



Typology of Informal Settlements and Distribution of Slums in the NCT of Delhi



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Abstract

The paper deals with the typology of informal settlements and zone-wise distribution of slums in the National Capital Territory of Delhi. The study reveals that smaller size of slum clusters is more in number and thus a major chunk of slum population lives in them. As far as zone-wise distribution of slums is concerned the Central Zone has witnessed the lowest number of slums i.e. 127 constituting 9.95 to the total number of slums in the Capital Territory as against the South Zone in which maximum number of slums is 389 contributing 30.49 percent of the total slums in the NCT, Delhi.



1. INTRODUCTION

Urban settlements may be broadly classified into formal and informal settlements. Formal settlements are those which have been constructed and developed by government agencies or by housing societies on the basis of duly approved plans. Besides physical, social, economic and many other considerations are taken into account for the development of such colonies so that living conditions become congenial and comfortable to the residents. The planners also place emphasis on environmental suitability and economic viability for the houses constructed through the concerned authorities. On the other hand informal settlements are those which have come up illegally either on the government land or private land in a haphazard manner. They are unplanned and violating all norms of government planning. They have both permanent or semi-permanent and temporary structures edging the city drains, railway tracks, low lying flood prone areas, occupying agriculture land and green belts in and around the city. They lack potable water and regular electricity supply, sanitation, garbage disposal, road network, parks, etc. Bad houses with inadequate light, air, toilet and bathing facility, extreme over crowding and high density of population are some of the features of these informal settlements (Ali, 2006; Bose, 1995). As such these residential areas are both physically and socially very much deteriorated in which satisfactory family life is almost impossible. As these settlements have come up illegally, most of them lack not only basic amenities but also legal rights of the occupancy even though some of them may have been in existence for a longtime.

Growth of informal settlements may largely be attributed to rural migration. Rural migrants to urban centers are engaged in informal sectors and their saving is not

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sufficient to live in healthy environments of formally planned colonies. Thus, they are forced to live in slums or similar type of settlements (Jha, 1995). One may notice some variations in terms of quality of life among these informal settlements as some of them have been provided with few basic amenities. Therefore, the quality of life in these colonies is comparatively better. For example, unauthorized colonies and urban villages are better than the J.J. Clusters, *Harijan Bastis*, resettlement colonies and pavement dwellings.

Informal settlements and slums are prevalent in almost all urban areas of the world. Its forms and types vary from country to country. They constitute 43 percent of the total population in the developing countries of the world while in more developed nations, they make up only about 6 percent. Reddy in his study (1996) estimated that the slum dwellers or like wise population constituted about one fifth of the total population in India while the Census of India 2001 registered 22.8 percent. The census data also reported that almost 15.72 percent population of the NCT of Delhi resides in slum clusters while Delhi Government declared that 52 percent of its population is residing in JJ Clusters, Slum Designated Area, Unauthorized Colonies, Resettled Colonies, etc; may be considered as slums.

John Turner and Robert Fichter (1972) observed that in the Third World countries housing choice for the urban poor is very difficult and confusing. They have to solve a complex equation and try to optimize housing costs, tenure security, quality of shelter, journey to work and sometimes personal safety. For some people including many pavement dwellers, housing is more important than food (Turner, 1968).

In his analysis, housing expert Ahmed Soliman discusses basic shelter strategies of the poor in Cairo. First is access to job and renting an apartment; the second option is centrally located informal shelter (a very small room or rooftop). As there is no hope of securing tenure, such dwellers will eventually be forced to move to squatter camps or semi-informal housing. The third and cheapest housing solution is to squat on public owned land, usually on Cairo's outskirts with almost absence of infrastructure. The fourth solution eventually preferred by most poor Cairenes is to move to the vast semi-informal settlements with legal tenure but without official building authorization. After a considerable community mobilization and political negotiation, they are usually provided with basic municipal services (Soliman, 2004).

Situation in the NCT of Delhi is not much different from the above two case studies but the latter seems closer to ours. Similarly in our country, the poor urban migrants after taking up jobs find a low cost affordable or free housing in J.J. Clusters. Once their job becomes permanent or semi-permanent, they move to Unauthorized Colonies or Legally Notified Slums, in which at least some urban facilities and services are available. With legal tenure some of them have resettled on the outskirts of the city in which some basic amenities have been extended to them.



A latest survey reveals that out of the total population in the NCT of Delhi, about three fourth people are living in sub-standard housing with a break-up of 1.2 millions in Regularized Colonies, 0.5 million in Unauthorized Colonies, 1.3 millions in J.J. Clusters, 1.2 millions in Resettlement Colonies, 0.5 million in Urban Villages, 0.5 million in Rural Areas and 10.8 millions in Slum Designated Areas (Ali and Singh, 1998). Based on the type, these settlements are entitled to basic amenities and other urban facilities. There are a large number of settlements in which basic amenities are either absent or very minimum. For example, *Jhuggi- Jhompri* Clusters and other informal settlements in which only few basic infrastructure has been provided. Similarly there are some old villages which have come under the urban sprawl do not have sufficient infrastructural facilities. Only those settlements which have been developed by the government authorities or by the housing societies have been provided with basic amenities. Such a large variation in the nature of settlements with regards to the basic infrastructure and amenities, Economic Survey of Delhi (2002) classified them into eight types of settlements. These include, *Jhuggi Jhompri* Clusters, Slum Designated Areas, Unauthorized Colonies, Resettlement Colonies, Rural Villages, Regularized-Unauthorized Colonies, Urban Villages, Planned Colonies. Out of the total, six of them have been designated as informal settlements in which more than half of the total population of the NCT of Delhi finds accommodation.

This paper intends to achieve three objectives. First, to study the main characteristics of informal settlements. Second, to study the zone-wise and constituency-wise distribution of slum clusters. Third, to highlight the discrepancy that exists between the secondary and primary data with regard to the number of clusters. The paper is based on both secondary and primary data. The secondary data were collected from the JJ Department, Slum Wing of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. The primary data were collected through fieldwork conducted during 2006. Since the nature of the work does not require the use of any sophisticated statistical technique, only classification and tabulation was made. Percentages were also calculated wherever required. The entire South Delhi was covered during the field surveys to find out how many slum clusters have been displaced and resettled and how many of them are still waiting for their turn to be relocated.

2. TYPOLOGY OF SLUMS AND SQUATTERS

Typology is an important aspect of study of residential settlements especially in urban areas of the developing world having varied types of house structures and differential availability of basic amenities in them. Scheme of typology may differ from one person to another depending upon the purpose of the study. For example Sudesh Nangia and Sukhdev Thorat (2000) have classified four types of informal settlements in the NCT of Delhi. They include Notified Slums, Unauthorized Colonies, Resettlements Colonies and Squatters (*jhuggies*). While Sharma (1998) have classified them into Illegal and Unauthorized Colonies, Historical Settlements (*Katras*),



Resettled Colonies, Urban Villages and Rural Village. We discuss Sabir Ali's work, which is well cited as far as the studies on slums of NCT of Delhi are concerned. This author has adopted his scheme of classification as he suggests that for the purpose of better understanding and research on slums, the following classification is more appropriate (Ali, 2003).

2.1 Unauthorized Colonies

Unauthorized colonies are those residential pockets, which have come up generally on private land developed by private colonizers. They have come up through an unplanned manner in violation of the Master Plan and Zonal Plan regulations. Although buildings in these colonies are concrete structures, they have been constructed without the authority's approved plans and therefore without any consideration of the planning norms or land use restrictions and building norms of height and front and rear. These colonies do not have proper road networks, drainage and sewage systems, parks, playgrounds, community centers and other common facilities. Approaches of the government towards these colonies have been found purely ad hoc. Over the years many such colonies have been regularized usually on political grounds (Mitra, 2003). As such the authority levied for redevelopment of these colonies but it could succeed only partially because the rate of such charges or recovery of the same was found far too inadequate to implement redevelopment plans. Thus these colonies have been lagging far behind the pace of growth, making most of such colonies only marginally better than many slum resettlements colonies.

Unauthorized colonies are not as dense as the urban villages of the NCT of Delhi but do support higher order commercialization and home-based manufacturing units as well as dairy farming. As some of these colonies get regularized they become more attractive for residential rather than commercial use. Thus there is a high level of tenancy found in such colonies. They are again the results of the shortage of houses in planned residential colonies. According to the Hindustan Times, New Delhi, (dated 3 July 2003) there are about 1,600 unauthorized colonies in the NCT, Delhi, out of which 155 are handled by DDA, 44 by Slum Department and the remaining by MCD.

2.2 Urban Villages

Altogether there are about 106 villages mostly found on the outskirts of the NCT Delhi, they were de-notified in 1985 as urban villages. As they are outside the jurisdiction of Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) they have become urbanized in a haphazard and unplanned manner. Therefore these areas are devoid of facilities of potable water, surface drainage system and sanitation arrangements. Due to the proximity of urban centers the rural character of these villages in terms of land use pattern and occupational structure has undergone drastic changes. Real estate contractors, builders and developers or speculators have acquired large tracts of land in these villages and buildings are constructed in an unplanned and haphazard



manner. As a result, original habitants have either migrated to the city or switched over the tertiary occupation, while the new settlers have changed the demographic character of these urban villages. Ill-planned construction in these localities has made a difficult task for the authorities to extend urban amenities in a proper way.

Since urban villages are over crowded, dense with unchecked, unplanned building activity, they accommodate tenants both for residential and higher order commercial activities. Home based manufacturing units are common and these areas have high levels of tenancy. Dairy farming activities are common in these areas.

2.3 Legally Notified Slum Areas

Notified slums are those which have been declared or notified as slum areas under Section 3 of the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearances) Act, 1956. Under this Act those areas of the city where buildings are unfit for human habitation by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements and design or where due to faulty arrangements of streets, lack of ventilation, light sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors the living environment are detrimental to safety, health or morals. A major proportion of such notified slums are found in the medieval walled city of Shahjehanabad and its extensions, which was originally meant to accommodate 60,000 population but where an estimated two million people are now living. Neither the provisions of Slum Areas Act nor the Special Area Plan for the walled city have been implemented since the city was overtaken by problems of a different magnitude, which were created by the unending waves of fresh migrations. Therefore, the old city was left to fend for itself leading to further deterioration of its living conditions (Ali and Singh 1998).

2.4 Jhuggi-Jhompri Clusters

These are the slum clusters or squatter settlements, which have come up illegally on public or private lands all over the city to accommodate poor migrants from rural areas. These squatter settlements are made up of straw, mud loose bricks, tin, wood corrugated sheets, etc. Without a regular foundation, jhuggies are not arranged in a particular order (Nangia and Thorat, 2000). The number of such squatter settlements has consistently been on the rise despite the efforts made to demolish or resettle them. As per the last survey made by the Slum and JJ Department of Municipal Corporation of Delhi in 1994, there were 480,000 households in 1,080 slum clusters in the Capital Territory. The MCD has not conducted any surveys after 1994 to discourage fresh registration of new slums, but unofficial surveys indicate that their numbers have nearly doubled from the number during the last decade.

Unlike Kolkata or Mumbai, the NCT of Delhi does not have large slum settlements in specified areas. Historically slum pockets in Kolkata and Mumbai have developed near large factories and mills during the colonial period and over the years these



have got further extended and densified. But in the Capital Territory of Delhi these are scattered all over the city in small settlements, usually along the railway tracks and roads, river banks, parks, public places and other vacant lands, which make the task of *in situ* rehabilitation quite difficult and cost ineffective.

2.5 Resettlement Colonies

As the name suggests resettlement colonies comprise of JJ cluster households that have been resettled from their original settlements. The first resettlement programme was carried out in 1961 and subsequently many JJ clusters have been shifted to resettlement colonies.

A total of 46 clusters have been resettled mainly on the outskirts of the city with about 216,000 squatter families. These colonies suffer from various infrastructure inadequacies like water supply, sewerage, drainage, garbage disposal, electricity, schools, hospitals, roads, etc. A survey conducted by the Council for Social Development indicates that half of the families do not have individual water connections or toilet facilities and have to depend on community latrines and bath rooms which are either so inadequate or maintained so poorly that many of the residents defecate in the open. System of solid waste disposal is extremely unsatisfactory and hardly 30 percent of the waste is collected for disposal. Experiences of rehabilitation of squatter families from the city heartland to these outskirt settlements have not been uniform. Proximity of some of the colonies to the new work centers made them success stories, but most of these colonies are so far away from the places of work that about thirty to forty percent of the squatters returned to the slums for employment. Livelihood rather than habitation' was a priority for the poor squatters who found it more convenient to sell their plots at a premium and came back near their places of work in new slum settlements. In some of the resettlement colonies fresh squatter settlements have come up on the open and public land, giving rise to a phenomenon that has been described as 'slums within slums' (Ali, 2006).

2.6 Pavement Dwellers and *Harijan Bastis*

Pavement dwellers are those squatters who do not have even a roof over their heads. It is estimated that about 70,000 people live on the pavements in busy market places in the Capital Territory, where they work as wage earners. They are mostly adult male workers who have left their families back in their villages. They can not even afford to commute from a distance since their earnings are so meager. In an attempt to reduce their communication cost they settle in or around their work places (Mitra, 2003). They are mostly load carriers, porters, shoe shine boys, rag pickers and other types of odd workers. They are mostly concentrated near railway stations, inter-state bus terminals, wholesale markets and transport depots. *Harijan Bastis* are those unauthorized colonies, which are inhabited by the low caste families (Ali, 2003).



3. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SLUMS

Distribution of slums is influenced by factors like availability of government open land, nearness to workplace, access to transport facilities, etc. These are some of the major factors responsible for the location of slums in different parts of the National Capital Territory of Delhi. Most slum areas are located in low lying areas and in areas where the chances for residents to stay is high without the threat of eviction. Some of the slums have been developed along roads and railway margins for easy access to work place. Many slum settlements are also situated along the Yamuna river embankments called Yamuna Pushta. It is to be remembered that slum squatters contribute a significant share of labour force to urban labour market and generate adequate income for urban economy but the slum dwellers are denied the very basic amenities for their sustenance (Nangia and Thorat, 2000). In the absence of drinking water and sewerage and sanitation facilities in slums, these settlements create serious environmental problems for the people (Kundu, 1991).

According to a survey conducted by the Slum Wing of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi in 1994, it was found that about 75 percent of the slum clusters in the Capital Territory have 500 or less jhuggies and only 10.5 percent have more than 1,000 jhuggies. Strength of the squatter settlements as per their size classification has been provided in Table 1 for a detailed analysis. A unique characteristic of the slum squatter settlements in the NCT of Delhi is that a majority of them are small in size as shown in Table 1 and they are scattered all over the Capital Territory.

Type of house people live in is an important determinant of the quality of life (Methew, 1987). Types of materials used in the construction of houses are classified into *pucca*, *semi-pucca* and *kutchra*. Information regarding housing of squatter settlements in the NCT of Delhi reveals that more than half (52.6 percent) of the

Table 1 Size of Slum Squatter Settlements

Class Size of Jhuggies	No. of Clusters in 1990	Percentage	No. of Clusters 1994	Percentage
50 or less than 50	496	53.39	227	21.02
51-100			169	15.65
101-200	231	24.87	181	16.76
201-300			103	9.54
301-500	80	8.61	125	11.57
501-1000	59	6.35	101	9.35
1001-1500	30	3.23	49	4.54
1501 and above	33	3.55	63	5.83
Size details not available	-	-	62	5.74
Total	929	100.00	1080	100.00

Source: Slum Wing, MCD, New Delhi



jhuggies is *kutchha*, one fourth (25.5 percent) are *semi-pucca* and only 22 percent are *pucca* houses (Nangia and Thorat, 2002). These settlements are generally formed along lines of regional, linguistic and caste affiliations, though there exist many clusters heterogeneous in character (Chakravarti, 2002 and Chug, 2004).

3.1 Zone-Wise distribution of slums in the National Capital Territory of Delhi

Distribution of slums in the National Capital Territory of Delhi can be classified into the following zones in order to understand the nature of their concentration and also for the purposes of a comparative study.

The South Zone: There exists the largest concentration of squatter settlements in the South Zone. It has 282 clusters in 1990-1991 with a population of 435,175 persons living in about 87,000 jhuggies with an average of 308 families in each cluster. In 1994 the total number of clusters has gone up to 389. These constitute approximately 30.49 percent of the total number of squatter families in the NCT Delhi. Reasons for higher concentration in this zone are predominance of high income residential neighborhoods; many important or major commercial centers; proximity to Okhla Industrial Estate; major national level educational and research institutions and massive construction activities.

The North Zone: It has the second largest concentration of squatter clusters having 300 clusters constituting about 23.51 percent to the total squatter families. During 1990-1991, it has 227 clusters with a total population of 329,505 persons living in about 66,000 jhuggies with an average of 290 families in each cluster. This zone is predominantly middle and low income residential area with large scale industrial establishments particularly in Karol Bagh and Anand Parbat being major trade centers.

The Central Zone: It is the CBD of the metropolis having the location of most of the central administrative offices. With an organized and controlled developed zone as well as lack of unorganized or unusual open spaces, this zone does not provide favorable place for squatter settlements. In 1990-1991, this zone has 92 clusters with a population of 109,385 persons living in 21,877 jhuggies with an average of 237 families in each cluster. Altogether there were 127 cluster recorded in the Central Zone in 1994 constituting about 9.95 percent of the total squatter families of the Capital Territory living closer to railway station and other areas in a scattered manner.

The East Zone: This zone also has a higher concentration of squatter families as compared to the central zone. In 1990-1991 it has 123 clusters which have gone up to 190 in 1994 constituting about 14.89 percent of the total clusters. Average household in each cluster was 341. Concentration of squatter families in this zone is high due to predominance of land use for residential purpose with a mix of high, middle and low income groups and they are both planned and unplanned in nature; availability of large open lands which are not properly managed; existence of

scattered commercial and industrial developments; and large scale resettlement colonies established since 1960.

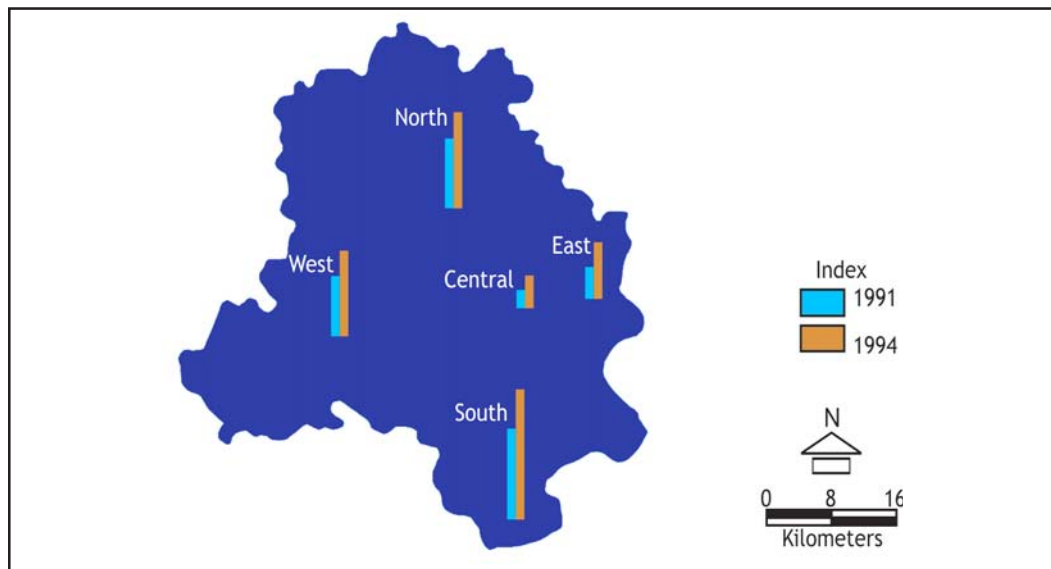
The West Zone: It has low concentration of squatter settlements as compared to the North and South Zones but has the higher concentration than the East and the Central Zones. It has 204 number of squatter settlements with an average of about 209 families in each cluster. The number of clusters has increased to 270 in 1994 constituting about 21.16 percent of the total clusters in the NCT of Delhi. Large concentration of clusters is mainly due to the availability of open land in this zone (Table 2 and Fig. 1).

There exists some discrepancy in the total number of clusters recorded by Srirangan and the figures provided by the Slums Wing, MCD, for 1990-1991 and 1994. It is to be noted that Srirangan recorded 1,276 clusters while the Slum Wing of MCD

Table 2 Spatial Distribution of Slum Squatter Settlements in Delhi

Zone	Number of Clusters in 1990-91	Number of Jhuggies in 1990-91	Squatter Population in 1990-91	Number of Clusters in 1994	%
East Zone	123	41958	209790	190	14.89
Central Zone	92	21877	109385	127	09.95
North Zone	227	65901	329505	300	23.51
West Zone	204	42573	212865	270	21.16
South Zone	282	87035	435175	389	30.49
Total	928	259344	1296720	1276	100.00

Fig. 1 Zone-Wise Distribution of Slum Clusters in N.C.T., Delhi



**Table 3 Constituencies Having Higher Number of Jhuggies in 1994**

S.No.	Name of Constituency	Number of JJ Clusters	Number of Jhuggies
1	Badarpur*	60	404329
2	Adarsh Nagar	35	23621
3	Wazirpur	27	22951
4	Minto Road	46	18842
5	Moti Nagar	39	16136
6	Sahibabad Daultpur	7	14533
7	Bhalswa Jahangirpuri	25	14300
8	Tuglaqabad*	17	13404
9	Gole Market	39	13061
10	Badli	14	13018
11	Patel Nagar	11	12817
12	Seelampur	12	12065
13	Geeta Colony	14	11975
14	Okhla*	33	11785
15	Matia Mahal	4	11485
16	Model Town	30	11458
17	Seemapuri	18	11246
18	Mahipalpur	22	10518
19	Saket*	2	10344
20	Hauz Khas*	20	8718
	Total	475	666606

Source: Slum and JJ Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi *South Delhi Constituencies

registered 1,080 clusters during 1994. It means that the difference between these two recorded figures is 196 clusters. But such a large variation does not appear in recording the slum clusters for the period of 1990-1991.

While analyzing the distribution of JJ clusters constituency wise, it is found that only 20 constituencies out of 70 in the Capital Territory of Delhi have 44 percent of total JJ clusters constituting 63 percent of total jhuggies of the NCT of Delhi (Ali and Singh, 1998). The following table indicates that Badarpur Constituency has the highest number of jhuggies (404,329) while Adarsh Nagar and Wazirpur occupy the second and third positions with 23,621 and 22,915 jhuggies respectively. It also indicates that there are five constituencies belonging to South Delhi together having 132 clusters with 448,580 jhuggies (see Table 3).

4. A CASE STUDY OF THE SOUTH DELHI DISTRICT

South Delhi District has the largest construction of slums clusters in the NCT Delhi. This area has been selected for field surveys. According to Slum Wing estimates



altogether there were 245 clusters with a total number of 82,010 jhuggies in 1990. Distribution of these jhuggies has been shown constituency-wise in Table 4. Table also indicates that Badarpur Constituency has the highest number (60) of slum clusters followed by Okhla (31), Jangpura (29), R.K. Puram (26) and Hauz Khas with 20 slum clusters. The remaining constituencies have less than 20 slum clusters each.

Under the rehabilitation programme, 34 JJ clusters from the South Delhi district were evicted from their original sites and rehabilitated on the outskirts of the Capital Territory. As a result the number of JJ clusters has gone down from 245 in 1990 to 207 in 1994. But it is to be noted that another nine new slums clusters have come up in South Delhi district between 1990 and 1994. As a result the number of slum clusters has increased from 207 to 216 ($207+9=216$) with a total number of 93,301 jhuggies (Table 4).

Survey report of ICSSR New Delhi found that till 2006, eleven more JJ clusters were rehabilitated at the new sites. Thus, the number of JJ clusters further reduced to 205. But at the same time 30 slum clusters were not found in existence. On the other hand another 29 slum clusters have been evicted by the administration and they have not been rehabilitated as yet. As such the number clusters has further reduced to 146 ($205-30+29=146$). The respondents during the field work replied that as many as eight new slum clusters have come up from 1994 to 2006 in the

Table 4 South Delhi-Distribution of Slum Clusters and Jhuggies

Name of the Constituency	Slum Clusters (1990)	No. of Jhuggies (1990)	Slum Resettled till 1994	New Slum Found (1994)	Total Clusters (1994)	No. of Jhuggies (1994)
Sarojini Nagar	11	1905	1	-	10	3108
Nizamuddin	8	2381	4	-	4	1355
Kasturba Nagar	7	1149	3	-	4	361
Jangpura	29	5926	3	-	26	5042
Okhla	31	8247	7	2	26	4683
Kalkaji	9	2573	0	1	10	3949
Malvia Nagar	13	1406	2	-	11	1657
Hauz Khas	20	5635	5	-	15	3927
R. K. Puram	26	4898	2	6	29	4719
Mehrauli	8	1822	1	-	7	2041
Saket	2	7571	1	-	1	10000
Ambedkar Nagar	4	1662	0	-	4	1724
Tughlaqabad	17	9788	0	-	16	13497
Badarpur	60	27047	5	-	53	37238
Total	245	82010	34	9	216	93301

Source: Slum Wing, Municipal Corporation of Delhi-1994

**Table 5 Distribution of Jhuugis and Slum Cluster in 2006 (South Delhi)**

Name of the Constituency	Rehabilitation after 1994	Slum Clusters (2006)	Slum displaced but not Rehabilitated/ Slums Not Found	Slum New Found	Total Clusters	No. of Jhuggies
Sarojini Nagar	2	8	4	-	4	1800
Nizamuddin	-	4	2	3	5	7000
Kasturba Nagar	-	4	1	-	3	350
Jangpura	2	24	3	1	19	4800
Okhla	-	26	10	-	16	6300
Kalkaji	-	10	3	-	7	3500
Malvia Nagar	-	11	2	-	9	2900
Hauz Khas	4	15	6	-	9	3600
R. K. Puram	-	25	5	-	20	8100
Mehrauli	-	7	2	2	7	8000
Saket	-	1	-	-	1	10000
Ambedkar Nagar	-	4	1	-	3	1700
Tughlaqabad	-	16	5	1	12	13100
Badarpur	3	50	12	1	39	40000
Total	11	205	59	8	154	111150

Source: Based on Field Survey 2006

district. As a result the total number of slum clusters rose to 154 (146+8=154) with a total number of jhuggies of about 111,159 (Table 5).

Variation that exist between the official recorded figures of slum clusters and the field work conducted by researchers or any private agency is bound to take place as the approach in collection of data varies from person to agency and the authority. It is a normal tendency of the respondents here to avoid or conceal many serious questions asked by government authorities. On the other hand if researchers approach them with a personal touch, the respondents happily oblige the researchers and speak critically with open mind. Sometimes the respondents exaggerate the fact especially when they expect funds during the development plans from the authority or relocation of their clusters. It seems that thirty clusters which were not found in existence in the district during the field surveys but they were recorded by the authority may be an outcome of such a situation. As far as eight new clusters are concerned which have come up recently, they did not get entry in the government records as the authority has stopped registering new clusters to discourage their growth and also to avoid the burden of their relocation.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In the NCT of Delhi out of its eight forms of settlements, it does not have more than two types of formal settlements. As many as six types of settlements are



informal. It is pertinent to point out that some of the slum clusters have occupied prime piece of land which are meant for the construction of government offices, hospitals, educational institutions and the development of parks, etc. The authorities have been displacing these slum clusters for the above mentioned purposes. As per the official records and consequently the findings of the filed study it is found that not all these slum clusters were fortunate to find relocation. Few of them were relocated but at far distant places from their original site while many others still waiting the priority list for rehabilitation. It was also found that many slum dwellers in the relocated colonies have sold their plots allotted to them by the authority as the relocated sites did not suit to them. Consequently they moved to the nearby work places and new clusters have come up there. Ishtiyaq (2007) noted that in spite of a huge expenditure incurred in the name of development of slums, efforts of the authority could not bring much change in the destiny of slum dwellers.

The slum clusters are spread over throughout the city while their size varies from one corner to another. Concentration of slums is found less in the Central Zone and prominent in peripheral zones especially in South, North and West Zones. Conditions of Unauthorized Colonies are not much different from *Jhuggi Jhompri*, *Harijan Basti* and resettled colonies as far as basic amenities and other infrastructural facilities are concerned. All these six informal settlements lack proper electricity, sewer system, supply of water, sanitation, etc.

The NCT of Delhi being a metropolitan city, its economy is likely to be affected by the processes of globalization and liberalization and subsequent increases in employment opportunities which will further accelerate the pace of rural migration. This, in turn these would lead to further increases in population living in slums as are often the first stopping point for the poor rural migrants as these areas provide low cost affordable housing.

Although slum clusters perceived as socio-economic and environmental menace to the urban habitat, it plays an important role in building the city economy particularly through their works in the informal sector, which is a vibrant support to the city economic system. They should not be considered merely the victims of dire poverty but should be seen as dynamic agents capable of accepting challenges posed by urban environments (Dupont, 2000). Thus, urban policy needs to find ways of integrating slum clusters into the city's formal settlement systems by ensuring that these settlements have access to basic services.

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