

SOCIAL PROFILES OF A METROPOLIS

*Social and Economic Structure of Lucknow
Capital of Uttar Pradesh, 1954-56*

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

and

BALJIT SINGH

With a Note on Fertility by

J. N. SINHA



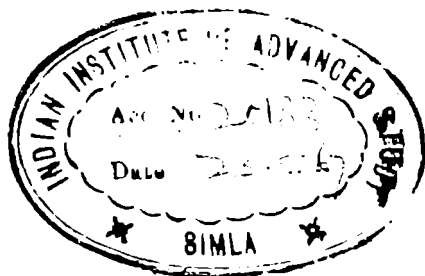
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SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE
OF LUCKNOW CITY SURVEY

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THE Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission sanctioned financial assistance for this survey of the Social and Economic Structure of the City of Lucknow early in 1954.

Field survey was conducted between April 1954 and June 1955 with the assistance of field staff selected from among the post-graduate research students of Economics and Sociology. It was throughout supervised by two Supervisors namely Dr. G. R. Madan and Dr. T. K. Majumdar. They were responsible for checking the data collected by the field investigators and preparation of certain preliminary reports. Both Dr. Madan and Dr. Majumdar also collected the available secondary data and prepared notes on their basis.

Field data was tabulated according to an approved tabulation scheme by the Statistical Assistants under the supervision of Dr. Madan and Dr. P. N. Kaul who replaced Dr. Majumdar at this stage. They also prepared the preliminary draft notes on the basis of this data for various sections of the report.

Dr. Sri Dhar Misra was responsible for a check-up of the draft notes prepared by the Supervisors for Part I.

The note on fertility pattern of the city that forms Part II of the Report was prepared by Dr. J. N. Sinha on the basis of the data furnished by the field team and the statistical section.

We alone, however, are responsible for the overall design, supervision and conduct of the survey as well as for the final form of the Report.

We would like to place on record here our obligation to all the members of the field team and those associated with us in this project, in particular to Dr. G. R. Madan, Dr. T. K. Majumdar and Dr. P. N. Kaul. Above all we are grateful to the Research Programmes Committee for having placed a suitable grant at our disposal to complete this project. Finally we wish to express here our appreciation for the fine work done by our Office Staff as well as to our publishers for bringing out the publication in its present form.

Lucknow
15 August 1961

R.K.M.
B.J.S.

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THE CITY AND ITS CIVIC AMENITIES

LUCKNOW with a population of 4.96 lakhs in 1951 was ranked as the second largest city of the State of Uttar Pradesh. It is the capital of the State. A legend associates this city to the name of Lakshmana, the younger brother of the hero of the Hindu epic Ramayana. Historically its origin can be traced more definitely to the medieval period and the local site seems to have been fairly occupied by the beginning of the 14th century. The Mughal emperor Akbar is stated to have given Lucknow and its surrounding areas to one Abdul Rahim, as a *jagir*.

The town, however, grew only after the middle of the 18th century when the nawabs of Avadh shifted their court from Faizabad to this place. It was really founded as a city only as late as 1775 by the fourth nawab of Avadh, Asaf-ud-doulah when he made this change. The city continued to be the seat of the court of nawabs of Avadh for nearly eighty years when the last nawab was deposed by the British in 1856.

The British governors feared this "rebel" city for more than half a century and stayed farther away at Allahabad. But they could not escape for ever the dynamics of Lucknow and the city again emerged out during the first quarter of the present century as the *de facto* capital of the State. It was left to Sir Harcourt Butler to proclaim this emergence in 1922 by laying down the foundation stone of the Council House in Hazratganj. *De jure* recognition of the *de facto* character of the city as the capital of the State was almost the first act of the peoples' government after Independence.

The city is thus hardly two hundred years old and is marked by narrow streets and blind alleys. At the same time there are a number of parks and palaces. The city has been described, due to its innumerable parks and avenues, as the garden city. It was reported that one out of every five streets of the city had a park or open space. The total area occupied by these open spaces was reported as 1,057 acres, i.e. 2.25 acres per thousand persons and planners were reported to have drawn out blue prints for adding another 1,775 acres.

Some of the parks as the Aminabad Park and the Amin-ud-daulah Park are located just in the centre of the market. Many parks and gardens occupy more than 50 acres or even 100 acres. The Sikandar Bagh covering 63 acres is now the first National Botanical Garden of India with its excellent herbarium, fern-houses and nurseries. The Banarsi Bagh is an open air Zoological Garden, where tigers, panthers and rhinoceros roam almost in their natural habitats, and a serpentarium, the first of its kind has recently been added. The other notable parks and gardens having beautiful lawns and the well known Lucknow cannas, crotons, roses, chrysanthemums are in the Dilkusha, La Martiniere Park, Victoria Park and Kaiserbagh.

Lucknow has beautiful markets too. No less than 54 markets were reported in the city and these vary in their shopping structure from the mid-18th century pattern at Chowk to the modern market at Hazratganj to which have recently been added two new blocks, the Halwasiya and the Bhopal House Markets. At Chowk one can purchase the artistic *Chikan* of Lucknow, gold and silver embroidered garlands, the Zari and Kamdani works, the Bedari works and the famous Lucknow perfumes, the "Khus", "Fitna" and the "Lady of the Night". Aminabad was built by Amin-ud-doulah, the minister of Nawab Amjad Ali Shah who ruled between 1842 to 1847. Close to it is the Kaiserbagh, that has been described as "the largest, gaudiest and most debased of all the Lucknow palaces". Hazratganj with its numerous book stalls, coffee houses and fashionable shops is a popular evening resort of the young and the intellectuals alike.

The city population has increased rather rapidly during the last few decades. At the beginning of the century, i.e. 1901, it had a population of 2,56,000. By 1921 this had declined to 2,41,000 but then increased to 2,74,000 by 1931 and then to nearly 5,00,000 by 1951. The number of streets, *mohallas* and alleys had hardly increased in this proportion, so that congestion must have obviously increased tremendously during the last two decades.

According to information available at the time of the present investigation, nearly a fourth of its residential area was reported to be consisting of workers' *basties*, but the bulk of its localities, nearly 74 per cent, was reported to be occupied by the middle classes.

It was also reported that the city has been constantly moving to the east with a change in the location of the government houses

and buildings. During the last quarter of the 18th century when the city was being founded, the early nawabs of Avadh patronised the Chowk area in the west. By the middle of the 18th century the nawab had shifted to Kaiserbagh and his wazir built the new market at Aminabad, both of which now lie in the middle of the city. The British government shifted its seat to east in Hazratganj. This has been followed by a decline of the land value and decay in the western part of the city, while the east has gained. Many of the streets in the western zone, now present a desolate appearance, while new upper middle class cottages and bungalows are being added to the eastern zone.

RESIDENTIAL AND NON-RESIDENTIAL AREAS

The city comprises of eight wards enclosing five hundred and sixteen geographically compact blocks or localities known as *mohallas*. At an average a *mohalla* contains 200 to 250 households. An ecological survey was conducted in all the 516 blocks or *mohallas* in connection with the present investigation. It was revealed that 82 per cent of all *mohallas* were residential and only a few, i.e. 18 per cent or 92 in all, were non-residential. A block was classified as residential if its buildings were used mainly for residential purposes. It has been classified as non-residential if the ground floor in the majority of those buildings is mainly used for non-residential purposes. Certain wards have very few non-residential *mohallas*, while others have a larger proportion of non-residential localities. The former lie to the west of the town and as one moves towards the east the proportion of non-residential localities increases.

NON-RESIDENTIAL LOCALITIES

The non-residential localities have been further classified into trading, industrial and others. The last category includes offices, courts, educational institutions, parks and open spaces including grave yards, etc. The city has very few industrial areas and out of the eight wards industries have been found to be located only in three. Fifty-four out of the 92 non-residential localities are classified as trading and these are mainly clustered round the three important marketing centres in the city. One lying to the west, and being the oldest is the Chowk, the other lying in the centre, namely the

Aminabad, and the third, the modern, lying in the east, is Hazratganj. These three constitute the three hubs of the city.

CLASS SEGREGATION IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

The residential localities have been classified on the basis of the class of its residents. An area having the appearance of a slum or near slum conditions has been classified as a workers' *basti*, while localities having upper and upper middle class houses ranging from modern flats to spacious bungalows have been classified as upper and upper middle class *mohallas*. In between these two extremes are the residential areas of the middle classes, that have been further divided into two categories. Firstly, there are the localities inhabited by persons in various professions living in small *pucca* houses or in semi-detached cottages or quarters. *Mohallas* with such houses have been classified as middle class localities. Secondly, there are the mixed *mohallas* where the unskilled workers and the technicians, foremen and mistries and people from the lower middle class such as clerks and school teachers may be living together. Such localities are characterised by housing pattern in which a single house building often accommodates several families although each family may have independent rooms to itself.

On the basis of such classification it has been found that there is a marked class segregation in residential areas. About 28 per cent of the total residential localities give little access to workers or persons in the lower middle class. These are mainly the residential areas of upper, upper middle and middle middle classes. Another 26 per cent of the localities comprise the workers' *basties*, with deplorable housing and approaching slum conditions. Most of the localities of the upper and upper middle classes are in the civil lines area of Hazratganj ward that lies in the east of the city and where most of the government buildings are located. In the old part of the city that lies to the west are located the residences of the lower middle class people and the workers' *basties*.

CASTE SEGREGATION

The various localities in the city have also been classified on caste basis. A locality may be a single caste or community locality, if more than 70 per cent of its residential houses are occupied by

single caste or community. It may be mixed if it is not so. For such classification the lower castes were all grouped into one. It has been found that there is a caste segregation in residential areas and it is particularly pronounced in the mixed middle and low class areas.

The lower castes are often segregated and even within the upper and intermediate castes there is segregation and this must be a factor in aggravating casteism and communalism.

Out of the 44 upper and upper middle class localities 9 or 20 per cent are classified as single caste or community localities. The proportion of such single caste or community localities increases to nearly 27 per cent in case of middle class localities, and rises further to 40 per cent in case of the mixed localities housing lower middle classes and workers. In case of the workers' *basti*, segregated localities of single caste or community account for nearly 80 per cent of the total. Even in those localities which are not predominantly inhabited by a single caste or community, particular caste group predominates. Thus one third of the residential *mohallas* are inhabited mostly by the upper caste groups, nearly 29 per cent by the Muslims, 24 per cent by the lower castes and 16 per cent by the intermediate castes. Caste segregation is practised most against the lower castes and in this respect the Muslims are more catholic than the Hindus. The Muslims predominate in 120 localities but in as many as 68 per cent of these, persons of the lower income groups and engaged in the so called lowly professions, also live.

THE CENTRAL ZONES

No one centre can be located round which the city might have grown. On the other hand we find three distinct centres, viz. the Chowk in the west, Aminabad in the centre and Hazratganj in the east, round which the city life revolves.

1. *Chowk*

The Chowk is the oldest part of the city and as such shows the pattern of development of an old city. It was founded by the earlier nawabs of Avadh and developed round its main market known as Chowk Bazar consisting of a long street running from Akbari Darwaza to Gol Darwaza. Here are the shops of the jewellers and the trinket dealers, of those dealing in *chickan* or

Lucknow embroidery work, local perfumes and the tobacconists. The first part of this street has the *srafa*, the bullion market, and on the first floor of the latter part of this street were the brothels. There is a big vegetable market, some provision stores, shoe-making workshops and leather goods dealers on Tulsi Das Marg. A little further we have the Nakkhas, the weekly market for second hand goods on Sundays. Mahboobnagar with *kachha-pucca* structures and scattered shops for sweets, pan, tobacco, vegetable and tailoring, etc. represents a semi-village life.

The well-to-do sections of the community have their houses near the market. As we move from the centre to the periphery, housing standard deteriorates, merging gradually into the slums of Mahboobganj, Sarai Malikhan, Bilochpura and Ashrafabad, that represent the farthest end of the zone. The area of influence of the Chowk bazar comprises the wards of Daulatganj, Saadatganj and Chowk and a part of the Hasanganj Ward.

2. *Aminabad*

Aminabad is the nerve centre of the whole city and the main quarter of retail business. It is from Aminabad that roads lead to all corners of the city. The lines of communication intersect and people from all walks of life and from all corners of the city throng here for their shopping.

In this area are located the shops of cloth merchants, general merchants, stationery marts, footwear stores, tobacco and betel merchants, watch repairers, book-sellers, cheap restaurants, leather goods dealers and tailors along the Kaiserbagh circus, vegetable and fruit market, slaughter house, welders, musical instrument repairers and hardware merchants on La-Touche Road and milk and milk products sellers on the Sri Ram Road.

The zone of transition, lying near the business district comprise of Nazirabad, Ghasiari Mandi, Maqboolganj, Molvigantj and Chik Mandi inhabited by the mixed middle and lower classes. These exhibit symptoms of deterioration and at the same time reveal certain focii of growth. With an expansion of business, land in these residential areas is gradually coming under commercial use. Further, the sites in the immediate neighbourhood of the areas of deterioration, such as Nazarbagh, Model House, Ganeshganj, Raniganj have been developed and occupied by middle class people. As this part of the city shows both modern trends in urbanisation

and old pattern of the city development, it does not strictly follow the concentric pattern of expansion. Along Ganga Prasad Road which is away from the business centre, middle and poor classes are so mixed up that it becomes difficult to place the streets and sites here in any particular class. Fatehganj, a lower middle class area, is situated at a farther distance from the central business district than Model House, a middle class area. The area of influence of Aminabad comprises of the wards of Wazirganj, Yahiaganj and Ganeshganj.

3. *Hazratganj*

Hazratganj is the modern part of the city which is still developing and conforms to the concentric pattern of expansion of modern cities.

The focal point of all activities in this zone is Hazratganj Bazar itself. The chief economic activity of Hazratganj is its banking, financial and insurance business. The other important services provided are, bars, hotels and restaurants of western style and coffee houses. The stores, supplying most up-to-date fashionable goods are found here. Silk and woolen stores, cloth houses, hosiery emporiums, chemists, druggists, opticians, general merchants, high class tailors and fashionable dressing saloons, are here to satisfy the requirements of the rich and fashionable people. The business in more durable goods such as radios, electric goods, type-writers, cycles and motor cars has established itself at the northern end of Hazratganj. Besides, most of the Government offices, both Provincial and Central, are located in this area.

The area surrounding the central business district consists of Newal Kishore Road, Baraf Khana, Kandhari Bazar, that is inhabited by lower classes and shows characteristics of the zone in transition. The residential areas of Outram Road, Mirabai Marg, and Pirpur Square are the middle class districts. Going still further we have the residential areas of upper and upper middle classes, such as La Place, Shahnajaf Road, Havelock Road, Bandariabagh, New Hyderabad. The area of influence of Hazratganj centre consists of the ward of Hazratganj and a major part of Hasanganj.

THE ZONES OF MARKETING

The marketing districts of the city may be divided into two zones, i.e. (1) retail marketing area and (2) wholesale marketing and

assembling centres. Each of the three central zones, namely, Chowk, Aminabad and Hazratganj around which the entire activity of the city revolves, has its own retail marketing districts along the main streets. With regard to wholesale marketing, there is a differentiation and concentration, for the city taken as a whole. There are, more or less, separate districts for wholesale trading in main commodities, as well as, specialized financial and banking districts, local craftware districts and an industrial district. The position in regard to each one of these is as follows:

(a) *Foodgrains*: Five distinct assembling markets for agriculture produce, particularly foodgrains have been identified in the city. These are : Saadatganj and Daliganj on the periphery of the city and Fatehganj, Rakabganj and Pandeganj in the central zone of the town. Saadatganj market is situated at the western most periphery and is essentially a wholesale grain market. But other agricultural commodities like *ghee*, *gur*, oil and fodder are also brought here for wholesale trading. This market is the largest distribution centre for the entire city and particularly for the Chowk area. Daliganj lies at the border of the central and eastern zones. It opens almost into the countryside and is the chief assembling centre for the produce of the cultivators on the Bara Banki and the Sitapur Road. The other three grain markets, namely, Fatehganj, Rakabganj, and Pandeganj are located in the central zone, and the last two are just near the city railway station. A few wholesale shops for vegetable *ghee* and oil are located very close to the Aminabad market at Sri Ram Road. There is a separate wholesale market for betels at Pandariba, near Charbagh. The milk product *khoa* is also assembled here.

(b) *Cloth and General Merchandise*: For cloth there is no special wholesale market in the city, although some of the shops dealing in wholesale cloth business are concentrated at two points, one in Aminabad near Garbarjhala, and the other in Purana Bazar near Fatehganj. For general merchandise, the wholesale dealers are mostly in a small lane, between Sri Ram Road and Aminabad Park. For several commodities retail and wholesale business is often combined, as for example in hardware goods, paints and building materials. Business in these commodities as well as in electric goods and bicycles is concentrated on the La Touche Road.

(c) *Vegetables and Meat*: There are two main vegetable markets in the city, one Marris Market in Kaiserbagh near the

Aminabad central zone and the other on Victoria Road near the Chowk sub-city. Wholesalers in seeds also cluster round these vegetable markets. There are some slaughter houses for both wholesale and retail business, one for mutton in Chick Mandi in Molviganj, second for beef in Aishbagh and the third in Kaiserbagh, opposite Marris Market.

(d) *Timber and Fuel*: Timber and fuel which are used for consumption purposes have no particular market, but depots are situated just outside the residential localities within easy reach of the dwellers of such areas. For timber used for building purposes there is a separate timber market established by the Improvement Trust along the Canning Street. There is also a separate market for bamboos and articles of wooden material in Bans Mandi.

(e) *Financial and Banking*: Banking also does not come strictly within the marketing zone. But as it has great bearing upon the marketing zone in the modern system, it is appropriate to deal with it here. The joint-stock banks with which the urban business community deals are mostly situated in Hazratganj and Aminabad and the indigenous bankers who deal with rural people are mostly in the old part of the city, i.e. Chowk Bazar.

(f) *Cottage Industries District*: The city is well known for its *chikan* embroidery, *kamdani*, perfumes and tobacco. With the exception of the last article, the main wholesale shops for which are in Aminabad, manufacture and wholesale business of the rest centre in Chowk. Nakhas and Nazirabad are also, in part, the zone of cottage industries, in so far as shoe making on a cottage scale is carried out mainly here.

(g) *Industrial Area*: A separate industrial district at Aishbagh is being developed by the Improvement Trust for the large scale manufacturing industries. It contains some of the main factories of the town and the railway workshop is in its close neighbourhood.

PROVISION OF CIVIC AMENITIES AND SOCIAL SERVICES

The Lucknow Municipality (now a Corporation since 1960) was established nearly a century back in 1864 under the Lucknow Municipality Act, mainly with a view to provide local services. Since then its power and function have been enlarged considerably. Its total revenue (tax and non-tax revenues taken together) has increased from Rs. 2.66 lakhs in 1879-80 to a little more than

Rs. 13 lakhs in 1919-20 and to nearly Rs. 77 lakhs in 1949-50. The per capita municipal income increased from Rs. 1.3 in 1879-80 to Rs. 13.40 in 1949-50. The provision of civic amenities was, however, so inadequate to begin with, that in spite of the vast increase in municipal revenues per capita, their standard still remains at a rather low level and in general the services fall far short of the needs. A second contributory factor in the inadequacy and the low level of municipal services, has been, a doubling of the city population during the last thirty years. In 1920-21 the city had no more than 2,41,000 persons, while in 1951 its population was as high as nearly 5 lakhs.

Figures regarding total and per capita expenditure on various civic services provided by the Municipal Board have registered an upward trend and yet there is little doubt that the standard reached is still very low. In Tables 1 and 2 the relevant figures are given while the actual standard of services is analysed in the subsequent sections.

WATER SUPPLY ARRANGEMENTS

There is a separate department of water supply in the Municipal Board. The water is mainly supplied from the river Gomti through the water works station in Aishbagh area. But in the scarcity areas of Ganeshganj, Trans-Gomti area of New Hyderabad and the area north of Rana Pratap Marg, water supply is supplemented by tube well supply. Out of 516 localities only 346 or 67 per cent of the total have a water main for private water taps in houses. The remaining 33 per cent are served only by public water taps often at a distance of one to two furlongs from the occupied buildings. In particular, there is little or inadequate arrangement for water supply in workers' localities.

LIGHTING ARRANGEMENTS

All the streets in the city do not have electric lights. Out of 516 *mohallas* only 41 per cent have electric lights and in about 30 per cent there is kerosene public light. In another 26 per cent, certain parts of the street are lighted by electricity, the rest by kerosene oil. But in as many as 16 localities which comprise a little more than 3 per cent of the total, there is no public light on the streets

TABLE I

EXPENDITURE AND POPULATION OF THE LUCKNOW MUNICIPALITY, 1900 TO 1958

(Expenditure in rupees)

<i>Year</i>	1901-02	1910-11	1920-21	1930-31	1940-41	1949-50	1957-58
<i>Population</i>	2,56,239	2,52,114	2,40,566	2,74,659	3,87,177	4,96,861	6,03,600 (Estimated)
<i>Heads</i>	<i>Total Expenditure</i>						
Water supply	43,379	1,22,819	2,53,185	3,12,029	5,68,011	16,35,524	45,21,195
Lighting expenditure	11,926	29,413	46,019	1,02,573	1,49,877	1,68,703	4,46,928
Conservancy	94,315	1,47,400	1,69,306	2,33,384	3,26,703	13,24,913	16,37,325
Education	9,652	44,964	1,06,354	1,71,348	2,40,786	10,20,829	14,17,400
Medical	7,160	9,910	1,51,316	57,299	94,351	2,69,675	3,69,655
Total	1,66,432	3,54,506	7,26,180	8,76,633	13,79,728	44,19,644	83,92,503

TABLE 2

POPULATION AND PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE OF THE LUCKNOW MUNICIPALITY, 1900 TO 1958

(Expenditure in rupees)

<i>Year</i>	1901-02	1910-11	1920-21	1930-31	1940-41	1949-50	1957-58
<i>Population</i>	2,56,239	2,52,114	2,40,566	2,74,659	3,87,177	4,96,861	6,03,600
<i>Expenditure per capita in rupees</i>							
Water supply	0.17	0.49	1.05	1.14	1.47	3.30	7.49
Lighting expenditure	0.05	0.12	0.19	0.37	0.39	0.35	0.74
Conservancy	0.37	0.88	0.70	0.85	0.84	2.67	2.71
Education	0.04	0.18	0.44	0.62	0.62	2.05	2.35
Medical	0.03	0.04	0.63	0.21	0.24	0.54	0.61
Total	0.66	1.71	3.01	3.19	3.56	8.91	13.90

whatsoever. Obviously the less lighted and the darker streets are inhabited by the lower castes and classes.

For private lighting purposes the inhabitants of 92 localities out of the 516 localities, i.e. 18 per cent only use electricity alone in their houses, in 49 per cent of the *mohallas* they use electricity or kerosene oil, while in the rest, i.e. 33 per cent of the localities they use oil only. Thus majority of them use oil. This is evident from the following table:

TABLE 3

DOMESTIC LIGHTING ARRANGEMENT IN VARIOUS LOCALITIES
IN THE CITY

<i>Nature of lighting arrangement</i>	<i>Number of localities</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Electric	92	17.83
Kerosene	172	33.33
Both	252	48.84
Total	516	100.00

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

(a) *Public Latrines*: It has been observed that only 14 per cent of the total *mohallas* have public latrines within their own areas. Out of the rest, 34 per cent have these at a distance of less than 1 furlong whereas 52 per cent of the *mohallas* have no arrangements at all. Thus majority of the *mohallas* have no satisfactory arrangements for public latrines.

TABLE 4

BLOCKS HAVING PUBLIC LATRINES

<i>Mohallas having latrines</i>	<i>Number of mohallas</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Within their areas	73	14.15
Within a distance of 1 furlong	173	33.53
At a distance of 1 furlong or more	270	52.32
Total	516	100.00

In the absence of public latrines within the *mohallas*, the poorer section of the community who have no arrangements in their own houses generally use the open spaces for the purpose, polluting the entire area. The Annual Report of the Municipal Board for 1949 rightly adds: "There were only 66 public latrines against 224 required for a population of 4.45 lakhs. A considerable portion of the city's night soil is thus not collected and lying here and there provides fruitful source of fly breeding. Only about 2.5 per cent of the public latrines in the city are on the water carriage system."

(b) *Cleaning Arrangements*: The cleaning arrangements of the streets are in the hands of the Municipal Board which maintains a regular staff for this purpose. Majority of the streets, i.e. 61 per cent of the total are cleaned daily while some of them are cleaned on alternate days, some weekly and some fortnightly according to the importance of those streets. Five per cent of the *mohallas* have no cleaning arrangements at all. The number and percentage of such streets cleaned daily, biweekly or weekly is shown in the following table:

TABLE 5
CLEANING ARRANGEMENTS OF STREETS

	Street Cleaning		Dust heaps clearance.	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Daily	317	61.43	266	51.55
Alternate days	66	12.79	49	9.50
Weekly	54	10.46	71	13.76
Fortnightly	55	10.66	92	17.83
No arrangement	24	4.56	38	7.36
Total	516	100.00	516	100.00

The dust heaps which are formed from the dust and filth collected from the streets, are cleared either daily, on alternate days, weekly or fortnightly. The frequency of such arrangements can be observed from the above table. It is evident that in 51 per cent of the cases, the dust heaps are cleared daily, in 10 per cent on alternate days, in 14 per cent weekly, in 18 per cent fortnightly, whereas

in 7 per cent these are not cleared at all.

It has been further observed that only 64 out of the total of 516 *mohallas*, i.e. 12 per cent have dust-bins where these dust heaps are kept covered, while the rest of the localities, i.e. 88 per cent have no such dust bins within their own premises. This is evident from the following table:

TABLE 6

<i>Mohallas having dust bins.</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Within the area	64	12.40
Within a distance of 1 furlong	119	23.06
At a distance of 1 furlong or more	333	64.54
Total	516	100.00

(c) *Drainage System*: Drainage system is one of the important means of keeping healthy surroundings. With the supply of water to citizens by the public authorities the use of water in houses has increased which necessitates the proper discharge of waste water. However the data reveals an unsatisfactory state of affairs in this direction. Out of the total 516 *mohallas* only 361, i.e. 70 per cent of them have *pucca* drainage system, 15 per cent have *kachcha* drains, while the rest 15 per cent have no arrangements at all.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The data indicates that 138 out of 516, i.e. 26 per cent, *mohallas* have boys' and 62 or 12 per cent *mohallas* have girls' primary schools within their own boundaries. This means that more facilities are provided for boys' education than for girls. It will also be observed that only in 10 per cent of the *mohallas* the boys have to cover more than two furlongs for attending the schools whereas in case of girls, children residing in more than 31 per cent of the localities have to cover more than 2 furlongs. There is one secondary school on an average for nearly 10,000 population.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF MOHALLAS BY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN THEIR PREMISES

	<i>Primary Schools</i>		<i>Secondary Institutions</i>		<i>Colleges</i>			
	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>		
Within the mohallas (One or more than one)	136	26.74	62	12.01	42	8.14	13	2.52
Within a distance of 1 furlong	240	46.51	208	40.32	170	32.94	114	22.09
Within a distance of 2 furlongs	85	16.47	84	16.28	140	27.13	151	29.26
Within a distance of 8 furlongs	7	1.36	31	6.00	39	7.56	78	15.12
At a distance of 1 mile or more	46	8.92	131	25.39	125	24.23	160	31.01
Total	516	100.00	516	100.00	516	100.00	516	100.00

There are 13 colleges in the city, including intermediate and degree colleges and also the University. The colleges are scattered throughout the city, whereas the University is situated in one corner of the city, beyond the Gomti river.

MEDICAL SERVICES

The medical services in the city are provided both by public authorities as well as by private individuals. There are 18 public dispensaries in the city including two big hospitals, the Gandhi Memorial Hospital and the Balrampur Hospital. Out of these 16 dispensaries, 7 are maintained by the Municipal Board, while the rest are maintained by other public institutions like Arya Samaj

Sabha and Ram Krishna Mission. There is one dispensary for 15,000 population. However, the anomaly is that their location is not uniform. Sixty per cent of the *mohallas* are more than half a mile away from these dispensaries.

TABLE 8
DISPENSARIES IN VARIOUS MOHALLAS IN THE CITY

<i>Mohallas having dispensaries</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Within the area	18	3.49
Within a distance of 1 furlong	80	15.50
Within a distance of 2 furlongs	107	20.74
Within a distance of 4 to 8 furlongs	131	25.39
At a distance of more than 1 mile	180	34.88
Total	516	100.00

Besides, there are also 5 maternity centres in the city.

LIBRARIES

The survey reveals that there are only 25 libraries in the city, i.e. one for 18,000 population. This number does not appear to be adequate specially in a city where the percentage of literacy is high.

CINEMAS

There are 14 cinema halls in the city which are situated at different places of the city and provide a modern form of recreation for the dwellers of the city.

PARKS AND OPEN SPACES

Parks and open spaces are not only centres of open air recreations and games but also permit healthy existence of the city and its inhabitants by purifying the air. Thus open spaces have rightly been called the "lungs" of the city. It is fortunate that in this aspect the city has not been neglected and is rightly called the city of gardens. It may be observed from the table given below that there is one park or open space for every 5 localities and nearly

$\frac{1}{3}$ of the total *mohallas* have parks or open spaces within a distance of one furlong. The total area of such spaces and parks has been estimated by the Lucknow Improvement Trust as 1,057 acres, i.e. 2.25 acres per thousand population. This however also includes such open spaces as grave-yards, cemeteries, etc. But, the area mentioned above does not include the open spaces incidentally afforded by the river and its banks which would further increase the area per thousand persons.

TABLE 9
PARKS AND OPEN SPACES IN THE CITY

<i>Mohallas having park or open space</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Within the area	105	20.35
Within a distance of 1 to 2 furlongs	164	31.78
Within a distance of 2 to 4 furlongs	90	17.44
Within a distance of 4 to 8 furlongs	71	13.76
At a distance of more than 1 mile	86	16.67
Total	516	100.00

PLAYGROUNDS

Besides these open spaces there are about 22 playgrounds where games like football, hockey, volley-ball etc. are played. These serve a very useful purpose in developing health and for recreational activities.

TABLE 10
PLAYGROUNDS IN VARIOUS MOHALLAS OF THE CITY

<i>Mohallas having playgrounds</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Within the area	22	4.26
Within a distance of 1 to 2 furlongs	131	25.39
Within a distance of 2 to 4 furlongs	104	20.16
Within a distance of 4 to 8 furlongs	92	17.83
At a distance of more than 1 mile	167	32.36
Total	516	100.00

INDOOR AND OUTDOOR GAMES

There are about 22 outdoor game clubs in the city, which carry on their activities in the various playgrounds or open spaces. The number of such clubs is rather insignificant as compared to other big cities of the country, mainly because of the difference in the nature of the city. As the city is not industrially advanced and people, being less educated, mostly spend their leisure hours either in gossiping in their homes or in religious institutions.

STREETS AND STREET SYSTEM

The utility of streets and the street system in the life of the city can hardly be exaggerated. Upon these two rests the easy direct movement of the people and their distribution and to some extent their health, comfort and economic activity.

There are generally three main types of roads in the city :
(a) Arterials, which form the main arteries of communication in the city. (These include national and provincial highways also.)
(b) Subarterials, connecting the arterial system with the local system.
(c) Local streets, including streets for various local purposes like residential, business, industrial, etc. These generally have no direct connection with the arterial system.

EXISTING ROAD SYSTEM

The arterial system consists of the main roads which connect the Charbagh Railway Station with the various parts of the city via important centres. These roads include Victoria Street, Canning Street, and Napier Street, La Touche Road and the Mall passing through Hazratganj and Council House to the Railway Station. These roads are kept in good condition by the Municipal Board.

LOCAL STREETS

As pointed out above much of the facility of communication and neatness of the city depend upon the structure of its roads. It has been found that only 42 per cent of the localities have *pucca* street roads, 32 per cent have asphalted roads whereas in 26 per cent of the localities the roads are still *kachcha*. The following table summarises these facts:

TABLE II

NATURE OF STREET ROADS IN VARIOUS MOHALLAS OF THE CITY

<i>Nature of streets</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Pucca streets</i>	216	41.86
Asphalted	166	32.17
<i>Kachcha</i>	134	25.97
Total	516	100.00

It has been further observed that the main streets in majority of the *mohallas*, i.e. 59 per cent of the total are not wide enough to allow easy means of transportation.

TABLE 12

MOTORABLE AND NON-MOTORABLE STREETS IN VARIOUS MOHALLAS OF THE CITY

<i>Localities having</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Motorable roads	210	40.70
Non-motorable roads	306	59.30
Total	516	100.00

Similarly there are 22 per cent of the total *mohallas* which have entrance from one side only due to "dead end" streets. This makes the traffic movement difficult and long.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

The means of transport available to the city are automobiles, rickshaws, *tongas*, *ekkas*, local buses, bicycles and bullock-carts. Cheapest form of transportation in the city is rickshaw. For outside communication there are about five railway stations and three bus stands. There are many rickshaw and bus stands in the city and the distance of each form the *mohallas* are given bellow :

TABLE 13
LOCAL BUS AND RICKSHAW OR TONGA STANDS

<i>Distance from the mohalla</i>	<i>Local bus stands</i>		<i>Tonga or Rickshaw stands</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Within the <i>mohalla</i>	57	11.05	50	9.69
1-440 yards	253	49.03	231	44.77
441-880 yards	65	12.60	116	22.48
881 yards-1 mile	26	5.04	55	10.66
More than 1 mile	115	22.28	64	12.40
Total	516	100.00	516	100.00

POST OFFICES AND LETTER BOXES

The survey reveals that the number of post offices in the city is 48. These are well distributed throughout the city and the inhabitants residing in 80 per cent of the localities have to cover less than 2 furlongs to avail of their services. Similar is the position in the case of letter boxes which are easily accessible to the citizens. Thus the position in this respect appears to be satisfactory.

TABLE 14
NUMBER OF POST OFFICES AND LETTER BOXES IN THE CITY

<i>Mohallas having</i>	<i>Post offices</i>		<i>Letter boxes</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Within their areas	48	9.30	170	32.94
Within 1 furlong	244	47.29	202	39.26
Within 2 to 4 furlongs	122	23.64	82	15.80
Within 4 to 8 furlongs	53	10.27	24	4.65
At a distance of above 1 mile	49	9.50	38	7.37
Total	516	100.00	516	100.00

AREAS OF DISPLACEMENT AND DETERIORATION

The areas of displacement and deterioration are those, which are of transitional character, and wherefrom people with better economic position migrate to better places whenever they get opportunities to do so, and they are replaced by people of lower class. There is a gradual deterioration in these areas not only in physical sense in the houses, the streets, the drainage, the ventilation, etc. but there is a social deterioration as well. The ecologists call these areas as "blighted areas". The social deterioration is the natural outcome of physical deterioration though there may be still many decent and honest workmen and families living in their congested tenements.

These areas in modern cities generally tend to be segregated round the central business districts, near the factory areas or along the transportation routes at the outskirts of the city. However, this distribution is also influenced by historical causes. The city of Lucknow, having both the characteristics of modern as well as old style, possesses both types of areas, with which we shall deal separately. The areas of former type are round the central districts of Aminabad and Hazratganj while that of the later type are around the the Chowk sub-city which comprises of Chowk Ward, Saadatganj, Daulatganj and a part of Hasanganj wards.

AREAS OF DETERIORATION AROUND THE BUSINESS CENTRES

The areas which immediately surround the business centres, under Burgess' Concentric Zonal Pattern, are designated as the areas of transition. They are usually the areas of both physical and social deterioration. These residential areas show the heaviest concentration of population mostly of poorer sections, who cannot afford conveyance from distant areas to reach the business districts. Physically the area remains poor because of the ever present possibility of invasion of business, gradually acquiring adjoining land space for commercial and office purposes and also because the estate owners are reluctant to make improvements for fear of changes.

The poverty of such areas is indicated by overcrowding, overhousing, haphazard plan, poor drainage, defective ventilation, narrow street system, etc. These regions are occupied by people of low-income group such as shoe-makers, washermen, rickshaw-

pullers, casual workers, vegetable sellers, petty shop-keepers and low-paid clerks. All these constitute the most mobile section which is always making efforts to rise in the social scale and to move to better residential areas. Such areas are also the victims of such aberrations as delinquency, vice, suicide, mental disorders, alcoholism, divorce, desertion, violence, immorality and disease.

Such areas are found around Aminabad central district in Ghasiari Mandi, Nazirabad, Chik Mandi, Moulviganj, Fatehganj, etc. as well as around Hazratganj on Nawal Kishore Road, Narhi and Udaiganj.

Chowk sub-city as already stated does not follow the same pattern. It is due to the fact that ecologically speaking this area is not a growing organism and business centres do not show a tendency to encroach upon the neighbouring lands. Here, on the other hand, poor class districts are situated away from the business centre for various reasons, and particularly on account of easily available accommodation left by better classes, who tend to move to the middle class suburbs. Pata Nala, Nakhas, Kumbhanagar, Mahboobnagar and Sarai Mali Khan, have marked features of deterioration. Most of these residential units in these localities are in half ruins with weed and grass growing on their walls and roofs. The inhabitants of these areas are mostly labourers working in wholesale grain markets or vegetable markets, *tongawalas*, people employed in home industries such as *kamdani*, shoe-makers, or farm workers.

SLUMS AROUND THE INDUSTRIAL AREAS

The residential areas occupied by the labouring class in modern towns and cities are mostly adjacent to or near the industrial zones. It is to avoid transportation costs, to save time and to work easily in night shifts, where necessary. As the city of Lucknow is not a big industrial city the number of low class areas around the industrial zone, Aishbagh, is not very large. However, there are some small colonies of workers in the Aishbagh industrial area, which have poor sanitary conditions. There are certain workers living in one-room tenement along the Talkatora Road.

SLUMS ALONG TRANSPORTATION ROUTES

There is a tendency among *tongawalas* and rickshaw-pullers to move to the outer periphery of the city in order to take advantage

of cheaper rents. They can also get fodder here easily at cheaper rates from nearby agricultural fields. Such localities are Mansoor Nagar, Saadatganj Road in Kashmiri Mohalla and on Sitapur Road in Daliganj.

Besides the above there are also localities which do not come under the above categories but are affected by historical circumstances. For example, there are areas which were for the personal use of the Nawabs and which, with the ravages of time have deteriorated into merely areas of unprivileged classes, like those of sweepers, shoe-makers, etc., e.g. in Husainabad near Machhi Bhavan. Others are grounds encroached by the city for accommodating poorer section of the people, e.g. Barud Khana, Jaji Khana and Barafkhana. Besides these, there are villages at the outskirts of the city inhabited largely by agricultural people. Such areas are Thakurganj, Hussainabad and Khaws Purwa in Daulatganj ward.

There is another class of slum area in Chowk, which though not inhabited by poor people, is in physically deteriorating condition. It had a haphazard growth in the past with narrow streets and no arrangement for ventilation. Even the middle class locality such as Banwari Gali and Bahron Tola in Chowk Ward hardly enjoy any fresh air or sunshine. The sanitary condition is very bad. The streets are in a zig zag way. The people, though well-to-do, do not move outside due to social ties.

Our survey in which we have studied the changing pattern of each residential block conforms to the above findings. It will be observed from the table given on p. 25 that most of the areas where low class people reside are in deteriorating condition, whereas some of the middle class areas which are in transitional stage are also in deteriorating condition. The people from the latter type of areas move to new middle class localities as soon as they have sufficient means to live there.

The table on p. 25 shows the changing pattern of all types of areas, i.e. upper and upper middle class, middle class, mixed middle class and lower class and exclusively lower class areas.

TABLE 15
CHANGING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESIDENTIAL AREAS

<i>Classes</i>	<i>Growing</i>		<i>Stagnating</i>		<i>Deteriorating</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No. of localities</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No. of localities</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No. of localities</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No. of localities</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Upper and upper middle class	22	35.48	21	9.01	1	0.78	44	10.38
Middle class	18	29.03	51	21.89	5	3.88	74	17.45
Mixed middle and lower class	16	25.81	138	59.23	41	31.78	195	45.99
Lower class	6	9.68	23	9.87	82	63.56	111	26.18
Total	62	100.00	233	100.00	129	100.00	424	100.00

CHAPTER II

MAIN TRENDS IN URBANISATION

GROWTH OF THE URBAN AREA

THE CITY comprises of three parts, viz. the Lucknow Municipal area, the Lucknow Cantonment area and the Notified area of Charbagh and Alambagh. The city population lives mainly in the Municipal area while the Cantonment area is reserved for the defence personnel and the Notified area houses mainly the railway employees.

There has hardly been any increase in the Municipal area, that has stood constant at 16 sq. miles since 1916.

HOUSING SHORTAGE

According to a survey conducted by the Lucknow Improvement Trust and the Town and Village Planning Department of the U.P. Government in 1954, some 41 thousand house-buildings were enumerated in the city, of which less than 50 per cent were entirely *pucca*. Out of the rest as many as 7 thousand were reported as dilapidated. The existing houses in the city were reported in the following categories :

TABLE 16
HOUSES OF VARIOUS CATEGORIES IN THE CITY .

<i>Category</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Number</i>
A 1	Bungalow—Single storeyed	670
A 2	Bungalow—Double storeyed	200
B 1	<i>Pucca</i> houses in good condition—Single storeyed	7,278
B 2	<i>Pucca</i> houses in good condition—Double storeyed	11,984
C 1	Semi <i>pucca</i> houses—Single storeyed	8,500
C 2	Semi <i>pucca</i> houses—Double storeyed	5,415
D	Old dilapidated houses not fit for habitation from the point of view of public health	7,257
Total		41,304

In all, the residential area is estimated at 4,200 acres giving an average density of about 110 persons per acre. This is, however, as high as 400 persons per acre in the congested part of the city like Ganeshganj and Chowk wards. On the basis of existing population, the residential area was found to be short by 2,600 acres, i.e. a shortage of as much as 37 per cent. If the increase in population for the next two decades is to be taken into account, the Town Planner has calculated that the City Master Plan should provide for a population of 7.5 lakhs. Housing requirements on this basis have been calculated as follows :

TABLE 17

ESTIMATED HOUSING REQUIREMENT OF LUCKNOW CITY IN 1970

Total number of housing units required	150,000
(1) 5% in single and double family bungalows (average 1.5) @ 2 houses per acre	
$150,000 \times \frac{5}{100} \times \frac{1}{1.5} \times \frac{1}{2}$	2,500 acres
(2) 5% in single or double family houses (average 1.5) @ 4 houses per acre	
$150,000 \times \frac{5}{100} \times \frac{1}{1.5} \times \frac{1}{4}$	1,250 acres
(3) 10% in single family houses at 10 houses per acre	
$150,000 \times \frac{10}{100} \times \frac{1}{10}$	1,500 acres
(4) 50% in two family houses @ 8 houses per acre	
$150,000 \times \frac{20}{100} \times \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{8}$	4,688 acres
(5) 24% in 3 to 5 family houses at 6 house per acre	
$150,000 \times \frac{20}{100} \times \frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{6}$	1,250 acres
(6) 10% in 4 to 6 family houses at 6 houses per acre	
$150,000 \times \frac{10}{100} \times \frac{1}{5} \times \frac{1}{6}$	500 acres
	11,688 acres
	say 11,700 acres
Existing residential area	4,200 acres
Balance requirement	7,500 acres

At present the average density comes to 2.27 families per housing unit or 12 persons per house. Living under such conditions must obviously be difficult giving rise to many tensions and mal-adjustments.

Overcrowding has become marked during the last two decades, as new constructions have not kept pace with the increase in population. During the last war the shortage of housing material limited housing construction and the situation deteriorated further in the immediate post-war period. There has been some improvement in this respect in recent years. Apart from the shortage of housing material, private house building appears to have suffered a setback for other reasons as well, and the recent increase in the number of new houses constructed particularly in 1954 is largely due to the construction by Municipal Board.

HOUSING ACTIVITIES

The housing activity in the city is carried out by various agencies, i.e. (1) Private enterprise, (2) Local bodies, (3) State P.W.D. Department and (4) Central Government.

PRIVATE HOUSING

People construct houses either for their own dwelling purposes or for the sake of hire. The construction may be either in the areas which are under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Board or Improvement Trust. The approximate number of houses constructed, on the basis of plans sanctioned by these two authorities since 1935, comes to a little more than 8,000. Private housing activity has increased considerably since 1951. The average number of houses constructed each year during 1951-54 is 850 as compared to an annual construction of some 400 private dwellings during the previous quinquennium and only 250 during the year 1940-45.

The houses which have been constructed under the schemes approved by the Improvement Trust, have mostly been on planned basis. Since 1920 the Improvement Trust has sanctioned 22 schemes of which nearly as many are for new development as for re-development. The total number of plots built over these schemes comes to 451.

The houses constructed under the plans sanctioned by the Muni-

cipal Board are mostly in the areas which are already developed and it is difficult to plan them. However, the localities which are reconstructed entirely, are developed on planned basis.

Private housing is undertaken largely by individuals for their own residence or for letting out. A few cooperative housing societies have also been established and at least three areas are reported to have been constructed through the housing cooperatives.

Some localities have been developed according to layout plans as approved by the Municipal Board. These include Mahanagar and Chandganj Schemes, that form part of the City Master Plan. The main purpose of these schemes is to provide land on concessional basis and construction loans on low rate of interest to low and middle income groups.

HOUSING BY LOCAL BODIES

No houses were built by the Municipal Board before the First Five Year Plan. It, however, constructed about 800 houses during 1952, 1953 and 1954.

As stated earlier the Improvement Trust has been playing a significant role in the planned development of the city. However, its role in actual construction of houses has not been significant. It has reported to have constructed upto 1954 a total of some 400 houses and 70 shops and godowns only.

HOUSING PROVISION BY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

The State Government constructs houses for its employees through the Public Works Department. It has also constructed some houses for the displaced persons from West Pakistan. In all 1,038 dwelling units were constructed between 1939 and 1954 by the Government.

The Northern Railway and North Eastern Railway have their divisional head-quarters in this town and the former has also a big Loco Workshop, employing more than 7,000 workers. The Northern Railway constructed 1,095 houses between 1942 and 1954 and the North Eastern Railway 202 quarters for its employees during the same period.

The Cantonment area is occupied mainly by the defence forces although, in 1951, its civilian population was counted at 26,000.

There has been little new housing construction in this area and the policy of the defence authorities has been to give no fresh leases for the construction of new houses. Obviously the increase in civilian population since 1941 from 15,000 persons to 26,000 persons in 1951 has made the problem of housing more acute than before in this part of the town.

INCREASE IN POPULATION

At the beginning of the century the city had a population of 2.50 lakhs. In 1951 the total number of persons living in the city was counted at a little less than 5.0 lakhs and 6.6 lakhs in 1961. Apparently in the course of 50 years the population of the town has doubled itself. Actually upto the year 1921 the population was declining when it stood at 2.4 lakhs. Since then it has begun to grow and the increase has been particularly marked after 1931.

The first enumeration of Lucknow took place in 1869. The total population of the city was estimated at 2,84,779 persons. The next census took place in 1881. There was a striking decrease in the population. The number of inhabitants dropped to 2,61,303 giving a net decrease of 23,476 persons in the city. This decrease was due to various causes. Chief among them were the famines of 1873, 1877 and 1878 and also the poor harvests in 1869 and 1880. Further it was largely due to the terrible mortality from fever in 1879; and lastly, it was considered in 1881 that the previous enumeration was over-estimated. In the next census of 1891 the population rose from 2,61,303 to 2,73,028 which was still considerably below that of the first census.

The total population of the city as enumerated in the next census of 1901 showed an actual decrease. The decrease of population in the city was due to the exclusion of several portions of the city from municipal limits. The total population of the city was estimated at 2,56,239 persons.

The next ten years saw a drop again. The total population of the city enumerated by the census of 1911 was 2,52,114 persons, of which 2,36,895 resided within municipal limits.

The next census of 1921 also showed a decrease in population. The total population of the city as enumerated in the census was 2,40,566 persons, of which 2,13,494 resided within municipal limits.

This decrease in the two decades was attributed to disease, plague, cholera, malaria and especially to influenza. In 1911 cholera was rampant in the city. In 1917 malaria was more prevalent than usual and plague pestered the city. The year 1918-19 was, in matter of health, worst on record as regards Lucknow. Apart from a severe epidemic of plague and cholera, the city was devastated by influenza, which took a heavy toll. Between 50 to 70 per cent of the persons were attacked. All these covered various localities of the city which had to be temporarily evacuated. The only exception was the ward of Ganeshganj which showed a slight increase in the population because new residential areas around Ganeshganj grain market and La Touche Road were opened. The population of all the other seven wards decreased.

The next census of 1931 showed an increase in population. During the period 1921-30 the trend of population growth in the city changed completely. The population increased in all the wards except Daulatganj. The population which was 2.13 lakhs in 1921 rose to 2.45 lakhs in 1931 giving an increase of 14.90 per cent.

The most noticeable features from the point of view of growth of population in Lucknow city were (1) the absence of famine which had been taking heavy toll of lives in the past, (2) absence of any serious epidemic during this decade, (3) deterioration in the agricultural conditions during the Great Depression of 1930s, which had brought a large volume of immigration of rural population from surrounding rural areas to the city of Lucknow and (4) the development in industry and commerce in the city during this period. It may be noted that population of Hazratganj and Ganeshganj wards showed a larger increase than that of other areas due to the eastward migration of the city. New residential sites were developed in Hussainganj, Narahi and Civil Lines areas of Hazratganj ward and in areas east of La Touche Road, Charbagh and Topkhana in Ganeshganj Ward. This was accompanied by an improvement and development of commerce and business in these areas as well as the location of new government offices in Hazratganj Ward.

The census of 1941 also showed a continued increase in the population. The population in the city within the municipal limits increased by 44.53 per cent and of the whole city by 40.97 per cent. This has been the largest increase on record during any one decade. The agricultural depression during this period seems to

have pushed many people out of villages to seek employment in the cities. But as far as this city was concerned the main force attracting population to the city was provided by the transference of the capital from Allahabad to this city during this decade.

With increased immigration due to the growth of the city as a metropolis, local trade and commerce, particularly the retail trade, seems to have got a fillip inspite of the depression and it is this feature which perhaps accounts for larger increase in the population of such wards as Yahiyaganj where some of the main wholesale trading markets are located.

The population increased further during the next decade—the main pull this time being provided by the war time activities of the State in the city. Many new offices were established and both commerce and industry received a new impetus. After the termination of the war there was another influx of immigrants from Pakistan in 1947 and later.

LOCAL BORN AND IMMIGRANTS

According to the census of 1951, 58 per cent of the persons enumerated in the city of Lucknow were born within the District of Lucknow, 15.6 per cent were drawn from other districts of the Division, 15 per cent from other parts of the State, 3 per cent from the adjacent States, 1.7 per cent from other parts of India, 6.1 per cent from Pakistan and 0.6 per cent from other foreign territories. Obviously a very large proportion of the population of the city consists of the immigrants.

FACTORIES AND FACTORY WORKERS

The number of factories in the city has increased from 39 in 1940 to 93 in 1953, whereas the number of factory workers has registered an increase from about 11,000 to a little more than 15,500 during the same period. Factory employment has thus increased by about 4.5 thousands and the main increase seems to have occurred during the war years. To a certain extent the increase in the number of factories and factory employment is accounted for by the increase in the scope of the Factories Act and hence it may be stated that in fact there has been little increase in factory employment during the last 15 years in this city.

There has been a continuous increase in the number of workers in the printing industry. In 1940 there were only 771 workers, and it increased to 1841 workers in 1954. In textile industry there was a sudden decrease in the number of workers in 1954. This was due to the fact that the biggest cotton mill in Lucknow, i.e. the Vikram Cotton Mill, was closed down in 1953. The number of workers in all the industries was maximum in 1944 when it reached to 16,786. In 1954 it declined to 14,668.

CHANGING PATTERN OF OCCUPATIONS

Census figures for the year 1931 and 1951 reveal that the percentage of self-supporting earners to the total population has decreased from 39 per cent in 1931 to 31 per cent in 1951. In 1931 out of these self-supporting earners 32 per cent were employed in production as compared to 25 per cent in 1951. It shows that there has been substantial decrease in the proportion of industrial workers. On the other hand the proportion of earners in the other three sectors, i.e. transport, trade and commerce and services has increased. The proportion of transport workers has risen from 9 per cent in 1931 to 11 per cent in 1951. This is mainly due to increase in the number of railway employees and introduction of city bus service. Similarly the proportion of earners in the trade and commerce sector has risen from 15 per cent to 17 per cent. This has been chiefly due to increase in the trade activities—the city being the capital of the State.

Employment has increased likewise in services and its proportion has also increased from 43 per cent to 47 per cent. Thus the tertiary sector, that was already important in the city in 1931 has become even more dominating.

This may be seen from figures in Table 18.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Primary education is now compulsory in the city. For this purpose, some two hundred primary schools are maintained by the Municipal Board. The total number of primary schools increased from 179 (119 for boys and 60 for girls) in 1951 to 233 (149 for boys and 84 for girls) in 1955. Similarly the number of students and teachers in these schools increased from 23,419 and 708 in 1950 to 38,842 and 1,006 respectively in 1955. Thus there has been an

TABLE 18

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EARNERS IN LUCKNOW CITY

	1931	Percentage	1951	Percentage
Total population	2,74,659		4,96,861	
No. of earners	1,06,571	100.00	1,56,083	100.00
Persons employed in production	34,374	32.25	38,535	24.69
Transport	9,703	9.10	16,453	10.54
Trade and commerce	16,570	16.55	27,286	17.48
Services	45,924	42.10	73,809	47.29

increase of 65.8 per cent in the number of students and 42.1 per cent in teachers in these schools between 1950-1955.

Likewise there has been an increase in institutions for secondary education. The enrolment in the University has more than doubled itself since 1947-48. There are now some ten thousand students reading in the University. In addition to this, under-graduate education is provided in about a dozen degree colleges that have been established mainly in the post-war period.

But it looks that the expansion of educational facilities has failed to satisfy the growing needs of the town.

WATER SUPPLY

According to a report made by the water works department of the Lucknow Municipal Board in February 1956, the average supply of water per day has increased from less than 10 million gallons in 1938-39 to more than 17 million gallons in 1953-54. The number of total water connections, however, has not increased in the same proportion and in fact there has been some decrease since 1951-52.

Taking into consideration the increase in population it appears that although there has been a considerable improvement with regard to water consumption per head per day, it has not been very marked. For 1953-54 it has been calculated at 38 gallons as compared to 35 gallons for 1947-48.

LOCAL TRANSPORT

For transport within the city there are private and public vehicles of all types, i.e. automobiles, rikshaws, *tongas*, *ekkas*, cycles and bullock carts. It has not been possible to find out exactly the number of automobiles including cars, motor cycles and trucks,

both private and public that are used for city transport only, since the number of such vehicles registered locally with the Regional Transport Authority may not be exclusively for local use.

More reliable figures can however be available with regard to other vehicles that are required to obtain a licence from the Municipal Board. The licence has to be renewed each year. There has been a marked increase in the number of rikshaws, i.e. from 412 in 1943-44 to more than 2,500 in 1954-55. During the same period the number of *tongas* and *ekkas* has been practically halved from 3,000 to nearly 1,500. The number of cycles has increased by about 50 per cent from some thirteen to fourteen thousand, to more than 21,000. On the whole the number of hackney carriages available to the public for hire, has not registered any substantial increase, although *tonga* and *ekkas* have been substituted by man pulled rikshaws. The introduction of the city bus service in 1949, however, has been a relieving factor in the situation and obviously it has added to the mobility in the town. Prior to 1949 no passengers were carried by the bus service within the town. In 1955 most of the town was connected by bus service and more than 10 million passengers were reported to have used it. On the population basis, it implies that at an average, each one of the persons living in the city were using the city bus transport at least 20 times a year. This, however, is a very low average in comparison to the mobility of the other metropolitan towns.

ELECTRICITY CONSUMPTION

There has been electric supply in the city provided by a corporation since 1917. As already indicated in the previous chapter, all streets are not yet lighted with electric lamps and many localities have no access to electric supply. Of the total number of street lamps in 1954 only 58 per cent were electric. Maximum capacity of the plant has been doubled in 1953. The number of actual units generated increased from 14 million in 1939 to 24 million in 1947, to 40 million in 1951 and 56 million in 1955. Apparently, electric supply has kept pace with the growth of the city in relation to dwelling units as well as population. Of the total supply of electricity in 1955 less than one third was reported to have been used for household consumption. But compared to the needs of the city on the basis of even a modest norm the supply is still inadequate.

CHAPTER III

SIZE AND STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

A DISTINCTION has been made between the family and the household. Only those persons have been counted as members of a household who ordinarily live together in the city in the same house and have a common kitchen. The term family has been used in a wider sense to include all persons dependent on a common head irrespective of their residence in the town with the head of the family. Among the family members are thus included all such relatives of a person who live outside the city but who are dependent on, or are being supported by him.

AVERAGE SIZE OF THE FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

The average size of the family works out at 5.17 persons for old residents and 5.61 persons for the immigrants. All of them of course do not live in the city. In the case of the old residents 0.06 persons per family or a little more than 1 per cent live elsewhere. But the proportion of members of the immigrant families living outside the town is as high as 1.53 persons per family, or nearly 27 per cent of the total members. Most probably these persons have been left behind and live in the home towns and villages of the immigrants.

Due to a small number of the members of resident families living outside, the average size of their household at 5.11 persons is higher than that of the immigrant households at 4.08 persons. At an average a typical household in the town has four to five persons. Taken as a whole it has been found that joint family ties account for the largest number of family members living elsewhere outside the city. Education outside the town is responsible only for some 3 per cent of the members of a family living outside. In the case of nearly one-fifth, employment outside the town, or inadequacy of employment in the town, is responsible for their living in another place. Another one-fifth of the family members have been left behind or are obliged to live elsewhere due to the high cost of

living or housing scarcity in the city. The detailed figures are given in the following table :

TABLE 19
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY MEMBERS LIVING OUTSIDE
THE CITY BY REASONS

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>	<i>Immigrants</i>	<i>Total</i>
A. ECONOMIC			
1. Lack of housing	2.55	6.98	6.69
2. Under-employment	0.64	2.12	2.02
3. Employment elsewhere	28.66	18.84	19.50
4. Property elsewhere	7.64	11.22	10.98
5. High cost of living	3.82	15.19	14.44
Total	43.31	54.35	53.63
B. SOCIAL			
1. Joint family members living elsewhere	8.92	24.69	23.65
2. Getting education	3.82	2.84	2.90
3. Family ties	32.48	12.17	13.51
Total	45.22	39.70	40.06
C. OTHERS	7.01	1.35	1.72
D. NOT AVAILABLE	4.46	4.60	4.59
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The urban family at present is in transition towards the natural family comprising of the couple and their unmarried children. But the transition is in no way complete, and many families still exhibit the features of a joint family—with several generations and a large number of relations living together.

It has been found that in case of the old residents 75 per cent of all household members are members of the enlarged natural families, i.e. husband, wife and their married and unmarried children. In case of the immigrants their proportion is as high as 83 per cent. But if we take all members of a family into account whether living in the town or outside, it is found that their proportion while still 75 per cent in case of the old residents, falls to 68 per cent in the case of immigrants. This points to the fact that the old resident

family has moved farther towards the natural family than the immigrant family, in whose case nearly one-third of the members are still relations other than one's own wife and children. But even in the case of the latter transition towards the natural family is unmistakably taking place. This is obvious from the fact that the persons who are left behind by an immigrant are often relations other than one's wife and children. Our figures reveal that 83 per cent of the members of an immigrant household living in the city comprise of the couple and their children and only 17 per cent of other relations. But among the family members living outside the town, 62 per cent consist of the latter ; and it is only in about 10 per cent of the cases that the wife may be living elsewhere. These facts bear ample testimony to the rapid transition towards a natural family. The figures in Table 20 are significant in this context.

AGE COMPOSITION AND MARITAL STATUS

Nearly 53 per cent of the persons living in the town are in the working age group of 15 to 55 years. About 26 per cent are below the age of 10 years, 12 per cent between the ages of 10 and 15 years and only some 9 to 10 per cent are aged 55 years and above. Children thus account for nearly 38 per cent of the total family members, and the old for another 10 per cent. The relevant figures are given in Table 21.

Persons in the sample were classified into married, unmarried, widower, widow and divorced. Persons living in wedlock were classified as married, while persons who have never been married were classified as unmarried. To get the total figures of persons ever married, all persons who were classified as married, widower, widow and divorced have to be added together.

Nearly 48 per cent of all persons living in the town are unmarried. The percentage of children below the age of 15 years is only a little less than this, and it can be surmised that most of the persons, both males and females above the age of 15 years are married. Of all persons living in the city nearly 6 per cent are either widows or widowers—the number of widows being about 18 per cent more than that of widowers. The two taken together come to 14.16 per cent of the married persons still living in married life. If, however, we take into account all members of the family whether

TABLE 20

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILIES

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS BY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HEAD

<i>Relationship with the head</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>			<i>Immigrants</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Living in the city</i>	<i>Living outside</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Living in the city</i>	<i>Living outside</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Living in the city</i>	<i>Living outside</i>	<i>Total</i>
Head (male or female)	19.55	1.27	19.35	24.50	0.69	17.84	21.06	0.17	18.79
Husband	0.01	2.55	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.21	0.04
Wife	15.37	4.46	15.25	16.64	9.87	14.79	15.76	9.51	15.08
Son	23.92	25.48	23.93	23.65	12.80	20.69	23.84	13.64	22.73
Daughter	16.45	7.64	16.35	18.16	6.71	15.03	16.97	6.78	15.86
Other relatives	24.70	58.60	25.08	17.00	61.88	31.60	22.35	69.69	27.50
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

living in the town or elsewhere together, the proportion of widows and widowers rises to 15.8 per cent of the married persons.

The incidence of divorce, however, is very little—only 104 divorced persons were counted in the sample as against a total of 10,097 ever married persons in the city. On this basis the incidence of divorce works out at about 1 per cent.

Figures in Table 22 are relevant in this context.

ECONOMIC STATUS

At an average nearly one-fourth of the members of the household are earners and the rest are non-earning dependents including the disabled and the unemployed. To every earner in a family, thus, there are at least three others who depend on his earnings. Out of every 10 persons in the city, 3.0 are in the labour force, of which only 2.5 are earners, another 0.36 are earning dependents and 0.15 are unemployed. The remaining seven are non-earning dependents and disabled. The distribution is not significantly different for the old residents and the immigrants, except that in the case of the latter 31 per cent are in the labour force as compared to 29 per cent in the case of the former. Consequently the dependency ratio is a slightly less in the case of the immigrants as is clear from the figures in Table 23.

CASTE AND COMMUNITY

Two-thirds of the households in the city (66.90) per cent are Hindu households, 31 per cent Muslims, and the remaining 2 per cent belong to other communities, including Sikhs, Christians and Parsis. Among the Hindus the upper castes are the most numerous, accounting for 31 per cent of the total population. Next come the intermediate castes with 23.5 per cent of the total households. The lower castes account for only 12 per cent of the total households. In fact the upper castes were not originally so dominant and among the old residents only 22 per cent of the households belong to them. But immigration has vitally affected the caste and community composition of the town. Nearly half of the immigrants belong to the upper Hindu castes. The proportion of Muslims among the immigrants is 50 per cent less than among the old residents, while that of the Sikhs is several times larger. Im-

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

<i>Economic Status</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>			<i>Immigrants</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Living in the city</i>	<i>Living outside</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Living in the city</i>	<i>Living outside</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Living in the city</i>	<i>Living outside</i>	<i>Total</i>
Earners	23.61	33.12	23.72	27.34	22.85	26.11	24.75	23.53	24.61
Earning dependents	4.35	—	4.30	2.05	6.17	3.17	3.65	5.77	3.88
Unemployed	1.46	0.64	1.45	1.67	0.18	1.27	1.52	0.21	1.38
Total labour force	29.42	33.76	29.47	31.06	29.20	30.55	29.92	29.51	29.87
Disabled	1.58	—	1.56	1.45	3.79	2.09	1.54	3.53	1.76
Non-earning dependents	69.00	66.24	68.97	67.49	67.01	67.36	68.54	66.96	68.37
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

migration has thus tended to raise the proportion of Hindus and Sikhs and particularly of the upper Hindu castes at the cost of the Muslims and the intermediate and lower Hindu castes. This is clear from figures in the following table :

TABLE 24
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE AND COMMUNITIES

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>	<i>Immigrants</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. HINDUS			
a. Upper	21.82	47.76	31.01
b. Intermediate	25.11	20.48	23.47
c. Lower	13.71	8.47	11.86
d. Not Available	0.53	0.62	0.56
Total	61.17	77.33	66.90
2. MUSLIMS	37.88	18.34	30.96
3. OTHERS	0.95	4.33	2.14
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

MOTHER TONGUE

Due to its origin and development round the court of the nawabs of Avadh, the city is popularly regarded as a centre of Urdu. Actually, however, only about 28 per cent of the total sample households have reported Urdu as their mother tongue and another 15 per cent Hindustani, i.e. the spoken language with an admixture of Urdu and Hindi vocabulary. This brings the total of Urdu and Hindustani speaking households to 43 per cent. The majority of the households, a little more than half of the total have recorded Hindi as their mother tongue. No other language is spoken to any large extent in this city except that about 2 per cent of the total have recorded Punjabi as their mother tongue and about 1.5 per cent Bengali.

There are obvious differences in this respect among the old residents and the immigrants. Only 17 per cent of the immigrants have reported Urdu as their mother tongue, whereas the proportion of Urdu speaking households among the old residents is twice as high. All but 98 per cent of the residents have reported as their

mother tongue Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani. Among the immigrants some 12 per cent have recorded a regional language other than these as their mother tongue. Among these (latter) more than one-third are Punjabi speaking and about one-fourth Bengali speaking. The relevant figures are given in the following table :

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY MOTHER TONGUE

<i>Mother Tongue</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>	<i>Immigrants</i>	<i>Total</i>
Hindi	47.88	58.10	51.50
Urdu	34.48	17.30	28.40
Hindustani	15.86	12.54	14.69
Punjabi	0.30	4.82	1.90
Bengali	0.91	3.10	1.68
Sindhi	0.11	1.38	0.56
Gujrati	0.08	0.21	0.12
Pushtu	—	0.27	0.10
Marathi	—	0.55	0.20
Marwari	—	0.14	0.05
Nepali	—	0.62	0.22
Pahari	—	0.21	0.07
English	0.30	0.07	0.22
Others	0.08	0.69	0.29
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

CHAPTER IV

IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANTS

IMMIGRANTS

AN IMMIGRANT household has been treated as one where the head of the family immigrated to the city at any time. These households and their members have been further classified into three categories, viz. (i) where the head of the household immigrated to the city before 1940, (ii) where immigration took place between 1940-46 and (iii) where immigration took place in 1947 and later. The rest of the households, i.e. where the head of the family has been living in the city since birth have been treated as resident households.

A household has been taken to consist of all those members who are living with the common head. It excludes such members of the family of the head who were not ordinarily found living with him or her in the city at the time of investigation. Further it includes such other persons, although not members of the natural family, who were ordinarily living with him or her in the city. Thus, the concept of a household is narrower than that of a family as it excludes family members living outside the city. In all, there were 4,099 households in our sample. A little more than one-third, i.e. 1,451 or 35.4 per cent of the total were found to be the households of immigrants.

We find that the average size of an immigrant household of 4.08 persons is smaller than the average size of such family at 5.6 persons. This obviously indicates that about 25 per cent of the family members of the immigrants still live outside the city.

The average size of the family of residents comes to 5.17 while the average size of their household is 5.11. In their case the difference between the household and family is negligible.

The structure and composition of the urban family has been discussed in the previous chapter. It may suffice here to point out that the average size of the family of immigrants is larger than that of the old residents, while the average size of their household is smaller than that of the latter. This suggests a tentative hypothesis that immigration is associated with larger families, although

we cannot say, whether it is caused by the latter or a family tends to be enlarged as a result of immigration.

All persons in immigrant households are not immigrants themselves. Many of them have been born in the city after immigration. It has been calculated that only 55 per cent of the members of the immigrant households were themselves immigrants. The rest have been born in the city after the immigration of their family to the town. Excluding these we find that at an average only 2.3 persons have immigrated per immigrant household.

TRENDS IN IMMIGRATION

There was little immigration to this town before 1928, as is also obvious from its more or less stationary population till the 1920s. In fact immigration to this town gathered momentum during the thirties when the provincial capital was being shifted here. During the forties there was a further increase on account of war activities. But by far the heaviest immigration took place in the post-war years, particularly in 1947 after Partition.

Out of 3,282 persons in the sample who immigrated to the town, 2,718 were found to have immigrated between 1929 and 1953, a break up of these persons by quinquennia indicates that immigration per year increased from 45 persons in 1929-33 to 187 in 1944-48, and then declined to 152 in the next quinquennium. Taking the period 1929-33 as a base=100, the index of immigration for 1944-48 is as high as 428 and only 342 for 1949-53. Throughout, the proportion of rural immigrants has been more than that of the immigrants from urban areas, but the difference has been considerably reduced in the post war year.

The relevant figures are summarised in Table 26.

An analysis of the cumulative frequency of rural, urban and total immigrants, in the sample population between the years 1938 and 1954 indicates a rather steep rise after 1946. This is particularly so with regard to urban immigrants. The relevant information is shown in Table 27.

IMMIGRATION FROM RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

The countryside has been the main feeding hinterland of the city-ward inflow of population. Out of a total of 3,282 immigrants in

TABLE 26
 TOTAL IMMIGRATION BY QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGES PER YEAR
 (SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS)

<i>Years</i>	<i>Total</i>				<i>Rural</i>				<i>Urban</i>			
	<i>Total No.</i>	<i>Quinquennial Averages</i>	<i>Simple Index</i>	<i>Chain Index</i>	<i>Total No.</i>	<i>Quinquennial Averages</i>	<i>Simple Index</i>	<i>Chain Index</i>	<i>Total No.</i>	<i>Quinquennial Averages</i>	<i>Simple Index</i>	<i>Chain Index</i>
1929-33	223	44.6	100.00	100.00	171	34.2	100.00	100.00	52	10.4	100.00	100.00
1934-38	348	69.6	156.05	156.05	246	49.2	143.86	143.86	102	20.4	196.15	196.15
1939-43	449	89.8	201.34	129.02	314	62.8	183.63	127.64	135	27.0	259.62	132.35
1944-48	936	187.2	419.73	208.46	503	100.6	294.15	160.19	433	86.6	832.69	320.74
1949-53	762	152.4	341.70	81.41	451	90.2	263.74	89.66	311	62.2	598.08	71.82

TABLE 27

CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY OF RURAL, URBAN AND TOTAL IMMIGRANTS
(SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS)

<i>Years</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>
1938	751	204	955
1939	788	235	1023
1940	887	275	1162
1941	926	291	1217
1942	991	319	1310
1943	1065	339	1404
1944	1143	371	1514
1945	1243	401	1644
1946	1301	400	1731
1947	1455	658	2113
1948	1568	772	2340
1949	1660	849	2509
1950	1794	888	2682
1951	1859	942	2801
1952	1942	1015	2957
1953	2019	1083	3102
1954	2149	1133	3282

the sample population nearly two-thirds (65.48 per cent) came from rural areas and only one-third (34.52 per cent) from the urban centres. This has been the broad pattern of immigration, although in particular years the proportion has differed. Moreover, the proportion of urban immigrants has been registering an upward trend since 1940 and this has become particularly marked after 1946. The rural immigrants accounted for 77 per cent of the total before 1940, 73 per cent during 1940 and 1946 and only 55 per cent since 1947.

Most of the immigrants belong to Uttar Pradesh itself. These account for 88 per cent of the rural immigrants, 64 per cent of the urban immigrants and 81 per cent of the total. Very few of them, however, belong to the district of Lucknow itself. The proportion of these latter is only 13 per cent of the rural immigrants, 2 per cent of the urban immigrants and 10 per cent of the total. Some 7 per cent of the rural immigrants and 10 per cent of the urban immigrants and 9 per cent of the total belong to

other states. The rest, i.e. 4 per cent of the rural immigrants, 20 per cent of the urban immigrants and 9 per cent of the total, have come from parts that now belong to Pakistan.

AGE COMPOSITION OF THE IMMIGRANTS

Most of the immigrants are young persons. About 64 per cent of them in the sample population are in the working age-group of 15 to 55 years. During the war years in particular, most of the immigrants to the city were workers who came here to take advantage of the increased opportunity for employment and often stayed single, leaving their families back at home. In the post-war years, however, partition of the country created a special phenomenon that compelled many persons to move in with their entire families, irrespective of job opportunity. These were the displaced persons who were uprooted from their homes and migrated to various places along with their families. This explains the increased proportion of persons outside the working-age group among the immigrants since 1947. Another contributory factor is the increasing disintegration of the joint family system that compels earners to move with their families rather than leave their dependents in the joint family as before. This is particularly true about the immigrants from the urban areas. In their case the proportion of children below the age of ten years is nearly one fourth (23 per cent) as compared to only 18 per cent among the rural immigrants.

Data summarised in Table 28, bear clear testimony to these underlying trends in immigration, viz. that the proportion of children is on the increase and secondly more urban immigrants move with their entire family than rural immigrants.

IMMIGRANTS BY SEX

Generally, it is the male adult who migrates first to get a job or settle otherwise in the town. Later on he calls his family. There is therefore often a time lag between his immigration and that of his family members. In several cases the family members live more or less permanently in the village home and are seldom called to the city. Consequently, at any given time there will be a marked disparity in the sex ratio of the immigrants. In our sample population a little less than two-thirds (63.25 per cent) of the total im-

TABLE 28

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY AGE GROUP AND BY THE PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

	<i>Rural</i>			<i>Urban</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Before 1940</i>	1940-47	1947-55	<i>Before 1940</i>	1940-47	1947-55	<i>Before 1940</i>	1940-47	1947-55
Below 10 years	18.02	14.43	19.46	19.59	21.03	23.69	18.38	16.24	21.47
10 to 15 years	20.30	15.59	12.26	10.64	13.33	12.23	18.08	14.97	12.25
15 to 55 years	60.04	68.42	65.56	69.35	63.08	59.47	62.16	66.96	62.80
55 years and above	1.64	1.56	2.72	0.42	2.56	4.41	1.38	1.83	3.48
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

migrants were males and only some one-third (36.75 per cent) were females. The proportion of the females among the total immigrants has, however, registered a marked upward trend, so that while they accounted for only 28 per cent before 1940 their proportion was nearly 42 per cent in the post-war period. The increasing proportion of women among the immigrants is a common feature of immigration from the rural as well as from urban areas. This lends support to our earlier hypothesis that the disintegration of the joint family system has its impact on migration.

Another interesting feature is that the proportion of females is lower among the rural immigrants than among the urban immigrants, but the disparity is not so marked now as before. It appears that the disintegration of the joint family that commences first in the towns and cities is becoming gradually pronounced in the rural areas as well. The figures in Table 29 indicate the sex composition of the immigrants.

IMMIGRANTS BY CASTE AND COMMUNITIES

Of the total immigrants, more than three-fourth (79.44 per cent) are Hindus, followed by Muslims who account for 16.27 per cent. Christian, Sikhs or other communities are not important, their proportion comes to less than 5 per cent. Among Hindus two-thirds (69.44 per cent) consist of upper castes, one-fifth (20.44 per cent) of intermediate and less than one-tenth (8.25 per cent) of lower castes. The ratio of various castes is however not the same among the rural and urban immigrants. The immigrants from the urban areas are more predominantly from the upper castes than among those from the rural areas. In the case of the former, the upper caste Hindus account for 70 per cent of the total immigrants as compared to only 47 per cent among the latter. Before 1940 the upper caste Hindus accounted for 46 per cent of the total immigrants, 56 per cent of the urban immigrants and 43 per cent of the rural immigrants. Their proportion during the period 1947-55 increased to 62 per cent of the total 73 per cent of the urban immigrants and 53 per cent of the rural immigrants. This marked increase in the proportion of the upper caste Hindus among the immigrants may be due to several underlying factors. The partition of the country in 1947 has reduced the overall proportion of the Muslim community due to their preferential migration to Pakistan.

TABLE 29
IMMIGRANTS TO THE CITY OF LUCKNOW BY SEX

Period	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Before 1940	598 (75.89)	190 (24.11)	788 (100.00)	144 (61.28)	91 (38.72)	235 (100.00)	742 (72.53)	281 (27.47)	1,023 (100.00)
1940-1946	321 (62.57)	192 (37.43)	513 (100.00)	111 (56.92)	84 (43.08)	195 (100.00)	432 (61.01)	276 (38.99)	708 (100.00)
1947-1955	513 (60.50)	335 (39.50)	848 (100.00)	389 (55.33)	314 (44.67)	703 (100.00)	902 (58.16)	649 (41.84)	1,551 (100.00)
Total	1,432 (66.64)	717 (33.36)	2,149 (100.00)	644 (56.84)	489 (43.16)	1,133 (100.00)	2,076 (63.25)	1,206 (36.75)	3,282 (100.00)

Note : Figures in brackets are percentages.

The large number of upper caste Hindus among both, the urban and rural immigrants in 1947 and later may be accounted for by displacement. Consequent upon Partition, economic reforms undertaken since Independence, particularly the abolition of the Zamindari system, have compelled many former rentiers and land-owners, who belong largely to the upper Hindu castes to migrate to the cities and towns in search of new sources of livelihood. This very factor might be responsible for a decreased pressure on the intermediate and lower caste Hindus to be pushed out of their village homes. Finally the type of job opportunities created in the town exercise a differential "pull" force. It looks that since 1947, the increased employment and Government services here, have attracted the upper Hindu castes more than others because, generally, they are more educated and hence fitted for these types of jobs more than persons of other social groups.

The relevant figures are given in Table 30.

IMMIGRANTS BY EDUCATION

Less than one-third (31.60 per cent) of the total immigrants, 42 per cent of the rural immigrants and 12 per cent of the urban immigrants are reported to be illiterate. Among these immigrants are also included children below five years who account for 9 per cent of the total, 7 per cent of the rural and 11 per cent of the urban immigrants. If these are excluded nearly four-fifths of the immigrants above the age of five years may be said to be literate. This is certainly a very much higher percentage than found in the population as a whole and lends support to the view that the immigrants represent the advanced sections of the community.

The proportion of the illiterates in the total immigrants has fast declined from 42 per cent before 1940 to 24 per cent after 1947. Excluding children below the age of five years, it is calculated that more than 85 per cent of the immigrants since 1947 are literate as compared to 66 per cent before 1940. The increase in the incidence of literacy is shared equally by the rural and urban immigrants.

More than half of the total immigrants above the age of 15 years have read upto the secondary schools or higher standards. Quite many among them hold a University degree. The proportion of such educated persons is of course much higher among the urban immigrants than among the rural immigrants. On the whole not

TABLE 30

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY CASTE AND COMMUNITIES AND BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Rural</i>			<i>Urban</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Before 1940</i>	<i>1940-46</i>	<i>1947-55</i>	<i>Before 1940</i>	<i>1940-46</i>	<i>1947-55</i>	<i>Before 1940</i>	<i>1940-46</i>	<i>1947-55</i>
Upper Hindu Castes	42.89	44.64	52.59	56.17	74.87	73.12	45.94	52.97	61.90
Intermediate Hindu Castes	24.11	25.35	15.80	8.08	5.13	7.11	20.43	19.77	11.86
Lower Hindu Castes	10.15	8.77	6.72	4.25	2.05	2.70	8.80	6.93	4.90
Other Hindus (Caste unknown)	00.64	0.78	1.53	2.15	1.54	3.41	0.98	0.99	2.38
Muslims	20.56	20.08	16.28	24.68	10.76	7.40	21.50	17.51	12.26
Others	1.65	0.38	7.08	4.67	5.65	6.26	2.35	1.83	6.70
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

only are the immigrants largely literate but many among them have received education upto at least the secondary standard. This is clear from Table 31.

IMMIGRANTS BY PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

Out of 3,282 immigrants in the sample immigrant households, only 807 were reported to have been employed previously. But of the rest, many, including women and children, were simply non-earning dependents. These latter were not in the labour force or economically active, seeking an employment. If we exclude all females as well as children below the age of 15 years, we are left with some 1,700 adult males who immigrated into the city and of these only 907 or 48 per cent were employed before immigration. The rest or as many as 52 per cent were unemployed. The position in this respect is more or less the same with regard to the rural and urban immigrants.

The employment status of immigrants who had any employment prior to their immigration reveals that nearly one-third of them from the rural areas and two-thirds from the urban areas were employees. The rest were mostly self-employed. The proportion of employees has however increased from 28 per cent before 1940 to 47 per cent after 1947 and that of the self-employed has fallen from 68 per cent to 47 per cent during the same period. This change is not so marked among the urban immigrants, where the ratio of employees and self-employed has varied little over the last several decades. But it is particularly marked among the rural immigrants where the proportion of the self-employed has fallen from 72 per cent to 53 per cent and that of the employees has increased from 24 per cent to nearly 40 per cent. This reflects an increase in the number of agricultural labourers in the countryside and the change of many peasants and cultivators having petty holdings into landless workers. Agricultural labourers are becoming increasingly surplus and many peasants are fast being pushed out of their holdings and later, out of their village homes. The figures in Table 32 are significant and revealing.

PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS BY EARNING STATUS

All immigrants who had an employment prior to their migration to this town were not invariably earners. Many among them

TABLE 31

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY EDUCATIONAL STATUS AND BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

<i>Educational Status</i>	<i>Rural</i>			<i>Urban</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Before 1940</i>	<i>1940-46</i>	<i>1947-55</i>	<i>Before 1940</i>	<i>1940-46</i>	<i>1947-55</i>	<i>Before 1940</i>	<i>1940-46</i>	<i>1947-55</i>
Illiterate	48.35	42.11	34.91	19.15	11.28	10.95	41.64	33.62	24.05
Primary	10.28	12.09	15.92	4.69	8.72	15.50	8.99	11.16	15.73
Secondary & above	25.00	33.13	34.43	53.61	66.67	57.05	31.58	42.37	44.68
Private	16.37	12.67	11.56	22.55	13.33	14.65	17.79	12.85	12.96
Not Known	—	—	3.18	—	—	1.85	—	—	2.58
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 32

PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS BY THEIR PREVIOUS
EMPLOYMENT STATUS

<i>Period</i>	<i>R U R A L</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>Employer</i>	<i>Employee</i>	<i>Self- employed</i>	<i>Unpaid family worker</i>	
Before 1940	—	56 (23.53)	171 (71.85)	11 (4.62)	238 (100.00)
1940-46	4 (2.82)	49 (34.51)	86 (60.56)	3 (2.11)	142 (100.00)
1947-55	5 (2.30)	85 (39.18)	114 (52.53)	13 (5.99)	217 (100.00)
Total	9 (1.51)	190 (31.83)	371 (62.14)	27 (4.52)	597 (100.00)

TABLE 32A

PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS BY THEIR PREVIOUS
EMPLOYMENT STATUS

<i>Period</i>	<i>U R B A N</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>Employer</i>	<i>Employee</i>	<i>Self- employed</i>	<i>Unpaid family worker</i>	
Before 1940	—	23 (56.10)	18 (43.90)	—	41 (100.00)
1940-46	—	21 (58.33)	15 (41.67)	—	36 (100.00)
1947-55	1 (0.75)	80 (60.15)	52 (39.10)	—	133 (100.00)
Total	1 (0.48)	124 (59.05)	85 (40.47)	—	210 (100.00)

TABLE 32B

PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS BY THEIR PREVIOUS
EMPLOYMENT STATUS

<i>Period</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>Employer</i>	<i>Employee</i>	<i>Self- employed</i>	<i>Unpaid family worker</i>	
Before 1940	—	79 (28.32)	189 (67.74)	11 (3.94)	279 (100.00)
1940-46	4 (2.22)	70 (38.89)	103 (57.22)	3 (1.67)	180 (100.00)
1947-55	6 (1.73)	165 (47.41)	164 (47.12)	13 (3.74)	348 (100.00)
Total	10 (1.24)	314 (38.91)	456 (56.60)	27 (3.35)	807 (100.00)

were earning dependents. This is particularly true about the rural immigrants among whom 20 to 30 per cent of the previously employed persons were earning dependents and only 70 to 80 per cent earners. Among the urban immigrants with a previous employment 3 to 10 per cent were earning dependents. It has also been noticed that the proportion of earners among immigrants with a previous employment has tended to increase. The relevant figures are summarised in Table 33.

PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS BY INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION

Immigrants migrating to the town before 1940 were largely from the countryside and hence those among them who were employed before migration were largely employed in agriculture. Out of the total immigrants of this period who had a previous employment, 55 per cent were formerly employed in cultivation or farming. This pattern continued more or less during the war period. But a change has been marked since 1947, so that the relative proportion of those employed formerly in agriculture has tended to decline. The post-war pattern of immigration has been different, in so far as,

TABLE 33
PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS BY PREVIOUS EARNING STATUS

<i>Period</i>	<i>Rural</i>			<i>Urban</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Earner</i>	<i>Earning Depen- dent</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Earner</i>	<i>Earning Depen- dent</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Earner</i>	<i>Earning Depen- dent</i>	<i>Total</i>
Before 1940	165 (69.33)	73 (30.67)	238 (100.00)	37 (90.24)	4 (9.76)	41 (100.00)	202 (72.76)	77 (27.24)	279 (100.00)
1940-1946	108 (76.05)	34 (23.95)	142 (100.00)	38 (100.00)	..	38 (100.00)	146 (81.11)	34 (18.89)	180 (100.00)
1947-1955	174 (80.18)	43 (19.82)	217 (100.00)	127 (96.94)	4 (3.06)	131 (100.00)	301 (86.49)	47 (13.51)	348 (100.00)
Total	447 (74.87)	150 (25.13)	597 (100.00)	202 (96.19)	8 (3.81)	210 (100.00)	649 (80.42)	158 (19.58)	807 (100.00)

an increasing number and proportion of immigrants has been for jobs and public services and from urban areas. Naturally this has affected the pattern of previous employment of the immigrants and the relative proportion of various industries and occupations from which they are drawn.

The previously employed immigrants are largely drawn from agriculture and allied industries. A little less than half of them and more than 64 per cent of the previously employed rural immigrants were formerly employed in this sector. Another 21 per cent of the total previously employed immigrants and 43 per cent among such urban immigrants were formerly in the services industry including public services of all types. The proportion of such persons among the previously employed rural immigrants is, however, less than 14 per cent. The distributive services (trade and commerce) accounted for the former employment of the previously employed immigrants to the extent of 13 per cent in the total, 10 per cent in regard to rural immigrants, and 23 per cent of the urban immigrants. Other industries are of relatively little significance in respect of the employment prior to immigration. With the possible exception of the manufacturing industry, large as well as small scale, these accounted for the employment of 5 per cent of the previously employed rural immigrants and 13 per cent of urban immigrants. This distribution of employment prior to immigration reveals that apparently, (a) an overflow of surplus manpower from agriculture has been resulting in a cityward drift ; and (b) there is considerable geographical or spatial mobility among those employed in services, trade and commerce.

Another aspect that may be noted is that over time the proportion of those with a previous employment in agricultural industry has tended to decline, while that of those engaged in services has tended to increase. The relative proportion of those with a previous employment in manufacturing industries or in trade and commerce, has remained more or less constant. The relevant information is summarised in Table 34.

Analysing the previous occupation of the previously employed immigrants, it is found that most of them, i.e. 60 per cent of the total, 73 per cent of the rural immigrants and 21 per cent of the urban immigrants were employed in subordinate technical occupations before their migration. The only other occupations of importance from the viewpoint of previous employment of those with

an employment prior to their migration, are sales and related occupations and ministerial occupations that accounted for 14 per cent and 8 per cent of the total respectively.

There is a significant difference in the occupational distribution of the previously employed rural and urban immigrants, so far as their employment prior to immigration is concerned. Whereas nearly three-fourths of such rural immigrants were formerly employed in subordinate technical occupations, such as farming, share-cropping, agricultural labour, cattle grazing, etc. one-fourth of the previously employed urban immigrants were formerly employed in sales and related occupation of subordinate character and another two-fifths in ministerial and subordinate technical occupations—each of these two groups accounting for an almost equal number. The relevant figures are given in Table 35.

CHAPTER V

FACTORS IN IMMIGRATION

ANALYSING the causes of migration of the immigrants to the town it appears, that while both the "push" and the "pull" factors have been active, the former is more dominant. Out of 3,282 immigrants in our sample including children and women, 35 per cent reported one or the other economic reason for migration. Another 36 per cent came simply with the head of the family or due to marriage, while 8 per cent accounted their migration to some social factors. A little less than 12 per cent reported Partition and consequent displacement as the main cause of their migration. Figures in the following table reveal this situation :

TABLE 36
DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY CAUSE OF MIGRATION

Cause of Immigration	Rural		Urban		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
A : ECONOMIC						
(1) Not enough land to cultivate	199	9.26	2	0.18	201	6.12
(2) Meagre income	144	6.70	14	1.24	158	4.81
(3) Unemployment	330	15.36	110	9.71	440	13.41
(4) Insufficient employment	37	1.72	8	0.70	45	1.37
(5) Dislike of employment	10	0.46	2	0.18	12	0.37
(6) Prospects of better employment	107	4.98	60	5.29	167	5.09
(7) Transfer	44	2.05	62	5.47	106	3.23
Total	871	40.53	258	22.77	1129	34.40

B: SOCIAL

(1) Social and class tension	26	1.21	9	0.79	35	1.07
(2) Family differences	26	1.21	10	0.88	36	1.10
(3) Lack of educational facilities	129	6.00	48	4.24	177	5.39
(4) Lack of amenities and entertainment	4	0.19	1	0.09	5	0.15
Total	185	8.61	68	6.00	253	7.71

C: MARRIAGE AND DEPENDENCY

(1) Marriage	156	7.26	55	4.85	211	6.43
(2) Migration with head of family	601	27.97	358	31.60	959	29.22
Total	757	35.23	413	36.45	1170	35.65

D: PARTITION 120 5.58 271 23.92 391 11.91

E: OTHERS 216 10.05 123 10.86 309 10.33

Grand Total 2149 100.00 1133 100.00 3282 100.00

The economic reasons of migration are unemployment, under-employment or prospects of better employment, on the one hand, and insufficiency of land and inadequacy of income on the other. Transfers account for the migration of some 3 per cent of the total immigrants. Among the social causes the most important appears to be the lack of educational facilities. Social and class tensions and family differences are responsible for the migration of only a very few.

Treating those who have migrated to the town as dependents or on account of being married to an immigrant or due to Partition of the country as special cases, it is quite obvious that unemployment, under-employment and inadequacy of land to cultivate are the main factors underlying migration. The relevant data are summarised in the following table :

TABLE 37

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS, EXCLUDING THOSE
MIGRATED ON ACCOUNT OF MARRIAGE, DEPENDENCY OR PARTITION
BY CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION

<i>Causes</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>
A : ECONOMIC			
(1) Not enough land to cultivate	15.64	0.44	11.67
(2) Meagre income	11.32	3.12	9.19
(3) Unemployment	25.94	24.49	25.57
(4) Insufficient employment	2.92	1.78	2.61
(5) Dislike of employment	0.79	0.44	0.70
(6) Prospects of better employment	8.41	13.36	9.70
(7) Transfer	3.46	13.79	6.16
Total	68.48	57.42	65.60
B : SOCIAL			
(1) Social and class tension	2.04	2.04	2.04
(2) Family differences	2.04	2.23	2.10
(3) Lack of educational facilities	10.15	10.69	10.28
(4) Lack of amenities, etc.	0.31	0.22	0.28
Total	14.54	15.18	14.70
C : OTHERS	16.98	27.40	19.70
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

According to the above table 66 per cent of the ordinary immigrants, 68 per cent of them from the rural areas and 57 per cent from the urban areas, have migrated to the city, on account of some economic necessity. The most important factor driving them to the city is unemployment and one-fourth of the rural as well as urban immigrants, account their migration to lack of employment in their native places.

The migration to the town of another 27 per cent of the immigrants from the rural areas is accounted for by scarcity of land to cultivate or inadequacy of income. With regard to immigrants from urban areas exactly the same proportion is accounted for by

prospects of better employment in the town than where they were living before, or by transfers. Among the social factors, the most important one, accounting for the migration of some 10 per cent of the total, is the lack of educational facilities, in their home towns or villages.

In all 40 per cent of the immigrants from rural areas and 23 per cent from the urban areas have listed one or the other economic necessity as a cause of their immigration. If we take only those immigrants into account who were formerly earners or earning dependents, it is found that 64 per cent of them from the urban areas and 85 per cent from the rural areas have migrated to the city on account of some economic necessity. As many as nearly 25 per cent of such immigrants from the urban areas have been driven to the town on account of the Partition. The proportion of such immigrants from rural areas to the city is, however, small since the displaced persons from the countryside have tended to migrate largely to the rural areas. Relevant information is summarised in the following table :

TABLE 38

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS PREVIOUSLY EARNING BY CAUSES OF THEIR MIGRATION

<i>Causes</i>	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Perce- ntage</i>	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Perce- ntage</i>	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Perce- ntage</i>
A : ECONOMIC						
(1) Not enough land to cultivate	192	32.16	2	0.95	194	24.04
(2) Meagre income	138	23.11	14	6.67	152	18.83
(3) Insufficient employment	35	5.87	7	3.33	42	5.21
(4) Dislike of employment	9	1.51	2	0.95	11	1.36
(5) Prospects of better employment	99	16.58	56	26.67	155	19.21
(6) Transfer	35	5.86	54	25.71	89	11.03
Total	508	85.09	135	64.28	643	79.68

B: SOCIAL

(1) Social and class tension	4	0.67	3	1.43	7	0.87
(2) Family differences	20	3.35	5	2.38	25	3.10
(3) Lack of educational facilities	4	0.67	1	0.48	5	0.62
(4) Lack of amenities and entertainment	1	0.17	—	—	1	0.12
Total	29	4.86	9	4.29	38	4.71

C: MARRIAGE AND DEPENDENCY

(1) Marriage	2	0.331	—	—	2	0.25
(2) Came with the head of family	13	2.180	5	2.38	18	2.23
Total	15	2.511	5	2.38	20	2.48

D: PARTITION

D: PARTITION	24	4.02	51	24.29	75	9.29
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E: OTHERS

E: OTHERS	21	3.52	10	4.76	31	3.84
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Grand Total	597	100.00	210	100.00	807	100.00
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Classifying roughly the various causes of immigration into "Pull" and "Push" factors, the predominant role of the latter is quite distinct as revealed by the following table :

TABLE 39

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY "PULL" AND "PUSH" FACTORS UNDERLYING THEIR MIGRATION

<i>Causes</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>
A: PULL FACTORS			
(1) Meagre Income	6.70	1.24	4.81
(2) Prospects of better employment	4.98	5.29	5.09
(3) Transfer	2.05	5.47	3.23
(4) Lack of educational facilities	6.00	4.24	5.39
(5) Lack of amenities, etc.	0.19	0.09	0.15
Total	19.92	16.33	18.67

B: PUSH FACTORS

(1) Not enough land to cultivate	9.26	0.18	6.12
(2) Insufficient employment	1.72	0.70	1.37
(3) Unemployment	15.36	9.71	13.41
(4) Dislike of employment	0.46	0.18	0.37
(5) Social and class tension	1.21	0.79	1.07
(6) Family differences	1.21	0.88	1.10
(7) Partition	5.58	23.92	11.91

Total	34.80	36.36	35.35
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C: UNCLASSIFIED

(1) Marriage	7.26	4.85	6.43
(2) Migration with head of the family	27.97	31.60	29.22
(3) Others	10.05	10.86	10.33

Total	45.28	47.31	45.98
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Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
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Figures in the above table disclose that almost twice as many persons have been "pushed out" to the town as have been "pulled into" it. Thirty-five per cent of the total immigrants, more or less the same proportion out of those from rural and urban areas, have migrated to the town because of the impact of the "push" factors in their home towns or villages. Rural unemployment and under-employment, including extreme pressure on land, resulting in shortage of cultivated area for the family, are the main forces driving out village people to the town. If we exclude those who have migrated to the town on account of the Partition, unemployment in their home town again accounts for the heaviest migration of the urban people.

Information in respect of immigrants who were already earners or earning dependents before their migration to the town, disclose almost an equal role of the "pull" and "push" factors. This is due to the exclusions of the unemployed from amongst them. Even then the "push" factors account for migration of as many as the "pull" factors. This reveals a situation where many are unable to make the two ends meet in their own places. Relevant figures are given in the following table :

TABLE 40

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PREVIOUSLY EARNING IMMIGRANTS BY
"PULL" AND "PUSH" FACTORS UNDERLYING THEIR MIGRATION

<i>Causes</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>
A : PULL FACTORS			
(1) Meagre Income	23.11	6.67	18.82
(2) Prospects of better employment	16.58	26.67	19.21
(3) Transfer	5.86	25.71	11.03
(4) Lack of educational facilities	0.67	0.48	0.62
(5) Lack of amenities, etc.	0.17	—	0.12
Total	46.39	59.53	49.81
B : PUSH FACTORS			
(1) Not enough land to cultivate	32.16	0.95	24.04
(2) Insufficient employment	5.87	3.33	5.21
(3) Dislike of employment	1.51	0.96	1.36
(4) Social and class tension	0.67	1.43	0.87
(5) Family differences	3.35	2.38	3.10
(6) Partition	4.02	24.29	9.29
Total	47.58	33.33	43.87
C : UNCLASSIFIED			
(1) Marriage	0.33	—	0.25
(2) Migrated with the head of family	2.18	2.38	2.23
(3) Others	3.52	4.76	3.84
Total	6.03	7.14	6.32
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Classifying the immigrants by sex, education, and caste and community it is noted that very few females have immigrated to the town independently, on account of any economic or social necessity. With the exception of some 4 per cent nearly all of them have come to the town with the head of the family or as a result of marriage, Partition or some such factor. Among the male members however the immigration of some 54 per cent is accounted for by one or the other economic necessity.

There are significant differences in the proportion of persons belonging to various castes and communities, accounting their migration by any given factor. Thus only 30 per cent of the upper caste Hindus have migrated to the town on account of an economic

necessity as compared to 48 per cent of the intermediate caste Hindus, 42 per cent of the lower caste Hindus and 38 per cent of the Muslims. The position of these latter groups appears to be worse than that of the upper caste Hindus in their native places, although the proportion of those migrating on account of unemployment does not vary much in various castes and communities. Again, better educational facilities in the town have attracted nearly 7 per cent of the upper caste Hindu immigrants as compared to only 2 per cent of those belonging to the lower castes and 3 per cent of the intermediate caste Hindus. Finally for obvious reasons, the Partition of the country is responsible mainly for the immigration of the Hindus and that too of the upper caste Hindus to the town. Underlying these differences by caste and community and the relative role of various factors of migration are also the differences in the respective occupations, incomes and educational standards. The intermediate caste Hindus are much more engaged in cultivation than the upper caste Hindus. Hence a larger proportion of the immigrants of the former castes is accounted for by shortage of land to cultivate than of the latter. The upper caste Hindus are in liberal professions to a larger extent than others and place a higher value on education. Hence immigration of a larger proportion among them than among others is accounted for by educational facilities. Relevant statistics are given in Tables 41 and 42.

TABLE 41
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY CAUSES OF
IMMIGRATION AND BY SEX

<i>Causes</i>	<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>
	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total</i>
A : ECONOMIC				
(1) Not enough land to cultivate	13.90	0.31	9.68	—
(2) Meagre Income	9.91	2.17	7.52	0.07
(3) Unemployment	22.55	16.93	20.81	0.66
(4) Insufficient employment	2.58	1.09	2.12	0.08
(5) Dislike of employment	0.71	0.31	0.58	—
(6) Prospects of better employment	7.20	9.16	7.80	0.42
(7) Transfer	3.07	9.63	5.11	—
Total	59.92	39.60	53.62	1.23

B : SOCIAL

(1) Social and class tension	1.20	0.78	1.06	1.08
(2) Family differences	1.60	1.24	1.48	0.42
(3) Lack of educational facilities	8.45	6.52	7.85	1.16
(4) Lack of amenities, etc.	0.28	0.15	0.24	—
Total	11.53	8.69	10.63	2.66

C : MARRIAGE AND DEPENDENCY

(1) Marriage	0.07	—	0.05	17.41
(2) Came with the head of family	18.15	21.12	19.07	46.68
Total	18.22	21.12	19.12	64.09

D : PARTITION

	4.61	22.67	10.22	14.94
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E : OTHERS

	5.72	7.92	6.41	17.08
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Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
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Analysing the causes of immigration by the educational standards of the immigrants it is found that there are no significant differences in the proportion accounted for by economic necessity. The illiterates as well as the literates and the university educated persons are pressed equally by economic factors to migrate. But within the broad group of economic factors, there are significant differences in the proportion of those immigrating on account of any one particular reason, and in their educational standards. Thus as many as ten to eleven per cent of the illiterates and those with an education upto the primary standard have immigrated to the town because they had not enough land to cultivate. The proportion of the immigrants with a secondary or higher education migrating for this reason is only about one per cent. The difference is equally marked and similar with regard to those migrating on account of their meagre income. These proportions are, however, reversed when we consider unemployment as a factor. A little less than one-fifth of the total immigrants with a secondary and higher education are accounted for by unemployment in their home towns and villages. As against this migration of only 10 to 12 per cent of the illiterate immigrants or of those who have read upto the primary standard, can be accounted for by this factor. It is apparent that the incidence of unemployment is more marked in the case of the educated than the uneducated, for whom the primary problem is that of under-employment on their limited agricultural holdings.

TABLE 42

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION AND BY CASTE AND COMMUNITY

Causes	Hindus				Total	Non-Hindus	
	Upper	Intermediate	Lower	N.A.		Muslims	Others
A: ECONOMIC							
(1) Not enough land to cultivate	4.49	13.13	8.13	17.65	6.81	4.26	0.70
(2) Meagre Income	2.66	10.69	10.05	1.96	4.89	5.55	0.70
(3) Unemployment	13.02	13.70	14.35	3.92	13.09	17.04	5.56
(4) Insufficient employment	0.66	3.19	3.35	—	1.39	0.93	2.78
(5) Dislike of employment	0.28	0.56	0.48	—	0.35	0.55	—
(6) Prospects of better employment	4.21	6.19	3.83	5.88	4.62	7.04	6.26
(7) Transfer	4.32	0.94	1.44	—	3.31	2.78	3.50
Total	29.64	48.40	41.63	29.41	34.46	38.15	19.50
B: SOCIAL							
(1) Social and class tension	1.39	0.19	—	1.96	1.04	1.48	—
(2) Family differences	0.55	3.00	0.96	—	1.08	1.48	—
(3) Lack of educational facilities	6.98	3.19	1.91	3.92	5.73	4.26	3.50
(4) Lack of amenities	0.17	—	0.48	—	0.15	0.19	—
Total	9.09	6.38	3.35	5.88	8.00	7.41	3.50
C: MARRIAGE AND DEPENDENCY							
(1) Marriage	5.71	8.44	11.00	11.77	6.81	5.00	4.86
(2) Migrated with the head of family	30.19	24.20	31.10	5.88	28.56	35.74	16.66
Total	35.90	32.64	42.10	17.65	35.37	40.74	21.52
D: PARTITION							
	14.57	5.07	5.74	39.22	12.39	0.55	45.84
E: OTHERS							
	10.80	7.51	7.18	7.84	9.78	13.15	9.64
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

There are, however, marked differences by educational standards in the proportion of those coming to the town for non-economic reasons. Thus, only 28 per cent of the immigrants with the secondary or higher education have come to the town on account of marriage or dependency as against 43 per cent of the illiterates and 35 per cent of those with a primary education. Further as many as 14 per cent of the former have attributed their immigration to social factors particularly lack of educational facilities in their native places, as against only 3 per cent and 6 per cent respectively of the latter. The Partition accounts for the immigration of 14 to 15 per cent of the literate immigrants as against 5.5 per cent of the illiterates. Obviously the forces leading to the immigration of various persons and households to the town are not the same with regard to the educated and to the uneducated. Relevant statistical information in this connection is summarised in the following table :

TABLE 43

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY CAUSES AND BY EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

<i>Causes</i>	<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Second- ary & above</i>	<i>Private</i>	<i>Not avail- able</i>	<i>Total</i>
A : ECONOMIC						
(1) Not enough land to cultivate	10.51	9.40	1.37	7.38	—	6.12
(2) Meagre Income	9.06	5.30	1.59	4.43	—	4.80
(3) Unemployment	9.45	11.81	18.61	10.34	—	13.40
(4) Insufficient employment	2.31	1.45	0.38	1.90	—	1.37
(5) Dislike of employment	0.39	0.72	0.23	0.42	—	0.37
(6) Prospects of better employment	5.40	5.54	5.24	4.02	—	5.09
(7) Transfer	0.68	0.72	6.99	0.84	—	3.23
Total	37.80	34.94	34.41	29.33	—	34.38

B: SOCIAL

(1) Social and class tension	0.48	2.17	0.84	2.11	—	1.06
(2) Family differences	2.03	1.45	0.30	1.05	—	1.10
(3) Lack of educational facilities	—	2.65	12.31	0.84	—	5.39
(4) Lack of amenities and entertainment	0.10	—	0.30	—	—	0.15

Total	2.61	6.27	13.75	4.00	—	7.70
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C: MARRIAGE AND DEPENDENCY

(1) Marriage	10.41	4.82	3.70	7.17	—	6.48
(2) Came with the head of family	32.88	29.88	24.01	32.28	62.50	29.21

Total	43.29	34.70	27.71	39.45	62.50	35.69
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D: PARTITION	5.50	13.97	15.13	14.56	20.00	11.90
E: OTHERS	10.80	10.12	9.00	12.66	17.50	10.33

Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
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DISINTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

As pointed out earlier a considerable number of members of the immigrant families still live outside the city. At an average more than 1.53 persons out of 5.61 persons in an average immigrant family were found to be living outside the city. Some of these are employed elsewhere, while others have been left behind on account of the joint family system or to look after private property in the native place or even on account of the high cost of living and lack of housing accommodation in the city. The relative importance of various factors responsible for about one-fourth of the family

members of the immigrant family living outside is revealed by the following figures :

TABLE 44

REASONS FOR FAMILY MEMBERS OF IMMIGRANTS LIVING OUTSIDE

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Family members living elsewhere</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
A : ECONOMIC		
(1) Lack of housing accommodation	155	6.98
(2) Under-employment	47	2.12
(3) Employment elsewhere	418	18.84
(4) Property elsewhere	249	11.22
(5) High cost of living	337	15.19
Total	1206	54.35
B : SOCIAL		
(1) Joint family members living elsewhere	540	24.69
(2) Getting education	63	2.84
(3) Family ties	278	12.17
(4) Others	30	1.35
Total	911	41.05
C : N. A.	102	4.60
Grand Total	2219	100.00

Nearly 37 per cent of the total members of the immigrant families are living elsewhere, with the joint family or with other relations, presumably in places where from the immigrants have migrated. This indicates the role of the joint family system in facilitating immigration. As many as 22 per cent of the family members living elsewhere are accounted for by lack of housing accommodation, or high cost of living in their adopted town. In their case living elsewhere can hardly be regarded as optional, or voluntary. They are simply waiting for an opportunity to move in as soon as economic and housing conditions permit.

A break up of the members living elsewhere by their relationship to the immigrant head of the family, reveals that immigration

tends to disintegrate not only the joint family but even the natural family. Among the family members of immigrants who have been left behind 10 per cent are wives and another 20 per cent are sons and daughters. The disintegration of the natural family to this extent is obvious.

Comparing the total number of wives with the number of immigrant households it is estimated that roughly about 15 per cent of the married immigrants have been temporarily separated from their wives on account of immigration. About 30 per cent of the total family members who are living elsewhere are children below the age of five years. There is little doubt that whereas the joint family system tends to facilitate immigration, immigration in its turn tends to disintegrate the natural family, on account of the unsatisfactory and difficult housing conditions in the town.

TIES WITH THE NATIVE PLACE

There can be, for obvious reasons, little tie with the native place, in the case of immigrants who have been uprooted by the Partition of the country and are, for practical purposes, permanently displaced from their native lands. A little more than one-tenth of the total immigrant households may be placed in this category. Most of the remaining immigrant households maintain some ties and associations with their native places. It is obvious from the fact that one-fourth of the family members of the immigrant households live outside the city, largely in places wherefrom they migrated; nearly three-fourths of the heads of immigrant households pay a visit to their native place and four-fifths out of them at least once a year. A high percentage of wives and children of the immigrant living in the city spend an yearly vacation or sojourn in their home towns or villages; and many immigrants make remittances for members left behind. At the same time it may be stated that the ties and associations of the immigrants with their original homes and places are seldom strong and on the whole the immigrants have left their places more or less permanently and finally. This conclusion is brought out by the fact that nearly two-thirds of the total members of the immigrant households living in the city seldom pay a visit to the place of their original residence; the duration of stay of those who visit is short; and only a few intend to return and settle once again in their home towns or villages.

The remittances are not regular and the amount is meagre. Most of the visits are for social rather than for economic reasons.

A little less than one-third of the members of the immigrant households have been reported to be paying a visit to their native places and only some 11 per cent out of them visit on account of some economic reasons, such as seasonal employment, property or business. Most of those who visit, go to see their relations and family members or to attend some social ceremony. Figures in Tables 45-48 are revealing in this context :

TABLE 45

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS
BY VISITS TO NATIVE PLACE

<i>Visits</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Per cent of visiting migrants</i>
Every year	1,574	26.61	81.22
Once in two years	184	3.11	9.49
Once in three years	92	1.55	4.75
Once in four years	32	0.54	1.65
Once in more than four years	56	0.95	2.89
Total immigrants immigrating	1,938	32.76	100.00
Practically no visits	3,977	67.24	—
Total	5,915	100.00	—

TABLE 48

IMMIGRANTS' VISITS TO NATIVE PLACES BY REASONS

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
A : ECONOMIC		
Seasonal employment	75	43.35
Looking after property and land	79	45.67
Looking after business and commercial dealings	19	10.98
	173	100.00
		8.93

TABLE 46

IMMIGRANTS' VISITS TO NATIVE PLACE BY DURATION AND NUMBER OF VISITS

<i>Duration of visit</i>	<i>Every year</i>	<i>Once in 2 years.</i>	<i>Once in 3 years.</i>	<i>Once in 4 years.</i>	<i>Once in more than 4 years</i>	<i>Total</i>
15 days or less	973 (67.67) (61.82)	153 (12.06) (83.15)	78 (6.15) (84.78)	25 (1.97) (78.63)	40 (3.15) (71.43)	1269 (100.00) (65.48)
16 — 30 days	331 (90.19) (21.03)	17 (4.63) (9.24)	6 (1.64) (6.52)	5 (1.36) (15.13)	8 (2.18) (14.28)	367 (100.00) (18.94)
31 — 60 days	185 (90.69) (11.75)	7 (3.43) (3.80)	6 (2.94) (6.52)	1 (0.49) (3.12)	5 (2.45) (8.93)	204 (100.00) (10.53)
61 — 90 days	59 (93.65) (3.75)	2 (3.175) (1.09)	2 (3.175) (2.18)	—	—	63 (100.00) (3.25)
91 and more	26 (74.29) (1.65)	5 (14.28) (2.72)	—	1 (2.86) (3.12)	3 (8.57) (5.36)	35 (100.00) (1.80)
Total	1574 (81.22) (100.00)	184 (9.49) (100.00)	92 (4.75) (100.00)	32 (1.65) (100.00)	56 (2.89) (100.00)	1938 (100.00) (100.00)

(Figures within bracket denote percentage)

TABLE 47

IMMIGRANTS' VISITS TO NATIVE PLACE BY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HEAD

<i>Visits</i>	<i>Heads</i>	<i>Wives</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
Every year	854 (54.26) (83.23)	274 (17.41) (75.90)	275 (17.47) (83.59)	171 (10.86) (77.03)	1574 (100.00) (81.22)
Once in two years	78 (42.39) (7.60)	47 (25.54) (13.02)	31 (16.85) (9.42)	28 (15.22) (12.61)	184 (100.00) (9.49)
Once in three years	45 (48.91) (4.39)	20 (21.74) (5.54)	15 (16.31) (4.56)	12 (13.04) (5.41)	92 (100.00) (4.75)
Once in four years	20 (62.50) (1.95)	11 (34.37) (3.05)	1 (3.13) (0.30)	—	32 (100.00) (1.65)
Once in more than four years	29 (51.79) (2.83)	9 (16.07) (2.49)	7 (12.50) (2.13)	11 (19.64) (4.95)	56 (100.00) (2.89)
Total	1026 (52.94) (100.00)	361 (18.63) (100.00)	329 (16.98) (100.00)	222 (11.45) (100.00)	1938 (100.00) (100.00)

(Figures within bracket denote percentage)

B: SOCIAL

Visiting relations	812	46.01	41.89
Visiting family members	538	30.48	27.76
Social ceremonies	286	16.20	14.76
Holidays and spending of vacations	76	4.31	3.92
Others	53	3.00	2.74
	1765	100.00	91.07
Total	1938	—	100.00

About 30 per cent of the immigrant households, however, have some sort of property in their home towns and villages ; and this represents their strongest economic tie to their native place. About 12 per cent are reported to be having an agricultural holding in their village. But in most cases the holding is small and only one-third of those who have a holding have five acres or more. The relevant figures are given in the following table :

TABLE 49

IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS BY PROPERTY IN NATIVE PLACES

<i>Households</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Having property	417	28.74
Having no property	1034	71.26
Total	1451	100.00
Having holdings	172	11.85
Having no holdings	1279	88.15
Total	1451	100.00
Having less than 2 acres	65	37.79
2—5 acres	46	26.75
5—10 acres	16	9.30
10—15 acres	10	5.81
15 and more acres	14	8.14
Not Available	21	12.21
Total	172	100.00

Very few immigrant households, i.e. only 2.76 per cent of the total, have purchased immovable property in their home towns and villages after their emigration. The value of property purchased is seldom high—17 immigrant households out of 1,451 in the sample have purchased property worth Rs. 1,000 or more. Remittances to family members living elsewhere are reported by about one-fifth of the immigrant households. These remittances, however, are in most cases (70.47 per cent of the total) of less than Rs. 30 per month. It appears that these are the ordinary and unskilled workers who make most of these remittances and it is they who have largely left their families behind. Figures in this context are summarised in the following table :

TABLE 50

IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS BY AVERAGE MONTHLY AMOUNT OF MONEY
REMITTED TO FAMILY MEMBERS LIVING ELSEWHERE

<i>Amount</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	1092	—	75.26
Less than Rs. 10	53	14.76	3.65
Rs. 10 — 20	116	32.31	7.99
Rs. 20 — 30	84	23.40	5.79
Rs. 30 — 40	31	8.64	2.14
Rs. 40 — 50	23	6.41	1.59
Rs. 50 — 60	24	6.68	1.65
Rs. 60 and over	28	7.80	1.93
Total	1451	100.00	100.00

Nearly 13 per cent of the total immigrant households, were reported to be still intending to go back and settle in their home towns or villages. Excluding the households of the displaced immigrants, it may be stated that one out of every five immigrant households still regards its stay in the city as temporary. Nearly one third of those who are looking forward to go back, feel that they will enjoy more security and comfort in old age and sickness at their place than here. Obviously lack of old age and sickness insurance appears to be an obstacle in the way of permanent settlement in the town of all immigrant households. In the following

table the reasons mentioned by the immigrant heads, for going back and the number stating those reasons are given :

TABLE 51
IMMIGRANT HEADS PLANNING TO GO BACK BY REASONS

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Old age and ill health	55	29.25
Insufficient income and high cost of living	41	21.81
Lack of adequate employment	22	11.70
To attend family business in native place	14	7.45
Housing difficulties	7	3.72
Lack of social contacts	3	1.60
Other reasons	46	24.47
Total	188	100.00

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATION, EMPLOYMENT AND EARNING

WORKING AGE GROUP

CONCEPTUALLY, persons between the ages of 15 to 64 years are placed in the working-age group. This group includes most of the people, if not all, who have an occupation and are economically active. But it is not true that all persons between the ages of 15 to 64 years are gainfully occupied or have a job. In particular, a large number of females in this group are not economically active. The concept of the working-age population, is, however, usually utilised to make crude comparison of manpower resources; and besides, the ratio of this group to the total population, reflects the conditions which age structure imposes on the livelihood of a population. In the industrially advanced countries the people aged 15 to 64 years, constitute 60 to 65 per cent of the total population. In countries of relatively high fertility their proportion is less, being limited to 53 to 59 per cent. According to the Census of 1951 in the country as a whole 58.4 per cent of the total population was found in the working-age and the ratio of persons of dependent age per hundred persons of working ages was worked out as 71, in contrast to 55 in United States and France.

According to our sample, 57.80 per cent of the total population living in the city is in the working-age of 15 to 64 years. The proportion is higher among the immigrants (59.78 per cent) than among the old residents (56.92 per cent).

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION

Two standards are used to assess the proportion of economically active population. The first is that of gainful work or "gainfully occupied", and the second is that of "labour force". According to the first standard the economically active are all those who usually have some occupation, irrespective of being actually employed or not, at the time of enquiry. The measurement of labour force requires information about actual employment on the date of

enquiry or in the reference period. Labour force includes all those who are found to be actually employed as well as the unemployed, that is people not actually working at the stated date but "seeking work".

In our schedule all persons in a family or household were classified into earners, earning dependents, unemployed, disabled and non-earning dependents. The total of the first three categories has been utilised to measure the labour force. It thus includes all earners and earning dependents as well as persons who are not actually employed but are seeking some work or a job.

The labour force rate works out at 29.92 per cent of all persons living in the city. It is higher for the immigrant households at 31.06 per cent and lower for the resident households at 29.42 per cent. Each person in the labour force is thus required to support more than two persons besides himself in a typical household in the city.

The labour force works out at 51.71 per cent of the total population in the working-age group. This ratio for the immigrants alone is 51.95 per cent as compared to 51.68 per cent for the old residents. The difference is not significant and on the whole it may be stated that there is a large leakage of the man-power resources. This may be accounted for by late entry or early retirement on the one hand and non-entry of most women into economic activity on the other.

EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS BY INDUSTRY

All earners and earning dependents have been classified by industries and occupations on the basis of I.S.I. classification. Out of a total number of 5,522 earners and earning dependents in our sample living in the city, full information is not available with regard to 151, i.e. 2.70 per cent of the total. Consequently, our analysis is based on a sample of 5,371 only.

Four groups of industries, viz. manufacturing, distributive services (trade and commerce), transport, storage and communication, and services, give employment to about 88 per cent of the total earners and earning dependents in the city. Services absorb the largest number, i.e. 28.43 per cent of the total, followed by distributive services that account for another 23.09 per cent and manufacturing taking 20.24 per cent of the total. The only other sector that gives employment to any substantial number is transport, storage and communication, accounting for the employment of 16.05 per cent of

the total earners and earning dependents. The rest of the industries are not significant from the viewpoint of giving employment to any substantial proportion of the population.

The distribution of earners and earning dependents in various industries differs in the case of the old residents and the immigrants. Forty-one per cent of the immigrants are employed in the services industry as compared to only 23 per cent of the old residents. In the manufacturing industry on the other hand a little less than 12 per cent of the immigrants find employment, while 24 per cent of the old residents are engaged therein. As against this, in transport, storage and communication 21 per cent of the immigrants are employed in contrast to 14 per cent of the old residents. The position is again reversed in the distributive services where only 18 per cent of the immigrants are engaged as against 25 per cent of the old residents. Nearly two-thirds (62.02 per cent) of the earners and earning dependents among the immigrants in the city are employed in two groups of industries only, i.e. services and transport, storage and communication. These two give employment to only about one-third (36.21 per cent) of the old residents, who predominate in the manufacturing and distributive services industries. Detailed figures are given in the following table :

TABLE 52

<i>Industrial Divisions</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Agriculture and allied	185	5.05	51	2.99	236	4.39
2. Mining and grainary	11	0.30	—	—	11	0.20
3. Manufacturing	885	24.17	202	11.82	1087	20.24
4. Construction	171	4.67	38	2.22	209	3.89
5. Electricity and other public services	84	2.30	19	1.11	103	1.92
6. Distributive services (trade and commerce)	935	25.53	305	17.85	1240	23.09
7. Transport storage, etc.	500	13.65	362	21.18	862	16.05
8. Services	829	22.64	698	40.87	1527	28.43
9. Inadequately described	62	1.69	34	1.96	96	1.79
Total	3662	100.00	1709	100.00	5371	100.00

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

For occupational distribution as well, we have used the I.S.I. classification. Further, information was collected whether a person was working in an occupation independently on his own account, as a salaried worker or as a casual or daily labourer. Persons who were employed on a weekly, fortnightly, monthly or yearly basis and were being paid a wage or salary accordingly, were classified as salaried workers. Others who were employed on a daily basis were classified as casual or daily labourers. The rest who worked on their own as independent traders, artisans or in liberal professions as those practising law or medicine were classified among independent workers.

Taking all earners and earning dependents together, it was found that nearly 46 per cent were employed on a salary or a wage, 40 per cent were working independently on their own account, and a little more than 14 per cent earned their living as casual or daily labourers. Their relative proportion in this respect by their status as immigrants and old residents is given in the following table :

TABLE 53
DISTRIBUTION OF EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS
BY EMPLOYMENT

Occupation	Old Residents		Immigrants		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
1. Artisans and independent workers	1713	46.77	441	25.80	2154	40.10
2. Salaried workers	1373	37.49	1082	63.31	2455	45.71
3. Casual or daily workers	576	15.74	186	10.89	762	14.19
Total	3662	100.00	1709	100.00	5371	100.00

There is a marked difference among the old residents and the immigrants in respect of their source of living as paid workers or independent earners. Among the immigrants 63 per cent are salaried workers and another 11 per cent casual or daily labourers

and only 26 per cent work independently on their own account. The respective figures for the old residents are 37 per cent, 16 per cent and 47 per cent. It is obvious that relatively speaking 50 per cent more of the old residents earn their living by casual or daily labour than the immigrants, who are mostly employed on a fixed salary or a wage. These differences are mainly due to the occupations in which they are distributed.

In the population as a whole 42 per cent of the earners and earning dependents are in subordinate technical jobs and another 22 per cent in sales and related occupations. Ministerial jobs, and subordinate administrative and executive jobs, each account for another 9 to 10 per cent of the total. Ordinary services including domestic service employ another 9 per cent. Liberal professions and other superior occupations give employment to only 7 per cent of the total earners and earning dependents.

The immigrants on the whole seem to occupy superior occupations than the old residents. If managerial and other non-technical services, liberal professions and superior occupations and subordinate administrative and executive jobs are taken together it is found that 26 per cent of the immigrants are in these higher occupations as compared to only 15 per cent of the old residents. In the ministerial jobs too, the immigrants find relatively more employment than the old residents. Nearly 15 per cent of the immigrants are in these occupations as compared to only 7 per cent of the old residents. In the lower grades of occupations, i.e. sales and related occupations, subordinate technical jobs and ordinary services, nearly 80 per cent of the old residents are employed as compared to some 60 per cent of the immigrants. It appears that the immigrants have certain advantages of education, skill and capital, that enable them to occupy the higher ranks in the occupational hierarchy. Figures in Table 54 are significant in this respect.

Almost half of the persons working on their own account are found in the sales and related occupations and another 36 per cent in the subordinate technical occupations. Among the salaried earners nearly one-third are in the subordinate technical jobs and another one-fifth each in the ministerial and subordinate administrative and executive occupations. Liberal professions, etc. and ordinary services each account for another 10 per cent. The casual or daily workers are mostly in the subordinate technical occupations.

TABLE 54

DISTRIBUTION OF EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS
BY VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

<i>Occupations</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Managerial & other non-technical	31	0.85	50	2.92	81	1.51
2. Professional and other superior occupation	207	5.65	168	9.83	375	6.80
3. Subordinate, administrative and executive	299	8.16	227	13.28	526	9.79
4. Ministerial	247	6.74	247	14.45	494	9.20
5. Sales and related occupations	912	24.91	289	16.91	1201	22.36
6. Subordinate technical	1660	45.34	562	32.89	2222	41.37
7. Services	306	8.35	166	9.72	472	8.97
Total	3662	100.00	1709	100.00	5371	100.00

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Sixty per cent of the total earners and earning dependents have been reported as employees. Their proportion being as high as nearly 75 per cent among the immigrants. With the exception of a small percentage the rest are classified as self employed. Their proportion being 46 per cent among the residents and a little less than 25 per cent among the immigrants. These figures are very significant in two ways. Firstly, these bring out the extent of the small-scale and petty trade and enterprise including cottage production in the economic organisation of the city. Secondly, these focus attention on the fact that this sector offers limited opportunities of expansion and hence the proportion of earners among the immigrants in this sector is relatively much smaller than is the case with residents.

TABLE 55

EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

<i>Employment Status</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
Self employed	1678	45.82	421	24.63	2099	39.08
Employers	24	0.66	17	0.99	41	0.76
Employees	1949	53.22	1268	74.20	3217	59.90
Unpaid family workers	11	0.30	3	0.18	14	0.26
Total	3662	100.00	1709	100.00	5371	100.00

SECURITY OF EMPLOYMENT

All employees have not a permanent employment. Nearly 15 per cent of the total have been counted as casual or daily workers. Besides these, there are many, among others, whose employment is not secure. In all, 53 per cent of the wage-earners have returned their employment as insecure. Among those who are not employed on a daily basis and are neither casual workers, the incidence of insecurity of employment has been calculated at 38.40 per cent of the total employed. Their breakup according to residents and immigrants is as follows :

TABLE 56

INSECURITY OF EMPLOYMENT AMONG SALARIED WORKERS

<i>Employees having</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
Secure employment	793	57.76	658	60.81	1451	59.10
Insecure employment	538	39.18	405	37.43	943	38.41
N.A.	42	3.06	19	1.76	61	2.49
Total	1373	100.00	1082	100.00	2455	100.00

AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORKING DAYS

Those who have reported some form of employment are not always fully employed. An idea of the high incidence of under-employment is obtained from the fact that among the casual or daily workers only 43 per cent succeed in getting employment for 21 days or more in a month. About 57 per cent of the casual or daily workers may be regarded as less than fully employed. The incidence of such under-employment is no less in the case of petty traders, artisans and persons engaged in various professions. The detailed figures in this context are given in Tables 57 and 58. In the table regarding traders, artisans, etc. figures regarding the number of days taken off voluntarily in a month are given. Voluntary idleness is not always unenforced and it is presumed that this disguises a considerable volume of unemployment. A little more than 8 per cent of all earners working on their own account have reported employment for less than 15 days in a month.

TABLE 57
CASUAL OR DAILY WORKERS BY AVERAGE NUMBER
OF WORKING DAYS

<i>No. of working days in a month</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	18	3.13	5	2.69	23	3.02
Less than 7 days	14	2.43	3	1.61	17	2.23
7 — 14 days	53	9.20	15	8.07	68	8.92
14 — 21 days	236	40.97	58	31.18	294	38.58
21 days and more	232	40.28	98	52.69	330	43.31
N. A.	23	3.99	7	3.76	30	3.94
Total	576	100.00	186	100.00	762	100.00

To some extent the number of working days on which a casual or daily worker does not work or which are taken off voluntarily by earners working on their own account is due to the incidence of sickness. It has been calculated, as is clear from Tables 59 and 60,

TABLE 58

INDEPENDENT TRADERS, ARTISANS AND PROFESSIONALS BY NUMBER OF DAYS TAKEN OFF VOLUNTARILY IN A MONTH

<i>Days taken off</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	937	54.70	250	56.69	1187	55.11
Less than 3 days	87	5.08	35	7.94	122	5.66
3 — 7 days	403	23.53	103	23.35	506	23.49
7 — 14 days	142	8.29	22	4.99	164	7.61
14 — 21 days	74	4.32	16	3.63	90	4.18
21 days and more	23	1.34	3	0.68	26	1.21
N.A.	47	2.74	12	2.72	59	2.74
Total	1713	100.00	441	100.00	2154	100.00

that 75 per cent to 80 per cent of the earners and the earning dependents, do not ordinarily lose any day on account of sickness. But nearly 15 per cent of the casual or daily workers and 11 per cent of the petty traders, artisans, etc. lose at an average three or more days per month due to sickness.

TABLE 59

CASUAL AND DAILY WORKERS BY DAYS LOST PER MONTH DUE TO SICKNESS

<i>Days lost due to sickness</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	452	78.47	135	72.58	587	77.03
Less than 3 days	16	2.78	20	10.75	36	4.72
3 — 7 days	38	6.60	12	6.45	50	6.56
7 — 14 days	18	3.13	5	2.69	23	3.02
14 — 21 days	9	1.56	3	1.61	12	1.58
21 days and more	20	3.47	4	2.15	24	3.15
N.A.	23	3.99	7	3.77	30	3.94
Total	576	100.00	186	100.00	762	100.00

TABLE 60

 INDEPENDENT TRADERS, ARTISANS AND PROFESSIONALS
 BY WORKING DAYS LOST DUE TO SICKNESS

<i>Days lost due to sickness in a month</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per- centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per- centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per- centage</i>
Nil	1455	84.94	335	75.96	1790	83.10
Less than 3 days	28	1.64	47	10.66	75	3.48
3 — 7 days	47	2.74	15	3.40	62	2.88
7 — 14 days	40	2.34	9	2.04	49	2.27
14 — 21 days	54	3.15	11	2.50	65	3.02
21 days and more	42	2.45	12	2.72	54	2.51
N.A.	47	2.74	12	2.72	59	2.74
Total	1713	100.00	441	100.00	2154	100.00

AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNING

More than two-thirds of the earners and earning dependents have a monthly income of less than Rs. 75 and nearly one-fourth as low as less than Rs. 30. Only about 12 per cent earn Rs. 150 per month or more and less than 5 per cent have a monthly income of Rs. 250 or more. These figures are an index of both low earnings and under-employment. The residents as judged by their relative proportion in the lowest income group are poorer than the immigrants. Again, the relative proportion of immigrants in the upper income brackets is much larger than that of the residents. The detailed figures are given in Table 61.

Monthly earnings of the salaried workers, casual and daily labourers, and earners working on their own account have been analysed separately. It is found that about one-third of the casual or daily labourers, earn Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 per month, and another one-third Rs. 30 to Rs. 45 per month. Relatively speaking the immigrant casual labourers are able to earn more than the old residents. Nearly two-fifths of the salaried employees earn between Rs. 30 and Rs. 75 per month, another 30 per cent between Rs. 75 and Rs. 150 per month. Only about 8 per cent are able to earn Rs. 250 or more per month. Among

TABLE 61

MONTHLY INCOME OF EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS

<i>Income Group</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Below Rs. 30	1024	27.96	264	15.45	1288	23.98
Rs. 30 to Rs. 75	1751	47.51	702	41.08	2453	45.71
Rs. 75 to Rs. 150	568	15.82	396	23.17	964	17.95
Rs. 150 to Rs. 250	212	5.79	187	10.94	399	7.43
Rs. 250 to Rs. 500	86	2.35	104	6.08	190	3.54
Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000	13	0.35	38	2.22	51	0.95
Rs. 1000 and above	5	0.14	16	0.94	21	0.39
N. A.	3	0.08	2	0.12	5	0.05
Total	3662	100.00	1709	100.00	5371	100.00

persons working on their own account nearly one-third get less than Rs. 30 per month and about half between Rs. 30 and Rs. 75 per month. Less than 4 per cent are able to earn Rs. 250 or more per month. On the whole the salaried employees are able to earn more than the rest. The relevant figures are given in the following table :

TABLE 62

EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS BY
THEIR MONTHLY EARNINGS

<i>Income Groups</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
CASUAL OR DAILY WORKERS						
Below Rs. 15	73	12.67	23	12.37	96	12.60
Rs. 15 to Rs. 30	187	32.47	46	24.73	233	30.58
Rs. 30 to Rs. 45	187	32.47	62	33.33	249	32.68
Rs. 45 to Rs. 60	83	14.41	40	21.50	123	16.14
Rs. 60 to Rs. 75	32	5.55	9	4.84	41	5.38
Rs. 75 and more	14	2.43	6	3.23	20	2.62
Total	576	100.00	186	100.00	762	100.00

SALARIED EMPLOYEES

Below Rs. 30	203	14.78	74	6.84	277	11.28
Rs. 30 to Rs. 75	567	41.30	379	35.03	946	38.54
Rs. 75 to Rs. 150	387	28.19	336	31.05	723	29.45
Rs. 150 to Rs. 250	147	10.71	167	15.44	314	12.79
Rs. 250 to Rs. 500	61	4.44	88	8.13	149	16.07
Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000	6	0.44	24	2.22	30	1.22
Rs. 1000 and more	1	0.07	13	1.20	14	0.57
N.A.	1	0.07	1	0.09	2	0.08

Total	1373	100.00	1082	100.00	2455	100.00
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INDEPENDENT ARTISANS, TRADERS, ETC.

Below Rs. 30	561	32.75	121	27.44	682	31.66
Rs. 30 to Rs. 75	887	51.79	212	48.07	1094	50.79
Rs. 75 to Rs. 150	162	9.46	54	12.24	221	10.26
Rs. 150 to Rs. 250	65	3.79	20	4.54	85	3.95
Rs. 250 to Rs. 500	25	1.46	16	3.63	41	1.90
Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000	7	0.41	14	3.17	21	0.98
Rs. 1000 and more	4	0.23	3	0.68	7	0.32
N. A.	2	0.11	1	0.23	3	0.14

Total	1713	100.00	441	100.00	2154	100.00
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EARNING OF CASUAL AND DAILY WORKERS

One in every eight among the casual and daily workers earns less than Rs. 15 per month, and another 2 between Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 per month. Less than 4 per cent earn Rs. 75 or more per month and about half earn between Rs. 30 and Rs. 60 per month. Nearly all fail to get an economic minimum which is due to both, unfair wages, and lack of employment throughout the month. That wages are below the economic minimum and extremely unfair can be seen from the fact that the daily rate in about 75 per cent cases is less than Rs. 2 and in quite many cases even less than Rs. 1. The wage rates are given in Table 63.

Earnings of the casual workers are further depressed by lack of employment throughout the month. Less than half of the casual workers succeed in getting employment for three weeks or more,

TABLE 63.

CASUAL OR DAILY WORKERS BY DAILY WAGES

<i>Wage rates</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Less than Re. 1	60	10.42	34	18.28	94	12.33
Re. 1 to Rs. 1/8/-	243	42.19	64	34.41	307	40.29
Rs. 1/8/- to Rs. 2	82	14.24	30	16.13	112	14.70
Rs. 2 to Rs. 3	120	20.83	26	13.98	146	19.16
Rs. 3 and more	48	8.33	25	13.44	73	9.58
N.A.	23	3.99	7	3.76	30	3.94
Total	576	100.00	186	100.00	762	100.00

while 10 to 15 per cent get employment for less than two weeks. The detailed figures are given in the following table :

TABLE 64

DAILY OR CASUAL WORKERS BY AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORKING DAYS PER MONTH

<i>Working days in a month</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	18	3.13	5	2.69	23	3.02
Less than 7 days	14	2.43	3	1.61	17	2.23
1 week to 2 weeks	53	9.20	15	8.07	68	8.93
2 weeks to 3 weeks	236	40.97	58	31.18	294	38.57
3 weeks and more	232	40.28	98	52.69	330	43.31
N. A.	23	3.99	7	3.76	30	3.94
Total	576	100.00	186	100.00	762	100.00

MONTHLY EARNINGS OF PERSONS WORKING ON THEIR OWN ACCOUNT

Persons working on their own account include the self-employed as well as employers. In all there are only 41 employers in our sample. On the whole, therefore, the figures here represent the

average earnings of petty traders, artisans and persons in independent professions. Nearly one-third of the earners in this group earn less than Rs. 30 per month and a little more than four-fifths earn less than Rs. 75 per month. A few are in a position to earn as much as Rs. 1,000 or more but their number is insignificant. If Rs. 75 be regarded as an economic minimum it may be stated that most of the earners in this group fail to get an economic minimum.

Low earnings in this group are not simply due to the very low rate of return but are also caused by disguised unemployment. Like the casual or daily workers many of them are not fully employed and only about two-thirds get work for three weeks or more in a month as can be seen from the following figures :

TABLE 65

INDEPENDENT EARNERS BY AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORKING DAYS

<i>No. of working days in a month</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	43	2.51	7	1.59	50	2.32
Less than 1 week	25	1.46	4	0.91	29	1.35
1 week to 2 weeks	89	5.20	20	4.53	109	5.06
2 weeks to 3 weeks	394	23.00	110	24.94	504	23.39
3 weeks or more	1115	65.09	288	65.31	1403	65.14
N. A.	47	2.74	12	2.72	59	2.74
Total	1713	100.00	441	100.00	2154	100.00

Earners in this group fall mainly in two occupational divisions, i.e. sales and related occupations and subordinate technical occupations. Those in the sales and related occupations have relatively higher earnings than those in the subordinate technical occupations. The highest earnings are obviously of those who are in the managerial, executive and administrative occupations. Persons engaged in liberal professions and technical and related occupations also often fail to earn even the barest economic minimum. This may be due partly to overcrowding particularly in liberal professions.

OCCUPATION AND MONTHLY EARNINGS

We have calculated the monthly earnings of all earners and earning dependents taken together by occupational divisions. These disclose that as we move down in the occupational ladder from managerial jobs to domestic services the average monthly earnings fall very significantly. The highest incomes are apparently earned in the managerial and allied occupations. No less than 48 per cent of the persons in the highest income bracket and 41 per cent in the next highest income bracket are reported to be holding such jobs. Another 29 per cent of the persons in the highest income bracket and nearly 26 per cent in the next higher income bracket are in sales and related occupations, presumably those operating on a large scale. The remaining 24 per cent of the persons in the highest income bracket are in liberal professions and other superior services that also account for 25 per cent of the persons in the next highest income bracket. The rest of the occupations, hardly count in the two upper-most income brackets.

In the third highest income bracket of Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 per month one-third are holding ministerial occupations and another 27 per cent are persons engaged in liberal professions and other superior services. Some 14 per cent are in sales and related occupations. In the next income bracket of Rs. 150 to Rs. 250 per month, persons in the ministerial occupations again predominate—their proportion this time rising to nearly two-fifths. Another one-fifth in this income bracket are in subordinate technical occupations and 14 to 15 per cent in sales and related occupations, or in liberal professions. The most numerous in the income bracket of Rs. 75 to Rs. 150 per month are persons in the subordinate technical occupations, constituting 46 per cent of the total, followed by persons in ministerial occupations, 22 per cent and those in sales and related occupations, 13 per cent. Persons in the subordinate technical occupations predominate again in the lowest two income brackets followed by those in sales and related occupations.

Analysing incomes of persons in particular occupations it is found that nearly two-thirds of those in managerial and other non-technical higher occupations earn Rs. 250 per month or more—nearly two-fifths earn Rs. 500 or more and one-eighth Rs. 1000 or more. In liberal professions and other allied occupations less than

one-fifth earn more than Rs. 150 per month, and a little more than two-thirds have an income of less than Rs. 150 per month. In the subordinate administrative and executive occupations none earns more than Rs. 500 per month and as many as three-fourth receive less than Rs. 75 per month. A little more than two-fifths of those in ministerial occupations earn between Rs. 75 and Rs. 150 per month, although none earns more than Rs. 500 per month. More than half of the persons in the sales and related occupations earn Rs. 30 to Rs. 75 per month and another 29 per cent less than Rs. 30 per month. Only about 4 per cent in these occupations are able to earn Rs. 250 or more per month, although a few are able to make Rs. 1000 or more. Again, nearly half in the subordinate technical occupations earn Rs. 30 to Rs. 75 per month, and nearly 27 per cent less than Rs. 30 per month. Only about 4 per cent in these occupations are able to earn Rs. 150 or more per month. Nearly all persons in the service occupations earn less than Rs. 75 per month and as many as 46 per cent less than Rs. 30 per month. The relevant figures are given in Table 66.

MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

The average income per household works out at Rs. 1,350 per year—Rs. 1,200 for the residents and Rs. 1,625 for immigrants. This is equivalent to a per household monthly income of Rs. 112—Rs. 100 for the old residents and Rs. 135 for the immigrants. These averages include earned as well as unearned income and the distribution of the sample households by monthly income indicates that nearly 50 per cent of the households have a monthly income of Rs. 75 or less. The average household income of Rs. 112 per month, therefore, does not depict the extent of low earnings in the majority of families, since it has been raised by the high earnings of a few families.

The per capita income comes to Rs. 284 per year—it being lower at Rs. 235 for the old residents and higher at Rs. 398 for the immigrants.

These averages have been arrived at by multiplying the mean income in each income bracket with the number of households in that bracket, and then dividing it by the number concerned. The distribution of households by their average monthly income is given in the Table 67.

TABLE 66

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS BY MONTHLY EARNING AND
BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Below	Rs. 30	Rs. 75	Rs. 150	Rs. 250	Rs. 500	Rs. 1000	Not	Total
	Rs. 30	to Rs. 75	to Rs. 150	to Rs. 250	to Rs. 500	to Rs. 1000	and above	Avail- able	
1. Managerial & other technical	—	3.70	17.28	14.81	25.93	25.93	12.35	—	100.00
	—	0.12	1.45	3.01	11.05	41.18	47.62	—	1.51
2. Professional and other superior	13.07	31.47	20.80	15.73	13.60	3.47	1.33	0.53	100.00
	3.80	4.81	8.09	14.79	26.84	25.49	23.81	40.00	6.98
3. Subordinate administrative & executive	12.36	63.50	15.96	5.71	2.47	—	—	—	100.00
	5.05	13.61	8.71	7.52	6.84	—	—	—	9.79
4. Ministerial	0.81	12.35	42.10	31.78	12.96	—	—	—	100.00
	0.31	2.49	21.58	39.35	33.69	—	—	—	9.20
5. Sales and related	28.97	52.21	10.24	4.50	2.25	1.08	0.50	0.25	100.00
	27.02	25.56	12.76	13.53	14.21	25.49	28.57	60.00	22.36
6. Subordinate technical	27.23	48.51	19.76	3.74	0.63	0.13	—	—	100.00
	46.97	43.95	45.54	20.80	7.37	5.88	—	—	41.37
7. Services	45.98	49.15	3.81	0.85	—	0.21	—	—	100.00
	16.85	9.46	1.87	1.00	—	1.96	—	—	8.79
Total	23.98	45.65	17.95	7.43	3.54	0.95	0.39	0.09	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 67

HOUSEHOLDS BY AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME

<i>Monthly income</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
Below Rs. 30	398	15.03	144	9.92	542	13.22
Rs. 30 to Rs. 75	1190	44.94	549	37.84	1739	42.42
Rs. 75 to Rs. 150	646	24.40	359	24.74	1005	24.52
Rs. 150 to Rs. 250	234	8.84	202	13.92	436	10.64
Rs. 250 to Rs. 500	123	4.64	124	8.55	247	6.03
Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000	41	1.55	47	3.24	88	2.15
Rs. 1,000 and more	16	0.60	25	1.72	41	1.00
N.A.	—	—	1	0.07	1	0.02
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

It is obvious from the above figures that some 10 per cent of the households have an income of Rs. 250 per month or more and more than two-thirds have a monthly income ranging between Rs. 30 and Rs. 150. If unearned incomes are excluded the proportion of those earning Rs. 250 or more per month is reduced to only about 8 per cent, as is clear from figures in the following table :

TABLE 68

HOUSEHOLDS BY MONTHLY EARNED INCOME ONLY

<i>Income Group</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
Below Rs. 30	461	17.41	160	11.03	621	15.15
Rs. 30 to Rs. 75	1178	44.49	570	39.28	1748	42.64
Rs. 75 to Rs. 150	617	23.30	336	23.16	953	23.25
Rs. 150 to Rs. 250	239	9.03	192	13.23	431	10.51
Rs. 250 to Rs. 500	112	4.23	126	8.68	238	5.81
Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000	30	1.13	44	3.03	74	1.81
Rs. 1000 and more	11	0.41	22	1.52	33	0.81
N. A.	—	—	1	0.07	1	0.02
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

Unearned income may be obtained by way of rent, profit or interest. We have also included in this category income earned from subsidiary sources or agriculture. More than 90 per cent of the households have no unearned income in the strict sense of the term, i.e. by way of rent, interest, or profits. A few earn by farming or cultivation although the proportion of households having income from agriculture is less than 4 per cent. Most of such households are of the immigrants who have still some ties with their village homes.

Income from subsidiary sources is reported in about 9 per cent of the households but mostly it is of less than Rs. 25 per month.

Rental income is reported by 6 per cent of all households, 8 per cent of the resident households and 3 per cent of the immigrant households. Income from interest, profits and dividends is reported by less than 1 per cent of the households, although about 2 per cent have income from agriculture. The relevant figures are given in the following tables (Table 69-73) :

TABLE 69
HOUSEHOLDS BY MONTHLY RENTAL INCOME

<i>Income from rent per month</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	2446	92.37	1405	96.82	3851	93.95
Less than Rs. 10	41	1.55	9	0.62	50	1.22
Rs. 10 to Rs. 25	62	2.34	10	0.69	72	1.76
Rs. 25 to Rs. 50	35	1.32	8	0.55	43	1.05
Rs. 50 to Rs. 100	26	0.98	8	0.62	35	0.85
Rs. 100 to Rs. 250	25	0.95	5	0.345	30	0.73
Rs. 250 and more	13	0.49	5	0.345	18	0.44
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

TABLE 70

HOUSEHOLDS BY INCOME FROM INTEREST

<i>Income from interest per month</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	2634	99.47	1445	99.58	4079	99.51
Less than Rs. 10	2	0.075	—	—	2	0.05
Rs. 10 to Rs. 25	3	0.11	1	0.07	4	0.10
Rs. 25 to Rs. 50	6	0.23	1	0.07	7	0.17
Rs. 50 to Rs. 100	—	—	3	0.21	3	0.07
Rs. 100 to Rs. 250	2	0.075	—	—	2	0.05
Rs. 250 and above	1	0.04	1	0.07	2	0.05
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

TABLE 71

HOUSEHOLDS BY INCOME FROM PROFITS

<i>Income per month from profit</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	2645	99.88	1449	99.86	4094	99.88
Less than Rs. 10	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rs. 10 — Rs. 25	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rs. 25 — Rs. 50	1	0.04	1	0.07	2	0.05
Rs. 50 — Rs. 100	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rs. 100 — Rs. 250	1	0.04	—	—	1	0.02
Rs. 250 and above	1	0.04	1	0.07	2	0.05
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

TABLE 72

HOUSEHOLDS BY INCOME FROM AGRICULTURE

<i>Monthly income from agriculture</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	2624	99.09	1296	96.21	4020	98.07
Less than Rs. 10	2	0.08	14	0.965	16	0.39
Rs. 10 — Rs. 25	10	0.38	14	0.965	24	0.59
Rs. 25 — Rs. 50	2	0.08	10	0.69	12	0.29
Rs. 50 — Rs. 100	8	0.30	9	0.62	17	0.41
Rs. 100 — Rs. 250	2	0.70	6	0.41	8	0.20
Rs. 250 and above	—	—	2	0.41	2	0.05
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

TABLE 73

HOUSEHOLDS BY INCOME FROM SUBSIDIARY SOURCES

<i>Monthly income from subsidiary sources</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nil	2400	90.63	1324	91.25	3724	90.85
Less than Rs. 10	29	1.09	19	1.31	48	1.17
Rs. 10 — Rs. 25	91	3.44	32	2.20	123	3.00
Rs. 25 — Rs. 50	57	2.15	26	1.79	83	2.02
Rs. 50 — Rs. 100	32	1.21	16	1.10	48	1.17
Rs. 100 — Rs. 250	28	1.06	21	1.45	49	1.20
Rs. 250 and more	11	0.42	13	0.90	24	0.59
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

CHAPTER VII

EMPLOYMENT IN THE ORGANISED SECTOR

SCOPE AND METHOD

THE PRESENT survey, conducted during September 1954 to June 1955 covers the organised sectors only, i.e. factories registered under the U.P. Factories Act, large commercial establishments including banks and insurance companies registered under the Indian Companies Act and proprietary concerns employing more than twenty persons, motor transport, railways and the Central, State and local government offices.

The commercial establishments, the proprietary concerns and the factories were listed on the basis of the data available from the different offices, i.e. Registrar of the Companies and the Regional Labour Conciliation Office. The list of the public offices was drawn from the civil list published by the U.P. Government. Thus a final list with a total of 260 establishments was drawn which includes 7 Central, 99 State and 6 local offices, 1 roadways, 1 railways, 100 private factories, 27 commercial establishments and 17 proprietary concerns. On checking up the list through field enquiry, it was found that 30 private factories, 8 proprietary concerns and 10 commercial establishments did not function. Thus the final sample for the survey on employment situation in the organised sectors included a total number of 212 establishments—112 public offices (including Central, State and local offices), 1 roadways, 1 railways, 2 government factories, 70 private factories, 9 proprietary concerns and 17 commercial establishments.

The information was elicited on the basis of a schedule. The schedule was mailed to each of the establishments. In all, 179 establishments which constituted 84.4 per cent of the total sample, responded. Table 74 shows the nature and the number of the establishments responding to the inquiry.

Total employment in the organised sector increased by 62 per cent between 1940 and 1947 although the rate of increase was lower after 1944 than during the period 1940-44. Most of the employment in the organised sector is given in the city by the

TABLE 74
ORGANISED SECTOR UNITS

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Number according to secondary data</i>	<i>Net number found working and to whom the questionnaire was mailed</i>	<i>Number responding</i>	<i>Percentage of 4 to 3</i>
1	2	3	4	5
1. Public offices :				
(a) Central offices	7	7	7	100.00
(b) State offices	99	99	93	93.9
(c) Local offices	6	6	5	83.3
2. Railways	1	1	1	100.00
3. Roadways	1	1	1	100.00
4. (a) Government factories	2	2	2	100.00
(b) Private factories	100	70	50	71.4
5. Commercial establishments ;				
(a) Proprietary firms	17	9	7	77.8
(b) Others	27	17	13	76.5
Total	260	212	179	84.4

government either in public offices or in public enterprises, including government factories and railways. In 1940 the total number of persons employed in private factories and commercial establishments aggregated to less than 4 per cent of the total persons employed in the organised sector. The remaining 96 per cent were in the public sector. The proportion of private employment in the organised sector increased to 10 per cent by 1947 and this measures indirectly the larger relative growth of the private sector than of the public sector during the war years.

By 1954-55 total employment in the organised sector had increased by nearly 150 per cent over that in 1940 and the proportion of those getting employment in the private sector increased further to 15.6 per cent. Private commercial establishments that employed

less than 200 persons in 1940 were employing more than 1200 persons by 1955. Employment in public offices had more than doubled during the period 1940 and 1955, but its relative proportion had fallen from 52 per cent in 1940 to 49 per cent in 1955. Employment in railways increased absolutely, although very little after 1947, but the increase throughout was much less than in the organised sector as a whole. Consequently the relative proportion of those employed by railways fell from 30.5 per cent of the total employed in the organised sector in 1940 to only 17 per cent in 1955. The relevant figures are given in Table 75.

THE SIZE AND NUMBER OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS

The size and number of the establishments varied as the total employment increased from year to year. Table 76 shows the size and number of the establishments.

The number of establishments more than doubled itself between 1940 and 1951 from 74 to 153. It has continued to increase during the present decade and was reported at 179 in 1954. As regards the size of the establishments is concerned, there is a definite trend towards the larger size. In 1940 nearly two-thirds of the total establishments employed 60 persons or less each. By 1954 the proportion of such establishments had been reduced to 47 per cent of the total. The number of establishments employing 61 to 200 persons each increased from 17 in 1940 to 64 in 1954. Establishments employing 200 or more persons accounted for only 12 per cent of the total in 1940 but for as many as 18 per cent in 1954.

PERMANENT, TEMPORARY AND CASUAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE ORGANISED SECTOR

Total employment in the organised sector of the city increased from about 11,000 in 1940 to nearly 27,000 in 1954-55. In 1940 nearly 80 per cent of the total employment in this sector was of a permanent character and only 2 per cent of the workers were casual. The remaining one-fifth were employed on a temporary basis. By 1954 the proportion of permanent workers and employees had been reduced to 58 per cent and that of the casual workers had increased to 5 per cent. The temporary hands accounted for 37 per cent of the total. In 1940 most of the employees in the commercial

TABLE 75

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE VARIOUS ORGANISED SECTORS

Sectors	1940			1944			1947		
	Number	Simple Index	Chain Index	Number	Simple Index	Chain Index	Number	Simple Index	Chain Index
1. Public offices	5610 (51.8)	100.0	100.0	7261 (51.5)	129.4	129.4	8812 (51.4)	157.1	121.4
2. Roadways	—	—	—	—	—	—	124 (0.7)	100.0	100.0
3. Railways	3302 (30.5)	100.0	100.0	4296 (30.4)	130.1	130.1	4285 (24.5)	129.8	99.7
4. Factories:									
(a) government factories	1509 (14.0)	100.0	100.0	1829 (13.0)	121.2	121.2	2544 (14.5)	168.6	139.1
(b) Private factories	209 (1.9)	100.0	100.0	314 (2.9)	150.2	150.2	924 (5.3)	442.1	294.3
5. Commercial establishments	198 (1.8)	100.0	100.0	412 (2.9)	208.1	208.1	797 (4.6)	402.5	193.4
Total	10828 (100.0)	100.0	100.0	14112 (100.0)	130.3	130.3	17486 (100.0)	161.5	123.9

Figures bracketed denote percentage

TABLE 75—(Contd.)

Sectors	1951			1953			1954-1955		
	Number	Simple Index	Chain Index	Number	Simple Index	Chain Index	Number	Simple Index	Chain Index
1. Public offices	1527 (49.3)	205.5	130.8	11225 (47.5)	313.6	103.5	13068 (49.0)	232.9	109.6
2. Roadways	1390 (5.9)	1121.0	1121.0	1326 (5.3)	1069.4	95.4	1412 (5.3)	1138.7	106.5
3. Railways	4171 (17.8)	126.3	97.3	4305 (17.2)	130.4	103.2	4532 (17.0)	137.3	105.3
4. Factories :									
(a) Government factories	2793 (12.0)	185.1	109.8	3379 (13.5)	223.9	121.0	3499 (13.1)	231.9	103.6
(b) Private factories	2505 (10.7)	1198.6	271.1	2825 (11.3)	1351.6	112.8	2963 (11.1)	1417.7	104.9
5. Commercial establishments	1014 (4.3)	512.1	127.2	1314 (5.2)	663.6	130.0	1210 (4.5)	611.1	92.1
Total	23400 (100.0)	216.1	133.8	25074 (100.0)	231.6	107.2	26684 (100.0)	246.4	106.4

Figures in brackets denote percentage

TABLE 76

SIZE AND NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS, 1940-54.

<i>Establishments employing Persons</i>	1940	<i>Per- centage to the total</i>	1944	<i>Per- centage to the total</i>	1947	<i>Per- centage to the total</i>	1951	<i>Per- centage to the total</i>	1953	<i>Per- centage to the total</i>	1954	<i>Per- centage to the total</i>
1 to 20	20	27.0	25	28.1	37	27.2	38	24.8	36	22.0	32	17.9
21 to 40	16	21.6	21	23.6	34	25.0	35	22.9	31	18.9	29	16.2
41 to 60	12	16.2	15	16.9	21	15.5	24	15.7	23	14.0	23	12.8
61 to 100	10	13.5	12	13.5	18	13.3	26	17.0	33	20.1	41	22.9
101 to 200	7	9.5	7	7.9	11	8.1	13	8.5	18	11.0	23	12.8
201 to 300	5	6.8	5	5.6	9	6.6	9	5.9	12	7.3	17	9.5
301 to 500	2	2.7	2	2.2	4	2.9	4	2.6	5	3.1	8	4.5
501 to 1000	1	1.35	1	1.1	1	0.7	2	1.3	3	1.8	3	1.7
Above 1000	1	1.35	1	1.1	1	0.7	2	1.3	3	1.8	3	1.7
Total	74	100.0	89	100.0	136	100.0	153	100.0	164	100.0	179	100.0

TABLE 78

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN THE ORGANISED SECTOR

Years	Public offices	Roadways	Railways	Govt. factories	Private factories	Commer- cial est- ablish- ments	Total
SUPERVISORY							
1940	195 (4)	—	125 (4)	38 (2)	17 (8)	11 (5)	386 (4)
1944	294 (4)	—	143 (3)	43 (2)	29 (9)	32 (8)	541 (4)
1947	470 (5)	14 (11)	158 (4)	67 (3)	79 (9)	69 (9)	857 (5)
1954-55	575 (4)	52 (4)	181 (4)	109 (3)	156 (5)	122 (11)	1195 (4)
TECHNICAL							
1940	246 (4)	—	2416 (73)	1071 (71)	2 (1)	13 (7)	3748 (35)
1944	350 (5)	—	2766 (65)	1219 (67)	2 (1)	18 (4)	4355 (31)
1947	524 (6)	—	2729 (64)	1902 (75)	168 (18)	18 (2)	5341 (30)
1954-55	1320 (10)	19 (1)	3023 (67)	2466 (71)	450 (15)	73 (6)	7351 (28)
CLERICAL							
1940	1363 (24)	—	101 (3)	207 (14)	47 (23)	54 (27)	1772 (16)
1944	2074 (29)	—	128 (3)	250 (14)	77 (24)	89 (22)	2618 (18)
1947	2745 (31)	65 (53)	146 (3)	311 (12)	148 (16)	207 (26)	3622 (21)
1954-55	4265 (33)	302 (21)	192 (4)	465 (13)	323 (11)	396 (33)	5943 (22)
UNCLASSIFIED							
1940	3806 (68)	—	660 (20)	193 (13)	143 (68)	120 (61)	4922 (45)
1944	4543 (62)	—	1259 (29)	317 (17)	206 (66)	273 (66)	6598 (47)
1947	5073 (58)	45 (36)	1252 (29)	264 (10)	529 (57)	503 (63)	7666 (44)
1954-55	6908 (53)	1039 (74)	1136 (25)	459 (13)	2039 (69)	619 (50)	12195 (46)

Figures in brackets denote percentage

EMPLOYMENT POTENTIAL OF THE ORGANISED SECTOR

The different employers in the organised sector were asked to indicate the number of additional workers that they were likely to employ during the succeeding five years in view of their expansion programme. They were asked to state the exact number of persons to be recruited by them in the coming years upto 1960-61. They were also asked to break up their demands by categories of workers required by them. Likewise information was asked on any retrenchment that was to take place in their organisation.

Employers in the private sector did not report any expansion programme, nor did they report any retrenchment. In the public sector likely retrenchment was reported by two Government offices, i.e. the Forest and Civil Supplies Department and the Agricultural Income Tax office. The rest reported expansion programmes. However, only a few could indicate the exact number of workers that they were likely to employ. Hence figures given in this respect are of little validity. All that can be stated is that the organised public sector is likely to expand further, during the coming years. It is of course very difficult to state exactly the number that it would recruit even in the immediate future.

CHAPTER VIII

UNEMPLOYMENT

INCIDENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

A PERSON was classified as unemployed, if at the time of enquiry he was not in any salaried employment or was not self-employed in any trade, business or profession or was not a casual worker and at the same time was seeking a job. The figures thus obtained measure absolute unemployment and do not take into account unemployment among the casual workers, or the self-employed persons, within a given reference period. Consequently the incidence of unemployment so worked out, i.e. the proportion of unemployed among the labour force at 4.93 per cent among the old residents, 4.15 per cent among the immigrants and 4.63 per cent for the two taken together, is rather low. These estimates suffer from two obvious defects, both accounting for an under estimation of unemployment. Firstly, many of the earning dependents are not fully employed and it is therefore not correct to count them all among the employed. Secondly many of the casual workers, do not get employment even for half the days in a month. It has been calculated in a previous chapter that no less than 57 per cent of the employed casual or daily workers get employment for less than 21 days in a month. Similarly persons working on their own account either in a trade, industry or profession are not always fully employed. A little more than 8 per cent of them have reported employment for less than fifteen days in a month, and only 84 per cent are employed for 21 days or more.

If a correction is made for these and 50 per cent of the earning dependents as well as casual workers and 15 per cent of the earners and earning dependents working on their own account, are counted among the unemployed, as they would have been, had we used a reference period of a week for determining employment and unemployment, the incidence of unemployment, goes up to a little more than 23 per cent of the total labour force in the city. This figure, however, takes into account not only unemployment but even under-employment.

A more correct way of measuring the incidence of unemploy-

ment would be to add up those without any job or occupation and 50 per cent of the casual workers and persons working independently who are employed for less than 21 days in a month, and then work out their proportion in the labour force, i.e. earners, earning dependents and the unemployed. The unemployed in the sense of having no job or occupation at the time of enquiry were counted at 297. Out of the 762 casual or daily workers 402 were reported to be employed for less than 21 days in a month. Among the persons working on their own account 280 were reported to be working for less than 21 days in a month. The unemployed among these two groups at half of them may be taken at 201 and 140 respectively. The total figures for the unemployed works out at 638 out of 5,819 earners, earning dependents and the unemployed. The incidence of unemployment on this basis works out at 10.97 per cent of the labour force. If we exclude those working independently in a profession, trade or industry, the incidence of unemployment comes to 8.92 per cent among the old residents, 5.76 per cent among the immigrants and 7.71 per cent of the entire labour force in the city.

An earlier survey conducted by the University, Department of Economics, in December 1953 and January 1954, covering 22.7 per cent of all families in the city revealed that the incidence of absolute unemployment was as high as 10.36 per cent of earners and earning dependents. It also revealed that the incidence of unemployment increased by about 18 per cent at the time of investigation over the previous year. Further, it was disclosed that unemployment was rather chronic and 55 per cent of the unemployed had been without jobs for over a year, while nearly 16 per cent of them had been unemployed for more than three years. Freshers—those seeking jobs for the first time—form the the single largest group among the unemployed accounting for 36.4 per cent of the total. Unemployment afflicted the literate and the educated even more than the illiterates. The matriculates, undergraduates and graduates together, constituted 40.5 per cent of the total. This previous survey revealed that unemployment had not been due to a contracting economy but caused by the entry of the "freshers" in larger numbers than the growth of employment opportunities in the town. Thus the "employment lag" is reported to be the main cause of unemployment. Immigration was reported to have accentuated unemployment only by some 4 per cent.

establishments were either temporary or casual but in the public offices and the railways they were mostly permanent. By 1954-55 the proportion of permanent employees was reduced from 80 per cent in 1940 to 58 per cent. During the same period the proportion of permanent railway employees fell from 100 per cent to 82 per cent. In the government roadways nearly all employees except 7 per cent were reported to be either temporary or casual. In private factories too the proportion of permanent employees fell from 84 per cent in 1947 to 63 per cent in 1954-55. It was only in the Government factories and commercial establishments that the ratio of permanent hands registered an upward trend. Relevant figures are given in the following table :

TABLE 77

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN THE ORGANISED SECTOR

<i>Years</i>	<i>Public offices</i>	<i>Road- ways</i>	<i>Railways</i>	<i>Govt. factories</i>	<i>Private factories</i>	<i>Commer- cial est- abish- ments</i>	<i>Total</i>
PERMANENT							
1940	4491 (80)	—	3302 (100.0)	406 (27)	159 (76)	51 (26)	8409 (78)
1944	4976 (68)	—	4289 (99.8)	1115 (61)	222 (71)	93 (23)	10695 (76)
1947	5492 (62)	16 (13)	4275 (99.8)	1182 (46)	772 (84)	168 (21)	11905 (68)
1954-55	7558 (58)	102 (7)	3733 (82.4)	1958 (56)	1865 (63)	373 (31)	15589 (58)
TEMPORARY							
1940	922 (16)	—	—	1053 (70)	45 (22)	121 (62)	2141 (20)
1944	2079 (29)	—	—	724 (39)	91 (29)	233 (56)	3117 (22)
1947	3086 (35)	108 (87)	—	1362 (54)	132 (14)	423 (53)	5111 (29)
1954-55	4950 (38)	1250 (89)	777 (17.1)	1541 (44)	791 (27)	563 (46)	6872 (37)

CASUAL

1940	197	—	—	50	5	26	278
	(4)			(3)	(2)	(13)	(2)
1944	206	—	7	—	1	86	300
	(3)		(0.2)		(nil)	(26)	(2)
1947	234	—	10	—	20	206	470
	(3)		(0.2)		(2)	(26)	(3)
1954-55	560	60	22	—	307	274	1223
	(4)	(4)	(0.5)		(10)	(23)	(5)

Figures in brackets denote percentage

SUPERVISORY, TECHNICAL, CLERICAL AND OTHERS

The number of supervisory staff increased from 386 in 1940 to nearly 1200 in 1954-55—its relative proportion being almost the same in both the years, i.e. 4 per cent of the total.

The increase in the number of technical hands, however, was smaller than that in the total. Their total number increased from 3748 in 1940 to 7351 in 1954-55, but their relative proportion in the total declined from 35 per cent to 28 per cent during the same period. On the other hand the number of clerks increased both absolutely and relatively from 1772 in 1940 to about 6000 in 1954-55. A very large increase occurred in the number of persons who could not be classified in any of the above three categories and are employed to do various odd and unskilled jobs as peons and *chaprasis*, etc. Their number increased from less than 5000 in 1940 to more than 12000 in 1954-55. The relative proportion of unspecified employment has, however, remained more or less the same, i.e. 45 to 47 per cent of the total. The large proportion of such unskilled and miscellaneous employment in the organised sector and the tenacity with which it has persisted indicate that there has been little improvement in technology or efficiency. With economy and better organisation quite a considerable part of this employment may be found unnecessary or surplus. The relevant figures are given below :

THE UNEMPLOYED

A break up of those found without any jobs or occupation and who were seeking employment at the time of the enquiry, reveals that most of the unemployed are young. Nearly two-thirds of them are below the age of 25 years. Our figures, further reveal that nearly half of the unemployed persons are freshers, i.e. those seeking employment for the first time, while a little less than one-fourth, have reported retrenchment as cause of their unemployment.

Most of the unemployed have had some education. Less than one-fifth of them are absolutely illiterate and as many as 58 per cent among them have read upto the secondary or higher standard. In fact 12 per cent of them have been college educated. The percentage of the literates among the unemployed is very much higher than in the labour force as a whole. This reveals the higher incidence of unemployment among the literates.

Besides fresh entry, the most important cause of unemployment appears to be retrenchment, which accounts for 22 per cent of the total unemployed. Sickness is reported as a cause of unemployment by another 6 to 7 per cent of the total unemployed.

Nearly 35 per cent of the unemployed have indicated no job preference, while some 27 per cent are seeking employment in subordinate technical occupations and another 15 per cent are looking for a ministerial or a clerical job. Unemployment appears to be chronic and as many as 10 per cent of the unemployed have reported unemployment for a period of five years or more. Actually less than 15 per cent of the unemployed have reported unemployment for a period of less than three months, and nearly 75 per cent have been unemployed for a year or more.

The relevant information is summarised in the following tables :

TABLE 79
UNEMPLOYED BY AGE

<i>Age groups</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
15 years and below	7	3.54	1	1.01	8	2.69
16 — 20	67	33.84	36	36.37	103	34.68
21 — 25	45	22.73	25	25.25	70	23.57
26 — 30	20	10.10	10	10.10	30	10.10
31 — 35	19	9.60	7	7.07	26	8.76
36 — 40	12	6.06	6	6.07	18	6.06
41 — 45	11	5.55	3	3.03	14	4.71
46 — 50	8	4.04	3	3.03	11	3.70
Above 50 years	9	4.54	8	8.08	17	5.73
Total	198	100.00	99	100.00	297	100.00

TABLE 80
UNEMPLOYED BY EDUCATION

<i>Education</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Illiterate	40	20.20	13	13.13	53	17.85
Primary	30	15.15	15	15.15	45	15.15
Secondary	97	48.99	43	43.44	140	47.14
Technical	3	1.52	—	—	3	1.01
College	14	7.07	17	17.17	31	10.44
Post-graduate	3	1.51	2	2.02	5	1.68
Private	11	5.56	9	9.09	20	6.73
Total	198	100.00	99	100.00	297	100.00

TABLE 81

UNEMPLOYED BY CAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

<i>Causes</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
Retrenchment	43	21.72	23	23.23	66	22.22
Dismissal	6	3.03	3	3.03	9	3.03
Illness	13	6.56	6	6.06	19	6.40
Freshers	85	42.93	53	53.54	138	46.46
Resignation	9	4.55	1	1.01	10	3.37
Retirement	2	1.01	1	1.01	3	1.01
Slump	18	9.09	6	6.06	24	8.08
Miscellaneous	22	11.11	6	6.06	28	9.43
Total	198	100.00	99	100.00	297	100.00

TABLE 82

UNEMPLOYED BY OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH THEY WANT JOBS

<i>Occupational divisions</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
1. Managerial and other non-technical	2	1.01	1	1.01	3	1.01
2. Professional & other superior	11	5.55	11	11.11	22	7.41
3. Subordinate, administrative & executive	10	5.05	3	3.03	13	4.38
4. Ministerial	27	13.63	18	18.18	45	15.15
5. Sales and related	11	5.55	3	3.03	14	4.71
6. Subordinate & technical	60	30.30	19	19.19	79	26.60
7. Service occupations	5	2.55	1	1.01	6	2.02
8. Any job	66	33.33	38	38.39	104	35.02
9. N. A.	6	3.03	5	5.05	11	3.70
Total	198	100.00	99	100.00	297	100.00

TABLE 83

UNEMPLOYED BY DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

<i>Duration of unemployment</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Below 3 months	28	14.14	14	14.14	42	14.14
3 months to 6 months	10	5.05	6	6.06	16	5.39
6 months to 1 year	15	7.58	5	5.05	20	6.73
1 year to 3 years	97	48.99	48	48.49	145	48.82
3 years to 5 years	30	15.15	13	13.13	43	14.48
5 years and above	18	9.09	13	13.13	31	10.44
Total	198	100.00	99	100.00	297	100.00

TABLE 84

PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED NOW EMPLOYED BY PREVIOUS INDUSTRY

<i>Industrial divisions</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Agriculture and allied	—	—	2	4.35	2	1.26
Mining and quarrying	1	0.88	—	—	1	0.63
Manufacturing	47	41.60	17	36.96	64	40.25
Construction	3	2.65	3	6.52	6	3.77
Electricity and other public services	3	2.65	1	2.17	4	2.52
Distributive services (trade & commerce)	15	13.28	4	8.69	19	11.95
Transport	17	15.05	3	6.53	20	12.58
Services	26	23.01	15	32.61	41	25.79
Inadequately described	1	0.88	1	2.17	2	1.25
Total	113	100.00	46	100.00	159	100.00

TABLE 85

UNEMPLOYED BY PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS

<i>Occupational divisions</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Managerial & other non-technical	2	1.77	2	4.35	4	2.52
2. Professional & other superior	4	3.54	5	10.87	9	5.66
3. Subordinate, administrative & executive	13	11.50	4	8.69	17	10.69
4. Ministerial	13	11.50	6	13.04	19	11.95
5. Sales and related	15	13.28	7	15.22	22	13.84
6. Subordinate technical	60	53.01	20	43.48	80	50.31
7. Service occupations	6	5.40	2	4.35	8	5.03
Total	113	100.00	46	100.00	159	100.00

TABLE 86

UNEMPLOYED BY AGE AND EDUCATION

Qualification	Age Group									Total
	15 yrs. and below	16-20 years	21-25 years	26-30 years	31-35 years	36-40 years	41-45 years	46-50 years	Above 50 yrs.	
Illiterate	2 3.77	14 26.42	13 24.53	5 9.43	4 7.55	2 3.77	3 5.67	4 7.54	6 11.32	53 100.00
Primary	—	19 42.22	10 22.22	7 15.56	4 8.89	3 6.67	—	1 2.22	1 2.22	45 100.00
Secondary	6 4.28	56 40.00	29 20.71	9 6.43	13 9.28	10 7.14	7 5.01	4 2.86	6 4.86	140 100.00
Technical	—	1 33.34	—	—	1 33.33	—	—	—	1 33.33	3 100.00
College	—	7 22.58	15 48.38	4 12.90	2 6.45	1 3.23	1 3.23	—	1 3.23	31 100.00
Post-graduate	—	1 20.00	2 40.00	2 40.00	—	—	—	—	—	5 100.00
Private	—	5 25.00	1 5.00	3 15.00	2 10.00	2 10.00	3 15.00	2 10.00	2 10.00	20 100.00
Total	8 2.69	103 34.68	70 23.57	30 10.10	26 8.76	18 6.06	14 4.71	11 3.70	17 5.73	297 100.00

TABLE 87
UNEMPLOYED BY EDUCATION AND PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT

<i>Period of unemployment</i>	<i>Educational Qualifications</i>							<i>Total</i>
	<i>Illite- rate</i>	<i>Pri- mary</i>	<i>Second- ary</i>	<i>Techni- cal</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Post- graduate</i>	<i>Private</i>	
Below 3 months	12 28.57	7 16.67	17 40.48	—	3 7.14	—	3 7.14	42 100.00
3 — 6 months	4 25.00	3 18.75	6 37.50	—	2 12.50	1 6.25	—	16 100.00
6 months to 1 year	5 25.00	3 15.00	6 30.00	3 15.00	1 5.00	—	2 10.00	20 100.00
1 year to 3 years	21 14.48	16 11.03	76 52.42	—	17 11.72	4 2.76	11 7.59	145 100.00
3 years to 5 years	3 6.98	9 20.93	23 53.48	—	6 13.96	—	2 4.65	43 100.00
5 years and above	8 25.81	7 22.58	12 38.71	—	2 6.45	—	2 6.45	31 100.00
Total	53 17.85	45 15.15	140 47.14	3 1.01	31 10.44	5 1.68	20 6.73	297 100.00

TABLE 88

UNEMPLOYED BY EDUCATION AND CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

<i>Causes</i>	<i>Educational Qualifications</i>							<i>Total</i>
	<i>Illite- rate</i>	<i>Prim- ary</i>	<i>Second- ary</i>	<i>Techni- cal</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Post- graduate</i>	<i>Private</i>	
Retrenchment	12 18.18	9 13.63	33 50.00	2 3.03	3 4.55	1 1.52	6 9.09	66 100.00
Dismissal	1 11.11	2 22.22	5 55.56	—	—	—	1 11.11	9 100.00
Illness	7 36.84	1 5.26	7 36.84	—	2 10.53	—	2 10.53	19 100.00
Resignation	5 50.00	2 20.00	3 30.00	—	—	—	—	10 100.00
Freshers	14 10.14	18 13.05	75 54.35	1 0.72	21 15.22	4 2.90	5 3.62	138 100.00
Retirement	2 66.67	1 33.33	—	—	—	—	—	3 100.00
Slump	7 29.16	9 37.50	4 16.67	—	—	—	4 16.67	24 100.00
Miscellaneous	5 17.86	3 10.71	13 46.43	—	5 17.86	—	2 7.14	28 100.00
Total	53 17.85	45 15.15	140 47.14	3 1.01	31 10.44	5 1.68	20 6.73	297 100.00

TABLE 89
UNEMPLOYED BY AGE AND PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT

<i>Period of unemployment</i>	<i>Age Group</i>									<i>Total</i>
	<i>15 years and above</i>	<i>16-20 years</i>	<i>21-25 years</i>	<i>26-30 years</i>	<i>31-35 years</i>	<i>36-40 years</i>	<i>41-45 years</i>	<i>46-50 years</i>	<i>Above 50 years</i>	
Below 3 months	—	17 40.48	13 30.95	3 7.14	4 9.53	2 4.76	2 4.76	1 2.38	—	42 100.00
3 months to 6 months	—	4 25.00	6 37.50	3 18.75	1 6.25	2 12.50	—	—	—	16 100.00
6 months to 1 year	2 10.00	6 30.00	—	2 10.00	2 10.00	1 5.00	2 10.00	2 10.00	3 15.00	20 100.00
1 year to 3 years	6 4.14	60 41.38	27 18.62	12 8.27	8 5.52	11 7.59	4 2.76	5 3.45	12 8.27	145 100.00
3 years to 5 years	—	13 30.23	17 39.53	4 9.30	2 4.65	1 2.33	3 6.98	2 4.65	1 2.33	43 100.00
5 years & above	—	3 9.68	7 22.58	6 19.35	9 29.03	1 3.23	3 9.68	1 3.22	1 3.23	31 100.00
Total	8 2.69	103 34.68	70 23.57	30 10.10	26 8.76	18 6.06	14 4.71	11 3.70	17 5.73	297 100.00

CHAPTER IX

OVERCROWDING AND HOUSING STANDARDS

DENSITY AND OVERCROWDING

ATTENTION has already been drawn to the extent of overcrowding in a previous chapter. The overall density has been calculated at 110 persons per residential acre and in certain wards it is as high as 400 persons per acre. The survey conducted by the Lucknow Improvement Trust indicated that out of some 41 thousand houses in the city as many as 7,257 are old and dilapidated and not fit for habitation. The Town Planner has suggested a norm of 100 persons per acre for residential development. This would imply an additional 2,600 acres to be built for residential purposes over and above the existing 4,200 acres, i.e. an increase of 62 per cent of living accommodation.

OWNED AND UNOWNED HOUSES

The present survey reveals that less than 40 per cent of the households in the city live in their own houses, while more than 60 per cent live in rented premises. The percentage of households living in rented houses is much higher in case of immigrants, i.e. those who were born outside. In case of the local inhabitants as many as 54 per cent live in their own houses, while only 12 per cent of the immigrants have their own houses in the city. The details of the sample survey are given in the following table :

TABLE 90

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OWNED AND UNOWNED HOUSES

<i>Households living in</i>	<i>Local</i>		<i>Born outside</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Owned houses	1,432	54.08	170	11.72	1,602	39.08
Unowned houses	1,216	45.92	1,281	88.28	2,497	60.92
Total	2,648	100.00	1,451	100.00	4,099	100.00

RENTAL VALUE

Out of the total number of 4,099 sample households, as many as 463, i.e. 11 per cent, live either with their relatives and pay no rent, or in rent-free quarters provided by their employers. All these have been treated as living in rent-free houses. The rental value of the owner-occupied houses, or portions of the house, was taken equivalent to its letting value. In case of the rented houses the actual rent paid by a household has been taken as its rental value. On this basis it has been calculated that while 11 per cent of the households live in rent-free houses, 26 per cent live in houses with a rental value of less than Rs. 5 per month and another 27 per cent live in houses having a rent of Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per month. Only about 10 per cent of the households live in houses of a rental value of Rs. 20 or more.

It has been pointed out that a little more than half of the total sample households have an income of less than Rs. 75 per month and hence many among them might be paying 10 per cent to 20 per cent of their income as rent. On the whole, however, rent is often limited to about 10 per cent of the income. The relevant figures with regard to the rental value of the sample households are given in the following table :

TABLE 91

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY MONTHLY RENT OR LETTING VALUE

<i>Monthly letting value or rent</i>	<i>Local</i>		<i>Born outside</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per- centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per- centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per- centage</i>
No rent	184	6.95	279	19.23	463	11.29
Less than Rs. 5	755	28.51	291	20.05	1046	25.52
Rs. 5 to less than Rs. 10	796	30.06	317	21.86	1113	27.16
Rs. 10 to less than Rs. 15	421	15.90	180	12.40	601	14.65
Rs. 15 to less than Rs. 30	339	12.80	222	15.30	561	13.69
Rs. 30 to less than Rs. 50	96	3.67	89	6.13	186	4.54
Rs. 50 and more	57	2.11	73	5.03	129	3.15
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

DENSITY PER HOUSE

Measuring density by number of persons irrespective of their age and sex, it is calculated that in nearly 4 per cent of the houses, more than 10 persons live per house, and in about 62 per cent of the houses, four or more. A natural family consists of two adults and only in 40 per cent of the houses, two adults were found to be living together. In so many as one fourth of the total, 4 to 6 adults live together, while in 4 per cent of the houses seven or more adults live together. It is obvious that in no less than half of the houses two or more natural families are crowded together. This situation might not have been very intolerable in the context of the tradition of the joint family system. But the fact that nearly half of the houses in the city consist of single room tenements and another one-fourth, of two room tenements, makes it almost tragic.

Besides the excessive number of adults, crowded together in a single house, a large number of children are also squeezed therein. There are some families (2 per cent of the total) with seven or more children, while 18 per cent of the total have 4 to 6 children. All this must imply a large amount of overcrowding. Figures in respect of the number of persons, adults and children, are given in the following table :

TABLE 92

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSE

<i>No. of Persons</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
One person	172	6.49	259	17.85	431	10.51
Two persons	310	11.71	208	14.33	518	12.64
Three persons	370	13.97	225	15.51	595	14.52
Four to six persons	1079	40.75	517	35.63	1596	38.94
Seven to ten persons	592	22.36	198	13.65	790	19.27
More than 10 persons	125	4.72	44	3.03	169	4.12
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

NO. OF ADULTS PER HOUSE

One adult	246	9.29	303	20.83	549	13.39
Two adults	1011	38.18	642	44.25	1653	40.33
Three adults	536	20.24	229	15.78	765	18.66
Four to six adults	728	27.49	239	16.47	967	23.60
Seven to ten adults	112	4.23	30	2.07	142	3.46
More than ten adults	15	0.57	8	0.55	23	0.56
<hr/>						
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

NO. OF CHILDREN PER HOUSE

No child	650	24.55	543	37.42	1193	29.10
One child	488	18.43	282	19.43	770	18.79
Two children	493	18.62	222	15.30	715	17.44
Three children	421	15.90	170	11.72	591	14.42
Four to six children	531	20.05	214	14.75	745	18.17
Seven to ten children	56	2.11	18	1.24	74	1.81
More than ten children	9	0.34	2	0.14	11	0.27
<hr/>						
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

LIVING ROOMS AND FLOOR AREA

The net result of such overcrowding is that many families have inadequate floor area and living rooms. Nearly 4 per cent have no room at all for their living and they simply live on the pavements or in sheds or under trees. Another 50 per cent have only 1 room to live in. A little more than one-fourth of the families of old residents and one-fifths of the immigrants live in two room tenements.

The typical living accommodation is, however, a single room tenement. Very few, about 11 per cent in all, have 4 or more rooms per family. This is clear from Table 93.

The data further reveals that 33 per cent of the households investigated have less than 100 square feet of living room floor area, 19 per cent have between 100 to 150 sq. feet, 21 per cent between 150 to 250 sq. feet, 11 per cent between 250 to 400 sq. feet and only 11 per cent have 400 sq. feet or more. It means that 52 per cent of the households have less than 150 sq. feet of floor area.

TABLE 93

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY LIVING ROOM

<i>Rooms</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
No room	90	3.40	53	3.65	143	3.49
One room	1313	49.58	768	52.93	2081	50.77
Two rooms	701	26.47	297	20.47	998	24.35
Three rooms	260	9.82	134	9.24	394	9.61
Four rooms	131	4.95	100	6.89	231	5.64
Five rooms	141	5.32	77	5.31	218	5.32
One room sharing	6	0.23	13	0.89	19	0.46
Pavement dwellers	2	0.08	8	0.55	10	0.24
N. A.	4	0.15	1	0.07	5	0.12
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

TABLE 94

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY FLOOR AREA OF LIVING ROOMS

<i>Area of the living rooms</i>	<i>Old residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
Less than 100 sq. feet	822	31.04	542	37.35	1364	33.28
100 — 150 sq. feet	514	19.41	259	17.85	773	18.86
150 — 250 sq. feet	625	23.60	249	17.16	874	21.32
250 — 400 sq. feet	316	11.94	148	10.20	464	11.32
400 — 800 sq. feet	196	7.40	134	9.24	330	8.05
800 sq. feet and more	80	3.02	61	4.20	141	3.44
N.A.	93	3.51	50	3.45	143	3.49
Pavement dwellers	2	0.08	8	0.55	10	0.24
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

ANCILLARY HOUSING FACILITIES

Information was collected about the following amenities in a house: (1) store and box room, (2) kitchen, (3) dining room, (4) bath-room, (5) dressing room, (6) latrine and (7) verandah. Only 1.5 per cent

of the sample households had the benefit of all these seven facilities. Out of the remaining households, 13 per cent had four to six of these facilities, 13 per cent three, 23 per cent two and 22 per cent had only one of them. The remaining 27 per cent of the households did not have access to any of the above amenities in their houses.

TABLE 95

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY ANCILLARY HOUSING AMENITIES

<i>Facilities</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
All seven	27	1.02	35	2.41	62	1.51
Six only	22	0.83	18	1.24	40	0.98
Five only	114	4.31	101	6.96	215	5.25
Four only	175	6.61	92	6.34	267	6.51
Three only	357	13.48	186	12.82	543	13.25
Two only	692	26.13	260	17.92	952	23.23
One only	660	24.92	251	17.30	911	22.22
No Facility	600	22.66	499	34.39	1099	26.81
N.A.	1	0.04	9	0.62	10	0.24
Total	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

ESSENTIAL HOUSING AMENITIES

Some of the above mentioned amenities may be shared by two or more families in common. Some of these, however, like bath-room, kitchen and latrine are more essential and these have been studied in detail. The data reveal that out of the total number of 4,099 households investigated only 557, i.e. 13.6 per cent, have separate bath-rooms available for their exclusive use. Thus a vast majority of the households, i.e. 86 per cent, do not have even an exclusive bath-room facility. Similarly, with regard to kitchen, only 37 per cent of the households have their own separate kitchens. The households having private latrines for their exclusive use are no more than 51 per cent of the total. Further, less than one-fifth of the households have electric supply in their houses while only some two-thirds have an independent water tap. The fact that

nearly half of the households have no exclusive latrines for their use in their houses, 63 per cent have no independent kitchens, 86 per cent have no separate bath-rooms, while 34 per cent lack even independent water taps and that 83 per cent are without the benefit of separate electric supply, reveals a very dismal picture indeed. It becomes all the more depressing when it is realised that this is the capital town of the State and conditions elsewhere may not even be as good as here. The relevant figures are given below :

TABLE 96

EXCLUSIVE FACILITIES OF BATH-ROOM, KITCHEN, LATRINE, WATER SUPPLY AND ELECTRICITY

<i>Exclusive Facility</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Bath room	314	11.96	243	16.75	557	13.59
Kitchen	942	35.57	570	39.28	1512	36.89
Latrine	1479	55.85	619	42.66	2098	51.18
Water supply	912	34.44	540	37.22	1452	35.42
Electric supply	411	15.52	338	23.29	749	18.27
Total number of Households	2648	100.00	1451	100.00	4099	100.00

RESIDENCE IN PLACE OF WORK

Judging the housing standards by facility of nearness to one's place of work, it is found that no less than 25 per cent of the employees live in houses located at a distance of two miles or more from the place of their work. Still, nearly 28 per cent of them live within a distance of four furlongs from their place of work and another 13 per cent within four to eight furlongs.

Consequently, some of them have to spend quite a considerable part of their time in travelling from their place of residence to their place of work. In all, about 10 per cent of the employees spend an hour or more each way for this purpose. But most of the employees

live within a travelling distance of half an hour or less. The relevant figures are given in the following two tables :

TABLE 97

EMPLOYEES OTHER THAN CASUAL AND DAILY WORKERS BY DISTANCE BETWEEN RESIDENCE AND PLACE OF WORK

<i>Distance</i>	<i>Old Residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
Less than 1 furlong	201	14.64	199	18.39	400	16.29
1 — 4 furlongs	161	11.73	123	11.37	284	11.57
4 — 8 furlongs	168	12.23	148	13.68	316	12.87
8 — 16 furlongs	375	27.31	289	26.71	664	27.05
More than 16 furlongs	367	26.73	252	23.29	619	25.21
N.A.	101	7.36	71	6.56	172	7.01
Total	1373	100.00	1082	100.00	2455	100.00

TABLE 98

EMPLOYEES OTHER THAN CASUAL AND DAILY WORKERS BY TIME TAKEN EACH WAY TO THE PLACE OF WORK

<i>Time taken</i>	<i>Old residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
Less than 15 minutes	360	26.22	462	42.70	822	33.48
15 — 30 minutes	444	32.34	312	28.84	756	30.79
30 — 60 minutes	292	21.27	178	16.45	470	19.14
60 — 120 minutes	157	11.43	57	5.27	214	8.72
More than 120 minutes	19	1.38	2	0.18	21	0.86
N. A.	101	7.36	71	6.56	172	7.01
Total	1373	100.00	1082	100.00	2455	100.00

The overall picture that emerges, is that of poor living, general poverty and extreme inadequacy of public utilities and civic amenities. The average size of a household has been worked out at

5.11 persons for the old residents and 4.08 persons for the immigrants. Eighty-five per cent of the households have less than 400 square feet of living room each. If 100 square feet per person be regarded as a minimum, it is obvious that most of the households in the city are very much short of space. In fact some 4 per cent of the families have practically no roof over their heads.

That poverty is wide spread may be judged from the fact that some 52 per cent of the households fall below the poverty line. The poverty line has been drawn at a minimum income of Rs. 75 per month per household. Those getting between Rs. 75 and Rs. 250 per month may be stated to be just above the poverty line, and the proportion of such households in the city works out at 35 per cent of the total. The remaining households, only 13 per cent of the total or one in every eight, have an income of Rs. 250 or more. These may be regarded as free from the ordinary privations of life and having a modest standard. But actually only 3 per cent of all households, i.e. those with a monthly income of Rs. 500 or more, can be stated to be living in comfort—a few of these may, however, be living even in luxury.

INDUSTRIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

A little more than three-fourth (77.72 per cent) of the earners and earning dependents have reported no change in their industry. They have been working throughout in the same industry where they first commenced working. The rest (22.28 per cent) have reported a change in this respect. The number of those who have changed three or more industries is 3.85 per cent of the total. In fact there is little industrial mobility and whatever there is, is mostly accounted for by the change of industry in case of rural immigrants from agriculture to some urban industry. This is obvious from the fact that 82 per cent of the residents did not record any change in industry while one-third of the immigrants have registered a change in their industry.

With regard to occupation, as well, only 22 per cent of the earners and earning dependents have reported a change. The level of occupational mobility is more or less the same as that of industrial mobility. Here too the change is mostly in regard to the farm workers adopting some other occupation after their migration to the city. Detailed figures are given in the following tables :

TABLE 99

EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS BY INDUSTRIAL MOBILITY

<i>Industrial mobility</i>	<i>Old residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
No change	3006	82.08	1168	68.34	4174	77.72
Having worked in 2 industries	551	15.05	439	25.69	990	18.43
Having worked in 3 industries	83	2.27	84	4.92	167	3.11
Having worked in 4 industries	19	0.52	17	0.99	36	0.67
Having worked in more than 4 industries	3	0.08	1	0.06	4	0.07
Total	3662	100.00	1709	100.00	5371	100.00

TABLE 100

EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS BY OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

<i>Occupational mobility</i>	<i>Old residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
No change	3030	82.74	1167	68.28	4197	78.14
Having had 2 occupations	545	14.88	458	26.80	1003	18.68
Having had 3 occupations	68	1.86	70	4.10	138	2.57
Having had 4 occupations	16	0.44	12	0.70	28	0.52
Having had more than 4 occupations	3	0.08	2	0.12	5	0.09
Total	3662	100.00	1709	100.00	5371	100.00

CHANGE IN EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Not only is there little industrial and occupational mobility, there is not much change even in employment status. On the whole, the employees continue to be employees and the employers and self-employed remain as before.

In all, only 12 per cent of the total earners and earning dependents have recorded a change in their employment status and of these 53 per cent have recorded a change from employee to self-employed and 40 per cent from self-employed to employee. This is the only significant field in which there is some mobility. Most of it may be in the case of daily and casual workers or others who have little security of employment. Thus a casual labourer might some times be working as a hired labourer and at others as a petty hawker and vice versa. This mobility is largely an index of economic insecurity either as an employee or as a petty tradesman or cottage worker.

TABLE 101

EARNERS AND EARNING DEPENDENTS BY CHANGE IN THE EMPLOYMENT STATUS

<i>Employment status</i>	<i>Old residents</i>		<i>Immigrants</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
No change	3299	90.09	1442	84.37	4741	88.27
Self employed to employee	96	2.62	162	9.48	258	4.80
Employee to self-employed	243	6.63	94	5.50	337	6.27
Others	24	0.66	11	0.65	35	0.66
Total	3662	100.00	1709	100.00	5371	100.00

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY

STATISTICAL DESIGN

THE REPORT is based on a census of all the 516 localities or *mohallas* of the city relating to certain broad characteristics as well as on a sample survey of its 1,17,116 households. The size of the sample households at 4,099 represents 3.5 per cent of the total.

ZONAL SURVEY

Lucknow, the capital of Uttar Pradesh with a population of 5 lakhs is the second largest city of the State. It is hardly two hundred years old and its population was only 2.5 lakhs at the beginning of the present century.

This is a middle class town, although nearly one-fourth of its residential area consists of the workers *bastis* only. The city has been continuously moving eastwards and its western zone now harbours several areas of deterioration.

There is no one central zone, and the city life revolves round three distinct hubs, each one of which has its own characteristics.

One-third of its 516 localities have no water mains for private water-taps; 30 per cent of its streets still have kerosene public lights; while 3 per cent have no street lights and in many others only parts of streets have electric lights the rest having kerosene lamps. Only 18 per cent of the localities have electricity for private lights and in as many as one-third of the total, electricity is not available at all. Most of the streets have no public latrines and very few of the public latrines have a water flush system. In a considerable portion of the city night soil is reported lying in the open and only 61 per cent of the streets and 51 per cent of the dust-bins are cleaned daily. No more than 12 per cent of the streets are provided with dust-bins. Many streets have open drains that are in some cases not even lined with masonry work while as many as 15 per cent of the streets have no drains whatsoever.

Only 26 per cent of the *mohallas* have a primary school for boys and 12 per cent for girls. At an average a dispensary caters to the

needs of 25,000 persons and a library for 18 thousand persons each. There is a park or open space for every five localities and their total area works out at 2.25 acres per thousand of population. Yet for nearly one-fifth of the total localities a park or open space is at a distance of more than a mile. A little more than one-fourth of the total number of streets and roads are still *kachcha* and 16 per cent of the total streets are not motorable, while one-fifth are blind or closed on one side.

Workers' *bastis* invariably present the sight of slums, but even in other parts there is considerable overcrowding, haphazard growth, narrow streets, open drains, filth, delinquency and social disease.

Class and caste segregation in residential areas has been reported from a number of localities—the victims of such segregation are the persons in the lowest income groups and those belonging to the lower castes.

TRENDS IN URBANISATION

After the conquest of Avadh by the British, the city remained eclipsed for well nigh three quarters of a century but its population has increased rather rapidly in recent decades. It has more than doubled itself during the last thirty years while its area has remained constant and house building activity has lagged far behind. As many as nearly half of its 41 thousand houses are only semi-*pucca* or dilapidated and are hardly fit for human habitation.

Only 58 per cent of the persons enumerated in the city of Lucknow in 1951 were born within the district of Lucknow and a very large part of the population consists of immigrants. Less than one-third of the total population (32 per cent) is reported self-supporting and the incidence of dependency has increased from 61 per cent in 1931 to 68 per cent at present. Most (60 per cent) of the earners and earning dependents make their living as wage or salaried employees.

During the first five years of the present decade the number of students reading in the primary schools has increased by some 66 per cent and that of teachers by 40 per cent. The increase in the number of university teachers and students has been even greater.

IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANTS

Immigration has been particularly marked since 1928 and the

peak was reached in 1947. The rate of immigration is, however, still very high and far above the pre-war or war-time rates.

Two-thirds of the immigrants come from the rural areas and one-third from the urban areas. There is evidence to indicate that at present urban immigration is on the increase.

The average size of an immigrant household calculated at 4.08 persons is smaller than the average size of an immigrant family worked out at 5.61 persons. This suggests that nearly one-fourth of the family members of the immigrants still live outside the city. Of the total number of the immigrants, 60 per cent are in the age-group of 15 to 20 years.

Nearly two-third of the immigrants are males and only one-third females. More than three-fourths of them are Hindus, belonging largely to the upper castes. The immigrants have a larger percentage of literacy and higher educational standards than the local people. The importance of the "pull" and "push" factors in immigration could not be assessed correctly but it is clear that a large majority of the immigrants from rural areas has come to the city on account of economic stress. Partition has also been responsible for a considerable number of urban immigrants.

Many immigrants still have some ties with their native places, particularly, as one-fourth of their family members are obliged to live outside the city. Some three-fourths of the heads of the immigrant households are reported to be visiting their native places, most of them every year. About 30 per cent of the immigrant households have some property in their native places, about 12 per cent having an agricultural holding. But hardly 4 per cent of the visiting immigrants go back to their villages for seasonal employment. Three-fourths do not send any money to their native places but one-fourth do. The average monthly remittance in their case is no more than Rs. 20. A few, 13 per cent of the total immigrant family heads intend to go back to their home towns or villages after retirement from active economic life in the city.

CASTE, COMMUNITY AND LANGUAGE

Of the total population 66.9 per cent are Hindus and 31 per cent Muslims. Among the Hindus less than half belong to the upper castes, less than one-fifth to the lower castes and rest to the intermediate castes.

All but 98 per cent of the old residents have reported Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani as their mother tongue, while among the immigrants some 13 per cent have recorded other regional languages as their mother tongue. About 28 per cent of the total have reported Urdu as their mother tongue.

SIZE AND STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The average size of the family has been worked out at 5.17 persons for old residents and 5.61 for immigrants, while the average size of a household, i.e. family members living in the city, works out at 5.11 and 4.08 respectively.

A little more than one-fourth of the family members in case of the old residents and a little less than one-third in case of immigrants are persons other than the couple and the children. These include parents, brothers and sisters, sisters-in-law, grand parents, grand-children, etc. The growth potential of families of old residents is higher than that of the immigrants.

Most of the persons above the age of 15 years are married and the age at marriage seems to be relatively lower in case of the immigrants.

The incidence of dependency at 2.5 per earner in the immigrant households is lower than that in the old resident households at 3.0 per earner.

EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS

Of the total population, 61.46 per cent are in the working age group, while the labour force rate works out at only 29.9 per cent. There is thus a considerable gap in the population in the working age group and the economically active population.

By industrial divisions, services account for the largest employment of earners and earning dependents (28.43 per cent of the total), followed by distributive services accounting for another 23.19 per cent.

Sixty per cent of the total earners and earning dependents are employees, while the rest with the exception of about one per cent, are self-employed. More than half of the employees have reported their employment as insecure.

The average income per household has been worked out at

Rs. 135 per month in case of the immigrants and Rs. 100 per month in case of the old residents. Some 52 per cent of the households fall below the poverty line, i.e. those with an income of less than Rs. 75 per month, another 35 per cent have an income between Rs. 75 and Rs. 250 per month and only 3 per cent can be stated to be living in comfort with a monthly income of Rs. 500 or more.

More than 90 per cent of the households do not get any unearned income by way of rent, interest or profits. A few have subsidiary income by cultivation but they do not constitute more than 4 per cent of the total households.

More than two-thirds of the earners and earning dependents have not reported any change in their industry. There seems to be very little industrial mobility, and the little that may be there is mostly confined to a change from agriculture to some urban industry at the time of immigration. Likewise, there is little change in occupation or employment. As many as 90 per cent have not reported any change in their employment status.

INCIDENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The incidence of unemployment has been worked out at 5.52 per cent of the earners. This excludes the casual workers and the self-employed persons. Among the casual workers only 43 per cent succeed in getting employment for 21 days or more in a month. The incidence of under-employment is also high in case of the self-employed persons. Making a correction for these the incidence of unemployment works out at 10.97 per cent of the labour force.

HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

As many as 54 per cent of the old residents live in their own houses whereas 88 per cent of the immigrants live in rented apartments. Density in certain wards is as high as 400 persons per acre as against the norm of 100 persons per acre.

At least one-tenth of the total families (11 per cent) have no houses of their own—either owned or rented. They simply live with a friend or a relative or in rent-free out-houses and servants' quarters mostly attached to the bungalows of their employers.

Poverty is so general that hardly one-tenth of the families live in houses with a rental value of Rs. 20 per month or more although

there are more than 6 persons in 23 per cent of the households.

It has been calculated that, even if judged by very modest standards, 52 per cent of the old resident families and 33 per cent of the immigrant families live in overcrowded houses with three or more adults per dwelling.

Some 4 per cent of the families have literally no roof over their heads. They simply live on pavements or in sheds or under trees. Another 15 per cent are huddled together in single room tenements and only 11 per cent of the families have 4 or more rooms per family.

As many as 27 per cent of the families live in houses without a latrine, bath-room, kitchen, store and box-room, dining room, dressing room and verandah. Barely 14 per cent of the families have independent bath-rooms available exclusively for their use and only 50 per cent have an exclusive latrine. As many as 63 per cent of the families have no independent kitchen and only one-fifth have electric supply available in their dwellings.

The survey reveals unmistakably a picture of poor living, general poverty and extreme inadequacy of public utilities and civic amenities in the capital of the largest State of the country, which is often described as a city of parks and palaces.

NOTE ON FERTILITY SURVEY

CHAPTER XI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

THE PRESENT survey relates to the fertility and attitudes towards family planning of a sample of 1,335 married women drawn from the city of Lucknow, U.P. The sample comprises a part of the bigger main sample for the principal survey of the city. The fertility data were obtained from a separate survey specially undertaken for the purpose. Information regarding age at marriage, reproductive history and attitudes towards family planning was obtained from married women who have had one or more pregnancies on the basis of a questionnaire appended to this report.

Data on the social and economic characteristics of the sample had been collected in the original investigation. To provide the socio-economic background of fertility patterns and attitudes we have abstracted for the sample drawn for the family planning enquiry the necessary information from the original survey and present it in the tables given below :

TABLE 102

NUMBER OF MOTHERS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION OF THEIR HUSBANDS

<i>Occupational group</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Division 0	28	2.1
„ 1	81	6.1
„ 2	130	9.7
„ 3	169	12.7
„ 4	233	17.5
„ 5-6	612	45.8
„ 7	82	6.1
Total	1335	100.0

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Our sample has been classified into seven broad occupational divisions as follows :

- Division 0: Managerial, administrative, and executive occupations (Non-technical)
- Division 1: Professional, technical and related occupations (superior)
- Division 2: Subordinate, administrative and executive occupations
- Division 3: Ministerial occupations
- Division 4: Sales and related occupations (subordinate)
- Divisions 5-6: Subordinate technical occupations
- Division 7: Service occupations

The scheme of classification adopted here is the same as given by the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, which is patterned after the "International Standard Classification of Occupation". Since the basis of this classification is the type of functions performed by an individual and not merely the section of economic activity in which he is engaged, it provides a nearly satisfactory measure of the economic status of the individuals. Broadly speaking as we move from Division 0 on to Division 7, we are proceeding in a descending order of status.

Table 102 gives the number of mothers classified by occupation of their husbands. It shows that the sample is heavily weighted in favour of the Divisions 5-6 which include persons in subordinate technical occupations; these two Divisions comprise about 46 per cent of all the mothers in the sample. Next in order are mothers whose husbands fall in Division 4, i.e. sales and related occupations (subordinate) (17.5 per cent). Occupational Division 3 accounts for about 13 per cent of all cases, Occupational Division 2 for 10 per cent, Occupational Division 1 and 7 for 6 per cent each and Occupational Division 0 for only 2 per cent.

EDUCATIONAL COMPOSITION

Table 103 classifies the sample by educational standard of husbands. The whole sample is divided into 7 educational groups on the basis of standard of education attained by husbands. The table shows that the largest number of cases, about two-fifths appear in the

TABLE 103

NUMBER OF MOTHERS CLASSIFIED BY EDUCATION OF THEIR HUSBANDS

<i>Educational groups</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Illiterate	503	37.7
Primary	151	11.3
Secondary	322	24.1
Technical	17	1.3
College	112	8.4
Post-graduate	25	1.9
Private	205	15.4
Total	1335	100.00

TABLE 103a

NUMBER OF MOTHERS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR EDUCATION

<i>Educational groups</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Illiterate	853	63.9
Primary	69	5.2
Secondary	141	10.6
Technical	2	.15
College	19	1.4
Post-graduate	6	.45
Private	245	18.5
Total	1335	100.00

TABLE 104

NUMBER OF MOTHERS CLASSIFIED BY RELIGION AND CASTE

<i>Caste and Communities</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Upper	473	35.4
Intermediate	300	22.6
Lower	78	5.8
TOTAL HINDUS	851	63.8
Muslims	463	34.7
Christians	10	.7
Sikhs	5	.4
Others	6	.4
Total	1335	100.00

illiterate class. About 11 per cent of all the husbands have had only primary education and 24 per cent had secondary education. Persons with college education comprise about 8 per cent of the sample and those with technical and post-graduate courses appear only in insignificant proportions, being less than 2 per cent each. There is quite a substantial number, about 15 per cent, that appears in the group with private education only and we do not know precisely the standards which they have attained.

Table 103a classifies mothers according to their own educational standards. It shows a much heavier incidence of illiteracy among women than among their husbands. About two-thirds of all women in the sample are illiterate as against only two-fifths of their husbands. Those in the primary and secondary group account for about 5 per cent and 11 per cent of all cases respectively. There are very few women with college or university education. There is a substantial number of mothers, about 19 per cent, who appear in the group with private education only and whose educational standards are not precisely indicated.

RELIGION AND CASTE

We have also classified our sample by religion and caste. Table 104 shows the classification of mothers into five religious groups, viz. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and others. Hindus are further sub-divided into three castes, viz. upper, intermediate and lower, which stand in descending order of social status.

Hindus comprise about 64 per cent of all mothers in the sample, Muslims, about 35 per cent, while Christians, Sikhs and others show only nominal proportions of less than 1 per cent each. Among the Hindus about 55 per cent appear in the upper caste groups, 36 per cent in the intermediate castes and the rest in the lower groups.

INCOME STRUCTURE

Table 105 gives the income structure of the sample. It classifies mothers into seven income groups, according to the monthly income of the family. It shows that about 40 per cent of all mothers have an average income between Rs. 30 to Rs. 75 p.m. About three-fourths of all the mothers live in families which have an

TABLE 105

NUMBER OF MOTHERS CLASSIFIED BY MONTHLY INCOME
OF THE FAMILY

<i>Income group</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Below Rs. 30	121	9.1
Rs. 30 — Rs. 75	531	39.8
Rs. 75 — Rs. 150	359	26.9
Rs. 150 — Rs. 250	168	12.6
Rs. 250 — Rs. 500	98	7.3
Rs. 500 — Rs. 1000	39	2.9
Rs. 1000 and above	19	1.4
Total	1335	100.00

average monthly income of less than Rs. 150. About 13 per cent appear in the income group of Rs. 150 to Rs. 250, 7 per cent in the income group of Rs. 250 to 500, 3 per cent in the income group of Rs. 500 to 1000 and only 1.4 per cent in the income group of above Rs. 1000.

TABLE 106

NUMBER OF MOTHERS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR PRESENT AGE OR
AGE AT WIDOWHOOD

<i>Present age or age at widowhood</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Below 15 years	22	16.5
16 — 19 "	141	10.6
20 — 24 "	256	19.2
25 — 29 "	272	20.4
30 — 34 "	207	15.6
35 — 39 "	168	12.7
40 — 44 "	98	7.3
45 and above	169	12.7
N.A.	2	0.2
Total	1335	

AGE STRUCTURE

Table 106 classifies mothers according to their present age or age at the time of their widowhood. (In the case of widowed mothers the age recorded in our investigation is the age when they became widows, since the number of years spent by them between the date of widowhood and the present is irrelevant from the point of view of their fertility performance.)

The table shows that less than half the mothers are aged 24 or less, more than a third are in the age groups 25-29, and 30-34 and less than one-third above the age 35. If we compare the percentage of mothers in each successive age group we find that the trend is irregular. Thus mothers aged 20-24 and 25-29 comprise about one-fifth each while those in younger age group, i.e. 16-19 are only 11 per cent. Such irregularity in the proportions of successive age groups would be highly anomalous in a normal population. It therefore appears that either our sample is not representative of the age structure of the universe or the latter itself is highly distorted by the effects of erratic migration.

CHAPTER XII

AGE AT MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

AGE AT MARRIAGE

TABLE 107 shows the distribution of mothers according to their age at marriage. About 5 per cent appear to have been married before their puberty, i.e. below the age of 12. About 11 per cent are married in ages 12 to 14 but the most numerous marriages appear to have been performed in the age-groups 14-16, and 16-18, accounting for about 64 per cent in both the groups combined. The median age at marriage is 16.5 years. It is apparent that the frequency of child marriage is very low but very few marriages are postponed beyond 18 years. Thus four-fifths of all marriages are performed before the age of 18 and more than nine-tenths before the age of 20.

TABLE 107

NUMBER OF MOTHERS CLASSIFIED BY AGE AT MARRIAGE

<i>Age at marriage</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Below 12 years	63	4.7
12 — 14 "	147	11.0
14 — 16 "	429	32.1
16 — 18 "	421	31.5
18 — 20 "	157	11.8
20 — 22 "	71	5.3
22 — 24 "	21	1.6
24 — 26 "	18	1.3
26 — 28 "	6	0.4
28 — 30 "	1	0.07
30 years and above	1	0.07
Total	1335	100.00

AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD

Table 108 gives the distribution of mothers by age at birth of first child. It shows that only 15 per cent of the first children are born

to mothers aged less than 16 years whereas about half the mothers were married before the age of 16. This shows that early marriage does not co-exist so frequently with early child-bearing.

It appears from the table that the largest number of first births, 40 per cent, occur in the age-group 16-18. Eighteen per cent of the first births occur to mothers in the age-group 18-20. In all, more than 85 per cent of the first children are born to mothers before the age of 22. Thus there is very little postponement of child-bearing beyond 22 years.

TABLE 108

DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHERS BY AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD

<i>Age at birth of first child</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Below 14 years	17	1.3
14 — 16 "	178	13.3
16 — 18 "	534	40.0
18 — 20 "	244	18.3
20 — 22 "	182	13.6
22 — 24 "	78	5.8
24 — 26 "	56	4.2
26 — 28 "	22	1.7
28 — 30 "	12	0.9
30 years and above	12	0.9
Total	1335	100.00

AVERAGE FERTILITY

Table 109 shows total pregnancies, completed or miscarried, classified by the present age of mothers or their age at the time of widowhood (since child bearing terminates with widowhood, the age of widows relevant to our enquiry is not their present age but their age at the time when they became widows). It shows a total of 4620 pregnancies occurring to 1335 mothers thus giving an average of 3.7 pregnancies per mother. Of these 0.25 or about 7 per cent pregnancies were lost on account of miscarriages and still births. Thus there were 3.46 live-births per mother, of whom 2.3 children are surviving to date and 1.12 or about a third had expired by the time of investigation. It thus appears that family building in our sample suffers heavily from reproductive wastage as well as loss of life on account of infant and child mortality.

TABLE 109

NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND SURVIVING PER MOTHER
CLASSIFIED BY PRESENT AGE OF MOTHER

<i>Present age or age at widowhood</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Total No. of children</i>			<i>Mis- and still- births</i>	<i>Total Preg- nancies</i>	<i>Total No. of children</i>				<i>Mis- and still- births</i>	<i>Total preg- nancies</i>	<i>Percen- tage of miscar- riages and still births to total pregnancies</i>
		<i>Alive</i>	<i>Dead</i>	<i>Total</i>			<i>alive</i>	<i>dead</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>% of Alive to Total</i>			
Below 15 years	22	11	6	17	8	25	.500	.273	.773	66.36	.364	1.136	31.58
16-19	141	135	55	190	51	241	.958	.390	1.348	71.11	.362	1.709	21.05
20-24	256	371	131	502	54	556	1.449	.512	1.961	73.98	.211	2.172	9.67
25-29	272	594	267	861	40	901	2.184	.981	3.165	68.77	.147	3.312	4.53
30-34	207	594	311	905	51	956	2.870	1.502	4.372	65.67	.246	4.618	5.41
35-39	168	602	263	865	52	917	3.583	1.565	5.149	69.51	.310	5.458	5.68
40-44	98	326	192	518	33	551	3.327	1.959	5.286	62.95	.337	5.622	6.05
45 years and above	169	479	273	752	42	794	2.834	1.615	4.450	63.59	.249	4.698	5.32
N.A.	2	8	1	9	—	9	4.000	.500	4.500	8.89	—	4.500	—
Total	1335	3122	1498	4620	330	4950	2.338	1.122	3.460	67.63	.247	3.707	6.74

It is apparent from the table that average number of pregnancies per mother increases with age until we have a maximum of 5.62 pregnancies per mother at ages 40-44. It is however paradoxical to note that mothers aged 45 and above show an average of 4.7 pregnancies which is even lower than the average for mothers aged 35-39.

If we treat the whole sample as a synthetic cohort passing through successive ages of child bearing it would lead us to the absurd conclusion that there is negative fertility beyond the age of 44. However mothers aged 45 and above constitute a separate cohort in another age group and may, therefore, show a fertility pattern different from that shown by the rest. Nevertheless it is difficult to account for the lower fertility of the cohort in the highest age group since we cannot hold that the older women were for any reason less fecund or more given to family limitation than the younger. Perhaps it is due to greater under-reporting of pregnancies among the former who found it more difficult to recollect their past reproductive performance on account of age.

The irregular trend shown by mothers aged 45 and above is unfortunate for our analysis since it is these mothers who have completed their fertility and whose reproductive performance could provide a satisfactory basis for inter-group fertility comparisons. In the face of this irregularity we can do no better than draw our conclusions regarding differential fertility on the basis of mothers of all the age groups lumped together or mothers other than those in the highest age group.

FERTILITY AND AGE AT MARRIAGE

Table 110 shows the correlation between age at marriage and average fertility performance of mothers. It shows an average of 3.7 pregnancies to mothers who were married before the age of 12, 3.9 for those married between the ages 12 to 14 and 4.0 for those married between the ages 14-16. The average fertility appears to decline as we move to mothers married at higher ages. Thus mothers married in the age group 16-18, 18-20 and 20-22 show an average of about 3.6 pregnancies each. Further postponement to the age group 22-24 leads to a still greater decline in fertility, the average number of pregnancies for this group being 2.8. But curiously enough there is a significant increase in the number of pregnancies, being 3.9,

when we move to a still higher age group 24-26. On the whole there appears to be a general trend of an increase in fertility with the rise in age at marriage upto 16 years, but a decline in fertility when the marriage age is raised still higher. This trend, however, seems to be disturbed in some age groups in which higher age at marriage co-exists with higher fertility. Not much reliance can be placed either on the general trend indicated above or in the exceptions noted because we do not know the present age structure of the mothers married at different ages. Our conclusion is subject to the assumption that there are no significant differences in the age structure of the different marriage cohorts, an assumption which remains unvarified because the data on fertility of the different cohorts were not classified by their present ages.

FERTILITY AND AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD

Table III shows the correlation between the age of mother at birth of first child and the average number of pregnancies. It shows a highly irregular trend. Thus those who had their first birth below the age of 16 or, again, those who had their first child in the ages 20-22 and 22-24 had an average of about 4 pregnancies. Those who had their first birth in the age group 16-18 had an average of 3.3, those in the age group 18-20 showed an average of 3.9. Strangely enough mothers who bore their first child in the age group 24-26 or even as late as 28-30 had an average of 3.6 pregnancies which is higher than the average shown by those who had become mothers for the first time at ages 16-18. Obviously such an irregular trend cannot be explained until the data are standardised for the age structure of mothers in the different cohorts classified by their ages at birth of first child.

TABLE 110
NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND SURVIVING
PER MOTHER BY AGE AT MARRIAGE

<i>Age at marriage</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Total No. of Children</i>			<i>Total No. of miscarriages and still births</i>	<i>Total pregnancies</i>	<i>Percentage of miscarriages and still births to total pregnancies</i>
		<i>Alive</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of surviving children to total</i>			
Below 12 years	63	2.032	3.555	48.19	.190	3.746	7.25
12-14	147	2.333	3.667	69.53	.197	3.864	7.52
14-16	429	2.499	3.785	55.48	.249	4.035	5.11
16-18	421	2.304	3.287	74.94	.261	3.548	4.65
18-20	157	2.178	3.102	55.04	.248	3.350	1.04
20-22	71	2.423	3.352	56.46	.183	3.535	9.91
22-24	21	1.857	2.524	61.54	.286	2.810	7.14
24-26	18	2.500	3.167	88.24	.722	3.889	.86
26-28	6	1.167	1.667	50.00	.167	1.833	9.11
28-30	1	3.000	3.000	100.00	—	3.000	—
30 years and above	1	1.000	1.000	100.00	—	1.000	—
N.A.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1335	2.338	3.460	62.99	.247	3.707	5.23

TABLE III

NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND SURVIVING
PER MOTHER BY AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD

<i>Age at birth of first child</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Total No. of Children</i>		<i>Percentage of surviving children to total</i>	<i>Total No. of miscarriages and still births</i>	<i>Total pregnancies</i>	<i>Percentage of miscarriages and still births to total pregnancies</i>
		<i>Alive</i>	<i>Total</i>				
Below 14 years	17	2.412	3.823	63.09	.177	4.000	4.50
14-16	178	2.590	4.107	63.02	.174	4.281	3.97
16-18	534	1.972	2.929	66.77	.363	3.312	10.88
18-20	244	2.557	3.684	69.56	.193	3.877	4.89
20-22	182	2.632	3.901	67.45	.154	4.055	3.69
22-24	78	2.692	3.974	67.73	.154	4.128	3.63
24-26	56	2.625	3.518	74.43	.036	3.554	1.13
26-28	22	2.591	3.000	86.33	.227	3.227	7.12
28-30	12	1.833	3.000	61.00	.667	3.667	1.83
30 years and above	12	2.333	2.583	90.31	—	2.583	—
N.A.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1335	2.338	3.460	67.63	.247	3.707	6.74

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY

WE WILL describe in this chapter differences in the fertility pattern of mothers in different socio-economic strata and with varying cultural background. Our conclusions are based on a comparison of the average number of pregnancies and births to all mothers in different socio-economic groups regardless of their age structure. Since age is an important factor determining fertility, our analysis of differential fertility without standardisation for the age factor seriously limits the validity of our conclusions. However, we could not overcome this limitation because consideration of time and expense prevented us from a detailed analysis of the data by age of mother.

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBANDS

Table 112 gives the fertility performance of mothers classified by Occupational Divisions. It shows that mothers in the Occupational Division 0 which is perhaps the most well-placed stratum show a maximum average of 3.9 pregnancies. Mothers in other Occupational Divisions show an average of 3.6 or 3.7 pregnancies. It thus appears that mothers in the two highest Occupational Divisions show higher fertility while those in the successive lower divisions show lower fertility compared to the former but do not show any differences among themselves. The higher fertility shown by mothers in the highest occupational groups is indeed very curious and difficult to explain.

Comparing the incidence of miscarriages and still-births, we find that mothers in 0 Division lose only 2.25 per cent of their pregnancies on this score, but those in Division 1 and 2 lose more than 7 per cent. The loss in Division 3 is about 8 per cent. In Division 4 it is about 7 per cent, in Division 5-6 and 7 about 6 per cent. It thus appears that there are no significant occupational differentials in loss of pregnancies on account of miscarriages and still-births, except for Division 0 which shows a substantially lighter incidence.

Column 5 gives the percentage of children surviving to total number of children born. It shows that in Division 0 and 1 more

TABLE 112

NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND SURVIVING PER MOTHER BY
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

<i>Occupational groups</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Number of children per mother</i>			<i>No. of miscarriages and still births per mother</i>	<i>No. of pregnancies per mother</i>	<i>Percentage of miscarriages and still births to total pregnancies</i>
		<i>Alive</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of surviving children to total</i>			
Division 0	28	3.393	4.642	72.75	.017	4.750	2.25
Division 1	81	2.629	3.617	72.68	.296	3.913	7.56
Division 2	130	2.307	3.400	67.85	.261	3.661	7.12
Division 3	169	2.598	3.355	74.45	.290	3.645	7.91
Division 4	233	2.373	3.515	63.33	.257	3.772	6.89
Division 5-6	612	2.204	3.419	64.33	.233	3.653	6.30
Division 7	82	2.110	3.366	62.64	.207	3.573	5.88
Total	1335	2.338	3.460	67.63	.247	3.707	6.74

than 72 per cent of children born are surviving to the date of investigation. In Division 2, the percentage of surviving children is 68 and in Division 3, about 74. The proportion of surviving children shows some decline in Division 4, 5-6 and 7, being about 63 per cent. It thus appears that on the whole there is a higher survival ratio among children born in families with higher occupational status.

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY BY EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

Table 113 shows the fertility performance of mothers classified by education of their husbands. Average number of pregnancies ranges from 3.5 to 3.7 in different educational groups except for the group with private education which shows substantially higher average of 4.3 pregnancies per mother. It is thus apparent that our sample does not show any significant correlation between education and fertility.

Looking at the losses of pregnancies on account of miscarriages and still-births we find that there is no regular trend. Of course, post-graduates show a smaller loss of only about 4.6 per cent and persons with college education, a loss of 6.6 per cent while those with only secondary and technical education show a loss of more than 8 per cent. But the illiterate and those with primary education bear a loss of only 6 per cent or less.

However, there appears to be on the whole a rather uniform correlation between education and the survival prospects of children, the percentage of surviving children to the total number born rising from about 64 per cent among the illiterate and 59 per cent among those with primary education to about 80 per cent among those with college and post-graduate education.

Table 113a shows the fertility of women by their own educational standards. There appears to be a more consistent trend in the correlation between fertility and education of women, average number of pregnancies declining from about 3.7 among the illiterate and those with primary education to 3.4 among wives with secondary education, 3.0 among those with technical and college education and only 2.5 among the post-graduate wives. Women with private education only show the highest average number of pregnancies being 4 per mother. There is no consistent trend in the incidence of miscarriages and still-births. But the survival prospects among live-born children appear to vary directly with the standards of

TABLE 113

NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND SURVIVING PER MOTHER BY
EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS OF HUSBANDS

<i>Educational groups (Husbands)</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Number of children per mother</i>			<i>No. of miscarriages and still births per mother</i>	<i>No. of pregnan- cies per mother</i>	<i>Percentage of miscarriages and still births to total pregnancies</i>
		<i>Alive</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of surviving children to total.</i>			
Illiterate	503	2.219	3.473	63.97	.212	3.685	5.69
Primary	151	1.920	3.258	58.89	.205	3.463	6.07
Secondary	322	2.376	3.242	73.46	.317	3.559	8.98
Technical	17	2.294	3.176	72.01	.294	3.470	8.36
College	112	2.741	3.393	80.82	.241	3.634	6.61
Post-graduate	25	2.640	3.320	79.52	.160	3.480	4.59
Private	205	2.629	4.000	65.75	.263	4.263	6.10
Total	1335	2.338	3.460	67.63	.247	3.707	6.74

TABLE 113a

NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND SURVIVING PER MOTHER BY THEIR EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

<i>Educational group (Wife)</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Number of children per mother</i>			<i>No. of miscarriages and still births per mother</i>	<i>No. of pregnancies per mother</i>	<i>Percentage of miscarriages and still births to total pregnancies</i>
		<i>Alive</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of surviving children to total</i>			
Illiterate	853	2.176	3.459	63.01	.240	3.699	6.47
Primary	69	2.522	3.420	73.68	.319	3.739	8.56
Secondary	141	2.482	3.141	78.98	.290	3.432	8.45
Technical	2	3.000	3.000	100.00	—	3.000	—
College	19	2.684	3.000	89.33	.052	3.052	1.64
Post-graduate	6	2.500	2.500	100.00	—	2.500	—
Private	245	2.736	3.722	73.65	.249	3.971	6.29
Total	1335	2.338	3.460	67.63	.247	3.707	6.74

education attained by mothers. Among mothers with technical and post-graduate education there is cent per cent survival but this may be an unreliable indication because the number of cases in these two groups is only 2 and 6 respectively.

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY BY RELIGION AND CASTE

Table 114 shows the fertility pattern of mothers by religion and caste. Average number of pregnancies is 3.6 per mother among Hindus, 3.9 among Muslims, 3.1 among Christians and 2.8 among Sikhs. Muslims thus appear to be most fertile and Sikhs, the least. But the number of Sikh mothers is only 5 and no reliance can be placed on the average obtained for these mothers. Within the Hindu community, fertility is further classified by caste status of mothers, but the table does not show any significant differences in the fertility of different castes.

There is no consistent trend in the incidence of miscarriages and still-births. Thus Hindus and Muslims show a loss of more than 6 per cent on this score, whereas Christians lose about 13 per cent and Sikhs do not show any loss at all. Within the Hindu community the lower castes show a loss of only 3 per cent as against a loss of about 7 per cent among the upper and the intermediate castes. This is indeed paradoxical.

There is, however, a slightly greater uniformity in the correlation between survival prospects of the children born and the religion and caste of mothers. About 66 per cent of the children born survive among the high caste Hindus, 70 per cent among Muslims and 85 per cent among the Christians. Within the Hindu community the upper caste show a higher survival ratio of about 70 per cent as against only 60 per cent among the intermediate and lower castes.

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY BY INCOME GROUPS

Table 115 shows the fertility of mothers as classified by average monthly income of their family. There is an average of 3.9 pregnancies per mother in the income group below Rs. 30, 3.4 in the income group Rs. 30-75, and 3.8 in the income group Rs. 75-150. It rises to more than 4 pregnancies when we move to the income brackets Rs. 150-250 and Rs. 250-500, declines to 3.4 in the income group Rs. 500 to 1000 but rises again to 4.4 in the group Rs. 1000 and

TABLE II4
 NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND SURVIVING PER MOTHER
 BY CASTE AND COMMUNITIES

<i>Caste and communities</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Number of children per mother</i>			<i>No. of miscarriages and still births per mother</i>	<i>No. of pregnancies per mother</i>	<i>Percentage of miscarriages and still births to total pregnancies</i>
		<i>Alive</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of surviving children to total</i>			
Upper	473	2.361	3.365	70.03	.247	3.613	6.93
Intermediate	300	2.027	3.383	60.06	.240	3.623	6.63
Lower	78	2.064	3.397	60.59	.103	3.500	2.86
Total Hindus	851	2.216	3.375	65.68	.231	3.606	6.37
Muslims	463	2.566	3.652	70.41	.270	3.922	6.89
Christians	10	2.300	2.700	85.19	.400	3.100	12.90
Sikhs	5	2.200	2.800	78.57	—	2.800	—
Others	6	2.333	2.666	87.26	.667	3.333	20.12
Total	1335	2.338	3.460	67.63	.247	3.707	6.74

TABLE 115

NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND SURVIVING
PER MOTHER BY MONTHLY INCOME

<i>Monthly income groups</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Number of children per mother</i>			<i>No. of miscarriages and still births per mother</i>	<i>No. of pregnancies per mother</i>	<i>Percentage of miscarriages and still births to total pregnancies</i>
		<i>Alive</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of surviving children to total</i>			
Below Rs. 30	122	2.016	3.590	56.26	.319	3.909	8.21
Rs. 30 - 75	531	2.069	3.220	64.29	.222	3.442	6.39
Rs. 75 - 150	358	2.377	3.558	66.85	.221	3.779	5.82
Rs. 150 - 250	168	2.774	3.750	73.87	.298	4.048	7.41
Rs. 250 - 500	98	3.010	3.724	80.91	.316	4.040	7.92
Rs. 500 - 1000	39	2.821	3.282	85.97	.103	3.385	2.95
Rs. 1000 and above	19	2.895	3.947	73.42	.474	4.421	10.63
Total	1335	2.338	3.460	67.63	.247	3.707	6.74

above. The trend is thus highly irregular showing the absence of any significant correlation between income and fertility.

The table does not show any trend in the incidence of miscarriages and still-births. Thus the percentage of miscarriages and still-births to total pregnancies is near about 6 in the income group Rs. 30-75, Rs. 75-250 as against 7.9 in the group Rs. 250-500 and 10.6 in the group above Rs. 1000 while those in the group Rs. 500-1000 show a loss of only about 3 per cent.

There appears to be on the whole a more uniform correlation between income and survival prospects among the children born. Thus the percentage of surviving children to the total number born increases steadily as we move from the lowest income group to the income group Rs. 500-1000, being about 56 per cent for the former and 86 per cent for the latter. Children in the income group Rs. 1000 and above however show only a 73 per cent survival ratio. This is indeed paradoxical and can only be attributed to the small size of the sample (19 cases only) and therefore the unreliability of the results.

TABLE 116

AVERAGE SPACING BY OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS

<i>Occupational Divisions</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Average spacing years</i>
Division 0	28	2.37
Division 1	81	2.50
Division 2	130	2.77
Division 3	169	2.45
Division 4	233	2.50
Divisions 5-6	612	2.47
Division 7	72	2.88
Total	1335	100.00

SPACING OF BIRTHS

Table 116 shows the average spacing of births in different occupational divisions. There is very little difference in the average spacing of birth shown by different occupational divisions, the average

ranging from about 2.4 in the Occupation Division 0 to 2.9 in the Occupational Division 7. Also there is no regularity in the trend.

TABLE 116a
AVERAGE SPACING BY HUSBAND'S EDUCATION

<i>Husband's education</i>	<i>No. of mothers</i>	<i>Average spacing years</i>
Illiterate	503	2.60
Primary	151	2.40
Secondary	322	2.39
Technical	17	2.91
College	112	2.51
Post-graduate	25	2.72
Private	205	2.50
Total	1335	100.00

TABLE 116b
AVERAGE SPACING BY WIFE'S EDUCATION

<i>Wife's education</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Average spacing years</i>
Illiterate	853	2.59
Primary	69	2.63
Secondary	141	2.36
Technical	2	4.20
College	19	3.00
Post-graduate	6	1.55
Private	245	2.50
Total	1335	100.00

Table 116a gives average spacing by education of husbands and shows no significant or consistent differences in the different educational groups. Similarly no trend is observed in spacing of births classified by wives' education.

TABLE 116C

AVERAGE SPACING BY RELIGION AND CASTE

<i>Castes and communities</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Average spacing years</i>
HINDUS: Upper	473	2.43
Intermediate	300	2.53
Lower	78	2.41
TOTAL HINDUS	851	—
Muslims	463	2.36
Christians	10	2.21
Sikhs	5	2.00
Others	6	2.60
Total	1335	100.00

Table 116C gives average spacing of births by religion and caste. It shows an average spacing of about 2.5 among Hindus, 2.4 among Muslims, 2.2 among Christians and only 2 years among Sikhs. The difference between Hindus and Muslims is rather insignificant while no importance can be attached to the figures for Christians and Sikhs because of the small number of cases.

TABLE 116D

AVERAGE SPACING BY MONTHLY INCOME GROUPS

<i>Monthly income groups</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Average spacing years</i>
Below Rs. 30	121	2.29
Rs. 30 - 75	531	2.53
Rs. 75 - 150	359	2.53
Rs. 150 - 250	168	2.59
Rs. 250 - 500	98	2.49
Rs. 500 - 1000	39	2.95
Rs. 1000 & above	19	2.45
Total	1335	100.00

Table 116D gives the average spacing of births classified by income groups. It shows the lowest average for the group below Rs. 30 per month and highest for the group Rs. 500-1000. There is however no consistent trend to indicate either a direct or an inverse relation between income and average spacing of births.

CHAPTER XIV

ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING

THE PRESENT survey included two questions on the attitudes towards family planning, one concerning the desirability of family limitation, and the other regarding the ideal size of family. The first question was put to both husbands and wives and the replies are classified separately in the tables given below.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY LIMITATION

Table II7 shows the number and percentage of husbands desiring to restrict children classified according to the number of live-born children. About 46 per cent of all the husbands report that it is

TABLE II7

PERCENTAGE OF HUSBANDS DESIRING TO RESTRICT CHILDREN CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LIVE BIRTHS

<i>Live births</i>	<i>No. desiring to restrict</i>	<i>No. not desiring to restrict</i>	<i>N.A.</i>	<i>Total No. of cases</i>	<i>Col. 2 as percentage of Col. 5</i>	<i>Col. 3 as percentage of Col. 5</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	84	89	15	188	44.7	47.3
2	80	75	3	158	50.6	47.6
3	72	85	2	159	45.3	53.5
4	63	53	5	121	52.1	43.1
5	49	74	5	128	38.3	57.8
6	39	37	4	80	48.7	46.3
7	27	21	2	50	54.0	42.0
8	18	24	1	43	41.9	55.8
9	5	12	2	19	26.3	63.2
10	5	5	1	11	45.5	45.5
Above 10	5	3	—	8	62.5	37.5
Total	447	478	40	965	46.3	49.5

desirable to restrict the size of family. The percentage desiring family limitation varies within a wide range of 26 per cent to 63 per cent. There is, however, no regular trend indicating either an inverse or a direct relationship between the percentage of husbands desiring family limitation and the number of live-born children.

TABLE 117a

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING TO RESTRICT CHILDREN
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LIVE BIRTHS

<i>Live births</i>	<i>No. desiring to restrict</i>	<i>No. not desiring to restrict</i>	<i>N.A.</i>	<i>Total No. of cases</i>	<i>Col. 2 as percentage of col. 5</i>	<i>Col. 3 as percentage of col. 5</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	81	85	21	187	43.3	45.5
2	73	79	6	158	46.2	50.0
3	71	79	8	158	44.9	50.0
4	57	55	9	121	47.1	45.5
5	45	75	8	128	35.2	58.6
6	38	38	4	80	47.5	47.5
7	27	21	2	50	54.0	42.0
8	17	27	—	44	38.6	60.9
9	4	13	2	19	21.0	68.4
10	5	6	—	11	45.4	54.5
Above 10	5	3	—	8	62.5	37.5
Total	423	481	60	964	43.8	49.9

Table 117a shows the attitudes of mothers towards family limitation classified according to number of live-births completed by them. About 43 per cent of all mothers seem to favour family limitation. The percentage desiring family limitation does not show any consistent trend with a change in the size of family. Comparing Tables 117 and 117a we find that the differences in the attitudes of husbands and wives towards family limitation are rather small.

Table 118 shows the number and percentage of persons desiring to restrict children classified according to the size of the present family (that is the number of surviving children). The percentage desiring

TABLE 118

PERCENTAGE OF HUSBANDS DESIRING TO RESTRICT CHILDREN
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LIVING CHILDREN

<i>Living children</i>	<i>No. desiring to restrict</i>	<i>No. not desiring to restrict</i>	<i>N. A.</i>	<i>Total No. of cases</i>	<i>Col. 2 as percentage of col. 5</i>	<i>Col. 3 as percentage of col. 5</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	99	120	14	233	42.5	51.1
2	106	97	7	210	50.5	46.2
3	85	70	4	159	53.5	44.0
4	53	69	4	126	42.1	54.7
5	32	35	1	68	47.2	51.5
6	18	11	—	29	62.1	37.3
7	11	15	1	27	40.8	55.5
8	5	5	1	11	45.5	45.5
9	2	—	—	2	100.0	—
10	—	4	—	4	—	100.0
Above 10	1	—	—	1	100.0	—
Total	412	426	32	870	47.4	48.9

family limitation varies from 41 to 62; but again there is no consistent trend in the desire for family limitation with a change in the size of family. No husband with 10 living children seems to desire restricting the number of children, while those with 9 or more than 10 living children show a cent per cent desire for family limitation. The number of cases in each of these groups is however too small (being less than 5) to warrant any reliable conclusion.

Table 118a shows the proportion of mothers who desire to restrict children. It brings out the same features as we observed in the case of husbands, mothers with 9 and those with more than 10 children showing cent per cent desire for family limitation, and the

TABLE 118a

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING TO RESTRICT CHILDREN
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LIVING CHILDREN

<i>Living children</i>	<i>No. desiring to restrict</i>	<i>No. not desiring to restrict</i>	<i>N. A.</i>	<i>Total No. of cases</i>	<i>Col. 2 as percentage of col. 5</i>	<i>Col. 3 as percentage of col. 5</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	93	116	23	232	40.1	50.0
2	101	96	12	209	48.3	45.9
3	81	72	7	160	50.6	45.0
4	51	69	6	126	40.5	54.8
5	29	37	2	68	42.5	54.4
6	17	12	—	29	58.6	41.3
7	10	16	1	27	37.0	59.3
8	5	5	1	11	45.5	45.5
9	2	—	—	2	100.0	—
10	—	4	—	4	—	100.0
Above 10	1	—	—	1	100.0	—
Total	390	427	52	869	44.9	49.3

proportion among the rest varying from 37 per cent to 59 per cent in the case of those with 6 children. It does not bring out any neat relationship between the size of family and attitude towards family limitation. However, it does show that women are slightly less favourable to family limitation than men.

Table 119 classifies attitudes of husbands towards family limitation according to the number of living male children in the family. It shows a wide range in the proportion desiring to restrict children, the minimum being one-third in the case of husbands with 4 living male children, and the maximum being cent per cent in the case

TABLE 119

PERCENTAGE OF HUSBANDS DESIRING TO RESTRICT CHILDREN
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LIVING MALE CHILDREN

<i>Living male children</i>	<i>No. desiring to restrict</i>	<i>No. not desiring to restrict</i>	<i>N.A.</i>	<i>Total No. of cases</i>	<i>Col. 2 as percentage of col. 5</i>	<i>Col. 3 as percentage of col. 5</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	155	162	11	328	47.3	49.3
2	95	96	7	198	47.9	48.5
3	57	49	2	108	52.8	45.4
4	13	24	2	39	33.3	61.5
5	6	4	1	11	54.5	36.3
6	2	1	—	3	66.6	33.3
7	1	—	—	1	100.0	—
8	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	10	10	—	20	50.0	50.0
Above 10	2	—	—	2	100.0	—
Total	341	346	23	710	48.1	48.9

of those with 7 living male children. But if we omit those cells which have less than 3 cases, the range will lie between 33 and 55 per cent. There is, however, no regular trend to indicate that persons with a larger number of living male children show a more favourable attitude towards family limitation. Table 119a shows the attitude of mothers classified according to the number of living male children. It shows on the whole the same variations as we observe in the case of husbands classified according to the number of living male children.

TABLE 119a

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING TO RESTRICT CHILDREN
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LIVING MALE CHILDREN

<i>Living male children</i>	<i>No. desiring to restrict</i>	<i>No. not desiring to restrict</i>	<i>N.A.</i>	<i>Total No. of cases</i>	<i>Col. 2 as percentage of col. 5</i>	<i>Col. 2 as percentage of col. 5</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	145	160	24	329	44.1	48.6
2	92	99	6	197	46.7	50.3
3	53	52	3	108	49.1	48.2
4	11	24	4	39	28.2	61.5
5	6	4	1	11	54.5	36.3
6	2	1	—	3	66.7	33.3
7	1	—	—	1	100.0	—
8	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	9	11	—	20	45.0	55.0
Above 10	2	—	—	2	100.0	—
Total	321	351	38	710	45.2	49.4

IDEAL SIZE OF FAMILY

Table 120 gives the size of family which is desired by mothers classified according to the number of live births completed by them. Among the mothers who have had 1-3 live-births, about 57 per cent do not say anything about the desired size of family, about 10 per cent desire a family of 2 or less, 17 per cent a family of 3, 12 per cent a family of 4 and only 3.5 per cent more than 4 children. It thus appears that in this group, the majority of mothers who have any idea of the size of desired family consider a family of 3 or 4 children to be the ideal size. We notice a similar feature in the case of mothers with a larger number of live-births. Thus in each of the 3 groups of mothers, i.e. those with 4-6, 7-9 and 10 and above live-births, the largest percentage of mothers who say something about the number of children desired consider a family of 4 to

TABLE 120

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING FAMILY OF VARIOUS SIZES CLASSIFIED BY LIVE-BIRTHS

<i>Live-births</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Size of family desired</i>							
		<i>Nil</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 and above</i>	<i>N.A.</i>
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1-3	621	—	1.4	8.8	17.2	12.2	2.4	1.1	56.7
4-6	401	—	.5	6.7	12.2	16.4	5.2	2.2	56.5
7-9	139	—	1.4	2.1	6.5	10.8	5.0	8.5	65.4
10 and above	25	—	—	—	4.0	16.0	4.0	8.0	68.0
Total	1186	—	1.09	7.1	13.9	13.5	3.7	2.5	57.7

be the most desired size. However there is also a substantial number among mothers with 7-9 and 10 and above live-births who say that the number of children desired by them is 6 or more. Perhaps they favour a larger family because they have already had a large number of live-births which they do not want to condemn.

Table 121 classifies the attitudes towards the size of family desired according to the number of surviving children. It also shows a rough relationship between the size of survived family and the number of children desired. Thus the largest percentage of mothers with 1-3 live-births desire a family of 3 or 4 children. Among the mothers with 4-6 live-births the largest percentage desire 4 children. Among the mothers with 7-9 live-births the largest percentage desires a family of 6 or more children, but a substantial number, about 15 per cent, want only 4 children. Mothers with 10 or more surviving children all desire a family of 6 or more. It appears that the direct relationship between the number of children desired and the size of surviving family is closer when we consider the number of surviving children instead of the number of all live-births. But the reason, as noted above, may be that those who have already had a large family endorse it as the desired size without ever having any clear notion about it whatsoever.

Table 122 gives the attitudes of mothers towards the desired size of family classified according to their present age. About two-thirds of the mothers aged 40 and above do not report anything on the number of children desired as against 56 per cent among those aged below 40. Among mothers aged less than 40 years who report on the number of children desired, the largest percentage (about 15 to 16 per cent), desire a family of 3 with those desiring a family of 4 coming close next (14 to 15 per cent). Among mothers who are more than 40 years of age the largest percentage (10.4 per cent) seem to desire a family of 4, but a substantial number (about 6.6 per cent) consider a family of 3 to be the most desirable. It thus appears that older mothers either do not report on the number of children desired or report on an average a somewhat larger number than the younger mothers (less than 40 years).

Table 123 gives the number of children desired by mothers in different occupational groups. It shows that 25 per cent of the mothers in Division 3, 30 per cent in Division 0 and 27 per cent in Division 1 do not report on the size of desired family as against 70 per cent in Divisions 5-6 and 7. Thus on the whole it appears

TABLE 121

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING FAMILY OF VARIOUS SIZES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CHILDREN SURVIVING

<i>Children surviving</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Size of family desired</i>							<i>N.A.</i>
		<i>Nil</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 and above</i>	
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1-3	735	—	1.08	8.8	17.95	12.5	3.1	1.08	55.35
4-6	278	—	0.36	3.95	5.7	17.6	7.2	3.6	61.4
7-9	46	—	—	—	6.5	15.2	2.17	19.5	56.4
10 and above	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	12.5	87.5
Total	1067	—	.8	7.1	14.04	13.8	40.09	2.6	56.8

TABLE 122

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING FAMILY OF VARIOUS SIZES CLASSIFIED BY PRESENT AGE OF MOTHER

<i>Present age of mother</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Size of family desired</i>							<i>N.A.</i>
		<i>Nil</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 and above</i>	
Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Below 24 years	417	—	.95	6.9	15.5	15.4	3.3	1.2	56.6
25-39	636	—	1.25	8.01	14.9	13.9	3.45	2.9	55.3
40 and above	241	—	1.2	4.1	6.6	10.35	4.1	2.5	70.8
N.A.	2	—	—	—	50.0	—	—	—	50.0
Total	1296	—	1.15	6.9	13.6	13.7	3.5	2.3	58.3

TABLE 123

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING FAMILY OF VARIOUS SIZES CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

<i>Occupational groups</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Size of family desired</i>							<i>N.A.</i>
		<i>Nil</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 and above</i>	
Division 0	28	—	—	7.1	35.7	25.0	3.6	—	29.6
Division 1	79	—	—	12.6	22.7	30.2	3.8	3.8	26.5
Division 2	128	—	.8	8.6	14.8	11.7	3.1	.8	60.1
Division 3	167	—	2.4	14.9	32.9	19.1	4.2	1.8	24.5
Division 4	230	—	—	6.07	9.1	10.8	3.9	5.2	64.7
Divisions 5-6	583	—	1.7	4.1	8.03	11.3	3.4	1.5	69.6
Division 7	81	—	—	4.9	8.6	11.07	2.5	1.2	70.1
Total	1296	—	1.15	6.9	13.6	13.7	3.5	2.3	58.3

that mothers in the lower occupational groups do not have any clear idea about the size of desired family. Among the mothers who do report on the number of children desired, the largest percentage in Divisions 0, 2 and 3 consider a family of 3 to be the most desired size. In other Divisions the most desired family size is 4. Broadly speaking, one can say that mothers in the lower occupational groups (ignoring Division 1) desire a somewhat larger number of children (the modal size being 4) than those in the upper occupational strata (the modal size family being 3).

Table 124 classifies the attitudes of mothers towards the most desired size of family according to education. It shows that lower the education, the larger the number who do not say anything about the number of children desired, the percentage of non-reporting cases being only 12 per cent among those with technical and post-graduate education and as high as 77 per cent among the illiterate. Among those who do report, a family of 3 or 4 is considered to be the most desirable size. Among those with primary, secondary, technical, college and post-graduate education, the largest percentage seems to favour a three-child family, while among the illiterate and those with private education the largest percentage appears in the four-child group.

Table 125 classifies the attitudes of mothers towards size of family, classified by religion and caste. It shows that 70 per cent of the Muslims do not report on the size of desired family as against 50 per cent among Christians and 53 per cent among Hindus. Among the Hindus the three-child family is the modal size, the percentage desiring only 3 children being 18 as against 14 per cent desiring family of 4, only 3.3 per cent a family of 5 and only 2.2 per cent a family of 6 or more. Among the Muslims the largest percentage (14 per cent) report that they desire a family of 4. Among the Christians 30 per cent desire a family of only 2 and 20 per cent a family of 3. It thus appears that Muslims desire a larger-sized family compared to Hindus, but Christians favour a comparatively smaller-sized family. Within the Hindu community the largest percentage in the upper caste group say that they desire a family of 3, while in the intermediate and the lower caste groups the largest percentage seem to desire 4 children.

Table 126 gives the attitudes of mothers towards the size of family classified by income groups. It shows that on the whole a very large percentage (60 to 75 per cent) in the lower income groups (less than

TABLE 124

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING FAMILY OF VARIOUS SIZES CLASSIFIED BY EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

<i>Educational groups</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Size of family desired</i>							<i>N.A.</i>
		<i>Nil</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 and above</i>	
Illiterate	468	—	.6	2.8	5.35	7.5	4.5	1.9	76.8
Primary	151	—	2.6	7.9	9.2	6.6	1.98	2.6	68.8
Secondary	321	—	2.17	12.1	21.8	18.7	3.4	1.2	40.4
Technical	17	—	—	5.88	35.3	35.3	5.88	5.88	11.8
College	110	—	—	18.2	29.1	25.45	2.7	3.6	20.9
Post-graduate	25	—	—	8.0	40.0	36.0	—	4.0	12.0
Private	204	—	.49	1.5	9.8	13.2	3.4	6.8	68.1
N.A.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1296	—	1.15	6.9	13.6	13.7	3.5	2.3	58.3

TABLE 125

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING FAMILY OF VARIOUS SIZES CLASSIFIED BY CASTE AND COMMUNITIES

<i>Caste and communities</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Size of family desired</i>							
		<i>Nil</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 and above</i>	<i>N.A.</i>
Upper	454	—	1.1	12.5	27.3	17.8	2.9	2.6	35.6
Intermediate	293	—	2.4	2.7	6.5	8.5	3.75	1.7	74.3
Lower	78	—	2.6	6.4	5.1	11.5	3.8	1.28	6.8
Total Hindus	825	—	1.7	8.5	17.8	13.9	3.3	2.2	52.5
Muslims	451	—	.2	3.1	5.96	13.5	3.97	2.65	70.3
Christians	10	—	—	30.0	20.0	—	—	—	50.0
Sikhs	5	—	—	—	20.0	40.0	20.0	—	20.0
Others	5	—	—	60.0	—	—	—	—	40.0
N.A.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1296	—	1.15	6.9	13.6	13.7	3.5	2.3	58.3

TABLE 126

PERCENTAGE OF MOTHERS DESIRING FAMILY OF VARIOUS SIZES CLASSIFIED BY MONTHLY INCOME GROUPS

Monthly income group	Total	Size of family desired							N.A.
		Nil	1	2	3	4	5	6 and above	
Below Rs. 30	108	—	.9	2.8	7.4	9.2	.9	2.8	75.9
Rs. 30 - 75	518	—	.96	3.7	8.3	9.8	4.4	2.3	70.4
Rs. 75 - 150	353	—	1.98	5.7	11.03	15.8	3.1	1.7	60.6
Rs. 150 - 250	164	—	1.2	11.6	22.5	17.7	4.9	2.4	39.6
Rs. 250 - 500	95	—	—	18.9	26.25	22.05	3.15	3.15	26.25
Rs. 500 - 1000	39	—	—	25.6	38.4	20.4	—	5.1	10.24
Rs. 1000 and above	19	—	—	5.2	52.6	1.6	—	—	2.6
Total	1296	—	1.15	6.9	13.6	13.7	3.5	2.8	58.3

Rs. 150 p.m.) do not report at all on the desired size of family. The percentage not reporting is only 40 in the income group of Rs. 150-250, 26 in the group of Rs. 250-500, 10.24 in the group of Rs. 500-1000. It is thus obvious that lower the income group the less the proportion of mothers who have no idea of what would be the desired size of family. Among those who report on the number of children desired, the largest percentage either favour a family of 3 or a family of 4. Thus in the income groups below Rs. 30, Rs. 30-75 and Rs. 75-150, the largest percentage desire to have 4 children. In all other income groups the most desired size of family is 3. Thus it appears that among those desiring family limitation, higher income groups favour a somewhat smaller family (3 children) than the lower income groups (4 children).

APPENDIX I.

STATISTICAL DESIGN OF THE SURVEY

THE POPULATION of the city of Lucknow according to the Census Report of 1951 is 4,45,630 which is divided into a total number of 1,17,116 households. For the purpose of listing, the entire population was divided into Census enumeration blocks.

SAMPLING OF THE BLOCKS

On the above basis the city was divided for the purpose of sampling into 516 more or less geographically compact blocks of small sizes consisting of 200 to 250 households on an average. On the basis of houses and households numbers and the streets and *mohallas*, the population was thus demarcated into indentifiable and non-overlapping contiguous blocks.

The blocks were then stratified into 33 groups according to homogenous features on which broad information was obtained through an ecological survey street by street. One third of the blocks were selected from each group on a random basis for the selection of the households. The total number of blocks thus sampled out is 172 consisting of an aggregate of 39,038 households.

The following procedure was adopted for stratification of the blocks :

As a first step the blocks were divided into residential and non-residential areas. A locality was characterised as residential if the buildings were mainly used for residence. It may have a few non-contiguous shops or even a workshop. It was classified as non-residential if the ground floor of the building opening on the street was used mainly for non-residential purposes. It may have residential accommodation on the back of these buildings or on the second floor.

The residential zones were then sub-divided into two categories, viz. (1) old residents and (2) others. These were further demarcated with reference to classes living therein. For this purpose a street was looked at from three angles : (1) The income of the people living therein, (2) their occupation and (3) the type of dwellings.

A worker's *basti* was taken to be a locality where workers falling

within an income range of less than Rs. 100, were living and the area had the appearance of a slum or near-slum conditions. At the other extreme is the upper and upper middle class areas inhabited by the professional groups usually falling in an income range of above Rs. 500. There may be several grades of housing in this area from ordinary flats to spacious bungalows. In between these two extremes are the residential areas of the middle classes. These latter have been divided into two zones, viz. first the middle class area proper in which persons in white collar jobs within an income range of Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 are found to be living. They have small and *pucca* houses to live in or even semi-detached cottages or quarters. The second area is that of a mixed type where the skilled and also unskilled workers and the technicians, foremen and *mistries* and people from the lower middle class such as clerks and school teachers may be found living together. The housing patterns here may differ from the former in the respect that the single house building might be accommodating several families although each family may have separate rooms.

The streets and *mohallas* within each class were further classified into two groups, viz. a locality where a single caste or community predominated so that it occupied more than 70 per cent of the residential houses, and the rest. Each street had thus been characterised by the predominant caste of its inhabitants and each residential class zone has thus been divided into three categories: (1) whether inhabited by a single caste or community, (2) whether inhabited by the scheduled castes and (3) the rest.

With regard to the non-residential areas the localities were divided into three zones namely (1) thriving, (2) stationery and (3) deteriorating. Each zone has been sub-divided into three categories (1) trading, (2) industrial and (3) the rest.

SAMPLING OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

We then proceeded to list all the households in the sample blocks and for this purpose we proceeded with the National Register of Citizens. Unfortunately this was found to be irregular and inaccurate so as to necessitate almost a complete revision. A complete census was therefore conducted, house by house, to list the households in the sample blocks.

The households have been stratified according to broad groups

viz. (1) immigrants and (2) old residents. These have been further sub-divided into four categories, i.e. (i) Employees, (ii) Employers, (iii) Self-employed and (iv) Unemployed.

The size of the sample is 15 per cent of the households in the sample blocks so as to give an effective size of 12 to 13 per cent. The proportion selected from the various sample blocks varies in inverse proportion to the population of each block. In the aggregate the sample households comprise some 3.5 per cent of the total population of the city.

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM INCLUDING FAMILY PLANNING QUESTIONNAIRE

FORM I

ZONAL SURVEY OF THE CITY OF LUCKNOW.

S. No.....

Ward No.....Street.....Length and Breadth (in yards.)
or Mohalla

I. Residential / Non-Residential :

- A. (i) If residential: Worker's *basti* / Middle class area / Mixed middle and low class area / Upper and upper middle class area.
- (ii) Permanent Inhabitants: Lower castes / Intermediary castes / Upper castes.
- (iii) Inhabited by: Old residents / Migrants from U.P. / Migrants from outside U.P. / Displaced Persons—West Pakistan / East Pakistan.
- B. If non-residential: Market / Godowns and garages / Workshop and factories / Offices and courts / Educational institutions / Hospitals and welfare institutions / Recreational centres / Parks and open spaces.

Serial No.	Category	Number	Distance from the Centre (In yards)	Serial No.	Category	Number	Distance from the Centre (In yards)
1	Residential houses	.....	.....	20	Clubs	.....	.....
2	Shops	.....	.....		(i) Indoor	.....	.....
3	Restaurants	.....	.....		(ii) Out-door	.....	.....

4	Hotels	.....	.....	21	Swimming pools	.....	.....
5	Dharamshalas & sarais	.....	.....	22	Other recreational & welfare centres	.....	.....
6	Godowns & garages	.....	.....	23	Offices :	.....	.....
7	Stables & cow-sheds	.....	.....		(i) Public	.....	.....
8	Workshops	.....	.....		(ii) Private	.....	.....
9	Factories	.....	.....	24	Business establishments	.....	.....
10	Religious Institutions	.....	.....	25	Public latrines	.....	.....
	(i) Temples	.....	.....	26	Public taps	.....	.....
	(ii) Churches	.....	.....	27	Dustbins	.....	.....
	(iii) Mosques	.....	.....	28	Lamp posts	.....	.....
	(iv) Any other	.....	.....	29	Bus stands	.....	.....
11	Schools :				(i) Local	.....	.....
	(i) Primary	.....	.....		(ii) Out Stations	.....	.....
	(ii) Secondary	.....	.....	30	Hackney-carriage stands	.....	.....
	(iii) Girls	.....	.....	31	Rikshaw stands	.....	.....
12	Colleges	.....	.....	32	Taxi stands	.....	.....
13	Hospitals	.....	.....	33	Car parks	.....	.....
14	Maternity centres	.....	.....	34	Railway station	.....	.....
15	Dispensaries	.....	.....	35	Post-Office	.....	.....
	(i) Private	.....	.....	36	Letter boxes	.....	.....
	(ii) Public	.....	.....	37	Telegraph Office	.....	.....
16	Libraries	.....	.....	38	Toddy & liquor shops	.....	.....
17	Play-grounds	.....	.....	39	Wine Bar	.....	.....
18	Parks & open spaces	.....	.....	40	Ganja & charas centres	.....	.....
19	Cinemas	.....	.....		

N.B. : If within the street or locality the distance to be denoted by "O".

3. Water Supply : Private taps / Public taps / Private wells / Public wells / Hand pumps / Any other.
4. Lighting ; (I) Street lighting : (1) Electric (2) Kerosene (3) No arrangement
(II) Private lighting : (1) Electric (2) Kerosene (3) Any other (specify)
5. Drainage : *Pucca* : Open / Under ground ; *Kaccha* open / No arrangement / Soak pits.
6. Conservancy : (I) Public service latrine : Flush / Without flush
(II) Arrangement for street cleaning : Daily / Alternate days / Bi-weekly / Weekly / Fortnightly.
(III) Open dust and offal heaps / Dustbins : No. of times cleaned : Daily / Alternate days / Bi-weekly / Weekly / Fortnightly
7. Street : (I) *Kaccha* / *Pucca* / Bricks / Cemented / Asphalted
(II) Is the street open on both sides ?YesNo
(III) Motorable throughout ?YesNo
8. Known to be inhabited or frequented by beggars / strays and waifs / fallen women / gamblers.
9. Growing / Stagnant / Deteriorating
10. Pattern of Change if any.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Name of the Investigator.....

Supervisor

Date.....

Date.....

J. K. INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY, LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

SURVEY OF RAPID URBANISATION, LUCKNOW CITY

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

GENERAL (Part A)

1. Sample No..... Ward..... Street/Mohalla..... House No.
2. Name of head of the family..... Community.....
3. Age (years)..... Average monthly family income Rs..... Mother tongue..... Caste ..
4. General details about family members.

Serial No.	Name	Relationship with head of family	Age	Sex	Education :	Civil condition	(a) Earner,	Reason for living outside
					(a) Illiterate		(b) Retired,	
					(b) Primary		(c) Disabled,	
					(c) Secondary		(d) Unemployed,	
					(d) Technical		(e) other non-earning dependant	
					(e) College			
					(f) Post-graduate			
					(g) Private			

Living in the city.

1.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

IMMIGRATION (Part B)

5. Sources of Immigration

Serial No.	Name of family member	Year of immigration first & subsequent	Same District	Other District within same state	Other State within India	Other State outside India	Reason for immigration
			Rural/Urban	Rural/Urban	Rural/Urban	Rural/Urban	
1.				
2.							
3.	
4.	
5.			
6.
7.	
8.

6. Are you planning to go back to your native place for settling there ?Yes No.....
 If yes, why ? Tick appropriate reasons.
- (a) Insufficient income and high cost of living.
 - (b) Lack of adequate employment.
 - (c) Housing difficulties.
 - (d) Lack of social contacts and amenities.
 - (e) To attend to family business in native place.
 - (f) Old age and ill-health.
 - (g) Others.
7. Have you any property in your native place ?Yes No.....
 If yes, give its approximate value at present.
- (a) Agricultural land Rs.....
 - (b) House Rs.....
 - (c) Others. Rs.....
8. Are you cultivating any holding in your native village ?YesNo.
 If yes, its size in acres.
9. Do you or any member of your family go to the native place for any seasonal employment ?.....YesNo.
 If, yes, how often and for what duration ? No..... Duration.....

10. How often do you visit your native place? Mention duration of stay on each visit.

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of family member</i>	<i>Relationship with Head of family</i>	<i>Every year Duration</i>	<i>Once in 2 yrs. Duration</i>	<i>Once in 3 yrs. Duration</i>	<i>Once in 4 yrs. Duration</i>	<i>Once in 5 yrs. Duration</i>	<i>Main Reason</i>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

11. What amount do you remit monthly / annually to your family members staying outside the city?

12. What amount do you receive from them monthly / annually?

13. After immigration into this place, have you purchased immovable property in your native place?

.....YesNo.

If yes, what is its approximate value at present?

14. Occupation before immigrating from native habitat.

(To be recorded in respect of every member in family).

Serial No.	Name of occupation or job	Industry	(i) Earner (ii) Earning dependant	Employer Employee Self Employer
1.		
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

15. Causes of immigration : Tick appropriate cause or causes (in respect of each member in family).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(a) Not enough land to cultivate
(b) Meagre income
(c) Employment
(d) Insufficient employment
(e) Dislike of employment
(f) Lack of educational facilities
(g) Lack of civil amenities and entertainment
(h) Prospects of getting better employment in the city
(i) Family differences
(j) Social and class tension.
<i>Reason for selecting this city.</i>										
(a) Having friends / relations here
(b) Short distance from native place
(c) Opening of new offices / factories, workshops in the city
(d) Education of sons and daughters
(e) New social amenities
(f) Employment opportunities

EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME. (Part C.)

16. Present Occupation.

How long did you and the members of your family have to wait for obtaining employment after immigrating into this city?

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Time taken</i>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

17. Occupational changes.

Serial No.	Name of family members	Nature of occupation or job	Name of Industry	Earners Earning dependant	(a) Self Employer (b) Employer (c) Employee.	Duration	*Name and address of present employee
1.	Present	....	....	.....	....	.....
		Previous	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
2.	Present	....	....	.....	....	.....
		Previous	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
3.	Present	....	....	.....	....	.....
		Previous	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
4.	Present	....	....	.....	....	.....
		Previous	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
5.	Present	....	....	.....	....	.....
		Previous	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
6.	Present	....	....	.....	....	.....
		Previous	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....
		-Do-	....	....	.....	....	.....

* Name and address of establishment should be mentioned in case of self employer also.

18. Conditions of employment.

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of family member</i>	<i>Secure/ insecure</i>	<i>Distance between residence and place of work</i>	<i>Time taken for each trip</i>	<i>Industrial relations cordial/ non-cordial</i>	<i>Relation with other workers cordial/ non-cordial</i>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.

19. Present Income.

A. *Services.*

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of member</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Earnings during last month</i>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

B. *Casual or daily employment.*

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of family member</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number of days worked last month</i>	<i>Working days lost due to sickness in last month</i>	<i>Working days on which employment was not available last month</i>	<i>Daily wages</i>	<i>Total income last month</i>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

C. *Independent trader, artisan or professional.*

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name of family member</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number of days worked last month</i>	<i>Working days lost due to sickness in last month</i>	<i>Working days taken off voluntarily in last month</i>	<i>Average monthly income</i>
1.
2.			
3.		
4.	

D. 1 *Total earned income* Rs.

D. 2	<i>Income from other sources</i>	<i>Rent</i>	<i>Interest</i>	<i>Profits</i>	<i>Agricultural land</i>	<i>Others if any</i>
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.

20. Unemployment: Particulars of the unemployed.

Serial No.	Name of the unemployed	Sex	Age	Academic and/or Technical Qualifications		Previous Employment		Period of present unemployment	Cause of unemployment	Nature of job trying for
				Standard reached in an institution	Self-acquired	Job	Industry, Trade or profession			
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

21. Social Life (Particulars about the city only).

- | | | |
|--|---------------|------------------|
| (a) Do your children go to School ? |Yes |No. |
| (b) Are you satisfied with the arrangement at the School ? |Yes |No. |
| (c) Are recreation facilities ? |Adequate |Inadequate. |
| (d) Are shopping facilities ? |Adequate |Inadequate. |
| (e) Do you and members of your family know local language ? |Yes |No. |
| (f) Is the lack of knowledge of local language a handicap in social contact? |Yes |No. |

22. Housing conditions.

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------|
| (a) Number of persons in the house. |Adults |Children |
| (b) Do you live in your owned house ? |Yes |No. |
| (c) If yes, the monthly letting value of the portion occupied by you ? | | |
| (d) If living in the rented house, its monthly rent. | | |
| (e) No. of living rooms | Total area of living rooms. | |

E. Tick mark if you have the following :

- | (f) Store & Box Room | Kitchen | Dining room | Bath-room | Dressing room | Latrine | Verandah |
|---|---------|-------------|-----------|---------------|----------|----------|
| (g) Is there an independant bath-room ? | | | |Yes |No. | |
| (h) Have you an independant latrine ? | | | |Yes |No. | |
| (i) Have you got a separate water tap / well ? | | | |Yes |No. | |
| (j) Is there a separate kitchen ? | | | |Yes |No. | |
| (k) Is there an open space attached to your accommodation ? | | | |Yes |No. | |
| (l) If yes, is it adequate ? | | | |Yes |No. | |
| (m) Have you got electric supply ? | | | |Yes |No. | |

FORM III

FERTILITY AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING

Name of woman.....House No.....Mohalla/Street.....

1. Age of Woman at present marriage.....at Previous Marriage.....
 at consumation of marriage.....
 at birth of first child.....
 at present.....
 at the time of the death of husband (in case of widows).....

2. Pregnancy	Sex M/F	when born	Living, Dead Miscariage, Still births	When died in case of dead	Cause of death	Mother's age at birth of the child
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.

3. Whether restricting the number of children is desired by youYesNo.
 4. Whether restricting the number of children is desired by your wife/husbandYesNo.
 5. What is the maximum number of children you think you should have?.....

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SOCIAL PROFILES OF
SOCIAL PROFILES OF A METROPOLIS