the composition of the household size seem to vary among the settlements with Kaladera(1949), Tappachabutra(1965) in the old city and Nagamayakunta(1978) in the new city are 6.74, 6.57 and 6.54 respectively. This shows that these settlements have the highest household size while the lowest being in the peripheral settlements of Ramantapur(1975) and Kukatpally (1978) and Moosarambagh(1979) in old city which is 4.26, 4.43, and 4.08. The rest of the settlements have a household size of more than 5.0. The difference is due to the fact that the old city the
settlements have joint families while in the new city it is nuclear families. This feature is not found in the peripheral settlements as the households are rather younger, having recently started their married life.

**AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE IN DIFFERENT ZONES AND THE CITY**

Table 6.1.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Old city</th>
<th>New city</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>5.76</td>
<td>4.35</td>
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</table>

**AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE IN THE SETTLEMENTS**

Table 6.2.

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<th>Tapp</th>
<th>Moos</th>
<th>Phool</th>
<th>Naga</th>
<th>Add</th>
<th>Ram</th>
<th>Kuka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household Size</td>
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<td>6.57</td>
<td>4.08</td>
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<td>6.54</td>
<td>5.4</td>
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<td>4.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2. **Residential Choice and Family Growth:**

Several observers have commented that although squatter invasions are rarely homogeneous socio-economically, they do for the most part, comprise young nuclear families (Mangin, 1967; Turner, 1967; Ward, 1976). Turner (1968) describes
migrant priorities for different types of accommodation suggests that the preference that individuals have for living in crowded city-centre tenements changes with involvement in a stable conjugal relationship, increased job stability and growing family size. Young nuclear households, he says, have a strong desire to move out of cramped rental accommodation. The same situation exists where the couple live with kin and other relatives and share residential space and services, yet wish to set-up independently. The most common reasons city by respondents for wanting to move to the squatter settlement were those of living more freely in peace which could refer to both spatial restrictions of shared and rental accommodation, as well as to problems with neighbours or kin; the desire to own land for constructing dwelling, as well as for the security value and inheritance that it might offer; and the frustration felt at losing a proportion of one's earnings through paying rent.

The long term hopes of securing full ownership rights to the property and improving the dwelling persuade a squatter household to run whatever risks and live in a community that lacks all facilities and services. In the short-term conditions are usually worse than those that existed in the penultimate residence. When conditions of house structure and services of the previous house are compared with those in which respondents were living at the time of the survey, the majority of the households in Kaladera, Tappachabutra, Moosarambagh, Phoolbagh, Nagamayakunta and Addagutta both in the old city and new city had not improved their residential environment above the level they had experienced
immediately prior to moving. Only the peripheral settlements (Kukatpally and Ramantapur) where the majority of the households have legal titles have improved their residential environment and were living in a better standard accommodation, indicating that it is the prospect of improvement that is most important and not the immediate advantages. In these circumstances it is the younger, smaller households, which can most easily overcome the psychological and physical rigours of life in an incipient squatter settlement.

6.3.3. Age and Sex Structure of the Households: Age and sex structure of the entire sample revealed that nearly fifty per cent (45.8%) are below the age of 15, while no marked variation between male and female distribution was found (table 6.3 and 6.4). This reflects that the migrants and city-born staying in the squatter settlements and illegal sub-divisions in the city exhibit traditional rural characteristics such as high fertility. It may therefore, be assumed that due to such strong rural traditional values, family planning education could not reach the low-income households staying in these settlements, unlike other urban dwellers where it seems to have greater impact. Another interesting observation was the prevalence of a relatively lower proportion of squatters above 60 years. The reasons could be associated with a low life expectancy in urban areas which affect more of the low-income households due to overcrowding, low income, unhygienic conditions in the settlements and hard physical labour (like rickshaw pulling, pulling carts, helpers in the workshops etc.). There also seems to be a slight variation in the structure when a comparison between the three zones is made.
Households in the peripheral settlements have a lower proportion of people in the under five age group when compared to the other two zones in the city. This may be due to younger households who have started their newly married life in these settlements.

### AGE OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN DIFFERENT ZONES AND THE CITY

**Table 6.3.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>Old city</th>
<th>New city</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 14</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 25</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 40</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 60</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 61</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3.23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AGE OF THE HOUSEHOLD IN THE SETTLEMENTS

Table 6.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in yrs</th>
<th>Kala</th>
<th>Tapp</th>
<th>Moos</th>
<th>Phool</th>
<th>Naga</th>
<th>Adda</th>
<th>Rama</th>
<th>Kukat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 14</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 25</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 40</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 60</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 61</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SEX STRUCTURE OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN DIFFERENT ZONES

Table 6.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Old city</th>
<th>New city</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>52.5%</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
<td>49.3%</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SEX STRUCTURE OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN THE SETTLEMENTS.

Table 6.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kala</th>
<th>Tapp</th>
<th>Moos</th>
<th>Phool</th>
<th>Naga</th>
<th>Adda</th>
<th>Rama</th>
<th>Kukat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>49.1%</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>49.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.4. Age of the Heads of Households: The average age of heads of households was found to be 43.49 years (table 6.7.). There is a slight variation observed between settlements. Kaladera in the old city had the highest average mean age of 52.74 while Moosarambagh in the old city and Addagutta in the new city had the lowest with 33.8 and 39.37. The rest of the settlements had on an average over 40 years. From the table it can be seen that relatively new settlements (Moosarambagh, Nagamayakunta and Addagutta) both in the old and the new city had younger household heads between 26 - 40 years whereas in Kaladera, Tappachabutra in the old city, Phoolbagh in the new city and Kukatpally and Ramantapur in the periphery had household heads who were between 41-60 years. This indicates that in established settlements the household heads were older while in the new settlements they were younger heads of household.
AVERAGE AGE OF THE HEADS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

Table 6.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old city</th>
<th>New city</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age of the</td>
<td>43.9yrs</td>
<td>42.5yrs</td>
<td>44.3yrs</td>
<td>42.7yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AVERAGE AGE OF THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN SETTLEMENTS

Table 6.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kala</th>
<th>Tapp</th>
<th>Moos</th>
<th>Phool</th>
<th>Nag</th>
<th>Adda</th>
<th>Rama</th>
<th>Kuka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age of the Head of the House hold</td>
<td>52.74</td>
<td>45.34</td>
<td>33.80</td>
<td>45.37</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>39.37</td>
<td>43.66</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.5. Marital status: In the total sample 93.5 per cent of the heads of the households were married, 3.8 per cent single and 2.7 per cent widows. Slight variations were noted in percentage of single heads of households in Moosarambagh and Ramantapur. The rest six settlements in all three zones of the city had more or less similar statistics.
MARITAL STATUS IN DIFFERENT ZONES AND THE CITY

Table 6.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old city</th>
<th>New city</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>94.6%</td>
<td>95.3%</td>
<td>92.7%</td>
<td>93.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MARITAL STATUS IN THE SETTLEMENTS

Table 6.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kala</th>
<th>Tapp</th>
<th>Moos</th>
<th>Phool</th>
<th>Naga</th>
<th>Adda</th>
<th>Rama</th>
<th>Kukat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>94.0%</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>95.0%</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>95.0%</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>95.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.6. HOUSEHOLD AND RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE: The percentage of female heads of the households in all the eight settlements and all three zones of the city is insignificant. Given that the survey was applied to heads of household the majority of the respondents are male (97.6 per cent). The details of the percentages in different settlements are shown in the following table. The
small percentage of the female heads of the households are widows. There are no female head of the households who are single parents where their husbands left them. In several ways the economic condition of the female household heads was the worst in all the settlements. They often have young dependent children, and have low individual and household earning power. For example Jayalakshmi reported that her husband had expired three years ago. Until her husband was alive she was at home taking care of three young children age 5, 7 and 8 years old. Now she is finding it difficult to look after children and work. She is going to work in the nearby construction sites. Even then her income is very low earning Rs.18/- a day, around Rs.300/- a month as she doesn't have to pay the rent owns the plot (without legal titles) it was essential that her children work to supplement the income, and the eldest daughter who is eight worked as a part-time domestic servant in the nearby houses and earned around Rs.75/- per month. In total, the family got around Rs.400/-. Her parents were living in the city in another settlement and would be approached for money whenever necessary. At the time of the survey she was in tears telling her story.

It is important to emphasize that this is an extreme case. Generally the female household heads are more handicapped in their possibilities for upward mobility than stable male headed households. However, examined overall, there is little evidence to suggest that low-income families in Hyderabad city squatter settlements are not predominantly female based. Female headed family structure are rare in the peripheral settlement where the households are relatively younger.
In contrast, they are more likely to be found in the established settlements, with their older age structures and more diverse tenurial opportunities, though in no case are they likely to be anything more than an insignificant minority.

Having discussed the specific phenomenon of female headed households, more general household structure require examination. Bender (1967) urges that the concepts of family and household unit be considered separately, and while acknowledging that these two parameters, along with domestic functions, frequently overlap, they need not automatically do so. This study proposes three interdependent parameters in the classification of low-income households in Hyderabad. First is the Nuclear family consists of parents, husband, wife and children. The second is the Extended family where kin of the spouse are residing permanently in addition to the nuclear family members.

6.3.7. Changing household and residential structure: In Hyderabad, the dynamic process starts whereby at the beginning of married life it is customary to live in an extended family usually with the groom's household under a single roof. Later the household sets up on its own in nuclear arrangement with varying degrees of propinquity to parents. Finally, the household moves into a nuclear structure with kin related households living in different settlements in the city. In all the eight settlements the most common household structure is nuclear (84 per cent of all households).
6.3.8. **Age of Arrival:** Most migrants arrived in Hyderabad below 15 years. For the majority of the households had arrived either with their parents or they were born in the city itself. The settlements which were established before 1956 both in the old city and the new city (Kaladera, 1949; and Phoolbagh, 1949) had over eight percent of households who were below the age of 15, while the settlements in the second period (1957 - 1975) Tappachabutra (1965), Nagamayakunta (1974) and Ramantapur (1975), had over 30 per cent of the households below the age of 15 while the settlements in the third period (1976 - 1991) Moosarambagh (1979) and Kukatpally (1978) had over 40 percent of the household who were below the age of fifteen.

The difference is due to the fact that in the first period many households presently household heads were born in the city itself, whereas in the second and third period they had come with their parents when they had migrated or had come directly from the neighbouring districts.

6.4. **Previous Place of Residence:**

**OLD CITY:** In the old city prior to 1956 nearly 60% of the households were from the old city itself and less than 8 and 14% were from the immediate districts of Hyderabad (i.e.) Mahbubnagar and Nalgonda and the rest 17% were from the new city across the river Moosi. In the second period between 1957-75 most of the households who had their previous place of residence were from the old city (i.e.)
around 62% and very few were from the new city around 5% and 14% were from the periphery and only 17% were from the adjoining districts of Hyderabad.

In the last period between 1976-91 the trend has changed where most of the households came from the adjoining districts of south of Hyderabad (i.e.) 54% and a good percentage of the households around 28% were from outside Hyderabad and only 8% were from the west and east of Hyderabad.

NEW CITY: Prior to 1956 around 54% of the households were from the old city and 28% from the East of Hyderabad and only 17% were from the new city.

In the second period between 1957-75 the trend has completely changed and the majority around 57% of the households had their previous place of residence in the new city and the rest 42% were from outside Hyderabad.

In the third period between 1976-91 around 52% of the households were from outside Hyderabad and 37% from the new city and only 17% were from the North of Hyderabad.

PERIPHERY: In the second period between 1957-75 around 52% were from outside Hyderabad, 28% from the periphery, 17% from the old city and a negligible number from the new city around 2%.
### Previous Place of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N.HYD</th>
<th>S.HYD</th>
<th>W.HYD</th>
<th>E.HYD</th>
<th>O.CITY</th>
<th>N.CITY</th>
<th>PERI</th>
<th>OUT.HYD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kala(O.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>59.90</td>
<td>17.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tappa(O.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62.86</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>14.28</td>
<td>17.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moosa(O.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54.26</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phool(N.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28.58</td>
<td>54.28</td>
<td>17.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga(N.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>57.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adda(N.C)</td>
<td>17.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>37.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raman(P)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17.14</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>28.58</td>
<td>28.58</td>
<td>51.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukat(P)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22.86</td>
<td>74.28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph.6.2.
In the last period between 1976-91 around 74% of the households were from the surrounding places in the periphery, 22% from the new city and only 2% were from outside Hyderabad.

6.5. RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND DISTANCE TO WORK PLACE:

The graphic tables show persons travelling to their work places in all the eight settlements in the three different periods:

(i) Prior to 1956 (ii) Between 1957-75 and
(iii) Between 1976-91 and in the three zones of the city (i) Old city (ii) New city (iii) Periphery can broadly be classified into three categories:

a. Those who travel a distance of not more than two kilometres = Short.
b. Those travelling distances between 2.1 to 10 kilometres = Medium.
c. Those travelling distances between 10.1 to 20 kilometres = Long.

OLD CITY: The first two settlements in the old city Kaladera(1949), Tappachabutra(1965) 25.7 and 51.42% persons travelling less than 2 kilometres are working either within or in the nearby areas of the settlement in the household industry engaged in beedi making, matchsticks, agarbattis and hat making and the rest working in the nearby motor and cycle workshops and commuting to work by walk, whereas in Moosarambagh(1979) 48.5% travelling between 3 and 10 kilometres radius are mostly engaged in rickshaw pulling and as mechanics in the workshops whose common mode of transport is either bicycle
RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND DISTANCE TO WORK PLACE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Less than 2</th>
<th>Bet 2.1-10Km</th>
<th>Bet 10.1-20Km</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kala(O.C)</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>45.72</td>
<td>28.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tappa(O.C)</td>
<td>51.42</td>
<td>34.29</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moosa(O.C)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>51.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phool(N.C)</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga(N.C)</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>54.28</td>
<td>11.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adda(N.C)</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>57.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raman(P)</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>45.72</td>
<td>37.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukat(P)</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>37.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph 6.3.
or bus. In the medium category persons travelling between 3 to 10 kilometres are mostly rickshaw pullers and mechanics working across the river moosi in the new city. As rickshaw pullers have no definite place of operation, they operate mostly within 10 kilometres radius whereas mechanics who are working in the motor and welding workshops travel either by cycle or bus to their work place.

In the long category we can see that it is mostly autorickshaw drivers, masons, labourers and other construction workers who are travelling beyond 11 kilometres to their work places. In the case of autorickshaw drivers they have no definite place of operation but they operate within a distance of 20 kilometres radius within the city. The people who are engaged in the construction industry use either cycle or bus to travel to their work place.

NEW CITY: In the new city the first category Phoolbagh(1949) and Addagutta(1978) have got the similar characteristics. The percentage of persons travelling within 2 kilometres radius is very less around 11.42 and 5.72% whereas in Nagamayakunta(1974) around 34.2% are in the same category. Most of the persons are engaged in rickshaw pulling, working in construction industry as masons, labourers, plumbers and the rest are in retail trade working as salesman and helpers.

In the medium category the first and the last settlement Phoolbagh(1949) and Addagutta(1978) around 28.57 and 37.1% are travelling a distance between 3 and
10 kilometres radius and are in diversified jobs such as labourers working in the hotels, helpers, salesman working in the shops and masons, labourers, plumbers working in the construction industry. All of them either travel by bus or cycle whereas in the second settlement Nagamayakunta(1974) around 54.28% of the persons are working in the same diversified jobs and are mostly commuting by bus.

In the long distance category majority of the persons going beyond 11 kilometres in the first settlement are vegetable/flower vendors going round the city pushing their four wheel carts and selling them whereas in the last settlement the majority of them are working in the construction industry as masons, labourers, plumbers, centring workers and some mechanics working in the workshops travelling either by bus or cycle. Only 11.43% of the persons in the second settlement are going beyond 11 kilometres who are in the construction industry.

**PERIPHERY:** The two settlements Ramantapur(1975) and Kukatpally(1978) have more or less similar characters with 17.14 and 22.86% people travelling to work within a distance of 2 kilometre radius who are mostly working in shops, hotels and workshops as labourers and helpers.

In the medium category 45.72 and 40% travelling between 3 and 10 kilometres radius are working in diversified jobs as milk and grass vendors, labour in the construction industry and helpers and mechanics in the workshops and factories and commute mostly by walk/cycle/bus.
In the long distance category around 37.14% of them travel beyond 11 kilometres distance and are mostly engaged in the construction industry as masons, labourers, plumbers and mostly travel either by bus or cycle and autorickshaw drivers who operate all over the city cover a distance of 20 kilometres radius.

It can be noticed that persons reaching their work-place within the 2 kilometres radius in the Old city, New city and the periphery cover the distance by walk. The type of activity in which the people are engaged in close proximity are in the household industry (engaged bangle-making, bidi-making, hat making, matchstick making), and mechanics, helpers in the workshops and retail trade whereas people travelling distances beyond 2.1 and 10 kilometre radius are mostly rickshaw pullers and mechanics in the old city. In the new city it is mostly people engaged in diversified jobs such as salesman, helpers in the retail trade and masons, labourers, plumbers, carpenters and centring workers in the construction industry who travel to their work place either by bus or bicycle. In the last category it is mostly autorickshaw drivers who are operating all over the city covering a distance of 20 kilometres radius and the rest who are mostly in the construction industry are either using the public transport or bicycle.

All these clearly indicate that in the old city majority of the people find jobs in the close proximity of their residence whereas in the new city people are going far away from their place of residence in search of jobs. As most of the people are in the informal sector of employment they do not have a fixed income and
fixed place of work. In case of construction workers they keep changing their place of work every three to six months as and when the work finishes if they are regularly working for a contractor otherwise they even have to change their place of work daily. In the case of rickshaw pullers and autorickshaw drivers even though they start from their residence they operate all over the city covering a distance of 10 and 20 kilometre radius. They do have "addas" or stands where they normally start their operation.

All these factors clearly indicate that the low-income households chose their residential location in these settlements not because they are in close proximity to the work place but due to other factors, except for the first two settlements in the old city which have predominantly muslim population and they have been staying in the area since their forefathers arrived and are not willing to leave the area even though they get a better employment opportunity.

6.6. Employment Structure:

Perhaps one of the important variable in this section of the analysis is that which describes an individual's role and participation in the workforce. The type of job that he holds, its security, remuneration, and opportunities for upward mobility. Therefore, it is necessary that these attributes are discussed in detail.

Many observers see the slums and squatter settlements as an integrative
mechanism whereby migrants and city-born, alike, are able to participate in the
economic and social life of the city. They agree with the macro-level view that
cities have failed to generate sufficient resources such as housing and jobs; some
argue that squatter settlements provide partial solutions to these problems,
because of inadequate nature (Mangin, 1967, p. 98.). They propose that
spontaneous settlements enhance the flexibility that households enjoy by reducing
residential costs to a minimum (Mangin, 1967; Leeds, 1973). In the first instance
the households in the squatter settlements do not pay for the land or services, is
in contrast to his previous experience as a downtown renter (Turner, 1970).
Moreover security, so that faced with a crisis he can always sell-out or sub-divide
part of his plot. His hope that some day he will own the property and the
building that he anticipates constructing on it, are realistic, for he can invest his
own labour in the construction of his dwelling. Faced with the problem of
securing credit, he can only invest in his house when he has surplus cash to buy
the materials for construction. Building is therefore accretive, and in accordance
with the households demands and ability to pay at any one point in time, rather
than a commitment to repayments which would not be adjustable to its fluctuating
economic circumstances. In addition, the sample size of the plot affords the
opportunity of rearing animals for the family's consumption or sale (Mangin 1967;
Turner, 1971; Leeds, 1970). It is important to realize that these two points of view
are not mutually exclusive, either one may have greater relevance in nations in
which different social, political and economic constraints prevail. Similarly, the
structure of employment may vary for different housing sub-system in any given
city. With these two view points in mind the data collected in the eight settlements are analyses. In particular, attention is drawn to the nature of employment, the degree of internal homogeneity of squatter settlements working populations, and the overall extent to which they are integrated into the economy in general.

6.6.1. CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYMENT: Employment is classified depending largely upon a broad differentiation between skills:

i. Office jobs include persons employed in government, private as clerks, office boys, watchman and drivers.

ii. Skilled workers are those who are technically trained such as factory workers, welders, mechanics, plumbers, masons, centring or shuttering workers and so on.

iii. Semi-skilled include both autorickshaw drivers, cycle rickshaw pullers, vegetable/flower/milk vendors, pan shopwallas, and people working in the cottage industry making agarbatti's, hats, matchsticks, bangles etc.

iv. Unskilled are those who do not have any skills as cooli's or unskilled labourer in the construction industry, vegetable\flower\milk vendor and maid servants.

6.6.2. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE IN THE SETTLEMENTS: The evidence drawn from the eight settlements suggests that in Hyderabad city at least, slums and squatter areas are not associated with high levels of urban unemployment.
The minority of the households who have no regular job at present will find some sort of employment as their survival depends on their earnings for the day.

**UNSKILLED:** A considerable percentage of the head of households are found in this, the lowest occupational category. They are particularly common in almost all the settlements. This group includes workers who have no schooling at all. Although their age does not seem to be directly related to low occupational status, the majority of the workers are in their middle ages over 40 years.

In spite of the fact that the majority of the household heads in the sample declared themselves to have been working continuously for the previous twelve months, it is the unskilled group that is most susceptible to periodic unemployment, principally as a result of the usual lay off of workers between jobs in the construction industry.

Not surprisingly, this group shows a marked distribution throughout the lowest income categories earning less than Rs.500/- per month. Given the very low incomes, and high insecurity, it is necessary for the other members of the household to work, and the majority of the workers had more than one member of the household working to improve their economic condition.

Residence in an incipient squatter settlement is a considerable advantage for this occupational group. Costs are low, and a significant proportion of the income is
not lost in paying rent. Job insecurity does not imply residential insecurity and eviction - as it might in rented accommodation elsewhere. Moreover, the settlement offers opportunities for employment, both in construction work as well as in petty services and commerce.

Data were not collected for the workplace of all wage earners in each household, but only for the head. It is notable that for unskilled heads the majority stated that they worked in various parts of the city. This is typical of an occupational group in which no fixed locale of employment can be defined. Hawkers move from one end of the city to another while construction workers move between sites. This may or may not be in the vicinity of the settlement.

SEMI-SKILLED: This occupational category is the largest single group. As with the unskilled group, it is particularly high in Kaladera, Tappachabutra in old city, Phoolbagh and Nagamayakunta in the new city.

Semi skilled employment invariably carries with it job stability except in the case of rickshaw pullers and relatively low paid. With majority of them working in various places suggests that the workplace was in the vicinity of the residence. Sixty eight per cent spend more than forty five minutes travelling to work either by bicycle or by public transport. Income reflects job status and most workers earn the minimum wage or slightly better. This means that it is often necessary for the head to find some way of supplementing his regular income, and it is not
unusual for him to have other part-time jobs. One respondent in Nagamayakunta worked as an assistant in a provision shop and later in the evening he set up his small stall near the cinema theatre selling food items until ten in the night. Thirty five per cent of the households reported that at least one other member of the household worked to increase the household income.

**SKILLED:** This occupational category may be viewed as an elite among other workers, and the data indicate that only a small proportion have attained this status. Some form of specialised training is a perquisite, though it need not necessarily be a formal educational one. More often work experience secures them the job in this group. For example, mechanics in the auto-workshops, goldsmiths, plumbers, masons, stone cutters and polishers have learnt on the job, starting as apprentices and are often paid well.

Most skilled workers who work for big companies and employers have job security and have the facility of access to short term emergency, loans from the employers. It is notable that no skilled head of household has a wage below Rupees 1200/- (19 pounds approx.) a month, and they are supposed to be the highly paid workers in these settlements. Not surprisingly therefore, it is less common to find other members of the household working, unless they are grown-up dependents living at home.

6.6.3. **OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY:** Several authors have suggested that a
move to the squatter settlements is frequently associated with upward socio-economic mobility, measured in terms of type of employment (Turner, 1968). It is argued that upon arriving in the city a migrant has a high priority for location near the city centre where there is access to cheap rented housing and unskilled employment. Later, in response to various factors, one of which may be increasing job security and stability - the individual and his family choose to move to a peripheral squatter settlement with the hope of staking a successful claim to home ownership.

Data are analyses for migrants and city born, and their occupational status at their arrival in the city is compared with their position at the time of the survey. Fifteen percent of migrants were found to have moved up at least one employment category. This suggests that although most migrants worked as unskilled workers in other sectors, and almost certainly entered the unskilled category during the early phase of their urban careers, they had, by the time they were interviewed in the squatter settlements, achieved some degree of employment security and mobility.

6.6.4. OCCUPATION: On the basis of the survey data I have identified twenty occupational categories. Eighty eight per cent of our respondents in the settlements are engaged in the informal sector. They pursue occupations like daily wage manual labour in the construction industry, unskilled self-employment such as vending, hawking and rickshaw pulling, skilled self-employment, which
involves traditional craft work such as bangle making, matchstick making, hat making, mechanical repair work and as masons, plumbers, carpenters, centring workers in the construction industry. Some also work on a daily wage basis as cleaners and labour in the hotels and as hired auto-rickshaw drivers, while others have set up petty businesses.

6.5. Number of Earning Members in the Household: The number of earning members in the household was found to vary between one and three. The majority of the households (61 per cent) had only one member in the household who is earning (generally the head of the household). The number of earning members vary between all eight settlements. The settlements in the old city (Kaladera and Tappachabutra) had two to three members earning in the household. A relatively higher size of earning members is found in the old city whereas in the new city and the periphery the mean size of 1.4 and 1.1 was recorded. These differences clearly indicate that the number of earning members in the old city is higher due to the fact that the income of the single earning member is low and the household size larger. Hence the other members of the family are forced to work to support the large family size.

6.6. Household Income: Household income is calculated by adding the reported earning of all earning members. The distribution of income for total sample and the settlements can be seen in the following table. There seems to be a significant difference between the three zones of the city. The old city seems to
have the lowest income below Rupees 550 (10 pounds) while the new city and periphery had over Rupees 700 (12.73 pounds). The overall average monthly income of the sample was found to be Rupees 667.50 (12.13 pounds approx.). The low average monthly income in the old city is due to the fact that the type of occupation they are engaged have low paid wages whereas in the new city better opportunities prevail and the household has the choice to choose depending on his nature of the skill.
6.10. IN-DEPTH CASE STUDIES

6.10.1. Introduction:

The single most important sources of information were the in-depth case studies of families selected from the survey sample. Key aspects of demand analysis, such as knowledge of the user's motivations, needs, priorities and resources and willingness to contribute them. The interviews were conducted without any kind of structured questionnaire, and only questions about the family background, migration, occupation, housing environment etc. Payne justified the importance of the case studies in his study on Delhi, India (Shakur, 1987). "To fully appreciate the type of people who make-up the larger groups, however, it is necessary to describe briefly some example (Payne, G.K., 1977). The in-depth case studies are presented in the following section:

6.10.2. CASE STUDY: 1 (Old city)

Type of settlement: Unauthorised Settlement on private land.

Year of establishment: 1949

Name of the settlement: Kaladera

Name of the household head: Younus (42 yrs)

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS: The family is nuclear with ten members. Father 70, Mother 55, wife (Yasmin 28 yrs) and six children, two boys aged 13, 11, and four girls aged 8, 6, 5, 3.
GENERAL CHARACTER THE FAMILY IS UNDERGOING: The family is going through the stage of educating their children while only three members of the family are working (father, husband and wife).

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE FAMILY: The head of the household works as a rickshaw puller. His father sits on the street and sells fruits and wife works at home making matchsticks. Their income level is low and is variable. The family has no prior education.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF THE HOUSEHOLD: The head of the household has been in the same rickshaw pulling occupation from the time he's arrived in the city from the adjoining district of Mahbubnagar. He has not improved his skills for a better job. Initially he hired a rickshaw daily, but now he owns his own. His income varies daily between Rs.20 - 30/- . His father gets around Rs.5 - 10/- daily and his wife gets around Rs.10/- a day. Educationally the family has not advanced.

RESIDENTIALLY LOCATION OF THE HOUSEHOLD: The present residence is an unauthorised settlement on a private land on the South of Hyderabad in the Old City.

RESIDENTIAL ITINERARY OF THE HOUSEHOLD: Prior to coming to Hyderabad, they were living in the adjoining district of Mahbubnagar. Later upon
arriving in Hyderabad city they lived in one residence in rented accommodation before moving to Kaladera in 1951. Since then they have been staying in this settlement.

**TENURE SITUATION:** At present they own the house and the land on which it is built and they do not have any legal titles. Since their arrival in Hyderabad they had rented their first residence and later moved to the present one which they own.

**HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS:**

Location: The settlement is in the old city about six kilometres to the centre of the city. The settlement does not have bus services near. They have to walk at least one kilometre to get to the bus stop. The only nearest public transport is the railway station. It is four minutes walk. Even though the railway station is close-by, it is of not much use as the train goes to towards Secunderabad side. To go to the city centre they have to take the bus. There are small shops near the settlement for their day to day vegetables etc. They do not depend too much on the city centre as they do most of their shopping in the near-by shops. The settlement is not having proper drainage and toilet facilities. The community toilet facilities which they have are not sufficient for the households. In the morning, generally there are fights between households. There are public taps in the settlement for drinking water which is open for one hour in the morning and
one hour in the evening. For regular use, hand pump borwells are there. There is electricity for the settlement. The settlement is very poor environmentally. The settlement does not have schools nearby, but the children have to walk at least two kilometres for the school. There are no government clinics where they can get free treatment in the nearby areas. They have to go at least five kilometres for treatment in the clinic or the hospital.

TENURE: The plot has been unauthorisedly occupied during 1951 and he has not paid a single rupee to anyone. His plot is 25 sq.yds. He has been staying there since 1951. He has no legal rights for the land but only occupies it. He has built hut and has been staying there. He has not improved his dwelling much except for few repairs here and there. As his income is low, he is unable to extend his hut or change into a semi-pucca one. He has no interest to improve his dwelling. The only thing which keeps him happy is that he owns the plot in the city and he is not paying rent.

Cost: The hut he built is not of much cost. He has collected waste material while he is coming home in his rickshaw and put them together to erect a hut. He has literally not spent anything for his house.

PRIORITIES: He has no intentions of selling his plot even though he would get money. His only wish is to keep his plot for his children. He intends to expand his hut when his family grows bigger. Even though he commutes to the new city
and the old city for rickshaw pulling, he is not thinking of looking for a plot in the nearby areas. His intention is only to get an autorickshaw and then give the rickshaw for hire and daily do autorickshaw driving.

6.10.3. CASE STUDY: 2 (New city)
Type of Settlement: Unauthorised Settlement (Squatter Settlement)
Year of establishment of the settlement: 1978
Name of the settlement: Addagutta
Name of the household head: Yadgiri (40yrs)

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS: The family is nuclear with eight members. Father 60, Mother 55, Wife (Narsamma) 33, Children 4.

GENERAL CHARACTER THE FAMILY IS UNDERGOING: The family is undergoing through the stage of sending the children to school for education while the two members, the husband and the wife are working.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE FAMILY: The head of the household works as a mason at present. His wife also contributes to the family income. Their income level is variable. The elders in the household have no education. Their children are going to the local government school.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF THE HOUSEHOLD: The head of the
household has worked as a semi-skilled labourer in the adjoining district of warangal. He later took up the job as a mason from the time he had come to the city to the present day. His income varies due to his work as a mason, but his wife works regularly as a daily wage labourer in the construction sites. Educationally, the family has advanced from illiterate to atleast some level of education.

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF THE HOUSEHOLD: The present residence is in an unauthorised settlement on the North East of Hyderabad city on the rocky uneven surface in the Secunderabad area.

RESIDENTIAL ITINERARY OF THE HOUSEHOLD: Prior to coming to the city of Hyderabad, they were living in one residence in the district. Later upon arriving in Hyderabad city they lived in two residences in rental accommodation (one in Sitaphalmandi and the other in Warisguda) three kilometres away from the present residence before they moved to Addagutta in 1979.

TENURE SITUATION: At present they own the house and the land on which it is built and they do not have legal titles. Since their arrival in Hyderabad they had rented the first two residences before they moved to the present on which they own.
HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS:

Location: The settlement is located three kilometres to the Secunderabad railway station on an uneven rocky surface. It is not well connected by public transport. They have to walk down the hillock to go to the nearby bus stop. The markets are located near to the railway station which is four to five kilometres away. The settlement does not have schools in the nearby area. Only a nursery is located one kilometre away from the settlement. The settlement does not have any school facilities. The area is not maintained properly, as the municipal corporation does not come regularly to pick-up garbage and the whole area stinks at times with the smell where pigs and dogs spread the area with the garbage. The open drainage system is very bad. The whole area sometimes overflows due to the drains getting blocked up. The settlement does not have individual toilet facilities. They have community facilities. The water supply to the settlement is very poor. They have to go down the hillock to fetch the drinking water from the municipal taps and get them on bicycles or lift them on their heads and take it. There is electricity in the settlement, but the majority of the households do not take legal connections but tap from the main lines. In general the environmental quality is poor.

TENURE:

The present plot in which Yadgiri built his house does not have legal title. He
has purchased it in 1978 from the leaders paying a nominal amount of Rs.200/- (approx. £4/-) for 40 sq.yds. He is waiting for legal titles to improve his dwelling.

COST:

The dwelling he constructed is on a plot having an area of 40 sq.yds with two rooms covering an area of 15 sq.m. After he has purchased the plot, he has initially erected his hut with bailies (a kind of Bamboo) and tin sheets for roofing and brick and mud walls. As he was a mason himself he has not taken anybody's help to erect his hut. Later after five years he has slowly put up another room in all making two, and replacing the roof with asbestos sheets. He now has electricity tapped from the main lines. As he has built his house over a period of time on an incremental basis with second hand materials, he has not incurred much cost. So far he estimates that he has spent Rs.3,000/- (approx. £60/-) for the dwelling. He intends to improve further when he gets the legal title. The dwelling has the advantage of permitting the family a greater amount of privacy, private open space and to continue in the area where many of his friends stay. As they are not spending anything on rent they are able to save that money and keep it for further improvement of the dwelling.

PRIORITIES:

Location and Tenure: The location of the residence was convenient because he
has enough space for his family and expand at a later date. Even though the location of the residence is quite far from his place of work, he is happy with his location because he has got the land at a price he can afford. The only drawback is that he is not able to get access to financial institutions for loans because he does not have legal titles. He is expecting legal titles any time. Once he gets the title, he intends to improve his dwelling by taking loan from the bank. Their priorities is to send their children to school for education and do not want them to take up the similar kind of occupation. Since he has got a plot in the city, he has no intentions to get closer to the centre of the city. He is happy with the present settlement and he wants to make this his permanent residence. He has no intentions of selling the plot even though the value might increase after he gets the legal titles.

6.10.4. CASE STUDY: 3 (Periphery)

Type of settlement: Unauthorised settlement (Government land)

Year of establishment: 1975

Name of the settlement: Ramantapur

Name of the head of the household: Sailoo (45yrs)

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS: The family is nuclear with four members. Wife (Kamala 32yrs) and two children aged 8 and 5 years.

GENERAL CHARACTER THE FAMILY IS UNDERGOING: The family is going
through the stage of educating their children to school and the family is working.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE FAMILY:** The head of the household works as a unskilled labourer at present. His wife also contributes to the family income. Their income level is variable. The head of the household and his wife have no formal education. Their children are staying at home with no education.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF THE HOUSEHOLD:** The head of the household has worked as agricultural labourer in his village near Nalgonda around 80 kilometres from Hyderabad. After arriving in the city he took up the job as labourer in the construction industry. His income varies as he hoes not get the jobs regularly. His wife also works with him as a labourer in the construction sites. Their daily wages are Rs.25 and 15/-. On an average they earn Rs.600/- per month. Educationally the family has not advanced as the children are young and stay at home.

**RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF THE HOUSEHOLD:** The present residence is in an unauthorised settlement on the East of Hyderabad city close to the bank of river Moosi.

**RESIDENTIAL ITINERARY OF THE HOUSEHOLD:** Prior to coming to the city, they had their small temporary hut in the village. Later upon arriving in Hyderabad city they straightaway stayed with a friend in the present settlement
TENURE SITUATION: At present they own the house and the land on which they built but they do not have legal titles but expecting to get very soon.

Since their arrival in Hyderabad they temporarily stayed with a friend for one week and later occupied a piece of land in the same settlement and put up their hut.

HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS:

Location: The settlement is close to the industrial estate of Uppal on the periphery. It is fifteen kilometres from the city centre and is well connected by bus. They have to walk at least ten minutes on to the main road to get to the bus. The settlement does not have municipal water supply. They have hand pump borewells both for drinking water and for regular use. The settlement is like an urban village where the household still has cattle which fetches him income from milk. He has a buffalo in his plot. There are no government schools nearby but their children go to the school walking about three kilometres to the school by walk. The settlement has no community toilets. As this is on the periphery they either build a temporary toilet with soakpit or they go out in the open fields. The general environmental condition of the settlement is very poor. The settlement does have the electricity but majority of them have connections tapping the main lines.
**TENURE:** The plot which he is occupying does not have legal titles. He has bought the plot from previous who had sold him for Rs.400/- (approx.£8/-). He has a plot of 25 sq.yds. All the households in the settlement are pooling money together to pursue with the municipality for legal titles.

Cost: The dwelling he built is with two rooms of 16 sq.yds. He has collected material from the secondhand and from the construction sites on which he is working. He built his own house even though he is not a mason. The walls are of brick and mud while the roof is of asbestos. The doors and windows are of tin sheets with wooden frame. So far he has spent around Rs.1200/- (approx.£24/-).

**PRIORITIES:** The location of the residence is convenient for the family as it is close to the bus stop to go to the city centre. The advantage of having the plot in that area is that it is close to the industrial area and if in future he is able to build an extra room he can let it out for a nominal rent. His main objective is to improve his skills and become a mason. Once he gets the legal title he intends to improve his house with better specifications.
CHAPTER 7.0.

CHOICES AND PREFERENCES OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

This chapter examines the extent to which a household's requirements of residential location are fulfilled by its form of tenure, and the degree to which housing tenure is the outcome of choice. This question is explored through an analysis of the socio-economic differences between various households. Studies in the literature have established that tenure is linked to a household's stage in the domestic cycle (Rossi 1955; Carliner 1974; Fredland 1974; Pickvance 1974; Edwards 1982; Gilbert 1983; Green 1988). In this chapter the nature of this link is examined using statistical data from the household survey, in particular the age, size, income and migration of the households. The social significance of these tenure differences is further explored by means of case study material.

7.1. HOUSING ASPIRATIONS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS:

Household's Choice:

Whether a household's form of tenure is the outcome of positive preference, or the lack of access to other alternatives, is the source of some debate. Do the household's who rent choose this form of tenure is convenient to their life-style in the city, or would the majority prefer to own. The former view is implicit in
the work of Turner (1967, 1968), who argues that residential location, tenure and consequently housing patterns are the outcome of household needs and choices. Needs are related to the socio-economic position and prospects of the household, and influence its housing requirements.

According to this theory, the individual household chooses accommodation that best meets its demand for shelter, location and security. The recently arrived city migrant, or 'bridgeheader' places top priority on the location of the dwelling in order to be well-placed to find employment. This requirement is best fulfilled by a centrally located rented dwelling as it is near work sources and provides greater flexibility of movement. The lack of security and overcrowded conditions, which are characteristic of much inner-city rented accommodation, are only temporary inconveniences. Once established in the city the priorities of the 'bridgeheader' change. After a number of years (Turner estimated five on average), the household seeks owner-occupied accommodation on the periphery and becomes a 'consolidator'. Such accommodation satisfies the revised needs for shelter which may be improved and consolidated, greater space and privacy, and ownership to provide present future security.

There have been empirical and theoretical criticisms of this model. In many cities, the evidence simply does not fit. In La Paz, for example, the city centre is no longer an important reception area for migrants. They are most likely to settle on the city periphery where there are as many work opportunities and more
accommodation available than in the city centre (Van Lindert & Verkoren 1982). Others have found that the location of kinship contacts in the city influence migrant location, and skew the model (Vaughn & Fiendt 1973; Conway & Brown 1980, p.98.). Many migrants start city life by sharing with relatives on the periphery rather than renting centrally. Also the number of rental units in the centres is declining (Hardoy 1983, p.153), and the bulk of rental housing has shifted to irregular settlements outside the centre in most Latin American Cities (Gilbert 1987, p.45).

On a theoretical level, the model has been criticised as being based on the needs of the individual households whereas, it is argued that constraints on the supply side (high land prices, Government policy etc.), have greater impact on the level of home ownership (Thorns, 1980). In short, wider city structures have greater influence than impoverished migrants on the form, size and nature of the housing market. Ownership is the preferred form of tenure of almost all city residents, migrants included, and it seems more likely that most tenants rent due to their inability to own rather than through choice (Edwards 1982; Gilbert 1983; Van Lindert & Verkoren 1982). Other critics of Turner claim that the model depoliticises housing by failing to relate it to the political system (Burgess 1978).

Such criticisms of the Turner model are also valid in Hyderabad. In many ways the model is inappropriate due to the lack of old-city tenements. The majority of low-income households lie outside the central area. Also sixty three per cent
of migrants in the household survey have received help with accommodation from friends or relatives already resident in the city. This aid was either the offer of shared accommodation, or to become part of the household, or short-term hospitality as guests, or information as to where they may find a room to rent or own a plot. Usually, any of these options resulted in the migrant living with or near kin and friends.

Nevertheless, Turner's model remains useful to an evaluation of household's choice. Although choices can only be made within the constraints which determine what is available, where and at what price, even the most disadvantaged section of the population usually has more than one alternative to choose from. Households may decide, or be offered the opportunity, to attempt to attain ownership by participating in unauthorised occupation of public/private land or may prefer to secure land legally by buying it, and be content or they may decide to share with kin for a while, prior to making a decision about how and where to acquire ownership.

In the household survey, sixty six per cent of the households said that they had a plan to build their own home, and were already actively engaged in a strategy to achieve this goal. Thus individual households are involved in making decisions about their housing, and Turner's concept of choice and needs contributes to an understanding of housing patterns.
7.2. PREFERENCES AND PRIORITIES OF THE HOUSEHOLDS:

Many residents express their preferences for home ownership which has legal title. In all ninety per cent of the households thought that owning was preferable to other alternatives, and they expressed a desire to own immediately. Thus ownership is an almost universal desire for renters and owners who are in the process of owning a plot regardless of their stage in the domestic cycle. A few households are immediately able to acquire their own plot/house, but for the majority it takes many years of planning and saving. Most households eventually have become owners over the last 40 years in unauthorised and illegal occupations which have opened-up access to land both in the city and the periphery which have been settled by low-income households. The rest of the households, however, who are generally, the most disadvantaged in terms of income, never make the transition.

Home ownership is highly valued as it is viewed as a vital part in achieving a goal in a city which lacks job security or income stability. It is a resource which aids survival, and therefore brings with it a degree of satisfaction. As one owner, a resident of Addagutta said "to own a house and live in it is best". "It's more comfortable, more secure, and has self satisfaction. I know that this is my house, and that your own is your own is your own and you can do what you like". A common complaint from among the renters is that there is a constant threat of moving from one house to another within the settlement or outside. Everyone
wants to own to avoid moving from house to house and to settle down in a place peacefully no matter where it is located in the city. A further problem with the renters is of the regular payment of rent, as most people do not have fixed, or regular incomes. A household in the Nagamayakunta, who had been a tenant since his arrival in the city 15 years ago said of the disadvantages of renting: "I have my large family and I do not want to move any more. I don't want to pay so much rent but I want to get a piece of land and settle down".

The most enthusiastic owners were the ones in all the eight settlements who had acquired plots/or piece of land and have built houses even though they do not have regular pattas (legal titles), despite lacking all basic services including electricity and unpolluted drinking water, and the constant threat of legal action from the authorities or the land owners in case they have unauthorizedly occupied the land. For low income households of Hyderabad, the house not only provides physical shelter, but also emotional and financial security.

7.3. THE POSSIBILITIES OF OWNING AND PRIORITIES IN THE DOMESTIC LIFE-CYCLE:

THE INFLUENCE OF THE DOMESTIC CYCLE ON TENURE:

House ownership is a common goal of low income households in Hyderabad suggests that the households who are tenants are disadvantaged as they are too
poor to own. Nevertheless, tenure is by no means determined by income alone, but is also linked to the domestic cycle of the households which includes variables of age, household size and income. Other important considerations to be examined, which operate independently of the domestic cycle, is the length of urban residence.

The domestic cycle refers to the various stages of household development. Clearly all households are different but a dominant pattern has emerged in the most urban centres. A household is formed when an individual living with parents or guardians leaves home to establish a new unit either by securing employment away from the home, or by moving in with a partner. Children arrive, and over the years the size of the household increases. As the household becomes older, the income tends to increase as more of its members become economically active. The reverse occurs as the children gradually leave to set up their own households. The original household becomes smaller and dissolves when the parents either decide to live with one of their children in their new home, or die. The stage in the domestic cycle directly affects a households possibilities and priorities for ownership (Kemeny, 1980). Many newly established households begin by renting or unauthorizedly occupying public/private land as this form of tenure is more flexible and easier to acquire. It becomes increasingly uncomfortable and inconvenient as the household increase in size. Security, space and privacy are now highly valued and can best be satisfied by ownership.
Moreover, at this time, the household income is likely to be increasing, and acquiring ownership becomes a greater possibility.

Of course, not every household follows this trend; many young households own, and the wealthy often rent as household characteristics are only a broad constraint and not a strict determinant on housing behaviour (Bourne, 1981). In general, however, tenure is allocated according to the domestic cycles of the competing households. Some have greater needs for and opportunities to acquire their own home than others. This does not necessarily mean that renters are disadvantaged forever, but is a reflection of their youth and earlier stage in the domestic cycle. A young household has less need for the generally larger space of an owned home, and fewer resources to acquire one. Thus tenure is tied to the domestic cycle. The following sections examine this link in greater detail among households in Hyderabad.

7.4. THE PRIORITIES ACCORDING TO AGE AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE:

According to the literature, a crucial distinction between owning and non-owning households is the age of the household. The proportion of households renting decreases steadily through each age cohort of the household head (Rosssi, 1955; Bourne, 1981; Carliner, 1974; Pickavance, 1974;). The percentage of younger households who were owners was less when compared to the households who
have crossed over thirty years of age in La Paz (Van Lindert & Verkoren; 1982). A similar pattern was observed in two Columbian cities (Edwards, 1982; Gilbert, 1983).

The following table presents data from the household survey to illustrate the structural characteristics of households in Hyderabad which are significant in distinguishing owning from renting households. In the left hand column are the totals for all the sample (280), followed by three columns of data for established owners and renters (in all the eight settlements). Thus it seems that age, and as a result household size, are directly related to tenure. Age and size are reflected in household type, and as such there are variations in type among different tenure groups. Similarly, there is a strong association between household type and the number and sex of household heads, but the latter is even further removed from tenure and there is little correlation between them.

The evidence from Hyderabad therefore supports previous findings. Age is the crucial variable in determining household tenure, in that it is indicative of a certain stage in the domestic cycle. Non-owners are younger than owners and consequently households tend to be smaller and less extended. A minority of renters, most of whom live independently without family responsibilities have no ability to own immediately. As the individual acquires stability through marriage, and later responsibility for children, home ownership becomes more desirable.
## STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Old City</th>
<th>New City</th>
<th>Periphery</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kala</td>
<td>Tappa</td>
<td>Moosa</td>
<td>Phool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>82.9%</td>
<td>74.3%</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renters</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H/hd.Size</td>
<td>6.74</td>
<td>6.57</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>5.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of the H/hd. Age</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total H/hd. income</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income of the Head of H/hd.</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Age in years.

* Income in Indian Rupees.

Table 7.1.
For many of the households who have lived in rental accommodation for years have expressed their desire to own but they neither have the resources to do so nor the courage to unauthorizedly occupy land and take risk.

The strength of the household's necessity to own is largely dependent upon its stage in the domestic cycle, and hence the age of its members. A smaller family have fewer problems in finding rental accommodation than a larger one as their priority of owning at the beginning of the married life is of less importance. The previous table shows the important changes in the domestic cycle which the households mentioned had taken place during the past five years. First is the birth of the children. This can be seen particular in the case of newly married couples. Due to the dowry system prevalent in most of the Indian cities, even the low-income households give to their daughters more than they can afford. Sometimes a small piece of land next to their plot or a small room to start their new married life is given in dowry. Ownership is a priority for many younger couples as they do not want to start moving from place to place shifting houses. Lastly the household break-up is also important, this is normally due to inheritance of a property of their parents after they expire.

Thus a significant change in the domestic cycle often precedes home-ownership. This is hardly surprising as the stage in the domestic cycle influences the need for ownership. Of course, many households undergo such changes but they lack the resources to make the transition from non-owning to owning. Priorities are not
always in harmony with possibilities.

7.5. THE POSSIBILITIES ACCORDING TO INCOME:

Non-owners often explain their tenure situation as a result of insufficient economic resources. "I would like to buy a plot but where is the money going to come from?" as one unskilled labourer put it. It is assumed by many writers that tenure is directly related to income. For the United States, the two tenure distributions are almost mirror images of each other, centred on the median income range of US $10,000-15,000. Households below that income are predominantly renters, those above it tend to be owner-occupiers (Bourne 1981). Yet, the relationship between income and tenure, as Bourne points out, is rarely as straightforward as his mirror image suggests. For example, Shelton’s (1968, p.70. ) US-based study concluded that, if the duration of tenure is over three years, renting tends to be more expensive than owning.

That owning may sometimes be cheaper option than renting is further accentuated in most of the cities in developing countries such as Hyderabad, where free land is available because of no strict control and the interference of the politicians due to unauthorised and illegal occupation of land. Those that own insecure land which lacks services are among the poorest of the city residents. The less poor may prefer to wait until they can afford, pre-secure and better-serviced land. Furthermore, a large income is not always needed to build
a home in Hyderabad as the climate is warm. Building a solid brick dwelling is of course quite expensive, but building an asbestos roof or with waste tin sheets with katcha mud walls is not. Houses constructed with ballies (a type of bamboo posts) and covered with tarpaulin and tin sheets in the newly occupied unauthorised settlements are even still cheaper, although they provide only limited protection during the rainy season. To equate income with tenure, one has to resolve the dilemma that, whilst some non-owners seek to increase their income in order to buy land, some owners become involved in illegal occupation of land in order to preserve their limited economic resources. Interviewees were asked how much they and other households members earn each week or month. They are presented in the following table.

The data suggest that established owners have higher total household income than new owners and renters. This pattern has also been discerned in Bogota (Gilbert, 1983). A possible explanation is the greater number of potential earners (over 15 years old) in owning households due to their later stage in the domestic cycle. There is, however a slight paradox, whilst the owners with the greatest number of earners should have larger incomes, it is in the poorer households that members are more likely to be economically active. Furthermore it also shows that although established owners have more household members over 15 years old, and number who are economically active is only marginally larger than the number in new owning and renting households.
An alternative explanation for the higher income of established owners is that they have greater opportunities to use their home as a source of income generation. Majority of the established owners use their home to generate income by carrying out activities within the settlement.

The income generating activities carried out in the home are the sale of chocolates, peppermints, tea bags, food etc., or artisan activities. Sale of food is common among established owners who have sufficient space to use part of their premises as shops. Another option for owners who have less space inside their homes sell these items on a four wheel trolley. Production of food is most frequent among established in most of the settlements. Many of the new owners are engaged in the artisan activities which require less frequent sales, like beedi, bangle, matchstick and agarbatti making. Majority of the male households seek employment outside the settlement, it is only the women and children who are at home take up these activities. A number of household wealth is the number of consumer goods in the house. This reflects past and or present wealth.

CONCLUSION:

The great majority of tenants would rather be owner occupiers, but the options may be restricted by constraints in the housing market as demonstrated by migrant settlement patterns. In a country where state welfare is minimal and where the economy is prone to wild fluctuations in recent times, ownership is a
highly valued resource.

The range of tenure options available to and selected by low-income households in Hyderabad is not only dependent upon what is available but also by the characteristics and needs of the household. Two crucial variables are age and size of the household. Owning households are older and larger and renters are younger and smaller. As a household becomes older, more established and larger with the birth of more children, ownership becomes more desirable and necessary. Income constraints may, however, prevent housing adjustments in accordance with the domestic cycle.

The tenure priorities change according to the stage in domestic cycle is logical when one compares the physical conditions of owned and rented dwellings. Established owners have more spacious, comfortable and better serviced dwellings than renters although as the data suggests, there may be little difference between them, in terms of their everyday activities. New owners tend to live in worse conditions than renters or established owners and lead isolated lives - a situation which may last for several months or years. In terms of housing quality and services, they accept that a temporary drop in standards is a part of the transition from renting to owning. They spend more time on domestic chores, are situated further from other facilities and have very restricted use. Many households, even with several children whose priority for ownership is high, may consider getting a plot in any of the unauthorised settlement rather than in the formal market
where the price is beyond his capacity. Owning may be cheaper than renting if
the land is purchased through unauthorised or illegal occupation and there is no
evidence that new owners have a higher income than renters. Unfortunately,
given the chaotic economic situation during the fieldwork period, it is impossible
to unravel the complexity of the relationship between income and tenure any
further.
CHAPTER 8.0.

CONCLUSIONS

As each chapter contains a summary the conclusion does not attempt to reiterate all the findings of the research. Rather, it aims to present the major determinants of residential location and tenure patterns in Hyderabad and knit them to provide a coherent whole. Thus the most important findings are highlighted and evaluated in the light of the existing literature. Finally, this chapter looks at the policy implications it has over the low-income households of Hyderabad and looks towards the future in the light of the Hyderabad material in this research. A number of research questions which this research has shown would be interesting to explore in any future work are discussed.

CONFIRMATION OF THE HYPOTHESIS:

The study has confirmed that the low-income households do not necessarily locate their residence close to employment centres, rather they have chosen their residential location at a place where land was cheaper and affordable. Further it has also been proved that the majority of the low-income households do not have a stationary and regular job. The type of occupations in which they are engaged in are in the informal sector of employment. They are mostly rickshaw pullers, autorickshaw drivers, vegetable vendors, hawkers, construction workers
These occupations are mobile and the study has confirmed that the distance to workplace is no criteria for the households to choose their residential location.

8.1. RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND TENURE STRUCTURE: AN OVERVIEW IN THE LIGHT OF HYDERABAD:

The determinants of tenure patterns

The explanation of residential location and tenure structure in Hyderabad, India in this thesis has involved a combined macro and micro approach. This relates to the characteristics of the urban environment on the one hand, and on the other those of the individual households who operate within this environment on the other. In Hyderabad, there are four aspects of the urban environment which are necessary to an understanding of the residential location and tenure structure of the city. These are the supply of land, the growth of the population, and political intervention in the land market and ethnic relations in the city. The interplay of these variables broadly determine the proportion of owners and non-owners in the city. Which households occupy which particular form of tenure and location is largely determined by four variables which pertain to the individual household. These are the income, stage in the domestic cycle of the household, ethnicity and its access to organisational resources.
The model of residential location incorporates the above factors which are to be major determinants of housing location and tenure in Hyderabad. Residential location and Tenure occupies the central pivot around which revolve the topics which need to be examined in order to explain its dynamic. On the left are the urban characteristics and on the right side are factors pertaining to the household. Many of the variables are interlinked so that fluctuations of one may have repercussions on another. For example, population growth in the city has increased the economic divisions in the city, and political intervention in the unauthorised occupation of land has a direct effect upon the supply of land. Although the model depicts the variables as independent and isolated, in fact, a number of interlinks could be made.

The determinants of residential location and tenure shown in the model above largely support the existing literature about low-income households. Gilbert and Ward (1982, 1985) have demonstrated the link between the political economy of a city and the land market. More specifically, Edwards (1982) and Gilbert (1983) have described how the supply of land may affect residential location and tenure structure. They have also shown that the stage in the domestic cycle and income are important in distinguishing owning from non-owning households. This thesis has built upon these ideas, and applied them to Hyderabad in determining the residential location of low-income households.
8.2. Influence of Urban Environment Upon Residential Location and Tenure Structure in Hyderabad:

The findings about the link between the urban environment and residential location and tenure structure in Hyderabad, in general, support the existing literature. Land supply, population growth and political intervention in the land market all have an impact upon the decision-making of households and the tenure structure of the city. They are particularly marked in Hyderabad due to the Urban Land Ceiling Act (1976) in the recent years, by the amount of land which has been converted into the urban landuse both legally and illegally, has led to the rapid growth of informal housing in the city.

The research has demonstrated that the majority of the low-income households prefer to own irrespective of location with respect to work centres, if it is within their means. Therefore residential location and tenure in Hyderabad is, to a large extent, a product of land availability. The growth of squatter settlements in the low lying areas of the city for the households who are in the lower category of low-income group, the larger squatter settlements occupied unauthorizedly (defined as slums by the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad) which have been patronised by the political leaders, and the illegal land sub-divisions on the periphery have been a feature of the city since the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh, particularly mor so during the last two decades. New land located on the periphery, unauthorised occupation of public/private land in the
city, often lack basic services and legal titles, is constantly being opened up for settlements and this has been a route to ownership for the majority of the low-income households. Land supply has thus increased several-fold which has ensured that the level of owner occupation has remained high. The dramatic and constant growth of low-income population on one hand and increase in the supply of land by the informal housing sub-market on the other has given rise to more owner occupiers.

The land market in Hyderabad has also been directly affected by the political intervention. Local politicians are directly involved in the process of land acquisition by the low-income population. As has been seen in the literature, the squatter settlements are bound to increase and unauthorised occupations and illegal sub-divisions in Hyderabad tend to occur, unless the government takes steps to increase the supply of land to the low-income groups at a price they can afford and the procedures made far more easier and flexible.

8.3 HOUSEHOLD'S RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND TENURE OPTIONS DEPENDENT UPON ITS STAGE IN THE DOMESTIC CYCLE AND ORGANISATION RESOURCES:

Whilst the urban environment may explain the tenure structure of the city, an examination of the condition of individual households is necessary to understand its dynamic - who gets what and why. For majority of the households ownership
is a higher priority than for others. This depends upon the households's need for security, space and privacy which tend to accompany ownership. Owning households are generally at a later stage in the domestic cycle and therefore older and larger than non-owning households. Households with many children have greater space requirements, and it is also increasingly difficult to find rented accommodation at a cheaper price which they can afford to pay. Younger, smaller households usually aspire to ownership, and the great majority would prefer to own their home immediately, but they either lack the resources to buy, or have less contacts with the local leaders to unauthorizedly occupy land in the squatter settlements. The ones who have better contacts with the local leaders and are ready to take up risk do achieve their goal by acquiring a piece of land/plot for the construction of the dwelling. Thus a household at a later stage in the life-cycle has both greater priorities and increased possibilities to acquire ownership than a household at an earlier stage. This supports the existing literature.

It is also widely held in the literature that the income of the household is an important determinant of tenure; owners tend to be richer than non-owners. This was not, however true from the data and from the observation made during the fieldwork. Nevertheless, the significance of the income factor in Hyderabad is reduced by the high incidence of unauthorised occupation of public/private land in the city. As a result most of the squatter settlements land becomes freely available to some and at a nominal price to others for owner-occupation and the
low-income households very often own.

A household's range of tenure options largely depends upon the organisational resources available to the household. These include the amount of time they have spent in the city, the quantity and type of information available to them. Time in the city largely relates to migrant status. A recent migrant to the city may have to wait for some time than a long-standing resident who has had many years in the city and builds up contacts to make the transition to ownership. The more recent migrant from outside Hyderabad have fewer contacts than the ones who are in the immediate adjacent districts of Hyderabad and within the city. The former therefore receives less information and assistance when seeking accommodation than the latter which makes the transition to ownership more difficult and lengthy process. The information available to a household is also largely dependent on the identity of the individual households in these settlements. This shows that the households needs to have a larger social network in order to obtain a piece of land\plot earlier in these settlements.

8.4. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH:

LOCAL VARIATIONS OF DYNAMICS OF HOUSING TENURE:

While the particular circumstances in Hyderabad are the focus of this conclusion, the model which is suggested in the previous pages may be applied to a study of
residential location in any of the Indian cities. The model emphasises the fact that theoretically no one factor is more important than another; rather they are all interdependent variables. In reality, the relative influence of each factor will fluctuate according to the situations at the local level. For instance, political intervention in the land market is likely to be more important in some cities than others.

A comparison of the several variables in different cities would, on one hand, give insight into the structure of each individual city. On the other hand, it would provide a better understanding of the important variables for residential location in India as a whole. Previously not very many studies have been done on residential location aspects in Indian cities but many researchers have attempted to understand the process of low-income households from a different perspective. There are also number of studies done on residential location and intra-urban mobility in the literature on the third world cities, especially in Latin American Countries (see literature review). It would, however, be fruitful to select specific issue, e.g. comparative study of residential location and housing tenure in different metropolitan cities of India. Much of the material already exists on slums and squatter settlements in the form of various studies looking at different aspects like health, education etc. There is no data about the impact of informal land sub-market on housing tenure. Nor are there any systematic studies of organisational resources among households in different cities of India (e.g. establishment of households in the squatter settlements) are recognised as being significant. It
would be particularly interesting to know if these aspects of the variables of the household are as important in other Indian cities.

8.4.1. IMPACT OF ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC RELATIONS ON HOUSING PATTERNS IN INDIAN CITIES:

Ethnicity and ethnic relations are very strong determinants of housing tenure in Hyderabad. Nevertheless, of all the variables discussed in the thesis, ethnic factors have, to date, received least attention in the literature of housing and urban development in India. Therefore, ethnic and cultural dimension of this study should become a high priority for future research about housing in India and particularly in the communal disturbed cities of Hyderabad, Delhi, Lucknow and Ahmedabad.

There are various directions in which research about ethnicity and housing could go, two of which follow directly from this study. The first is to assess the extent of ethnic segregation in the cities of India. In the past all the cities founded by the moghuls were segregated according to the ethnic background. Evidence of this segregation remain in almost all the Indian cities. The dominated community either Hindus or Muslims tend to be concentrated in the centre of the cities. Another type of ethnic segregation now exists in Indian cities which have experienced dramatic growth in the twentieth century. Mass migration to the metropolitan cities has tended to increase ethnic diversity and residential
segregation as migrants are often from completely distinct cultural backgrounds to the city natives. This is particularly pronounced in capital cities or those that are developing rapidly as migrants come from many different parts of the country.

Research about the impact of both these processes upon the ethnic residential patterning in Indian cities is long overdue. A second ethnic avenue to explore concerns the impact of ethnicity upon access to housing resources. The thesis has attempted to bring forth the issue of ethnicity and housing tenure for a comparative study with the other cities in India. In short, is communal discrimination discernible in access to housing resources and if so how does it operate? This requires gathering data about the residential histories of different ethnic groups in a city to see whether one group is notable advantaged or disadvantaged. Explaining any differences, if they exist, requires a comparison of socio-economic characteristics, stage in the domestic cycle, migrant status, cultural background and the organisational resources of the different ethnic/cultural groups. Such research would provide insight as to whether the basis of ethnic disadvantage is essentially economic, social, cultural, political or a combination of all these factors. This would be particularly valuable in policy formulation if the aim was to eliminate ethnic differences in housing provision.

8.4.2. ORGANISATIONAL RESOURCES AND ACCESS TO HOUSING:

Whereas there are many comparisons about differences between households in terms of income level, household size, structure and age, very little consideration
has been given to organisational resources. The impact that these less concrete resources have upon household's social network has important implications for its access to housing. Length of residence is particularly important as recently arrived migrants, in general, have more restricted networks than the city-born. The former are often forced to walk the streets in search of accommodation, whereas the latter are usually able to find suitable accommodation through their networks. Ownership becomes more attainable the longer one has spent in the city. Households of long standing can plan to purchase a plot several years before they actually want one, thus ensuring they have the requisite savings at the desired time. In cities where squatting is common they are particularly advantaged as their larger information networks mean that they have many more opportunities to become involved than newly-arrived migrants.

Identity is also an important organisational resource as it is a major determinant of one's social network. It may take several forms: occupational, religious, political and ethnic. In Hyderabad, a man who identifies as an active party worker of the ruling party may get access faster in the unauthorised settlement. Although this thesis has incorporated ideas about organisational resources and access to housing, it does not describe the actual networks through which they operate. What is required from a future research project is qualitative network analysis of a small number of case histories. Who does the household know, how well do they know them and what do they learn from them. This thesis has proven that social networks are important in the allocation of housing - who you know may
be more relevant than how much money you have when acquiring a plot. Non-owners generally find a dwelling to rent through personal contact, and news of an imminent unauthorised occupation of public/private land is spread only through contact. What is now needed is research to unravel the social networks to know precisely who tells what to whom as this has important implications for the allocation of housing resources.

8.5. IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY FORMULATION:

The policy implications are along an evolutionary path of gradual changes. An evaluation of the past policies on low-income households in Hyderabad could fill dozens of dissertations. My doubts about it were not the main reasons for this focus, the main reason being conceptual.

The conceptual reasons are in the differentiation between the streamlining and structural changes.

Streamlining changes, however big they may be in quantitative terms, are the changes that eliminate inconsistencies and bottlenecks in the present system, while retaining all its basic qualitative characteristics in a more stable form.

Structural changes, even if quantitatively small, produce qualitative changes in the basic nature of the system and have a potential for generating or at least
facilitating further changes.

Structural changes, at any level, usually include changes in the distribution of control and decision power. The changes can be centralizing or decentralizing in character. Decentralizing changes by definition increase local control and autonomy of action.

The increased autonomy of local governments is an example of a structural change. It automatically reduces their dependence on large institutions and businesses, which, in most cases, reduces exploitation. In the housing field, the self-help process is an example of autonomous action. The process still has many dysfunctions, but all of them are related to its dependency on large institutions or monopolistic markets.

Proponents of self-help in general agree on the basic long term objective of improving the living conditions of the poor. Evidence indicates, however, that revolutions were never carried out by the undernourished and homeless, but rather by a little better off strata of the low-income population (Sudra, 1976). The poorest are too absorbed in the fight for their own physical survival.

In other income levels, political radicalism seems to be a variable independent of income.
If these observations are correct, both groups of change oriented professionals should agree, at least on a short-term basis, on desirability of working for the improvement of the living conditions of the poor.

The second frequently raised and related issue is that of the relation between housing and poverty.

The argument is that the housing deficiencies of the poor are only a symptom of their general poverty, and as long as poverty persists, housing policies are irrelevant.

My argument is that the deficiencies of the low-income housing system are both a symptom and a cause.

In the very simple model, it can be said that the low-income population is being exploited in two principal ways:

i. As producers and suppliers of goods and services - by low payments or by being unemployed, and by unfavourable terms of exchange in general.

ii. As consumers or users of goods and services - by very high prices and conditions, and again, unfavourable terms of exchange.

Both these exploitations also apply to housing. It is seen as the decapitalization of the poor as users of housing, housing is one more barrier against the possible
improvement of the family's socio-economic situation. The main disadvantages of the housing system, such as overpayments is a barrier. The land market, the market of construction materials, higher subsistence and transportation costs in the periphery are only a few of the ways in which housing becomes an important decapitalization channel for the poor.

The logical following issue is that of housing policy goals. In the light of the earlier discussion, the improvement of housing conditions alone is not a sufficiently complete objective. Equally or probably more important are two other goals, assisting the socio-economic upward mobility of those affected by the given policy and contributing towards structural changes in the society for a better distribution of the decision-making process, wealth and opportunities.

The last main policy issue is operational - the choice of areas and instruments of intervention, and the definition of the appropriate roles of public planning and of the appropriate functions of planning professionals.

8.5.1. URBAN GROWTH AND MIGRATION:

Hyderabad's urban growth has been increasing at a very fast pace during the last two decades. According to the latest census of India 1992, Hyderabad is the fifth largest city in India with a population of over 4 million. The majority of the low-income population (both migrants and city-born) has a decreasing chance of being
absorbed by the city's economy, but as indicated by the interviews and case study data, the city is considered as the location of the best economic opportunities.

Restricting future growth would mean setting up of secondary urban centres which could be an alternative for the economic and residential activities. I would not be suggesting alternative strategies, as the focus of the dissertation is narrower, and the field work did not have this focus.

However, it appears that the future growth forecasts, based on the past trend, are not unavoidable, and that the excessively costly further growth of Hyderabad can be slowed down. It also suggests the very high importance of information about opportunities at other locations.

The government of Andhra Pradesh has taken numerous measures in arresting the growth of Hyderabad city. A number of programmes have been framed and some have been experimented. These efforts are, however, very partial, and the primacy of Hyderabad city is still increasing.

An important finding of the thesis, related to migration into the city, is that the improvement of housing conditions does not seem to invite increased migration. It is possible, however, that the general direction of housing policy may have an important impact on the migration flow.
During the study, it was found that all the labour employed by the owner-builders was local from the same settlements, usually the owner-builder of a similar years of urban experience (usually long standing in the city). There are no new migrants attracted by the improvement of the squatter settlements.

8.5.2. LAND MARKET AND THE URBAN GROWTH PATTERN:

The study has confirmed that land is the single most important resource input into housing.

The case studies and interviews suggest two kinds of policy implications: those related to general land use planning and urban growth patterns, and those more specific on the tenure arrangements, cost, and location of plots for low-income housing construction.

In terms of spatial pattern, two important trends were found: the beginning of metropolitan decentralization through the creation of the first strong sub-centres in the periphery, and progressive homogenization of large areas of the city in terms of class stratification and land use type. My analysis of the field data suggests that the first development has a very positive potential and should be accelerated. The second trend has a very negative impact on the low-income population. However this can be achieved in smaller groupings and not, as at present, by dividing the city into homogenous income and land use areas.
numbering hundreds of acres.

A pattern of development with a higher degree of metropolitan nucleation and a higher diversity of land uses and income mixes can be promoted in a number of ways, such as: fiscal incentives, service provision, direct control of land and its conditional leasing to investors or other uses, and, finally, through direct construction.

Tenure insecurity in the unauthorised settlements is an important disadvantage, but it lowers the prices and protects the land from being bought out by real estate speculators or directly by the middle class. The problem of land speculation is more complex. Its two main impacts are the too high prices of land and the middle-class take over of better low-income areas. They are most visible on the periphery where there is the most rapid development and most intensive land speculation. They are equally important, however, in the earlier urbanized areas and even in the central parts of the city.

An observation of the process of land speculation suggests two kinds of possible markets instruments: fiscal mechanisms as disincentives against speculation and an increase of the competitive supply. The fiscal mechanism should also assure that the increased value created by society will benefit the whole society and not only selected individuals.
The most feasible competitive supply of land may come from the land owned by the government. It seems very important, however, to maintain the social control of this land and not to return it to the free market for a number of reasons. Keeping prices low and protecting the poor from being bought out by the middle-class is one reason. The other is in order to maintain more control over the land use pattern and its possible future changes.

For that purpose, it would be necessary to develop a new legal principle for urban communal property. In order to reduce possible speculation, land should be available for owner-occupiers only. The tenure form should give the users security of their investment and the right of continued use by their children in the years to come.
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APPENDIX - I

METHODOLOGY

The research began in October 1989. The first one year was spent here at the Development Planning Unit, University College, London in preparation for 4 - 6 months of field work. During this period, a review of the literature was done and the research proposal formulated and refined. Hyderabad was then selected for the research study.

The decision to carry out the fieldwork in Hyderabad was made in response to identifying a gap in literature on the secondary metropolitan cities in India. In particular, there was very little study done on Hyderabad which is the fifth largest metropolitan city in India according to the 1991 census. Research into a previous understudied area, however has inherent problems because of a major cause of academic neglect is that very poor data is available. The lack of material was a source of endless frustration in the field and made it necessary to collect personally elementary data about the city. Even where information existed it was difficult to locate in the administrative chaos caused by the communal riots in the city during the fieldwork.

Finally, a questionnaire outline and field methodology was formulated here in London on the basis of several discussions held with the supervisor and others.
involved in the similar kind of research with which the research was linked. Once in Hyderabad, the methodology was further refined to suit local conditions, and added to as the research generated its own momentum. The strategy involved a thorough examination of residential location of low-income households in Hyderabad using contextual analysis, statistical data and individual case studies. The following is the account of the research methodology:

**Contextual Analysis: The evolution of the city and the land market:**

A study of the growth of Hyderabad was required to place the tenure structure of the city in context. Moreover and understanding of the evolution of the city from socio-political perspective, formed part of the research proposal in its own right. Of particular interest was the manner in which the urban area has expanded as a result of the migratory flow, the response of the planners to this process, and the effect of this growth on the tenure structure. Has city's growth been the result of careful planning or slums and squatter settlements. Had changes in the land market directly affected tenure structure.

Background information was obtained from the previous studies that exist, informal interviews with officials and academicians, (local experts) such as heads of the planning departments (both in the urban development authority and the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad), maps showing the expansion of the urban area, plans of the city and the census material. Using this information it was
possible to map the emergence of settlements, the socio-economic status of study settlements, the tenure structure in the settlements and the city.

**The Land Market:** An exact (accurate) picture of the land market over the last 15 years was required to examine its influence on tenure structure. Of specific interest was the changing accessibility of land over time to the low-income population.

The interviews with the decision-makers and leaders of the settlements, as well as numerous journeys by bus and scooter from the city to all four corners of the periphery of the city, provided information about the growth of, and current settlement patterns in the city. A history of the settlement formation was gathered from several sources. There is very little material available on occupation of these settlements other than an occasional reference in general at the city level. More information were the testimonies of the local experts and leaders in the settlements.

Data concerning land prices and unauthorised occupation of land were very limited. As such there is no specific record on land prices (Market) in Hyderabad. Various local leaders and people who had settled three decades ago in these settlements were consulted and then recorded. No statistics were available to assess the extent to which land in Hyderabad has been a source of investment, so I was forced to rely on subjective information from various experts
and local people.

**Interview with leaders:** In Hyderabad there are various forms of community organisation. Major political parties are represented in these settlements and most of the time the members of the ruling party (presently congress) who acquire and distribute land to the low-income households in return for political support. Both political and other organisations working in the settlements pressurise the officials to get pattas (legal titles and other infrastructural facilities) to the residents in these settlements. The leaders of these organisation were interviewed about settlement histories, population and services. The aim was two fold: first to understand the process of the low-income unauthorised settlement formation and second to identify settlements which would be suitable for the household survey. Having obtained the map of the settlements from the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, the poorer settlements were identified by travelling widely around the city and finally eight settlements were selected for study covering all parts of the city. The settlement leaders were contacted who supplied me with the other leaders in the settlement and invited me to address a meeting to introduce myself to them and to explain about my work. All the households were, willing to assist me and provided vital information about the origin, population, tenure structure of the settlements for which no data exists and the reason for selecting this settlement as their residential location. This provided information about their growth and the city and enabled the selection of settlements in which the household survey was finally conducted.
Household Survey: The aim of the survey was to obtain information about the origins, socio-economic characteristics, housing strategies, residential location and other infrastructural facilities. More specifically, the questionnaire sought information on the following issues:

i. Migration and intra-urban mobility patterns of the households.

ii. The relationship between employment, income, age, tenure and residential location.

iii. Strategies for attaining home-ownership, how had owners acquired their houses.

iv. The physical conditions of the dwellings.

iv. The reasons for choosing the residential location.

Settlement Selection: The central aim of the questionnaire was to collect data with which to compare owners and tenants, so it was decided to stratify the survey sample into the two principal tenure groups. Respondents were selected from the two lists (owners and renters respectively) in each settlement rather than randomly selected from one list of all tenure types. This stratification effectively doubled the sample size, so that, in the first instance, the number of settlements studied was restricted to six to keep the total number of interviews within manageable limits. Later another three settlements were included as time was available and it added to the depth of the research.

The following criteria was used to select the settlements: income level, age and
size of the settlement. The investigation specifically concerns the low-income population, so high and middle income areas were eliminated. Selection was restricted as far as possible to uniformly low-income settlements which were classified according to service levels. To examine the inter-relationship of the settlement age and tenure structure, I aimed to select one which were found at least 15 years ago.

**Sampling:** Central to the process of calculating sample size was the wish to make the sample as representative as possible, and the need to keep the number of interviews to manageable proportions. To contain the number within the manageable limits, 35 households from each settlement were selected for household interviews (10 per cent of the sample), making the final total to 280. All the household were numbered according to tenure, and the requisite number of selected randomly. When the designated household was unavailable for interview, it was substituted by the next number on the list. Each household was visited two to three times before being excluded.

**The interviewing:** The organisation of the questionnaire was designed to gather the basic information from all respondents, and to encourage more detailed data from those who were willing to supply it. The first part was designed to collect readily quantifiable data about household structure, residence, income, plot, and other services. The second and third part for owners and renters was looser in its structure to elicit more detailed responses. A copy of the questionnaire is
included in appendix two. The draft questionnaire was amended in Hyderabad after gaining greater familiarity with the target groups and areas, and administering a small pilot survey. The questionnaire was simplified and reframed with some changes. The interview time varied enormously taking from 45 - 60 minutes.

One person was interviewed in each household. To avoid gender bias in the sample, the interviews were conducted irrespective of the head of the household being male or female, as the survey was primarily concerned with the household rather than the individual, it was felt that where there was both a woman and husband in a household, either would be satisfactory informants. The questions concerning individual migration and residential history were asked of both the woman and man, and if one was absent the informant provided this information about the spouse.

Great majority of respondents were welcoming once they had satisfied themselves that I was not an official from the government department, and would often treat me with a cup of tea. In total, there were hardly any people refused to respond. A handful of the more confident ones were recorded. Unfortunately, the recordings were not of a good quality due to various disturbances in the house. The majority of the questions were, however, readily understood and answered by the informants in Telugu and Urdu (local languages). I had to translate and write them in English. In all the interviews in all the eight settlements took about
four and a half months.

**Recording and Analysis:** All questionnaires were checked and general observations added within 24 hours. The coding of the questions was done immediately after the survey was conducted for a settlement and the data entered in Dbase III in Hyderabad. These data were analyzed using SPSS statistical package and EPI Info packages. Qualitative data from the questionnaire which it was not possible to code extracted and classified with the other data generated using the techniques described below.

**Case Studies and other methods:** Residence changes had been logged in the questionnaire, but the individual case studies were included in the methodology to add flesh to the bare statistics. They give a more profound and detailed picture of residential mobility, tenure change, different housing strategies and their priorities and preferences.

The interviewees were selected carefully keeping in view the households period of stay in the settlements. Two households from each settlement were included making a total of sixteen, most of whom had already taken part in the household survey. Respondents were asked about all the residences that they had lived in since their arrival in the city and back home. Following Rossi's (1955) classic study about residential mobility and family life-cycle, questions covered various aspects, in particular the respondent's stage in the domestic cycle, how they found
dwellings and why they left them, and how housing was related to general survival strategies. Each interview was semi-structured but informants were encouraged to talk about any aspect of their housing they considered important. Usually during the later stage of each interview, the respondents largely dictated the pace and the content. The length of each interview varied from over 60 - 90 minutes.

The residential histories provided valuable information about personal histories, specifically how the individual operates within the constraints imposed by the land market. They showed how priorities and strategies change over time. The interviews also occasionally elicited information which had not been forthcoming in the questionnaire, in particular their transition to ownership.
## APPENDIX - II

### QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name of the settlement : 
2. Name of the owner/renter : 
3. H.No. and Address : 
4. Date of interview : 
5. Length of the interview : 
6. Name of the interviewer : 

1Q. Who lives in this house and what is their relation to the household head?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RELATION</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>AGE</th>
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</table>
02. Is this dwelling yours or rented?
   1. Owned.
   2. Rented.
   3. Others (Specify).

03. Where did you live before coming to the city?

04. The year of first arrival and residence in the city?

05. Age on migration to the city.

06. Who did you arrive with?
   1. Spouse.
   2. Children.
   3. Parents.
   4. Friends.

If you have arrived alone, did your family join you later? Yes / No.
If Yes when did they arrive.
07. Did anyone help you with accommodation when you and your family arrived? Yes / No.

If Yes who helped you and how?

1. Parents.
2. Relatives.
3. Friends.
4. Others (Specify).

08. How many houses have you changed when you were alone / with family after your arrival in the city till today and reasons for choosing the house / location and what advantages and disadvantages it has.

1. Present House : Reason
   Settlement : 
   Tenure : 
   Dates : 
   House Type :

2. Penultimate : 

3. Prepenultimate :
4. First Residence

09. Did you try elsewhere? Yes / No.
   If Yes, what were the reasons.

10. Who are the people in the family who are currently working and what do they do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location of work</th>
<th>Weekly/monthly and distance</th>
<th>wages</th>
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10. How long have you been in each job? (specify the time in each job)

11. What is the mode of transport you use for travelling to the work places.

12. Do you have any other source of income? Yes / No.
   If Yes what source and how much per month.

13. What security do you have for the job.

14. Do you want to stay permanently here or planning to move out in the next 2 to 3 years? Yes / No.
   If Yes, Why? reasons for moving.
15. Do any other people live in this building / plot? Yes / No.

If yes, how many.

are they owners or renters.

16. What infrastructure facilities do you have, legally / illegally?

1. Water.

2. Electricity.

3. Others.

17. General comments on the household and interview?
OWNERS

01. How did you obtain this dwelling / plot?
   1. Squatting.
      01. Agent.
      02. Broker.
      03. Previous owner.
   2. Illegal Sub-divisions.
      01. Agent / Broker.
      02. Developer.
      03. Previous owner.

03. Do you own any other dwellings / plot? Yes / No.
   If Yes, where?
   1. within the settlement.
   2. in the city.
   3. in the periphery.

04. Why did you have an extra dwelling / plot?
   1. to rent.
   2. to sell.
   3. to move into the house in future.
   4. to sell when the premium is high.
05. Age on attaining ownership of dwelling / plot.

06. During the transition to ownership, were there changes in your households?

1. Had you got married.

2. Had the size of the structure of the household changed.

3. Had you and your households change occupation or income.

4. Were there any other important changes.
01. How many years have you been living independently or with friends, relatives and others since you have arrived in the city.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>YEARS</th>
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02. Including this house, how many dwellings have you changed in the city. What were the reasons for changes.

1. Location nearer to employment.
2. Closer to infrastructure facilities.
3. Cheap rent.

03. How much rent do you pay monthly.

04. Do you pay extra for water, electricity or does it include in the rent.
05. How did you find this dwelling?
   (Note down full story of search for accommodation noting sources and individuals used).

06. Did you know the landlord before becoming a tenant here? Yes/No.
   If Yes, what is the relationship.

07. Do you intend to buy a house / plot? Yes / No.
   If Yes, where do you want to buy the house / plot.

   LOCATION    REASONS
   
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
08. How much can you afford to spend for buying a plot.

09. Are you ready to buy a plot away from the place of employment?
   Yes / No.
   If Yes, specify reasons.

10. Did you ever tried to purchase a house / plot? Yes / No.
    If Yes, what went wrong (reasons).