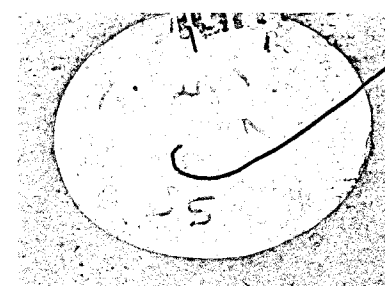


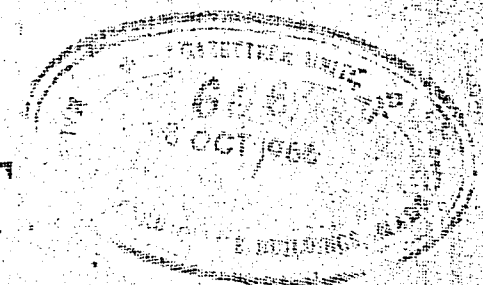
REPORT
ON THE
ECONOMIC SURVEY
OF
MADRAS CITY
1954-57



PLANNING COMMISSION
RESEARCH PROGRAMMES COMMITTEE

REPORT
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ECONOMIC SURVEY
OF
MADRAS CITY

1954—57



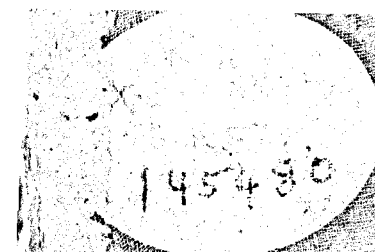
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ON THE

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OF

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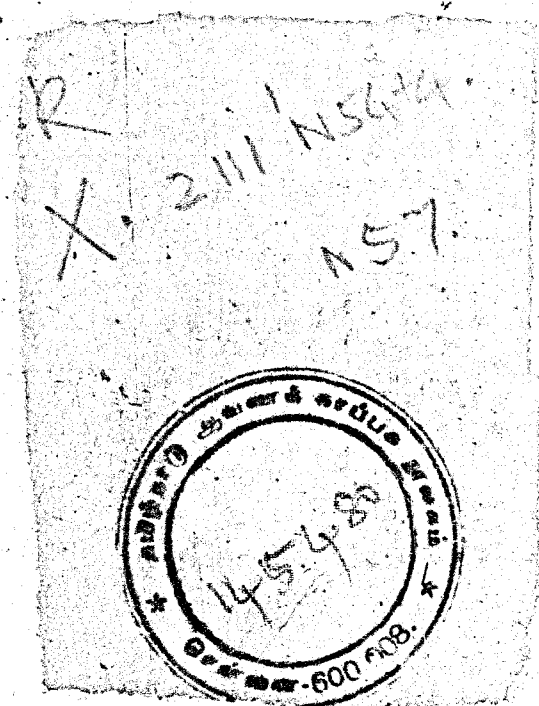
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REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC SURVEY OF MADRAS CITY

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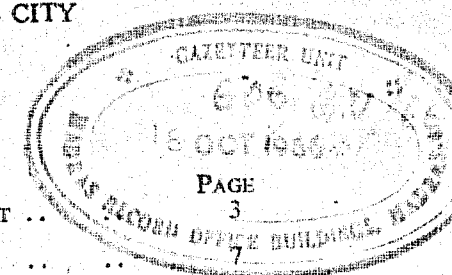
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Drawn by Shri P. Soundararajan B. Com.,
Investigator.

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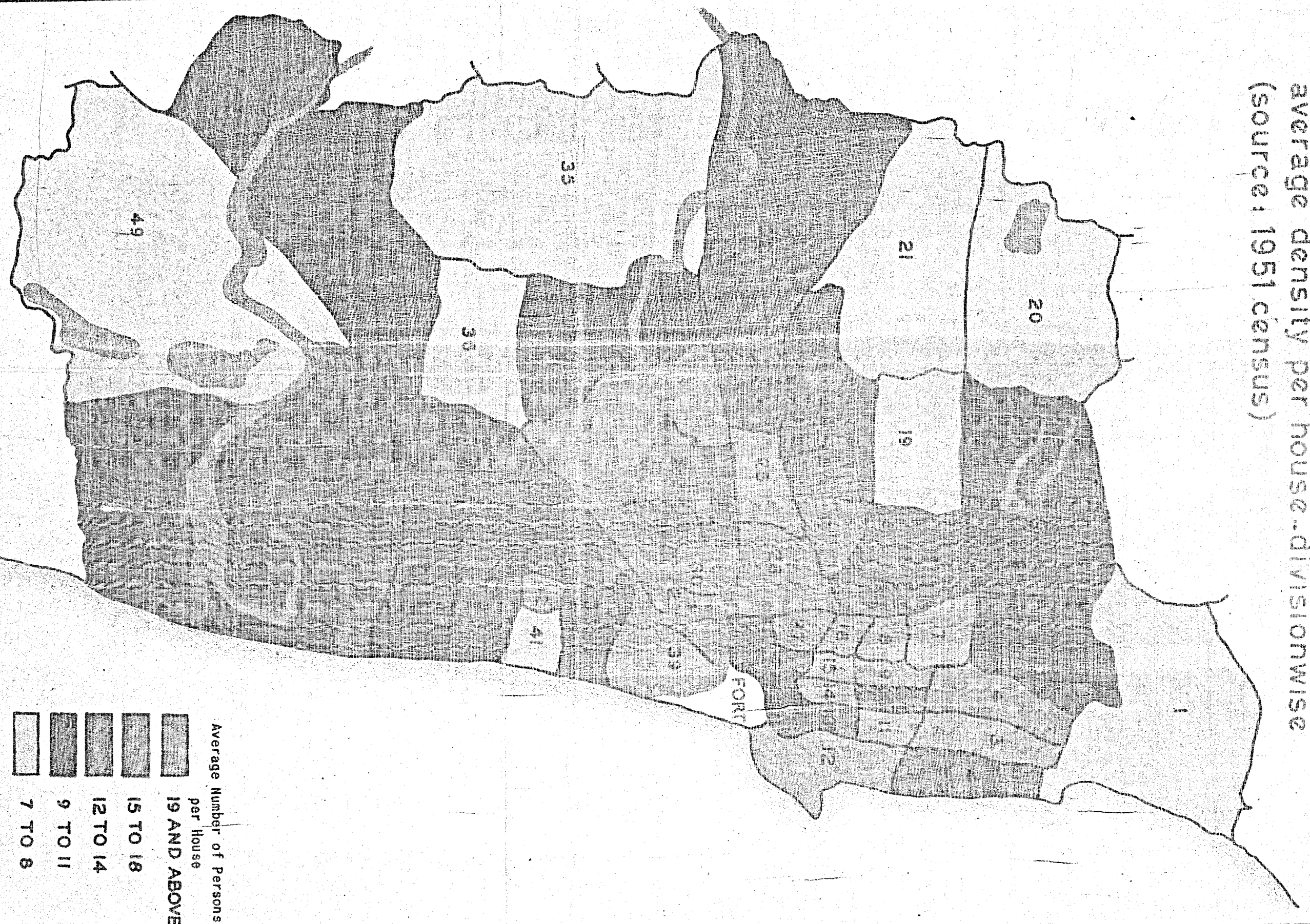
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PART I
INTRODUCTION

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MADRAS CITY

average density per house - divisionwise
(source: 1951 census)



Average Number of Persons
per house

19 AND ABOVE
15 TO 18
12 TO 14
9 TO 11
7 TO 8

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

GENESIS AND WORKING OF THE RESEARCH UNIT

THE RESEARCH UNIT FOR THE ECONOMIC SURVEY OF MADRAS CITY sponsored by the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission was formed on the 15th April 1954 with the Professor and Head of the Department of Economics, University of Madras as Honorary Director. At the outset sanction was accorded for the appointment of one Deputy Director, Three Supervisors, Two Tabulators, Eight Investigators, One Clerk-cum-Typist and One Peon. In July 1955 the strength of the staff was increased by the appointment of two more Investigators in order to cope with the additional field work relating to a subsidiary survey of Fertility and Family Planning. The Unit started functioning with less than the sanctioned strength in the first few months and the full complement was in position from September 1954. During the period of more than three and a half years of its tenure, certain changes had to be made in the personnel on account of members leaving the Unit and consequential promotions, the details of which could be seen in Appendix I. The University of Madras was pleased to provide adequate accommodation, electricity and other facilities free of charge.

1.2. The Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission during the First Five Year Plan period has sponsored three types of enquiries under the various Universities in India relating to :—

- (i) Land Reforms, Cooperation and Farm Management;
- (ii) Savings, Investment and Employment; and
- (iii) Problems relating to Regional Development.

The Economic Survey of Madras City belongs to the third type. Its main objective is to study Problems of Rapid Urbanization. The main features of urbanization "such as growth in urban area, increase in population, increase in commercial and industrial establishments, easily identifiable increase in employment in organised industries and Government Departments" formed a preliminary study. The study of the nature and extent of migration and urban unemployment constituted the major problem of study for which schedules were prescribed with minimum requirements of data. The scope of the urbanization survey included also a study of special problems like slums, congestion, refugees and municipal administration. It was also suggested that a sample survey of unorganised industrial and commercial establishments might be undertaken as a supplement to assess their structure and new employment opportunities provided by them. (*Vide* Appendix I to D.O. Letter No. PC/RPC/5/9/54, dated 4th June 1954). The present Research Unit has brought within the scope of its survey all the above problems except the supplementary survey of units in the unorganised industrial and commercial sector, which was dropped with the concurrence of the Research Programmes Committee (*Vide* D.O. No. PC/RPC/37-53/C, dated the 11/12th February 1955). [App. II(a)].

1.3. At the meeting of the persons in charge of City Surveys held on 1st and 2nd June, 1954, it was suggested that "as the first step in the (Urbanization) enquiry, the employment situation as revealed by the data from the organised sector, large scale industries, transport, docks, Government services etc., should be collected and a brief report on the same may be made to the Planning Commission at the end of six months". The scope of this study of employment situation was defined at the meeting of the guides of City Surveys sponsored by the Research Programmes Committee held on the 12th October 1954 as follows :—"Data about the employment position which was to be collected in the course of City Surveys were with reference to the organised sector. The study of small scale establishments and unorganised sector in general would need a separate enquiry". A report on this Employment Situation Survey relating to organised sector, Government institutions and educational sector was submitted to the Research Programmes Committee on 10th March 1955 in response to the urgent letter of the Research Programmes Committee No. PC/RPC/5/9/54, dated the 4th October 1954.

SAMPLING DESIGN

1.4. The 1951 census of the "Greater Madras" has enumerated a population of 14.14 lakhs living in 2,69,710 households excluding Fort St. George or the 51st Division which is outside the administration of the Corporation of Madras City. As suggested by the Research Programmes Committee, a 5% sample or 13,479 households on the principle of stratified random sampling has been drawn. The 'universe' for sampling is the National Register of Citizens, prepared from the 1951 census enumeration slips, now maintained and continuously brought up-to-date by the Corporation of Madras. This was in conformity with the instruction that "the National Register of Citizens can be studied for ascertaining the characteristics of each stratum of society or each locality. Information in the Register is of great use to draw the sample." (Vide page 4; Appendix II to D.O. Letter op. cit.).

1.5. For the purpose of sampling, Madras city was divided into 50 Divisions, the same as the administrative divisions of the Corporation. All these Divisions are the result of a historical process stretching back over a period of two and a half centuries. These divisions are unequal in both area and population. Each of these divisions could well serve as a stratum from which sample units could be drawn with probability proportional to its size of the population. The list of households in each division as recorded in the National Register of Citizens served as the frame. It is thus that a 5% of the Households of the total number in Madras city has been selected on the principles of stratified random sampling.

1.6. The Corporation of Madras has serially numbered all the streets and lanes in each division. The National Register of Citizens contains the names of Heads of Households living in the various houses arranged again in serial order in each street. The street registers belonging to each Division were arranged in the serial order; with the help of Tippet's Table of Random Numbers, 5% of the Households in each Division were then selected. They constitute the families for direct investigation. The officers of the Corporation at a Conference held on the 3rd May 1954 pointed out that there is a high degree of inter-divisional migration of households. In the actual field investigation it is therefore to be expected that some of the households in the sample might have vacated the houses they might have occupied at the time of the latest revision of the National Register of Citizens. A list of substitute households was therefore prepared in advance, consisting of a reserve sample of 3% of the total households in each Division. The number of sample households in each division and zone set up as the target with actual achievement is tabulated in Appendix III.

PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS

1.7. On the lines suggested by the Research Programmes Committee the schedules were prepared and the Investigators were given orientation and training for a fortnight. The staff was also engaged in drawing the sample numbers and collecting the addresses of households from the National Register of Citizens. A Pilot Survey was commenced on 1st July 1954 and completed by the middle of August 1954. In the light of the experience gained, the questionnaire and schedules were revised and the orientation was completed in another fortnight. With the printed schedules ready by the 1st September 1954, the stage was set for launching the field investigation. The work-load of the field investigators was fixed at three households per working day. However the daily performance varied due to various reasons, like difficulty of contacting the heads of households and waiting for their convenience to collect information. As a result the average number of households surveyed per day has turned out to be only two.

1.8. Generally the response was satisfactory. Difficulties were experienced only in the case of the highest income groups, the most educated and the most highly placed, quite contrary to the common belief that the lower income groups, the illiterate and the ignorant would prove to be poor respondents. There have been a few instances of persons who have held or are holding the highest positions in Government being least cooperative, and to add insult to injury, they openly scoffed at projects of this kind. These cases had to be dropped. In order to study the response factor in Socio-Economic Enquiries in general with reference to Madras city, the schedules provided for the recording of the number of visits and the time taken by the Investigators for surveying households as also the response and ability of the Heads of Households. An analysis of these data is given in Appendix IV.

1.9. As the present survey was scheduled to last for more than three years it was decided to submit Annual Reports. In January 1955 a communication was received from the Research Programmes Committee that the data collected up to that time might be analysed and an interim report submitted quickly. This interim report was submitted in April 1955 which was followed by the first Annual Report in July 1955 and the second in May 1956. In the preparation of these three Reports data were manually tabulated with the consequent limitation in interpretation. The need for a fuller utilization of the data was increasingly felt and in October 1956 with the concurrence of the Research Programmes Committee decision was taken to resort to mechanical tabulation. In view of the transition from manual to mechanical tabulation, the preparation of the third Annual Report had to be abandoned. Necessary coding was commenced by November 1956 and the schedules were entrusted to Messrs. Hollerith (India) (Private) Ltd., for mechanical tabulation. The field investigation was completed by August 1957 for the Main Survey which was followed by two special surveys relating to (i) six slums in the city and (ii) Family Budgets of middle class. The drafting of the report was taken up as soon as mechanically tabulated materials became available.

1.10. The present enquiry is perhaps the largest sample survey ever conducted in Madras city. It has been rendered possible thanks to the ready cooperation of the authorities of the Madras Corporation and the good understanding and generous response of the citizens of Madras city. Throughout the course of the survey this Research Unit has been fortunate to secure the personal interest and sympathetic encouragement of the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, without which this measure of success could hardly have been attained. At every stage from the inception to the completion of the survey the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Research Programmes Committee have been extending to this Unit an unstinted measure of support and abundant guidance and help which are most gratefully acknowledged.

CHAPTER II

MADRAS CITY THROUGH THE CENSUS DECADES

LOCATION AND ORIGIN OF THE CITY

MADRAS CITY, the capital of Madras State, a district by itself for Revenue Administration, is geographically an enclave of the district of Chingleput which surrounds it on all sides except the East being bounded by the sea. It lies on the coast of the Bay of Bengal 13° 9' North Latitude and 80° 13' and 80° 19' East Longitude.

2.2. Although it is the third largest city in modern India, its origin and expansion have been the outcome of a series of accidents. In the early decades of the Seventeenth Century, about 350 years ago the surf-swept beach-head on the banks of the "evil smelling Cooum", where the "City Beautiful" as Madras is called stands to-day, possessed hardly any of the merits essential to develop and expand into a prosperous city. It did not possess a natural harbour; it could not boast of any political past as it had never been the seat of any Government, Hindu or Moslem. The Nawabs of the Carnatic had their capital at Arcot. Although in 1639 any place on the east coast from Masulipatam to Point Calimere could have been selected for building a factory of the East India Company, it occurred to Francis Day, a factor of the Company, that he should choose this unpromising spot. In 1939 when Madras celebrated its third centenary of its birth, it had grown from its remote origin of a few straggling hamlets of fisherman into a "garden city" stretching over a length of 8 miles north to south and about 4 miles east to west. By the 1951 census, the city has expanded still further to an area of 49 square miles, having absorbed in 1946 Saidapet Municipality to the south and 28 villages of Chingleput district in the fringe area all around.

UNPLANNED HAPHAZARD GROWTH

2.3. The great cities of the world are generally classified into two broad groups on the basis of their planned or unplanned growth. Cities like Washington, D.C., Paris and New Delhi belong to the former while cities like London, Rome, Old Delhi and Banaras belong to the latter group. Town planning was not unknown to ancient Hindu civilization as might be seen from cities like Madurai and Srirangam. Compared with them as also Kanchi, Tirumelveli, and other ancient South Indian towns, Madras is but a parvenu. Among modern cities, it is also typical of haphazard growth. The nucleus of the modern city could well be seen in the congested built-in area of George Town and Muthialpet which mushroomed soon after the establishment of the Fort St. George. When this area had been fully built up, the city began to extend in ribbon development in all directions following the trunk roads and railways to the north, west and south. Meanwhile another trend manifested itself which will be considered presently.

2.4. A three fold classification of modern cities consists of (1) Conurbations or "gigantic house-clusters and continuous built-up areas with inhabitants numbering millions"; (2) Octopus-like cities, throwing out spreading sores of human habitation in ribbon developments; (3) Town groups or a gradual expansion and merger of several near-by towns. Madras city combines in itself the essential features of the second and the third types. Looked at from one angle, it presents itself as a cluster of towns—Mylapore, Triplicane, Purasawalkam, Saidapet, etc., knitted together by connecting roads, and from another angle, particularly seen from the railway stations and approaches to the city from Chingleput in the south, Ranipet in the west and Gudur in the north, it appears to be pre-eminently a city of ribbon development.

GROWTH OF POPULATION

PRE-CENSUS PERIOD

2.5. Prior to the first Indian Census of 1871, several attempts by several agencies had been made to estimate the population of Madras city. The East India Company interested in and responsible for the administration of the city made from time to time several estimates. Within a year and a half of the establishment of the factory at Fort St. George in 1639, Madras had

become the headquarters of the East India Company. The final success of the English in the Anglo-French wars of the Seventeenth Century and the later expansion of commerce made Madras the chief British settlement in India towards the end of the century. The contemporary estimates, extremely rough guesses, indicate in broad outline the trend.

Estimates of Population of Madras made by the East India Company

Year	Population
1639	7,000
1647	19,000
1674	50,000
1685	300,000
1691	400,000

These estimates of 3 and 4 lakhs for the years, 1685 and 1691 given in the above table are obviously gross over-estimates since the first All-India Census of 1871, nearly two centuries after the latter date of 1691 recorded only a population of about 397,582.

2.6. Although a parvenu among the ancient cities of India, compared with cities in the new countries like U.S.A. and Canada, Madras city could claim to be pretty old having celebrated its tercentenary in 1939. There is a considerable volume of literature about the different phases of its growth, from the troublous times of the Anglo-French wars to the period of uninterrupted prosperity in the 19th century and after. Apart from the official reports and papers in the Archives of Government offices, foreigners have contributed much to our knowledge of the city in all the stages of its growth. There are also vignettes of social life by distinguished visitors. But most of it is of political interest. All that has at present no more than historical interest as much of it has been the product of impressions and in point of reliability not a little is guess work.

2.7. Trustworthy, scientific data about the social and economic conditions of the city date only from the first census of 1871. Since then, eight more decennial censuses have been conducted the reports of which have yielded rich harvests of data, a veritable mine of highly useful information on a wide variety of aspects of social and economic life of the city. A review of the more significant facets of the urban life, culled out from these reports would well serve as a valuable background to the findings of the present survey. The range and depth of information about the social pattern and economic structure is so vast and fascinating that any curious student would be tempted to cover all the fields not essential for our purpose. A discriminating choice has to be made only of those data, germane to the discussion in the following chapters. It has therefore been proposed to confine this period analysis to the most salient socio-economic traits like population, housing, sex and age composition, religious and linguistic classification, marital status, literacy, immigration and the occupational pattern.

POPULATION

2.8. Even at the time of the first census in 1871 Madras city was one of the most populous in the British Empire. Its population was much less than the grossly overestimated figure of one million as reported to the Royal Sanitary Commission by Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madras in 1863. This figure of a million so dominated the official mind that Dr. Cornish who arrived at an estimate of 350,000 in 1866 did not dare adopt his figure. The impression of a very large population was, however, true. According to the 1871 census "Madras is emphatically a modern town. . . . It is not now 250 years old and few enquiries can be more interesting than that which would show how in the conservative East a great city could spring up in so short a period—a city that is even now the third in point of population in the British Empire excluding London, being only exceeded in population by Bombay and Liverpool. . . . It must always be a marvel how such a city could have grown and still exist on a bare sandy shore, without a harbour, a river, manufactures or any great amount of trade". The 1871 census revealed that Madras city had a population of 393,920 covering an area of 27 square miles. By the latest census year of 1951 the population has risen to 14,16,056 or more than 3.5 fold and the area of the city expanded to 49 square miles or by 1.8 fold.

2.9. This vast increase in population was not the result of a steady growth in this period of 80 years. The population figures of the various census years and the percentage increase in each decennium may be seen in Table given below (Table 2.9). In 1881 the population was 4,05,848 recording a mild increase of 3.3%. This was mainly due to the Great Famine of 1876 which resulted in a decrease of the population of the Presidency by 1.5%. By the turn of the century the population of the city has increased to 509,346 according to 1901 census. Between 1881 and 1901 the population has increased at a faster rate by 11.5% in the first decade and by 12.6% in the second decade. Between 1881 and 1891 there was a rebound after the famine and the population of the Presidency increased by an abnormal 15.7%. The decennium ending 1901 was marked by a plague and three great scarcities in 1891-92, 1897 and 1900. It has been the experience of Madras city to be perplexed by huge influx of population whenever the country was subjected to famine conditions. It was on account of these factors that the last two decades of the last century witnessed a sharp rise in the population of Madras city.

TABLE 2.9—Population, Number of Houses and Percentage of Increase In Each Decennium.

Year	Population	Percentage of Increase	Number of Houses	Percentage of Increase
1871	3,93,920	..	51,741	..
1881	4,05,848	3.3	64,550	+24.8
1891	4,52,518	11.5	57,754	—10.5
1901	5,09,346	12.6	55,665	—3.6
1911	5,18,660	1.8	59,595	+7.1
1921	5,26,911	1.6	64,621	+8.4
1931	6,47,230	22.8	73,845	+14.3
1941	8,81,485	20.1	87,888	+19.0
1951	14,16,056	60.1	1,09,993	+25.2

2.10. Between 1901 and 1911 the population of the city increased to 5,18,660 by less than 10,000, the percentage increase being 1.8. This slow-down in the rate of growth of the city was attributable to two causes—(i) succession of favourable monsoons "must have to a large extent arrested the town-ward quest of work by the rural folks"; (ii) owing to heavy child mortality of the great famine of 1876—78 the number of persons of reproductive ages was considerably reduced, in this decade. The next decennial census in 1921 recorded a population of 5,26,911 or a rise of about 1.6% over the previous census. This slow rate of growth was the consequence of the terrible influenza epidemic. Thus from 1871 to 1921 in a period of half-a-century the population has grown rather slowly by 33.8% which works out to an annual average rate of 3.4%.

2.11. It was from 1921 that a new phase of rapid growth of the population of the city set in. From 5,26,911 in 1921 the population rose to 6,47,230 or 22.8% in 1931 and then to 7,77,481 in 1941, reaching a crescendo of more than 60% in the decennium ending 1951. [The population of 'Greater Madras' rose from 8,81,485 in 1941 to 14,16,056 or by 60.1% in 1951]. Compared with about 34% increase in the fifty years from 1871 to 1921, the rate of increase in the thirty years from 1921 to 1951 was 168.8% which works out to an annual average rate of 16.9%. This phenomenal growth in the last decade was not an exceptional event affecting Madras city alone but formed a part of a universal trend all over India of bigger towns growing at a higher rate in the context of an overall rate of urbanization reaching an unprecedented height. It is this phenomenon of excessively sharp rise in the population of the larger cities that has brought to the forefront the problem of urbanization in the current decade more than ever.

HOUSING

2.12. In these seven decades from 1871 to 1951 waves of immigration had taken place, some temporary and others permanent but all in search of employment. The greater employment

opportunities (and higher levels of wages) in the city generally provided the immigrants with employment. But the question of housing them proved to be increasingly difficult because the rate of increase of housing always lagged behind the rate of increase in population. This lagged adjustment may be seen in Table 2.9.

2.13. The census data relating to houses requires a cautious interpretation. The definition of a house has been changed frequently from census to census. In 1881 a house was defined as the dwelling place of one or more families with their servants having a separate principal entrance from the public way. The 1891 census introduced a slight modification by substituting "the public way" by the expression "the common way". Although a verbal change it has profound implications. Apart from this the 1891 census adds "the term house covers a wide range as regards the class of buildings and these averages taken alone, are not of much value for a place like Madras". These facts should not be overlooked in the discussion of the houses that follows.

2.14. The number of houses has increased relatively to the population only once in all these seven decades, between 1871 and 1881; the number of houses has risen from 51,741 to 64,550 or by 24.8%, as against a population increase of 3.3%. In the census years of 1881 and 1904 the number of house has decreased to 57,754 or by 10.5% and to 55,665 or by 3.6% in each decennium compared with an increase in population of 11.5% and 12.6% respectively in the two decades. The abnormal decline in the number of houses in these two decades is mainly attributable to a shift of buildings from residential to non-residential uses, due to growing commerce as well illustrated by the enumeration of 25,102 non-residential houses in 1891 compared with 16,264 in 1881. It was only after 1901 that the number of houses records a steady increase to 59,595 or an increase of 7.1% in 1911. This improvement has been maintained down to 1951, the percentages of increase being 8.4 in 1921, 14.3 in 1931, 19.0 in 1941 and 25.2 in 1951, in each decennium ending with the census years respectively. It was only in the decennium ending 1911 the rate of increase in the number of houses has not only caught up but also exceeded the rate of population growth, the rates being 7.1% and 1.8% respectively. The reason for the tardy growth of population has already been pointed out.

DENSITY PER HOUSE

2.15. Notwithstanding the steady rate of increase in the number of houses noticed in the present century the congestion per occupied house has recorded a sharp increase from 8.2 persons per house in 1921 to 12.9 in 1951.

2.16. In Madras city which is not of the conurbation type of continuously built up area the density per house is not uniform in all the divisions. The 1891 census divides Madras city into eight divisions. The density per house varies from 5.4 in the first division comprising the extreme northern fringe of the George Town area to 11.1 in the central George Town area then designated Peddunaickenpettai and 9.7 in Muthialpet area. In the division consisting of Vepéry, Pudupet, Egmore and others it was 7.7 compared with 7.9 in Chintadripet-Triplicane area. This kind of unequal distribution of house density has persisted through the decades as the position according to the 1951 census may be seen in the table given below (Table 2.16). It is most remarkable that the density of persons per house varies from 7 to "19 and above" in the various divisions in 1951. This table classifies the density into five groups, the lowest being 7 to 9 per house seen in eight divisions—New Washermanpet, Perambur Barracks, Sembium, Ayanavaram, Kodambakkam, T'Nagar North, Triplicane and Guindy, the highest density of "19 and above" per house occurs in seven divisions namely Sanjivarayanpet, Peddunaickenpet, Trevelyan Basin, Choolai, Periamet, Edapalayam and Napier Park.

TABLE 2.16—Classification of Divisions on the Basis of Density Per House.

Number of persons per house	Division Number	Name of Division	Number of Divisions
19 & Above	4	Sanjeevarayanpet	
	8	Peddunaickenpet	
	16	Trevelyan Basin	
	17	Choolai	

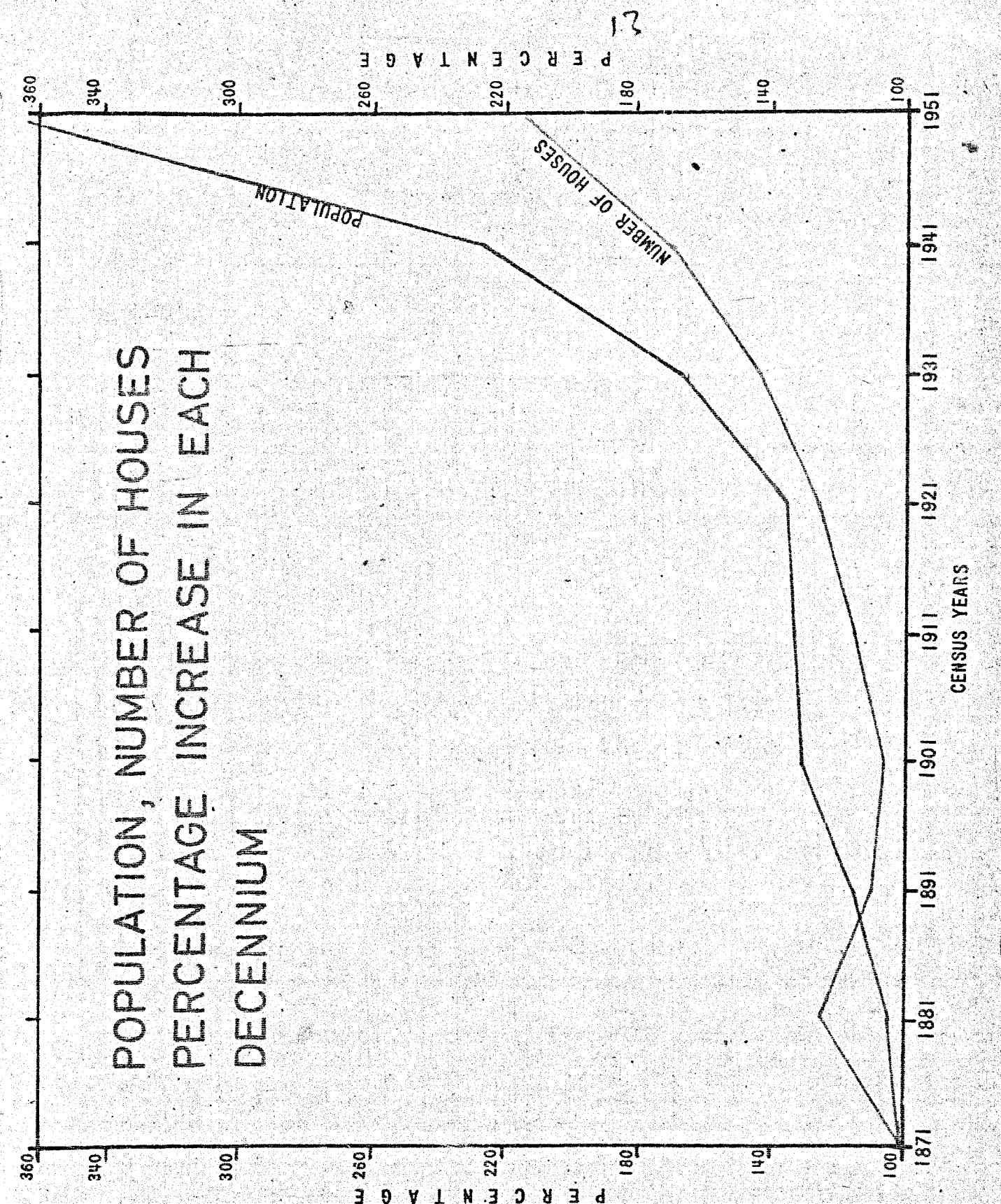


TABLE 2-16—Contd.

Number of persons per house	Division Number	Name of Division	Number of Division
15—18	26	Periamet	7
	27	Edapalayam	
	29	Napier Park	
	3	Singarathottam	
	7	Basin Bridge	
	9	Seven Wells	
	11	Muthialpet	
	12	Harbour	
	14	Kothawal Bazaar	
	15	Sowcarpet	
12—14	25	Vepery	12
	30	Chintadripet	
	33	Thousand Lights	
	39	Tiruvateeswaranpet	
	42	Zambazaar	
	2	Royapuram	
	10	Ammenkoil	
	13	Kachaleeswarar	
	18	Putianthope	
	22	Kilpauk	
	23	Puraswalkam	
	24	Kosapet	
	28	Park Town	
	31	Komaleeswaranpet	
	32	Egmore	
	37	Royapettah	
	38	Pudupakkam	
9—11	40	Chepauk	15
	43	Mirsahibpet	
	45	Mylapore—South	
	5	Korrukupet	
	6	Vyasarpadi	
	34	Nungambakkam	
	44	Mylapore—North	
	46	Teynampet	

TABLE 2-16—Contd.

Number of persons per house	Division Number	Name of Division	Number of Divisions
7-8	47	T. Nagar—South	8
	48	Saidapet	
	50	Adyar	
	1	New Washermanpet	
	19	Perambur Barracks	
	20	Sembium	
	21	Ayanavaram	
	35	Kodambakkam	
	36	T. Nagar—North	
	41	Tripligane	
	49	Guindy	

SEX AND AGE COMPOSITION

2.17. In modern cities from the sociological standpoint, sex ratio is an important point for consideration. The sex ratio in cities is very low varying from 596 in Greater Bombay to 989 in Hyderabad, among the Indian cities according to the 1951 census. A review of the sex composition of the population of Madras city in the successive census years is most revealing. According to the first census of 1871 the sex ratio was 1,042, i.e., the number of females per 1,000 males. It has gradually declined in the past eighty years touching a low 921 in 1951. From 1,028 in 1881 it declined to 1,004 in 1891 and 946 in 1911. In the two census years of 1921 and 1931 the sex ratio had dropped sharply to 908 and 897 respectively. The 1941 census data not being analysed it is not known whether the slight recovery recorded in 1951 had actually commenced before or after 1941. On the whole it is remarkable that in a period of eighty years the sex ratio has dropped by 121.

2.18. The composition of the population according to broad age groups is of great significance in studying certain characteristics like the proportion of the economically active population. The age group classification has not been uniform in all the nine censuses. However, by grouping them into four broad categories it is possible to institute a fairly valid comparison of the age composition in the successive census years. For this purpose four age categories have been evolved (1) 'below 15' representing children, (2) '15 to 34 years' young adults, (3) '35 to 54 years' older adults and (4) '55 years and above', the old. In three census years 1881, 1911 and 1921 the age composition is not amenable to this classification and hence 'below 10', 'between 10 and 39', '40 and 59', '60 and above' have been adopted in the table opposite (Table 2.18).

2.19. It may be seen from this table that the children group has slightly declined from 33.9% in 1871 to 31.3% in 1951, while the young adult group has increased from 36.1% to 38.9% respectively. The older adult group has remained almost constant, the corresponding percentages being 21.2 and 21.3. In the fourth group of old people the percentages have again declined, albeit slightly from 8.8 in 1871 to 8.5 in 1951. Sex-wise the figures reveal certain interesting changes. In the children group the percentage of male children has fallen more sharply from 36.6 to 31.1 in this period compared with a decline from 33.8 to 31.7 among female children. On the other hand in the young adult group the percentage of males has increased from 34.7 to 40.7 as against an almost static position among females, recording 37.4 and 37.0 respectively. These data appear to indicate a greater mortality rate among female children. This conclusion is of course subject to consideration of disturbance to sex ratio caused by immigration with its own artificial sex ratio. In the older adult group the percentage of females has increased from 19.8 in 1871 to 21.6 in 1951 registering a higher rate compared

TABLE 2-18—Percentage Distribution of Population Sex-wise into Age Groups as in Census Years.

Census years	AGE GROUPS											
	Below 15 years			15-34 years			35-54 years			55 years and above		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1871	36.6	33.8	33.9	34.7	37.4	36.1	20.2	19.8	21.2	8.5	9.0	8.8
1881*	34.0	33.0	33.5	35.4	37.8	36.7	22.4	20.9	21.6	8.2	8.3	8.2
1891	33.6	33.1	33.4	35.5	38.1	36.9*	22.9	20.9	21.9	8.0	7.9	7.8
1911*	21.4	21.9	32.3	55.4	54.8	45.0	18.3	18.2	17.7	4.9	5.1	5.0
1921*	29.9	31.7	30.7	46.8	46.9	47.0	18.6	16.8	17.8	4.7	4.6	4.5
1931	31.3	33.8	32.5	48.4	48.4	48.4	16.8	14.4	15.7	3.5	3.5	3.4
1951	31.1	31.7	31.3	40.7	37.0	38.9	21.0	21.6	21.3	7.2	9.7	8.5

*Refer to paragraph 2.18.

with an increase from 20.2 to 21.0 in the case of the males. Similarly females show a higher percentage in the old persons group, rising from 9.0 to 9.7; as for males the percentage has fallen from 8.5 to 7.2. Viewed broadly, in the higher age groups females have gained much more than the males. From this review of the age and sex composition certain broad conclusions emerge: the adult group consisting of the second and the third age brackets has become more important in 1951 than in 1871, while the proportion of females has declined, depressing the sex ratio. If a lower sex ratio is a mark of urban development as also a decline in children group, Madras city has attained it in perceptible measure between the first and the ninth censuses.

RELIGIOUS CLASSIFICATION :

2.20. The earlier censuses attached considerable weight to the religious classification which led to the collection of elaborate data relating to sects and sub-sects, communities and castes. In the 1871 census report of 283 pages of tables relating to the Presidency, not less than 100 pages are devoted to religion and castes. The 1871 census classified the Hindus not only into four broad sects 'Saivites', 'Vaishnavites' (the worshippers of Vishnu or His incarnations), 'Lingayetes' (the worshippers of Lingam, an emblem of Siva), other Hindus whose religious faith was undefined in the returns, but also into seventeen castes. The 'Mahomedans' were classified into eight sects:—(i) Lubbays; (ii) Moplabs; (iii) Arabs; (iv) Sheik; (v) Syed; (vi) Pathan; (vii) Moghul and (viii) others. The Christian population was divided into three Groups (i) Europeans and East Indians; (ii) Natives of India; (iii) Christians of Nationality unspecified and into several sects like Nazaranies, Syrian, Protestants and Roman Catholics. Intimate details about the origin, customs and prejudices of the castes abound in the early census volumes most of which are not relevant in the present context of the evolution of a casteless, classless society. However, the broad religious classifications may be studied to understand whether the population of Madras city has undergone a change in its religious composition since 1871 (*Vide* Table 2.20 opposite).

2.21. The percentage of Hindus has steadily increased from 77.6 in 1871 to 81.2 in 1921 and after a slight recession in 1931 and 1941 has reached 81.6 in 1951. The Muslims who formed 12.7% in 1871 record a steady decline except for two erratic swings in 1931 and 1941 touching 9.9% in 1951. Christians including Anglo-Indians have also relatively decreased from 9.5% in 1871 to 7.7% in 1951, and the Anglo-Indian section has registered a sharper decline from 4% to about 1.0%. It is remarkable that the Jains for whom separate figures are available from 1911 have increased two fold from 0.2% to 0.4% in 1951.

LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

2.22. Madras being a multi-lingual city the census authorities have always taken great pains to classify the population according to their mother-tongue. The author of the 1881 report says that "the greater portion of Madras Presidency is what has been called the country of Dravida or Andhra Dravida and the language of the people is certainly Dravidian. There are four important Dravidian languages. Tamil is probably the oldest and most highly cultivated member of the family and that with the largest proportion of the family inheritance of forms and roots". About the second language, Bishop Caldwell remarks "in respect of antiquity of culture and glossorial copiousness, Telugu is generally considered as ranking next to Tamil in the list of Dravidian idioms, whilst in point of euphonic sweetness it justly claims to occupy the first place". The third is the Kannada, the true centre of Kannada speaking people being Mysore. The fourth is Malayalam which is better localised than any of the other three languages. The most important non-Dravidian language was Urdu in the pre-British days, and the most important European language English. In recent decades since 1881 two more non-Dravidian languages Marathi and Gujarati have begun to feature. A classification of the population according to mother-tongue commencing from 1881 for the successive census years is given in table 2.22 (opposite). It should be added that the first census of 1871 contains no data about languages while the data collected in 1941 have not been analysed due to war.

2.23. It is interesting to note that Malayalam, one of the Dravidian trio, does not gain any statistical significance till 1901 which records the percentage of Malayalam-speaking population to have been 0.1. In the next fifty years it has risen to 2.8 as 1951 census shows. Equally

TABLE 2.20—Percentage Religious Classification of the Population of Madras City in Census Years

Religion	CENSUS YEARS									
	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	
1. Hindus..	77.6	77.7	79.3	80.6	80.2	81.2	80.3	79.9	81.6	
2. Muslims	12.7	12.4	11.7	11.2	11.4	10.1	10.8	12.3	9.9	
3. Christians	5.5	9.8	8.7	8.0	8.0	8.4	8.4	7.1	7.7	
4. Anglo-Indians	4.0									
5. Others ..	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.8	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

TABLE 2.22—Percentage Classification of the Population According to Mother Tongue in Census Years

Mother Tongue	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
1. Tamil ..	N.A.	48.9	59.9	62.6	62.3	63.9	63.6	N.A.	67.9
2. Telugu	Do.	23.2	22.8	21.3	20.7	19.7	19.2	Do.	16.5
3. Malayalam	Do.	—	—	0.1	0.3	0.8	1.4	Do.	2.8
4. Kannada	Do.	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	Do.	1.1
5. Urdu ..	Do.	11.4	11.1	10.0	10.3	8.8	9.7	Do.	6.3
6. Hindi	Do.	—	—	0.1	—	0.1	0.4	Do.	1.6
7. English..	Do.	4.2	4.2	3.1	2.9	2.6	2.1	Do.	1.3
8. Bengali..	Do.	—	—	—	—	—	—	Do.	0.1
9. Marathi	Do.	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.1	Do.	0.8
10. Sindhi	Do.	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	Do.	0.3
11. Gujarathi	Do.	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.5	Do.	0.6
12. Others ..	Do.	0.8	0.2	0.9	1.3	1.7	1.2	Do.	0.7
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0

N.A. Not available.

interesting is the case of Hindi first recorded to have 0.1% in 1901 having increased to 1.6% in 1951. Gujarati has recorded a perceptible increase from 0.2% in 1881 to 0.6% in 1951. Of these three linguistic groups it is small wonder that Gujarati and Malayalam have registered a notable increase because the races speaking them are well known to be the most adventurous and enterprising in the Indian Union, the former in business and the latter in professions. The rise recorded by the Hindi speaking population is more akin to that of the Gujarati than Malayalam speaking people.

2.24. In one sense Marathi, Urdu and English may be considered as the official languages of the overlords of the south in successive periods of history. All of them have uniformly lost ground in the linguistic structure of the population. Marathi has declined in the past seventy years from 1.0% in 1881 to 0.8% in 1951. The Marathi population of the earlier centuries consisted mainly of the descendants of the military castes but today mostly of commercial communities. Urdu the official language of the Muslim Rulers was the mother tongue of 11.4% of the population in 1881 compared with 6.3% in 1951. English as mother-tongue has also suffered a similar fate, declining from 4.2% in 1881 to 1.3% in 1951.

2.25. Madras city has remained for more than a century the joint capital of the population speaking Tamil and Telugu, two of the most important Dravidian languages. Till the bifurcation of the Madras State in October 1953 and the formation of a separate Andhra State, both these linguistic groups claimed the city as belonging to their respective mother tongues. This background lends special interest to the study of the trends of the population of these two groups. The percentage of the Tamil section of the population has steadily risen from 58.9 in 1881 to 67.9 in 1951 while the Telugu section has steadily declined from 23.2 in 1881 to 16.5 in 1951. The relatively higher percentage at the beginning of the census era may be partly accounted for by the fact that Telugu too was the official language of the feudal barons who ruled over the south after the break-up of the Vijayanagar Empire, and partly by the fact that the centre of gravity of the Telugu population lay somewhere in the north-west of Madras city in the triangular territory having its apexes at Vengi, Vatapi and Vijayanagar.

MARITAL STATUS

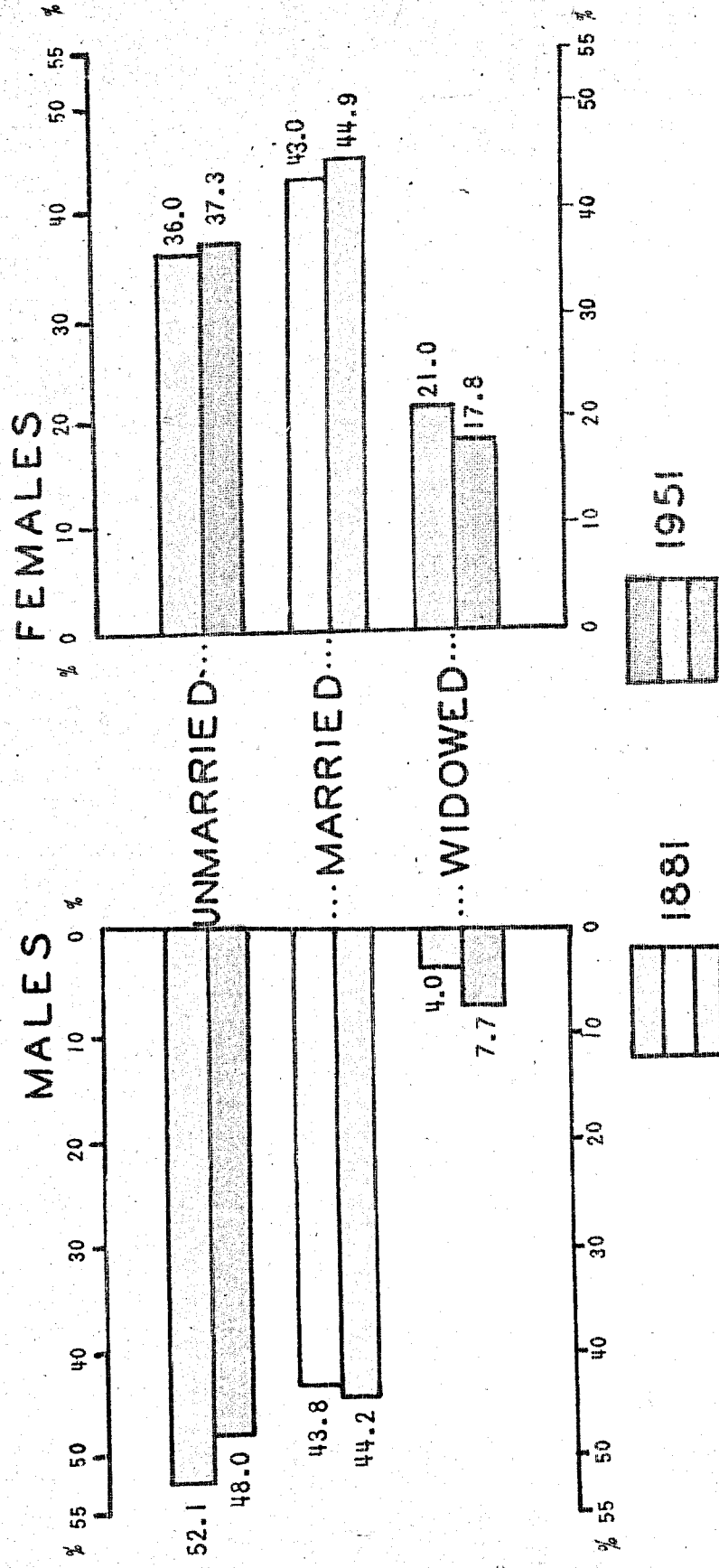
2.26. In any study of population dynamics, civil condition or marital status has vital significance. The first census of 1871 did not include this aspect within its scope. The next census of 1881 contains certain significant observations, in the preface to the interpretation of the data on this aspect. "The return of civil condition or conjugal condition is a new one. The general facts of conjugal condition of the people were well known already but this is the first time they have set down in figures entitled to credit. The feature of early marriage in its fuller sense with its consequence of early child-bearing, the excessively married character of the population and the presence of an excessive numbers of widows were all known, but they had never before been measured". The percentage distribution of the population according to sex and marital status derived from the data of the successive censuses is given below :

TABLE 2.26—Percentage Distribution of Population According to Sex and Marital Status

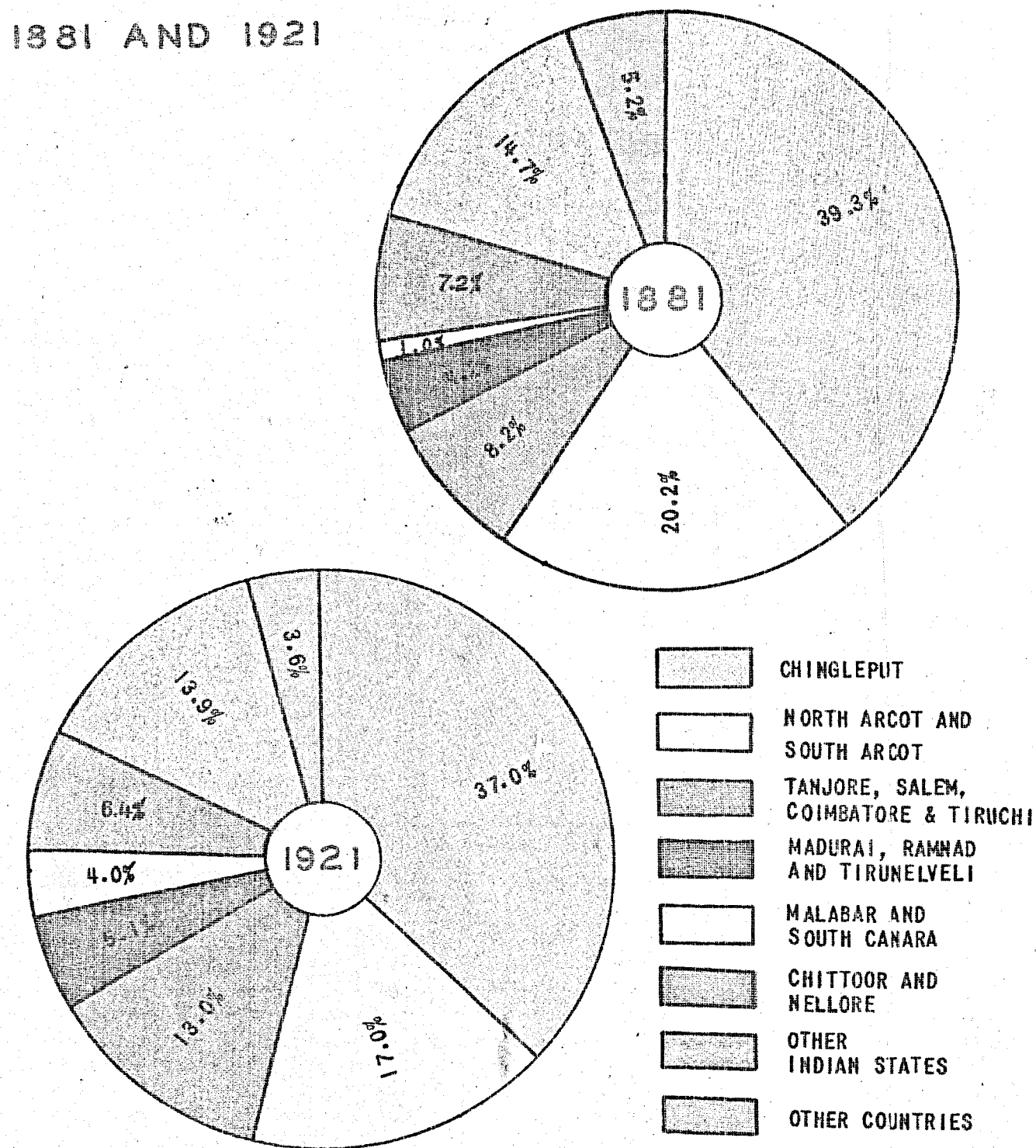
Marital Status	1881*	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951*
<i>Males</i>								
Unmarried	52.1	50.8	52.53	49.60	49.1	51.0	54.8	48.0
Married	43.8	45.5	43.67	45.10	47.3	45.8	41.6	44.2
Widowed	4.0	3.7	3.80	5.30	3.6	3.2	3.6	7.7
Divorced*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Females</i>								
Unmarried	36.0	35.7	37.58	35.60	34.8	36.7	42.2	37.3
Married	43.0	44.9	43.55	45.30	47.9	47.8	43.7	44.9
Widowed	21.0	19.4	18.87	19.10	17.3	15.5	14.1	17.8
Divorced*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

*0.1% of the population is reported in the group "not stated".

MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION OF MADRAS CITY IN 1881 & 1951



BIRTH PLACE OF THE POPULATION IN 1881 AND 1921



2.27. The figures in the above table lead to certain conclusions. The percentage of widows has decreased from 21.0 in 1881 to 14.1 in 1941. However, it appears to have registered an increase to 17.8 in 1951 which is derived not from the census enumeration but from an analysis of the sample population done by the census authorities in 1951. This figure of 17.8% deviates much from the All-India percentage of 12.8 and the zonal (South India) percentage of 14.3. (Vide Census of India Vol. I, part I-A, page 76, Table 29). The latter figures have greater reliability than the former. With regard to the percentage of widowers it has declined from 4.0 in 1881 to 3.2 in 1931 and 3.6 in 1941 against the high 1951 figure of 7.7 in the above table. The All-India percentage is 5.0 and the zonal percentage is 4.2 (op. cit). The 1951 census argues that the perceptible fall in the percentage of the widowed males and females between 1931 and 1951 is mainly due to the greater longevity and not very much due to a rise in the rate of remarriage of widows.

2.28. Table 2.26 shows a slight increase in the number of married males from 43.8% in 1881 to 44.2% in 1951. Similarly there is a rise from 43.0% to 44.9% in this period for married females. However, compared with the position in both 1921 and 1931 censuses the percentage of married males and females has slightly declined. This is due to later marriages after the prevention of child marriages. But the long term trend as indicated by the figures is quite contrary to the common belief that the percentage of married persons should have perceptibly fallen now since 1881 when infant-marriage was rampant. This may be explained by the fact that the census of 1881, the second of its kind in India, could not have been quite comprehensive due to suspicion, fear and the natural reluctance of the population to divulge data relating to females and marital status held to be too private and personal according to the then prevailing sentiments.

LITERACY

2.29. In the sphere of literacy and education the scope and intensity of investigation have been greatly widened and deepened in the successive censuses. The author of the 1871 census has remarked that "all that the census professes to ascertain in regard to instruction was the number of persons male and female of each religion able to read and write". Compared with the elementary data collected on this basis, the 1951 census covers not only literacy but also education classified into four classes of general education and ten groups of technical education. Out of 283 pages of Tables pertaining to the Presidency, the 1871 census devotes but 4 pages to what is described as 'Instruction'. For a comparison of the literacy levels in the successive census years the data relating to the first three censuses have been excluded due to certain practical difficulties of processing. (Vide Table given at page 18).

2.30. It may be seen that the percentage of literates in all age groups has risen from 22.5 in 1901 to 42.5 in 1951. In the lowest age group 'below 10 years' there is a significant increase from 4.2% to 12.6% or three-fold in this period, chiefly due to the system of compulsory universal primary education introduced by stages in the past 30 years. The percentage of literates in the age group '10 to 15' has also risen from 23.3 to 39.2. The corresponding figures are 34.8 and 53.9 in the age group '15 to 20'; and 28.1 and 56.6 a two-fold increase in the age group '20 years and above'. Literacy among all age groups among males has appreciably increased and among females most strikingly in the past 50 years. For instance, the percentage of literates has increased from 47.0 to 61.6 among males and from 9.1 to 51.2 among females in the age group of '20 years and above'.

MIGRATION

2.31. It is well known that the growth in the population of modern cities is due more to immigration than to natural increase. Madras city is faithful to this general hypothesis. The census authorities have noticed this phenomenon; from 1881 to 1921 they have taken meticulous care to find out the birth place of every citizen enumerated and to record the data under 27 heads for those born in the districts belonging to the province; under 14 heads for those born outside the province; under 3 heads for the French and Portuguese Settlements as also for other Asiatic countries; under 5 heads for European countries and under 4 heads for other continents including 'born at sea'. This elaboration has been drastically reduced in the 1931 and the 1951 censuses—in which all the districts belonging to the State or province have been merged into one group. The relevant data may be seen in Table 2.31 (given at page 18).

TABLE 2-29—Percentage of Literates—Sex-wise

Age Group	1901			1911			1921			1931			1951		
	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.
Below 10	5.4	3.1	4.2	6.0	3.6	4.8	8.8	6.1	7.4	19.5	12.5	16.1	24.7	24.6	12.6
10—15	31.9	14.6	23.3	38.4	21.1	30.2	42.8	27.1	35.5	33.9	21.1	27.7	41.4	36.9	39.20
15—20	50.0	19.5	34.8	55.2	23.2	38.8	57.3	28.9	43.0	57.9	26.5	42.2	65.9	39.1	53.9
20 and over	47.0	9.1	28.1	53.8	13.4	34.5	55.8	18.1	38.3	54.8	19.0	38.5	61.6	51.2	56.6
All Age groups ..	36.0	9.1	22.5	42.2	12.9	34.0	45.3	17.4	32.0	43.3	21.1	30.9	50.9	33.2	42.5

TABLE 2-31—Distribution of Population Born Outside Madras City

*Code No.	Birth place	1881		1911		1921		1931		1951	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0. Chingleput		43,669	39.3	69,576	40.1	65,239	37.0				
1. North Arcot and South Arcot ..		22,470	20.2	33,526	19.3	30,014	17.0				
2. Tanjore, Salem, Coimbatore and Tiruchinapalli		9,116	8.2	20,042	11.6	22,880	13.0				
3. Madurai, Ramanthapuram and Tirunelveli		4,668	4.2	7,211	4.2	8,981	5.1				
4. Malabar		827	0.9	2,917	1.7	5,995	3.4	1,96,755	8.4	5,00,448	87.0
5. South Canara		144	0.1	873	0.5	1,146	0.6				
6. Chittoor		—	—	737	0.4	4,450	2.5				
7. Nellore		8,049	7.2	7,594	4.4	6,943	3.9				
8. Andhra State (excluding 6 & 7) ..		7,433	6.7	8,964	5.2	9,121	5.2				

9. Travancore-Cochin State	233	0.2	1,136	0.7	1,785	1.0	2,860	1.3	14,932	2.6
10. Mysore	3,930	3.5	5,341	3.1	4,546	2.6	6,063	2.7	11,910	2.1
11. Hyderabad	1,708	1.5	2,318	1.3	2,333	1.3	2,623	1.2	4,535	0.8
12. Other Indian States	3,269	2.8	7,213	4.2	6,787	3.8	13,290	5.9	31,864	5.5
13. Pakistan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14. Nepal	3	—	—	—	—	—	52	—	668	0.1
15. Burma	265	0.3	794	0.5	644	0.4	1,041	0.5	5,740	1.0
16. Ceylon	159	0.1	307	0.2	526	0.3	306	0.1	1,482	0.3
17. Federated Malaya States	—	—	90	—	400	0.2	284	0.1	1,098	0.2
18. Other Asiatic Countries	218	0.3	206	0.1	231	0.1	198	0.1	187	—
19. Africa	67	—	89	—	165	0.1	558	0.2	150	0.1
20. Other Countries	2,327	2.1	2,327	1.3	1,888	1.1	1,195	0.5	1,711	0.3
21. Pondichery	2,607	2.4	2,082	1.2	2,426	1.4	—	—	—	—
Total Number of Immigrants	1,11,162	100	1,73,343	100	1,76,500	100	2,25,225	100	5,75,025	100
MADRAS	2,94,686		3,45,317		3,50,411		4,22,005		8,41,631	

2.32. The data in this table are most instructive. The percentage of the IMMIGRANT population born in the various districts of the State is almost fairly steady around 87; it was 86.8 in 1881, 87.4 in 1911 and 1931, 87.7 in 1921 and 87.0 in 1951. For this part of the discussion all the districts in the undivided Madras State prior to 1st October, 1953 are treated as belonging to Madras State. Immigrants from Chingleput district are about two-in-five, from North Arcot and South Arcot about one-in-five. From these three districts in closest proximity to the city nearly three out of five persons have come. The percentage of persons born in Mysore State has decreased from 3.5 in 1881 to 2.1 in 1951 while that from Travancore-Cochin State has risen from 0.2 to 2.6 and that from other Indian States from 2.8 to 5.5 in this period. Another noteworthy point relates to persons born in Burma, Ceylon and the Federated Malay States, the percentage having risen from 0.4 to 1.5. This is mainly due to repatriation.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

2.33. The primary object of a census lies in an effort to estimate employment and occupation. This point has received the most careful attention on the part of the authorities from the earliest census. Occupational classification of the population has always held the pride of place and formed the central piece of the census Reports. The anxiety and concern with which a scientific classification had been attempted in the successive censuses redounded to the credit of the census Commissioners. However, their continuous striving after perfection has induced them to refine and reclassify the various occupations time and again with the result that a period analysis is rendered extremely difficult for want of strictly comparable data.

2.34. In 1871 census, the occupational classification was based on the tentative scheme prepared by Dr. Farr who conducted the 1861 British census. Occupations were broadly divided into six classes (i) Professional, (ii) Domestic, (iii) Commercial, (iv) Agricultural (v) Industrial and (vi) Indefinite and non-productive. In regard to sub-classes interesting definitions were worked out. For, e.g., the learned profession included Clergymen, and Conjurers, Barrister and Rope-Dancer, Band Master and Tom-Tom player, Surgeon and Photographer, Purohit and Dancing girl. The non-productive class included rentiers and stock-holders, beggars and prostitutes and generally the classes either incapable or unwilling to earn their living by reputable methods. After successive modifications of the definitions of the sub-classes and minor groups, the 1951 census has endeavoured to conform to international standards. In view of these frequent changes in terms and concepts, a comparison of the occupational pattern in all its details is not feasible. The position in the various censuses is shown in the Appendix. To the broader occupational categories the subsequent discussion will be confined. A summary statement of the occupational pattern prepared for this purpose may be seen in Table 2.34 opposite.

2.35. In the broad 'Professional' category the percentage in Government service has risen from 7.9 in 1871 to 11.0 in 1951. The sharp fall in 1881 is due to the reduction of the Military Establishment and that in 1931 due to the Great Depression and consequent drastic retrenchment. The professional sub-class has increased from 6.4% to 8.4%. The broader category of Agricultural classes has increased from 2.7% to 8.7%. This is chiefly due to the immigration and domicile of a substantial number of non-cultivating land holders. The percentage of population engaged in commerce has increased more than any other from 13.2 to 24.4, indicating the predominantly commercial character of the city. The percentage of population engaged in Transport and conveyance has increased from 6.9 to 10.5. The percentage in the Industrial group has increased from 20.9 to 23.4. The peak of 42.3% reached in 1901 is the result of two factors: (i) a wider interpretation of the term, e.g., including even cooks, and (ii) the fairly prosperous situation of the handicrafts before its decline and decay in the subsequent decades. The broad category labelled 'indefinite and non-productive' is the only one showing a decrease from 29.3% to 13.4% in this period. The high percentage of 33.9 in 1931 is due again to the depression which led to the gravitation of large sections of the population from some of the other categories to this non-descript sink. However, the ultimate position seen in 1951 compared with 1871 indicates that the character and composition of employment has improved as would be natural in a growing city with increasing opportunities for the employment of semi-skilled labour.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN IN 1871 AND 1951 (source: censuses)

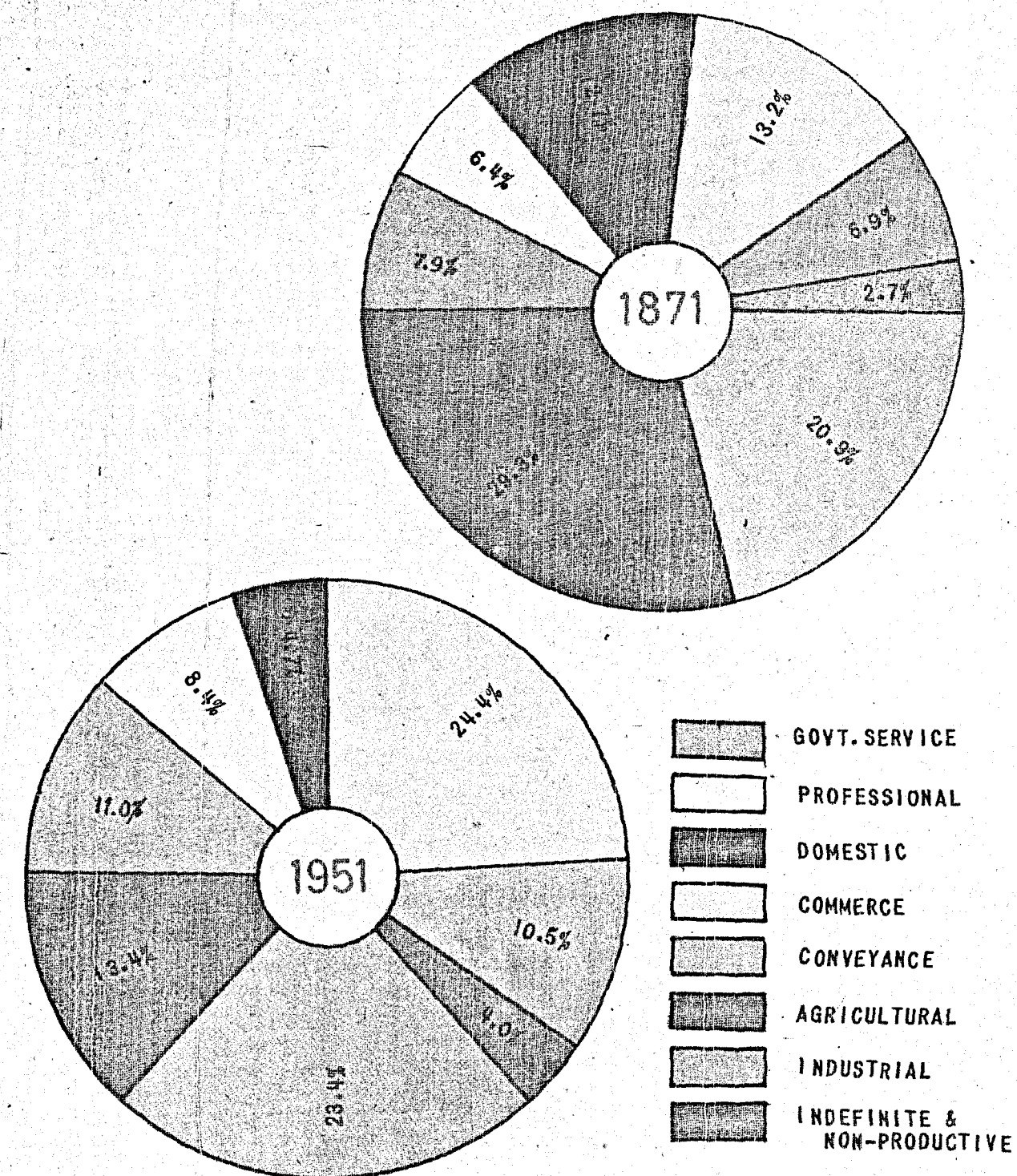


TABLE 2-34—Occupational Pattern In Various Census Years—Percentage

Description	1871*	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951
I Professional and Government Service:								
Government Service and Military	7.9	2.5	6.45	6.0	6.2	4.2	5.3	11.0
Professional	6.4	2.2	10.16	8.6	6.7	7.8	5.9	8.4
II Domestic (Personal Services)	12.7	3.8	9.66	12.6	7.4	5.8	—	—
III Commercial, Transport and Storages:								
Commerce	13.2	1.8	5.59	5.7	17.4	19.6	15.6	24.4
Conveyance	6.9	2.9	7.15	12.2	11.6	11.2	9.8	10.5
IV Agricultural	2.7	2.3	3.94	3.6	5.9	5.3	6.0	8.7
V Industrial	20.9	11.9	32.63	42.3	27.2	25.8	23.5	23.4
Unskilled Labourer—Non-Agricultural	—	—	—	3.4	—	—	—	—
*VI Indefinite and Non-Productive	29.3	72.6	24.42	5.6	17.6	16.5	33.9	13.4
Living on own income	—	—	—	—	—	3.8	—	—
* TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

CHAPTER III PROBLEMS OF URBANIZATION

UNPRECEDENTED GROWTH

3.1. There has been a rapid urbanization of population since 1921, which has attained a phenomenal rate in the decennium ending 1951. Not only the number but also the size of towns has registered a marked increase. The larger the town or city the greater has been its rate of growth and expansion. This trend of urbanization—the shifting of superfluous rural population to urban and metropolitan areas—is one which has been for long desired and held out as a healthy line of development. Yet the unprecedented growth within a single decade, 1941-51, was the least expected and for which the urban areas and administrations were least prepared. The population of the 73 cities among 3,018 towns alone is more than one-third of the total urban population of India. The largest 10 among these 73 cities have registered an increase of population from 77.13 lakhs to 146.67 lakhs or by 91%. By far the largest increase of 214% is recorded by Bangalore. Next comes Delhi with 165% followed by Poona with 128%, Greater Calcutta with 117%, Greater Bombay with 91% and Madras with 61%. This increase is extremely abnormal and apparently inexplicable.

CENSUS DATA INADEQUATE

3.2. This staggering growth in the population of the major cities could not have been due solely to the natural increase or excess of births over deaths. It is obviously due to a massive influx of population. On *a priori* grounds it may be stated that the majority of this influx would have been from the adjoining districts and a minority from the remote hinterland. It is also possible that some proportion of the immigrant population would have moved out from urban areas comprising smaller towns and the rest from the rural sector. The 1951 census, following the pattern set by the preceding ones, has classified urban population into two broad groups of city-born and others. Naturally this dichotomy would club together in the second group of 'Outside-born' not only the latest arrivals in the forties but also those born outside but domiciled in the city for long periods prior to the last inter-censal period, ranging from eleven to fifty or more years. Consequently from the census data it is not possible to determine even approximately the number of immigrants who had arrived in the city since 1940, the most eventful period in the growth of urban population.

NEED FOR SPECIAL SURVEY

3.3. The reasons for this gigantic growth, particularly the larger cities in India, needs to be carefully studied. Without a specially designed survey it will not be possible to explain this phenomenon of sudden, huge agglomerations of population. Increase in urban population may be due to a multiplicity of causes—a higher urban birth rate, a lower urban death rate, extension of city limits through a merger of the adjoining belt area, establishment of large factories, opening of fresh railway lines and improvement of water ways and port facilities making the cities nerve centres of transport and expansion of entrepot trade due to major economic development in the adjacent producing regions. In the history of Madras city the series of great famines that ravaged this country in the last quarter of the 19th century had caused repeated waves of vast immigration of rural population. However after the abatement of the famine conditions, a considerable section of the immigrant population used to return to their homes. This kind of rural exodus, forced by distress, is becoming a thing of the past. It is the purpose of the present urbanization survey to find out the influence of these diverse factors in the growth of the population of Madras city.

ORIGINAL HOME OF IMMIGRANTS

3.4. Magnitude and character of migration apart, the present survey is intended to find out the original home of the immigrants. Every metropolitan city is supposed to attract the talented and the brave, the destitute and the adventurous, the ambitious and the speculative, the refined and the rustic from near and afar. Political, administrative, industrial, commercial,

cultural and social importance of a city may be responsible individually and collectively for considerable immigrants from within and outside the State. It is commonly held that a political capital attracts a large population of varied qualities—administrative servants, politicians, traders and industrialists. A centre of culture exercises its own array of influences upon certain classes of people. It would be of use to know whether the tendency towards urban migration from different regions is obstructed or discouraged by political divisions and linguistic barriers. A study of the original home, direction and stages of migration should therefore form a significant part of a survey of the problems of urbanization.

IMPACT OF THE INFLUX

3.5. Rural-urban migration is a process by which large numbers of population are uprooted from familiar surroundings and transplanted in an alien environment. Normally this process gives rise to a series of problems which would be rendered more complex and baffling if the process of urbanization had been sudden. The high tempo of immigration witnessed in the decade of 1941-51 could hardly be described as a gradual infiltration of new elements which could be assimilated with considerable ease into the urban society. It should rather be described as a sudden impact of a torrential stream the upshot of which would be a rude disturbance to the socio-economic fabric of the city. It is proposed to examine whether the original pattern of distribution of the population according to religion and community is altered by the advent of the immigrant population. A comparison of the religious and communal classification of the non-immigrant population with that of the immigrant is necessary to examine this aspect. The schedule for the present survey has to be devised with this end in view.

FAMILIES DISINTEGRATED

3.6. It is a common belief that rural-urban migration tends to break up families, the younger, the healthier and the more courageous going out from their ancestral homes leaving behind the old and the timid. In the present survey it is proposed to examine whether this hypothesis is correct and whether the present day migration is accompanied by disintegration of families, an evil usually associated with large migratory movements.

AGE STRUCTURE AND SEX RATIO

3.7. It may be assumed that the age and sex composition of the non-immigrant population would be representative of the original urban society. But it is not equally correct to assume that the immigrant population would also similarly be representative of the rural sector, for the immigrants as already stated are constituted of the younger and healthier elements. It would be instructive to investigate into the age and sex composition of the immigrants compared with the non-immigrants in order to find out the new pattern emerging out of the fusion of these two groups. The normal age distribution of the population in cities should not be distorted by sudden, vast influx of population belonging to certain special age groups. It should be weighed in favour of neither younger nor older age groups. Similarly the sex ratio should not be seriously upset. The sex ratio is lower at 787 for all cities of India and 940 for cities in South India, compared with 966 in the villages. It is necessary to examine whether the influx of the population tends to sharply pull down the sex ratio. Necessary data will have to be collected to estimate the new sex ratio since deterioration in it is fraught with injurious social consequences.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

3.8. Rural-urban migration forms an integral part of the socio-economic revolution the country is passing through at the present time. Since more than 80% of the rural population are agricultural according to the 1951 census "means of livelihood" test, the bulk of the immigrant population into Madras city would be primarily agriculturists. The rate of the absorption of the agricultural rural immigrants in industrial or commercial urban occupations is a special area of study in an urbanization survey. In the altered urban economic set-up it would be a social gain if these immigrants succeed in choosing occupations congenial to their upbringing and tradition. How far this problem of choice is easily solved by them is an issue of complex nature. Strangers to the city and ignorant of the employment opportunities, the newcomers should be finding it difficult to secure suitable jobs. Whether the search for

suitable jobs is done independently or assisted by friends and relatives or by employing agencies and other specially set up organisation is a useful field of investigation. Transition from one industry to another and from one occupation to another are difficult and painful processes even at normal times and at familiar places like one's own native village. But these immigrants have to undergo this process under abnormal conditions and in an alien surrounding. Exigencies of circumstances often compel them to accept any job that comes first. This results in different types of changes in occupation. Experts hold that occupational mobility is an index of the state of economic development of a country. In the context of the urbanization of Madras city, an estimation of the degree of occupational mobility prevailing in the city would be both interesting and useful.

3.9. The main motive of rural-urban migration is undoubtedly gainful employment although a small minority of immigrants are attracted to the city by the educational, medical, social and cultural amenities. A distinction should be made between these two classes of immigrants. The latter do not present any serious problem. But, as regards the majority, it would be too optimistic to imagine that all of them would be successful in getting employment immediately on their arrival. Some of them would be employed quickly, but in jobs not quite suitable to them. These jobs could not but be temporary. They should move on to jobs for which they have better training or aptitude. A great deal of labour turnover, that is likely to result, would create problems not only to the immigrants but also to their employers. The progress of the immigrants from the first job towards better suited and more permanent employment needs investigation.

DESIRE TO LEAVE CITY

3.10. Some less fortunate among the immigrants might not get any employment at all. Or they might get such jobs as would make them most unhappy on account of conditions of service, distance from working place and other reasons. These persons could not be viewed as a mass of chronically disgruntled persons, never satisfied with any job at any place, at any time. Most of them might be honest workers, sincere in seeking suitable jobs. If they are convinced that they would never succeed in getting the jobs they like, they would be prepared to leave the city for better employment elsewhere. Factual data relating to them will be of considerable use to draw up schemes for guiding them to places of better employment opportunities.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

3.11. It is quite possible that a good number of the immigrants would be loath to work in factories under unfamiliar rules of discipline but would prove to be successful, productive workers provided some technical training in hand industries is imparted to them. Such of the unemployed will be in large numbers, particularly in a city like Madras, where industrial employment has not grown apace with growth of population. It will be useful to investigate and find out the numerical strength of this section of the unemployed which could serve as a factual basis to draw up schemes for the provision of technical and vocational training.

ATTACHMENT TO NATIVE PLACE

3.12. A favourite theme of the earlier observers of the urbanization process was that a majority of the immigrants consisted of a floating population, never striking deep roots in the city and ever anxious to rush back to their village homes if employment opportunities were reported to be better there due to harvests or any other seasonal condition. The labour turnover, which stemmed from this migratory character, was a subject of a great deal of lament. It would be of interest to investigate whether the recent wave of immigrant into city is still tainted by the much lamented migratory habits. This would be concerned with the proletarian section of the immigrants. Another section of the immigrants to the city belongs to the propertied class. They would like to revisit their village homes if they had left behind a house or any other form of property. A third section of the immigrants might like to visit their villages if they had left behind some members of their families. Social and religious causes might also induce occasional or frequent visits to native place. This point has to be recognised in the present survey and suitable schedules provided to investigate into the links binding the immigrants to their native place.

3.13. To look at this problem of divided loyalties between the adopted city and the original home on the part of the immigrants from another angle is to examine whether immigrant population is fond of investing its savings in the city or in native place. For the collection of relevant data a comprehensive study of the income, expenditure, savings and investment of all the immigrant households is essential. In view of the directives of the Research Programmes Committee not to probe too far into the income-expenditure data of the households, indispensable for fairly accurate appraisal of this problem, a limited and modest attempt to collect data pertaining to investment has to be made, an analysis of which could help a clearer understanding of the floating or permanent character of migration.

LIVING STANDARDS

3.14. However much geographical mobility is desirable in a traditionally immobile community, rural-urban migration, *per se* is of no value unless it contributes towards better living standards for the immigrants. One of the objects of the present survey is to find out the extent to which the recent immigrants are better off in the city of their adoption compared with their economic position in their native place. Advancement in material well-being may take many forms. Sheer increase in real income is of course the most reliable index, but change in employment status is no less significant. An 'employee' in one's native place becoming a 'self-supporting' fairly flourishing shopkeeper in the city should be deemed to have improved his status. If an immigrant could command more balanced food, better educational and medical facilities even without any perceptible increase in his income in the city over that in his native place, he should be deemed to enjoy a higher standard of living. Besides the ability to save and send remittances to dependents in the native place is a useful criterion in this respect. This ability will be sapped away whenever the benefits of higher money incomes are nullified by still higher rise in costs of living. It is from these standpoints that the standards of living of the immigrant population will have to be examined. The schedules of the present survey have to be so designed as to provide for the collection of the relevant data to assess the changes in standards of living.

EFFECTS ON ORIGINAL URBAN POPULATION

3.15. Besides the above considerations a survey of the urbanisation problem will have to consider the socio-economic effects of large scale immigration on the original population of the city. It is pertinent to consider whether the influx of population has cut into the employment opportunities of the non-immigrants and affected the economic, social and cultural life of the city. This naturally involves a comparative study of the economic conditions of the immigrant and non-immigrant population. If the city manifests no expansionary dynamism, it is quite possible that an unhealthy scramble for available job-situations might be engendered, leading to serious social and psychological tension. Such an outcome will be more pronounced if the immigrant population is constituted of energetic, if not aggressive, go-getters, more highly educated and better technically trained persons and less influenced by traditional social attitudes. Although more quickly does society move from status to contract and tradition yield place to competition in a developing, planned economy, it is necessary to safeguard the original population of a city from being all too suddenly jerked out of their *status quo*. In order to appreciate fully the economic and social effects of a sudden and sharp influx of population, data have to be collected with regard to both immigrants and non-immigrants. Recognising this need, the schedules for the present survey should provide for the collection of all the comparable data relating to non-immigrants.

3.16. An intensive study of the levels of employment attained by both non-immigrants and immigrants should form an integral part of the present survey. The distribution of the employed as between industries and occupations is a significant facet of this problem. From the standpoint of the optimum utilisation of the man-power, it will be useful to make a correlation study of education and technical training on the one hand and occupation on the other. This will reveal whether the available man-power is judiciously utilised according to educational and technical qualification. An investigation into changes in industry-cum-occupation of the individuals is another useful line of enquiry that is bound to reveal the changing pattern of employment opportunities in different industries.

UNEMPLOYMENT

3.17. Unemployment and urbanization are but like the obverse and the reverse of the same coin. Both are of great topical significance and the former, more than the latter, enjoys all the lime light at the present time. The magnitude and duration of unemployment among both immigrants and non-immigrants is important as a general study. Correlated to the educational and technical qualifications and previous employment record, if any, it will turn out to be a useful investigation of a sore problem. The unemployed persons fall into two categories consisting of (1) the formerly employed but currently unemployed and (2) the new arrivals into the labour force. The prospect of reabsorption of the former and the fresh employment of the latter depends upon several factors with which the present survey is not concerned. However the distribution of both the categories of unemployed on the basis of their prior or 'desired' employment is a subject that could well be investigated which will give a factual basis for formulating a programme for employment. This kind of study is to be attempted in the present survey.

HOUSING

3.18. The material well-being of the urban population is to be judged not merely by employment and income but also by housing accommodation and what is known as 'good life'. In view of the rapid growth of population particularly in urban areas and the tardy expansion of housing facilities, the problem of congestion has become chronic and acute. Apart from environmental conditions which could at best be qualitatively assessed, the living space or floor area, capable of being quantitatively measured, could effectively function as an index of the degree of congestion or housing comfort. An attempt will have to be made to study the housing problems which are closely linked, if not identical with urbanization problem. Provision has therefore to be made to collect necessary data relating to houses.

'GOOD LIFE'

3.19. Cliche it is to say that man does not live by bread alone. The immigrant is not satisfied with mere better employment and larger income. He hankers after 'good life', each according to his upbringing, education and culture. The essential ingredients of 'good life' for all classes and income groups consist of cordial relations with neighbours, colleagues and employers, minimum facilities for education, medical help and recreation. The rural immigrant usually finds it hard to adjust himself to the ways of living in a city. This process is slow and painful entailing considerable changes in traditional social values. Unless the necessary mental and social readjustment is made, the life of the immigrant would remain paradoxically enough solitary, poor and nasty in the midst of the surging crowds of the city. This aspect of social assimilation of the immigrant population is a significant issue for consideration in an urbanization survey.

TWO-FOLD PROCEDURE OF ANALYSIS

3.20. It would be apparent from the foregoing discussion that the problem of urbanization is a complex of several elements. In investigating into each of them it is vital in view of the primary objective of the present survey that comparison will have to be instituted between the non-immigrants and immigrants. This distinction is of spinal significance that has to run all through the report and constitute a cardinal procedure in the analysis of the mass of data collected during the survey. A second line of procedure of special local significance consists of interzonal comparison, the city being divided into four zones. This is rendered necessary because of the topography and spread of the city of Madras.

NEED FOR ZONAL DIVISIONS

3.21. As stated in the preceding chapter Madras city belongs to the type of 'town-groups'. From a knowledge of the historical growth of the city and on *a priori* considerations the city could be divided into four separate zones each forming a compact area consisting of contiguous administrative divisions of the Corporation of Madras. It will be too much to expect all the divisions in each zone to manifest the same traits and attributes, because the growth of the zone no less than the city has been most haphazard. However, taken as a Unit each zone is

apparently to a fair extent, distinct from the rest in regard to certain salient features. All the four zones (*Vide* Map Opposite) do not contain equal number of divisions nor are they equal in size and population. Yet they have their respective individualities.

ZONE I

3.22. It is easy to recognise in zone I the heavy past and unbroken, continuous history of towns like Mylapore and Triplicane. Equally significant but less hoary are the Corporation divisions like Chépaik, Jam Bazaar and Mirsahibpet deriving their origin from and still retaining perceptible traces of the traditions of the days of the Carnatic Nawabs. Superimposed on these two basic cultural traits has been the influence of the administrative offices and educational institutions lining the Marina from the Napier Bridge to the San Thome Basilica. The blending of this triple influence from three different ages Hindu, Medieval and Modern has made this zone most attractive to the communities both advanced and better-educated.

ZONE II

3.23. The second zone runs from the Fort up to New Washermanpet in the north and from the sea front in the east to Vyasarpady and Sembium in the west. Except for Vyasarpady and Sembium divisions of the Corporation recently brought within the city limits the rest of this zone is indeed the old Black Town of pre-Coronation (George V) days. The growth of this section has been entirely the outcome of the establishment of Fort St. George and the expansion of the trade of the East India Company. The chequer board formation of the streets and the continuous built-in area for nearly four miles and a high density of population are characteristics of this zone. Originating from commerce it has rapidly grown into a typical "down-town" area of the city. In this zone are concentrated the banking and financial institution, commercial and other business houses, the harbour and the First Line Beach; the Broadway and the China Bazaar would impress any visitor that here lies the hub of the business and commercial life of the city. Naturally this zone has attracted men of Commerce, Trade and Transport. Certainly more money is made in this zone of the city than in others; with equal certainty it cannot however be said that the highest culture and intellect in the city is centered in this zone. The fringe area of this zone nearer to Andhra Pradesh has attracted the immigrants from the north to become domicile there. Even among the immigrants from the north it is the more commercial who settle down there permanently.

ZONE III

3.24. The third zone stretches from Egmore in the south to Choolai and Pulianthope in the north and from Periamet in the east to Ayanavaram in the west. This zone may be looked upon as an industrial sector of this predominantly commercial city. Within it are located the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, the Choolai Mills, the Perambur Railway Workshops and the recently established Integral Coach Factory, besides some important cottage industries like pottery, toy-making, handlooms and leather. Out of the fourteen Corporation divisions making up this zone, Purasawalkam, Chintadripet and Komaleeswaranpet alone could claim to be old historic townships. All the rest are of recent growth. The industrial centre of gravity of the city falling somewhere in this zone, it has attracted more industrial labour than any other. Another characteristic feature of this zone is the large Eurasian population mainly due to the existence of the Railway Workshops and the Military Barracks for over a century.

ZONE IV

3.25. To the south and south-east lies the fourth zone. It sprawls from the Adyar Beach in the east to Saidapet in the west and from Guindy in the south to Nungambakkam in the north. Except for the former municipality of Saidapet now merged into the city mainly as the Corporation Division 48, all the other divisions are of recent origin. A substantial portion of this zone is under fashionable residential colonies. To this area gravitate the higher income groups irrespective of race, religion, language and caste. Although residential area *par excellence*, a section of this zone has of late witnessed a vigorous growth of the film industry and bids fair to become the Hollywood of the South. Apart from the elite and the artistes, this industry is attracting to this area workers of various kinds creating a boom in building activities. By virtue of these nascent characteristics this zone is at present the least densely populated area in the city.

3.26. It is because of the existence of these four well-defined zones and their apparent tendency to grow at different rates and along different lines that the present urbanization Survey should not fail to pay due regard to this aspect. In a wider sense a study of the urbanization problem should investigate into the dynamics of changing populations and occupations in different zones. It is with this purpose in view that the second line of procedure of instituting comparisons wherever possible between the zones should be evolved in the presentation of the report. It is possible in respect of households if not of individuals, because households belonging to certain communal and linguistic groups tend to settle down in certain zones, although individuals tend to cross zonal barriers in search of suitable jobs.

3.27. From the above consideration of the urbanization problem with reference to Madras city it will be apparent that there are several significant facets which call for intensive investigation:—the social pattern of the non-immigrant and the immigrant population and the changes brought about by the recent immigration, the nature, origin and character of the rural-urban migration, the rate of absorption in employment and the process of assimilation of the immigrants into urban society.

3.28. In dealing with these different issues it will be convenient to divide the study into two parts. The first will be concerned mainly with Households which constitute the sampling units of the present survey and the second with the individuals whose employment and income sustain the households.

PART II

HOUSEHOLDS

CHAPTER IV
HOUSEHOLDS—SOCIOLOGICAL

INTRODUCTION

The present ECONOMIC SURVEY OF MADRAS CITY covers a sample of 13,288 households of which 10,284 or 69.8% are non-immigrant and 3,004 or 30.2% immigrant households. Although the entire sample rigidly satisfies the definition of a household adopted for this survey, and in that sense possesses cardinal common traits, it does not consist of absolutely stereo-typed households. They differ widely in religion and community, size and mother-tongue, sex composition and the proportion of adults to children. It is proposed to examine here these aspects, maintaining the two lines of procedure already laid down—a comparison of the immigrants with the non-immigrants and of one zone with the other.

RELIGION AND COMMUNITY

4.2. The sample households have been classified according to major religious denominations as also broad communal groups of the Hindus listed in the Indian Constitution, viz., the advanced, the backward and the scheduled castes and tribes. It would be interesting to compare the findings of the present survey with the result of the 1951 census. The distribution of the sample households among the various religious and communal groups is shown below:—

Report

TABLE 4-2—Religious Classification of the Population

Religion & Community	1951 census	Total	N.I.	I.
Hindus	81.6	86.4	86.4	86.5
{ Advanced	—	27.8	23.9	41.4
{ Backward	—	43.8	46.1	35.8
{ Scheduled	12.0	14.8	16.4	9.3
Muslim	10.0	6.2	6.8	4.1
Christian	7.8	7.0	6.5	8.9
(Anglo-Indians	—	0.9	0.9	0.9)
Jain	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4
Buddhist	0.1	—	—	—
Parsi	—	—	—	—
Others	0.1	0.1	—	0.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.3. Of the sample households the Hindus form 86.4%, Muslims 6.2%, Christians 7.0% (including Anglo-Indians) and Jains 0.3%. The percentage of Buddhists, Parsis and others is negligible. This pattern of distribution slightly varies from that of the 1951 census, the percentage in the latter being 81.6 for the Hindus, 10.0 for the Muslims and 7.8 for the Christians. What the Muslims have lost seemed to have been gained by the Hindus. Of the immigrant households the percentage of the Hindu-advanced is perceptibly higher at 41.4% against 23.9% for the non-immigrants as also for the Christians with 8.0% and 6.5% respectively while for the others it is perceptibly lower. The advanced Hindus and the Christians are apparently marked by a higher degree of mobility.

4.4 The distribution of population according to religious and communal groups varies significantly among the four zones. The relevant data are tabulated in table 4.4, opposite.

4.5. It is apparent from the table 4.4 that the zone I has a higher percentage of both Hindu advanced and Muslim communities. Against one in three of the population belonging to Hindu-advanced in I zone there is one-in-five in second zone and about one-in-four in the other two zones. As for Muslims the percentage is 15.2 in I zone compared with 4.8 in II zone, 4.7 in III zone and 6.8 in the IV zone. The Hindu-backward community is the most dominant in III zone accounting for 48.4% compared with 46.1% in IV zone, 43.0% in the II zone and 33.7% in I zone. It is the second zone that has relatively the largest proportion of scheduled castes forming 20.8% and the first zone with the lowest of 9.9%. The Muslim households are most preponderant in I zone accounting for 15.2% compared with 6.2% for the entire city. Christian households (including Anglo-Indians) occur more in zone II, accounting for 10.6% than in any other.

4.6. It will be of interest to know whether each zone exercises a special appeal towards particular immigrant communities in respect of their choice to domicile. It will be seen from table 4.4 that 41.4% of the immigrants belong to the Hindu-advanced, 35.8% to Hindu-backward, 9.3% to scheduled castes, 4.1% to Muslim, 8.9% to Christian and 0.4% to the Jain communities. A scrutiny of the figures reveals the most preferred zone of the various communities. To the Hindu-advanced zone I seems to be the most-favoured with zone IV second in order of preference. The Hindu-backward seem to gravitate towards zones III and IV, the Muslims to zones I and II and Christians to zone II, and the Jains to zone III.

TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS

4.7. As indicated in the preceding chapter one line of investigation in the present survey is intended to find out whether the rural-urban migration has caused disintegration of families. Traditionally households used to be classified into natural and joint families. Some demographers have substituted new terms like nuclear and patriarchal families for the old two-fold classification. This simple analysis suffers from a limited approach to a study of the structure of present-day families. Hence in the present survey a five-fold classification* of households according to their composition is attempted. The basic principle of this classification involves an examination of the degree of relationship of the various members to the head of the household. Households are classified as belonging to "I degree" in which live the head, wife and unmarried children, "II degree" households are those in which in addition, parents, brothers and sisters happen to live, "III degree" households include besides the members specified in the I and II, grand-children, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law, sisters-in-law and relations of first degree, "IV degree" households include relatives other than those mentioned in the previous categories and "V degree" households consist of non-relatives as well. On the basis of this classification the data relating to sample households have been analysed. (Vide table 4.7, opposite).

4.8. It is noteworthy that the percentage of "I degree" households is 51.1 for the sample, 50.0 for non-immigrants and 55.1 for immigrants. The corresponding percentages for "II degree" households are 16.9, 16.5 and 18.1 and for "III degree" households 26.7, 28.4 and 21.1. It may be inferred that relatively more immigrants compared with the non-immigrants are living with their parents, brothers and sisters but less with grand-children and relations of the first degree. In this sense they are less encumbered with less important relations. As for "IV degree" households the percentage is 2.1 for the sample, 2.3 for the non-immigrants and 1.0 for immigrants. This at once confirms the inference that immigrants are chary of bringing within their care relatives other than the closest. But in respect of non-relatives the situation is reversed. The percentage of "V degree" households is 3.2 for the sample, 2.8 for non-immigrants and 4.7 for immigrants. In admitting non-relatives into their households the immigrants seem to be more accommodative than the non-immigrants. Perhaps it is out of a sense of mutual help, naturally more evident among the immigrants due to their experience.

4.9. A comparison of the zones with regard to this aspect yields some interesting conclusions. The fourth zone has the largest percentage of "I degree" households and the first zone

*This kind of classification is adopted in the Socio-Economic Survey of Greater Calcutta.

TABLE 4.4—Percentage Distribution of Sample Households According to Religion & Community

Religion & Community	ZONE I		ZONE II		ZONE III		ZONE IV		CITY	
	Total	I	Total	I	Total	I	Total	I	Total	I
Hindus: Advanced	36.4	59.6	20.7	30.5	26.9	36.6	23.9	48.8	27.8	41.4
Backward	33.7	24.3	43.0	34.8	48.4	41.1	46.1	38.2	43.8	35.8
Scheduled	9.9	4.6	20.8	14.5	12.9	9.5	16.4	5.7	14.8	9.3
Muslims	15.2	5.4	4.8	5.5	4.7	3.4	6.8	2.0	6.2	4.1
Christians	3.9	5.3	9.4	12.7	5.3	7.5	5.6	4.7	6.1	8.0
Anglo-Indians	0.7	0.4	1.2	1.6	1.1	1.0	0.9	0.2	0.9	0.9
Jains	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4
Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Parsi	—	—	—	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Others	—	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.1	—	0.2	0.1	0.1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 4.7—Percentage Distribution of the Five Types of Households in the Four Zones

Degree of Households	ZONE I			ZONE II			ZONE III			ZONE IV			CITY		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
I	42.8	46.0	43.5	51.5	56.9	52.6	59.5	59.5	52.4	54.5	52.9	54.0	50.0	55.1	51.1
II	16.5	21.9	17.7	17.1	17.5	17.2	16.6	17.2	16.8	15.2	17.1	15.7	16.5	18.1	16.9
III	33.4	24.3	31.3	27.3	20.6	25.9	19.4	19.4	26.3	24.9	22.0	24.1	28.4	21.1	26.7
IV	1.9	0.9	1.7	2.0	0.7	1.8	2.7	1.0	2.3	2.6	1.6	2.4	2.3	1.0	2.1
V	5.4	6.9	5.8	2.1	4.3	2.5	2.0	2.9	2.2	2.8	6.4	3.8	2.8	4.7	3.2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

I=Immigrants.

NI=Non-immigrants.

the lowest, being 54.0 and 43.5 respectively. As for II and III and V degree households the first zone has the largest percentage. As already noted the first zone is relatively more advanced and better off and their higher cultural level as also traces of conservatism lead to the continuance of larger, patriarchal and joint families.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

4.10. Size of the household is highly significant not only from the standpoint of the rural-urban migration but also from the over-all standpoint of demographic study. The 1951 census has analysed the relevant data to draw two conclusions regarding (i) average size of the household and (ii) the distribution of different sizes of households. This census revealed that for the Indian Union the average size is 4.71 for an urban household and 4.91 for a rural household. Madras city, however, has registered a higher average of 5.2 persons per household according to the 1951 census. The data of the present survey relating to the average size of household are tabulated zone-wise below :—

TABLE 4.10—Average Size of Households

Category	Number of Households	Total Population	Average size of Households
Zone I :			
Non-Immigrants	1,865	10,815	5.8
Immigrants	535	2,768	5.2
Total	2,400	13,583	5.7
Zone II :			
Non-Immigrants	3,125	17,137	5.5
Immigrants	822	3,962	4.8
Total	3,947	21,099	5.4
Zone III :			
Non-Immigrants	3,691	20,155	5.5
Immigrants	1,055	5,016	4.8
Total	4,746	25,171	5.3
Zone IV :			
Non-Immigrants	1,603	8,958	5.6
Immigrants	592	3,077	5.2
Total	2,195	12,035	5.5
City :			
Non-Immigrants	10,284	57,065	5.5
Immigrants	3,004	14,823	4.9
TOTAL	13,288	71,888	5.4

4.11: It may be seen from the above table that the average size of the household is 5.4 for the entire sample, 5.5 for all the non-immigrant and 4.9 for all immigrant households. It is noteworthy that in all the four zones the average size of the immigrant households is smaller

DEGREE OF HOUSEHOLDS

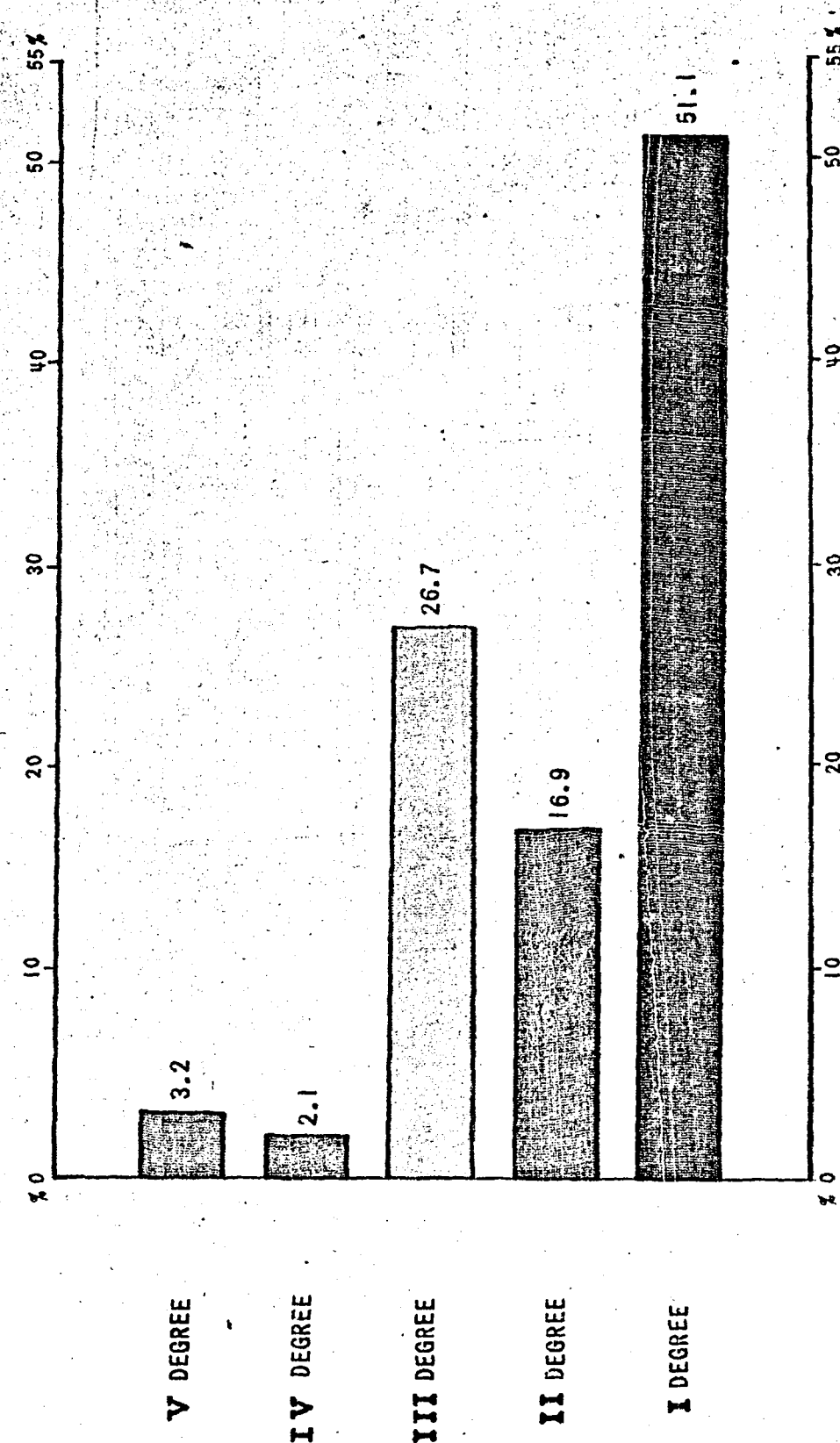


TABLE 4.12—Degree of Households—Community Wise.

Religions and Community	I		II		III		IV		V		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<i>Non-Immigrants</i>												
Hindu : Advanced ..	1,175	47.9	368	15.0	747	30.4	61	2.5	103	4.2	2,454	100
Backward ..	2,394	50.5	831	17.5	1,329	28.0	100	2.1	88	1.9	4,742	100
Scheduled ..	908	54.0	292	17.4	433	23.7	40	2.4	9	0.5	1,682	100
Muslims ..	301	42.8	114	16.2	228	32.4	20	2.9	40	5.7	703	100
Christians ..	299	52.0	79	13.7	151	26.3	15	2.6	31	5.4	575	100
Anglo-Indians ..	48	50.5	10	10.5	20	21.1	4	4.2	13	13.7	95	100
Jains ..	12	40.0	4	13.3	9	30.0	1	3.4	4	13.3	30	100
Others ..	3	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	100
TOTAL ..	5,140	50.0	1,698	16.5	2,917	28.4	241	2.3	288	2.8	10,284	100
<i>Immigrants</i>												
Hindu : Advanced ..	652	52.4	245	19.7	273	21.9	14	1.1	61	4.9	1,245	100
Backward ..	652	60.6	183	17.0	199	18.5	9	0.8	33	3.1	1,076	100
Scheduled ..	155	55.7	55	19.8	62	22.3	3	1.1	3	1.1	278	100
Muslims ..	61	50.0	22	18.0	29	23.8	2	1.6	8	6.6	122	100
Christians ..	112	46.9	33	13.8	59	24.7	2	0.8	33	13.8	239	100
Anglo-Indians ..	16	59.3	3	11.1	7	25.9	—	—	1	3.7	27	100
Jains ..	3	23.1	2	15.4	5	38.4	1	7.7	2	15.4	13	100
Others ..	4	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	100
TOTAL ..	1,655	55.1	543	18.1	634	21.1	31	1.0	141	4.7	3,004	100

TABLE 4.12—Degree of Households—Community Wise (Contd.)

Religion and Community	I		II		III		IV		V		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	1,827	49.4	613	16.6	1,020	27.6	75	2.0	164	4.4	3,699	100
Hindu: Advanced	3,046	52.3	1,014	17.4	1,528	26.3	109	1.9	121	2.1	5,818	100
Backward	1,063	54.2	347	17.7	495	25.3	43	2.2	12	0.6	1,960	100
Scheduled	362	43.9	136	16.5	257	31.1	22	2.7	48	5.8	825	100
Muslims	411	50.5	112	13.7	210	25.8	17	2.1	64	7.9	814	100
Christians	64	52.4	13	10.7	27	22.1	4	3.3	14	11.4	122	100
Anglo-Indians	15	34.9	6	13.9	14	32.6	2	4.6	6	14.0	43	100
Jains	7	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	100
Others	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	6,795	51.1	2,241	16.9	3,551	26.7	272	2.1	429	3.2	13,288	100

than that of the non-immigrants. It may also be noted that the average size of the household is largest in zone I as it could have been anticipated from the larger occurrence of II, III and V degree household in this zone. The increase in the average size of the households from 5.2 in the 1951 census to 5.4 according to the present survey is probably due more to the absorption of post-census immigrants into existing households than to an addition to households.

DEGREE OF HOUSEHOLDS COMMUNITY WISE

4.12. Traditional social attitudes are more pronounced in certain communities than others. Even in the adverse urban environment some communities still maintain traditional families as opposed to nuclear families. An investigation into the dispersal of various degrees of households in the different communities will serve to highlight such communities more resilient to modern ideas. The scale of predominance of 'first degree' households is one indicator of the influence of modernism. Another is the attitude towards accommodating non-relations and paying guests. In order to find out the differential penetration of modern ideas in the different communities the households in them have been classified according to their "degrees". (Vide table 4.12, opposite).

4.13. Against the general average of 51.1% of 'I degree' households the percentage varies from 54.2 among the scheduled castes to 43.9 among the Muslim. From this it is not to be inferred that the scheduled caste is the most modern by choice and deliberation, but appears so by compelling necessity of low earning capacity. The variations among other communities are not wide enough to need any comment. With regard to the 'II degree' households the percentage of households among the Hindus and the Muslims does not deviate widely from the general average of 16.9. On the other hand the percentage is 13.7 among the Christians and 10.7 among Anglo-Indians. In these two communities the statistics indicate that the parents do not live with their married sons with that degree of frequency observable among the Hindus and the Muslims. In the 'III degree' households the Muslim community with 31.1% compared with the general average of 26.7% is unique in one sense and the Anglo-Indians with 22.1% in another sense. It is among the Muslims, traditional families with three generations living together are seen in a relatively larger proportion and among the Anglo-Indians they are the smallest.

4.14. Passing over the 'IV degree' households in which variations are not significant it may be seen that the percentage of 'V degree' households varies from 11.5 among Anglo-Indians and 7.9 among Christians to 2.1 among the Hindu-backward and 0.6 among the scheduled castes; the former two communities appear to be more accommodative to non-relations than the latter two. The relatively high percentage of 5.8 among the Muslims is mainly due to the spirit of religious homogeneity and fellowship seen among them. The percentage of 4.4 of V degree households among the Hindu advanced community is mostly due to the presence of resident-servants.

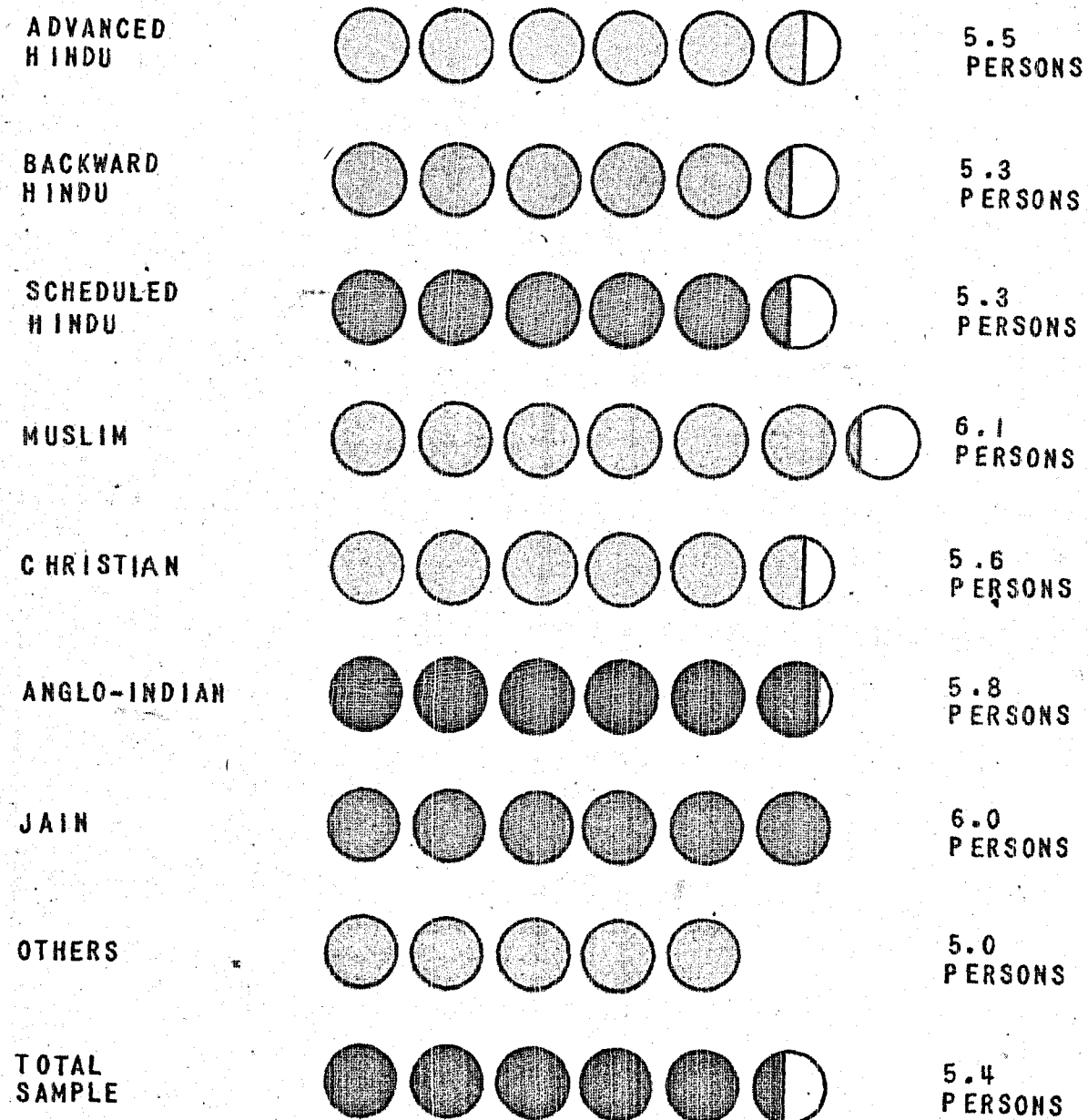
4.15. The second line of analysis of the 1951 census relates to four categories of households based on their size. It has been defined that the 'small' household is one having 3 members or less, the 'medium' 4 to 6 members, the 'large' 7 to 9 members and 'very large' 10 members or more. In the present survey households have been classified according to size into eleven categories ranging from one member to eleven and more members. (Vide Appendix VI). A summary statement of the data collected in this fashion to conform with the four-fold classification of the 1951 census is given in the table 4.15 page 40.

4.16. The distribution of the four categories of households in the sample follows very closely the pattern in 1951 census. By far the most important category is the 'medium' size household accounting for 49.9%. Next comes the 'small' households with 22.8% followed by the 'large' households with 20.9% and the 'very large' households with 6.4%. Once again zone I shows a relatively greater preponderance of 'large' and 'very large' households. It is noteworthy that in all the zones the percentage of the 'small' households among the immigrants is much higher than among the non-immigrants. It is 26% for the former against 19% for the latter in zone I, the corresponding percentages being 28.2 and 22.3 in zone II, 30.0 and 21.5 in zone III and 24.4 and 21.7 in zone IV and 27.6 and 21.2 for the city.

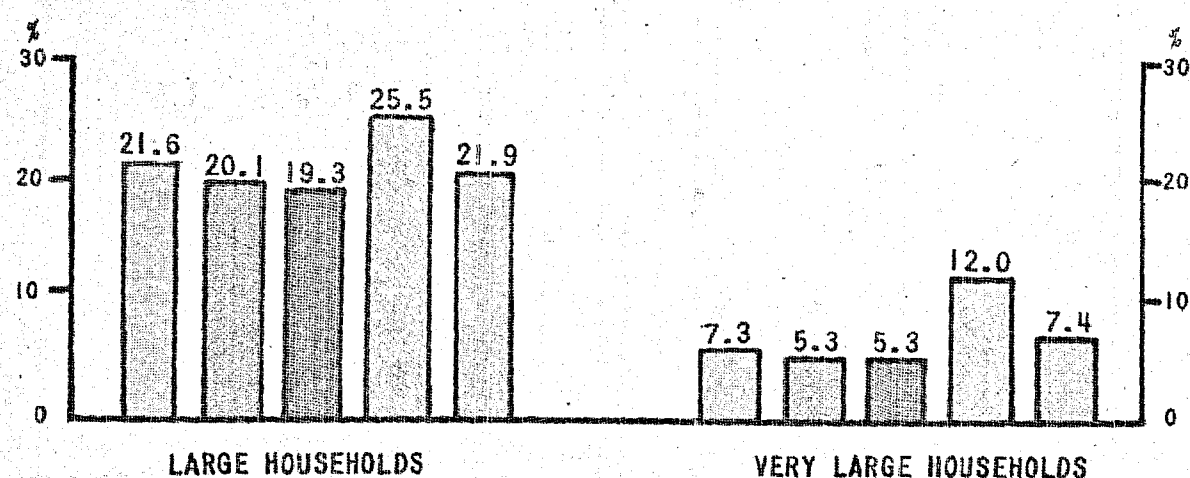
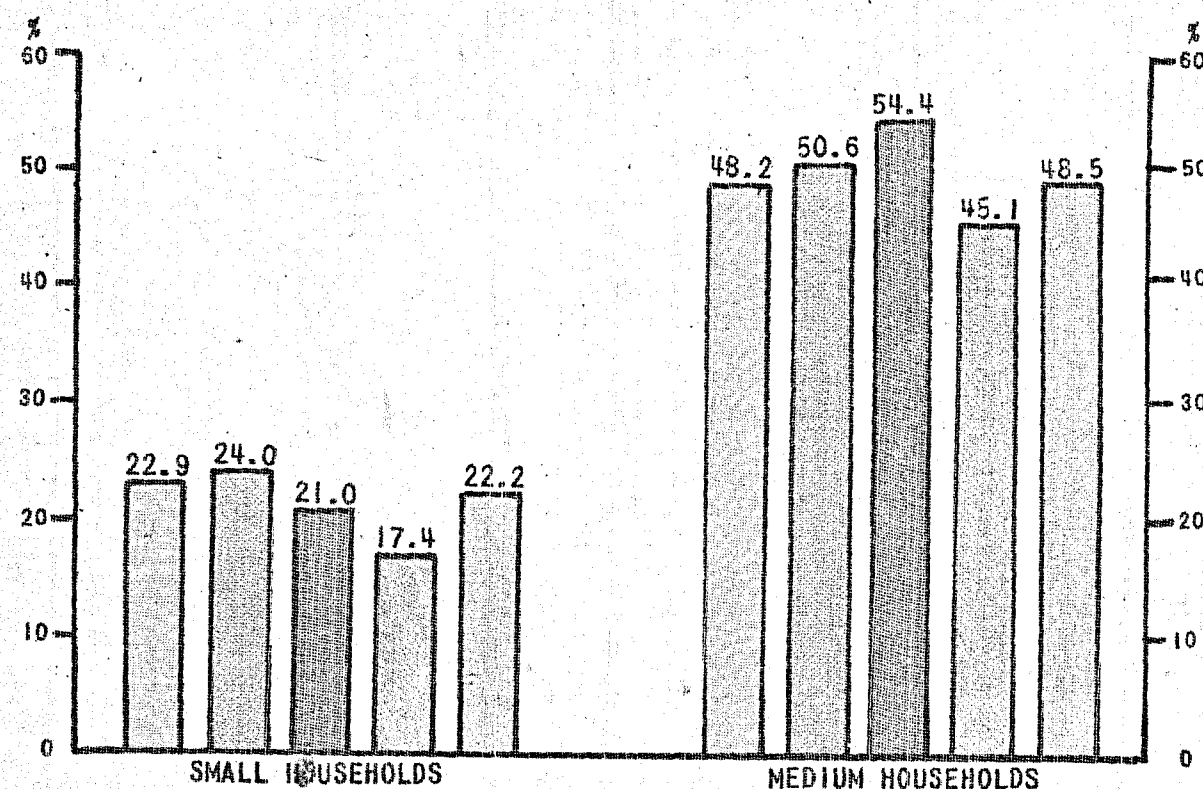
TABLE 4.15 — *Distribution of Households According to Size in Four Groups*

Size of Household	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City	
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	T
Small 1-3	19.0	26.0	20.6	22.3	28.2	23.5	21.5	30.0	23.4	21.7	24.4	22.4	21.2	22.8
Medium 4-6	47.3	51.0	48.1	49.0	53.7	49.9	50.4	52.8	51.0	49.2	50.2	49.5	49.3	49.9
Large 7-9	25.4	17.7	23.7	21.9	14.8	20.6	21.4	14.3	19.8	21.3	20.2	21.1	22.2	20.9
Very Large 10	8.3	5.3	7.6	6.8	3.3	6.0	6.7	2.9	5.8	7.8	5.2	7.0	7.3	6.4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS



SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS CO-RELATED TO RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES



Advanced } HINDU
 Backward }
 Scheduled }
 MUSLIM
 CHRISTIAN

41

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS AND COMMUNITIES

4.17. In order to test the common notion that the average size of households in certain communities is markedly higher than in certain others, the data relating to this aspect have been processed in the table below :—

TABLE 4-17—Average Size of Households in Different Communities

Religion and Community	Total Population	Total Households	Average Size of Household
Hindus—Advanced	20,208	3,699	5.5
Backward	30,715	5,818	5.3
Scheduled	10,408	1,960	5.3
Muslims	5,026	825	6.1
Christians and Anglo-Indians	5,237	936	5.6
Christians	4,530	814	5.6
Anglo-Indians	707	122	5.8
Jains	259	43	6.0
Others	35	7	5.0
TOTAL ..	71,888	13,283	5.4

4.18. In respect of the size of households the Muslim community comes first with 6.1 persons followed by Jains with 6.0; Anglo-Indians with 5.8; Christians with 5.6; Advanced Hindu with 5.5; Scheduled castes and Hindu-Backward with 5.3 each and the others with 5.0.

4.19. Statistics relating to average size shed only partial light on the general structure of households in different communities. To appreciate the situation better the households in the five largest communities have been classified into four categories ranging from "small" to "very large". Vide table below :—

TABLE 4-19—Distribution of Households According to Size, Community Wise

Size of Household	H1	H2	H3	M	C
Small 3	22.9	24.0	21.0	17.4	22.2
Medium 4—6	48.2	50.6	54.4	45.1	48.5
Large 7—9	21.6	20.1	19.3	25.5	21.9
Very Large 10	7.3	5.3	5.3	12.0	7.4
TOTAL ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.20. It is apparent from the above table that the Muslim community has relatively the largest number of big families. The percentage of "large" households is 25.5 compared with 21.6 in the Hindu advanced, 20.1 in the Hindu backward, 19.3 in the scheduled castes and 21.9 in the Christian communities. In respect of the "very large" households the Muslim community again leads with 12.0% followed by the Christians with 7.4%, the Hindu advanced with 7.3% while the other two Hindu communities have only 5.3% each. As for the 'medium'

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households the scheduled castes and tribes come first with 54.4% while the Hindu advanced community has the lowest percentage of 48.2 the other communities occupying intermediate positions.

MEMBERS AWAY

4.21. In the preceding paragraphs in which discussion centred around the size of the households it should be noted that members living outside the city have been excluded. They might be sons or husbands or brothers and most important members of the household. Yet if they had been away from the city for more than 3 months on account of gainful employment or any other reason they have not figured in the statistics relating to size of household. The total number of persons belonging to this group is 878 occurring in 637 or 4.8% of the sample households. In 452 or 4.4% of the non-immigrant households 581 persons were found to be away. Among the immigrant households 297 persons have been away from 185 or 6.2% of the households. If these members away from the city, belong to the 'nuclear' families had but stayed in the city, the average size of the normal household would have been slightly higher.

LODGERS AND SERVANTS

4.22. If the omission of important blood-relations in the count of the sample population would have slightly reduced the average size, the inclusion of the lodgers and servants residing in the household defined as non-relations would have contributed to raise the average size. The present survey, however, reveals that these two categories do not feature in large numbers in the households in Madras city. The custom of accepting paying-guests has not come into vogue except in a few Anglo-Indian families. In the 13,288 sample households, not more than 18 are reported to have on the whole 23 lodgers. The servants residing in the households are only 509 employed in 398 households. Thus both these categories have not adequately made good the loss in the enumeration of family members away from the city.

SEX AND AGE GROUPS

4.23. The sample households consist of 71,888 persons of whom 23,029 or 32.0% are men, 21,728 or 30.2% women, 13,805 or 19.2% boys and 13,326 or 18.5% girls. In analysing the data an attempt has been made to find out the distribution of men, women, boys and girls in the four zones and as between the immigrants and non-immigrants in each zone. (Vide Table 4.23, opposite).

4.24. It may be seen from the table that the distribution in the four zones is not subject to notable variation. However, one important inference is evident. In all the zones the percentage of women (adults) in the immigrant population is lower than that of the non-immigrant population. It is 30.6 against 31.4 in zone I, 29.5 against 30.1 in zone II, 29.4 against 30.2 in zone III, 29.7 against 30.0 in zone IV and 29.7 against 30.4 in the city.

4.25. In the sample population 62.3% are adults and 37.7% are non-adults (below 15 years). The percentage of non-adults varies from 36.3 in the first zone to 38.7 in the second zone, the other two zones coming in between. The percentage of non-adults is higher among the immigrants than among the non-immigrants.

SEX RATIO

4.26. In discussing sex ratio the 1951 census has commented that "males and females are unequal in numbers but also that the magnitude of this inequality is also different in different parts of the country. The difference between the numbers of the two sexes is negligible or relatively small in some parts of the country and quite substantial in others". These comments made in regard to the whole country are no less applicable to Madras city and its four zonal

SEX RATIO : ZONE-WISE 36

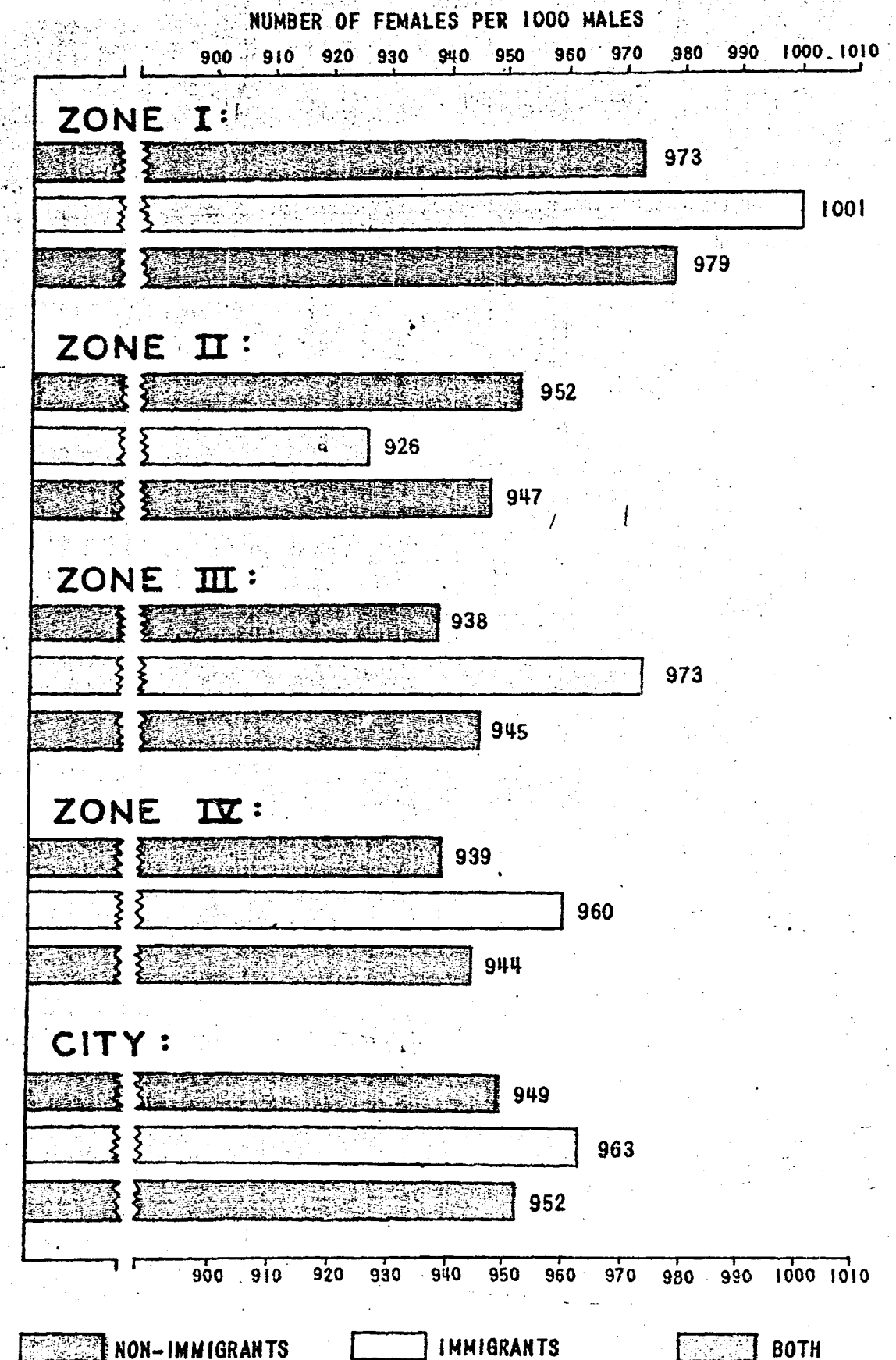


TABLE 4-23—Percentage Distribution of Men, Women, Boys and Girls in the Four Zones

Sex	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
Men ..	32.4	32.4	32.4	31.2	31.9	31.3	32.5	31.3	32.2	32.4	32.2	32.4	32.1	31.8	32.0
Women ..	31.4	30.6	31.3	30.1	29.5	30.0	30.2	29.4	30.1	29.8	29.7	29.8	30.4	29.7	30.2
Boys ..	18.3	17.6	18.1	20.0	20.1	20.0	19.1	19.5	19.2	19.1	18.8	19.0	19.2	19.2	19.2
Girls ..	17.9	19.4	18.2	18.7	18.5	18.7	18.2	19.8	18.5	18.5	19.3	18.8	18.3	19.3	18.5
TOTAL ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

divisions. The sex ratio for the non-immigrants and immigrants has been worked out zone-wise :

TABLE 4.26—Sex Ratio Among Non-Immigrants and Immigrants—Zone-Wise

Zone	Sex-Ratio—number of women per '000 males		
	Non-immigrants	Immigrants	Total
I	973	1,001	979
II	952	926	947
III	938	973	945
IV	939	960	944
TOTAL	949	963	952

4.27. In the city as a whole the sex ratio is 952 females per 1,000 males compared with 860 for all towns in the country according to the 1951 census. It varies from 944 in zone IV to 979 to zone I; the other two zones are very close to the lower ratio, being 945 in zone III and 947 in zone II. As between non-immigrants and immigrants the sex ratio is higher among the latter in the city and in all the zones except the second. It is 963 for immigrants against 949 for non-immigrants in the whole city, 1,001 and 973 respectively in zone I, 973 and 938 respectively in zone III, 960 and 939 respectively in zone IV. In the preceding section it has been pointed out that the percentage of adult women among the immigrants is lower than among the non-immigrants. The higher sex ratio seen from table 4.26 is explained by the fact of the larger number of girls in I, III and IV zones. (Vide Table 4.23). The sex ratio for the second zone is different from the rest, recording a lower figure of 926 for the immigrants against 952 for non-immigrants. This is due to simultaneous occurrence of lower percentage of adult women and girls among the immigrants in this zone. It may be added that the higher sex-ratio in the other zones is satisfactory only when superficially viewed. This ratio has been inflated by the presence of relatively large number of girls below 15 years. Hence while the sex ratio appears to be fairly satisfactory for the whole community, the sex-parity in the adults group leaves much to be desired.

SEX RATIO IN DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES

4.28. So long as the urban population lacks social homogeneity and endogamous customs persist within the broad communal groups, not to mention castes and sex, sex ratio in each community gains great significance. The data collected have been processed to determine the sex ratio prevailing in various communities. The highest sex ratio is found among the Anglo-Indian community in which it is 1,117 and the lowest is 639 among the Jains. It is 957 for the Hindu-advanced, 958 for the Hindu-backward, 937 for the Scheduled castes, 933 for Muslims, 948 for Christians including Anglo-Indians, 924 for Christians excluding Anglo-Indians and 842 for other communities.

MOTHER TONGUE

4.29. There has been a great deal of intermingling of linguistic groups for several centuries in Madras city. It is a multi-lingual city, although Tamil is the most dominant language. According to the 1951 census Tamil was the mother tongue of 67.9% of the population, Telugu 16.6%, Urdu 6.3%, Malayalam 2.8%, Kannada 1.1% and others 5.3%. The data relating to the mother-tongue of the sample households are tabulated zone-wise according to migratory status in the page opposite (Table 4.29).

4.30. The linguistic pattern emerging from this sample survey slightly varies from that of 1951 census. The percentage of households speaking Tamil is 70.1, Telugu 17.9, Urdu 5.3, Malayalam 2.2, Kannada 0.6, and others 3.9. Compared with the linguistic distribution of the

SEX RATIO : community-wise

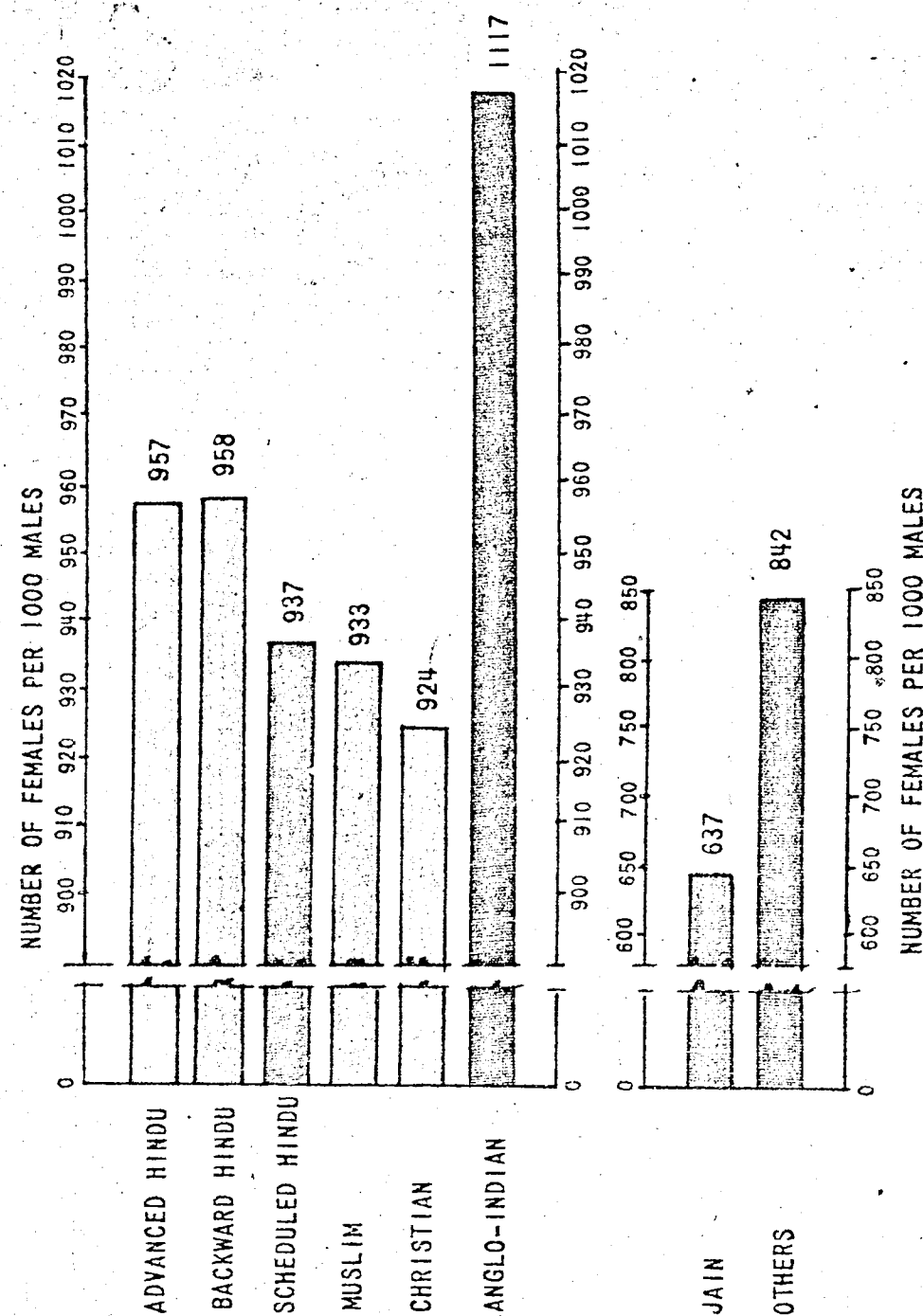


TABLE 4.29—Percentage Distribution of Households According to Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1 Tamil	66.5	69.9	67.3	70.9	65.5	69.8	68.7	66.3	68.2	79.4	74.8	78.1	70.6	68.4	70.1
2 Telugu	10.4	14.2	11.3	20.0	17.6	19.4	21.4	21.1	21.3	14.8	15.7	15.0	18.0	17.8	17.9
3 Malayalam	1.2	5.8	2.2	1.5	7.9	2.8	1.1	3.5	1.6	1.6	3.9	2.2	1.3	5.2	2.2
4 Kannada	0.8	1.3	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.5	0.9	2.0	1.2	0.5	1.1	0.6
5 Urdu	16.0	4.1	13.3	4.0	3.9	4.0	4.6	2.3	4.1	1.9	1.2	1.6	6.0	2.8	5.3
6 Hindi	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.4	1.1	0.6	0.2	—	0.2	0.5	0.8	0.6
7 English	0.9	0.4	0.8	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.9	1.0
8 Bengali	0.1	—	0.1	—	0.2	0.1	—	0.1	Neg.	Neg.	—	0.1	Neg.	0.1	0.1
9 Marathi	2.5	2.1	2.4	0.4	1.0	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.0
0 Sindhi	—	2.6	0.1	Neg.	—	Neg.	0.1	0.8	0.2	—	0.2	0.1	Neg.	0.4	0.1
X Gujarati	0.1	—	0.1	Neg.	0.1	Neg.	0.9	1.4	1.1	0.1	—	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.4
Y Others	0.6	0.7	0.6	1.2	1.1	1.1	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.3	1.0	0.5	0.7	1.0	0.7
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

non-immigrants Tamil and Telugu have scored a lower percentage among the immigrants. In regard to Urdu the percentage of households among the immigrants is notably low at 2.8 against 6.0 for the non-immigrants. Malayalam and Kannada appeared to have scored a remarkably higher percentage among the immigrants compared with the non-immigrants. For every non-immigrant household there are four Malayalam speaking and a little more than two Kannada speaking immigrant households respectively. In all the zones Tamil speaking households lead with percentages varying from 67.3 in I zone to 78.1 in IV zone. Telugu occupies the second place in all the zones except the first, the percentage varying from 11.3 in the latter to 21.3 in III zone. Urdu takes the second place in zone I with 13.3% and the third place in the second and third zones and the fourth place in the fourth zone. Malayalam ranks third in the first, second and fourth zones climbing down to the fourth place in the third zone. In the sample Marathi and English speaking households account for 1% each with relatively a greater concentration of the former in the first zone and the latter in the second zone.

MOTHER-TONGUE AND COMMUNITIES

4.31. In the preceding sections the sample households have been classified according to community and mother-tongue separately. In Madras city it is not correct to associate any religion with any particular mother-tongue. Muslims have Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada as their mother-tongue. The mother-tongue of the Hindus may be anyone of the local languages including Urdu. Similarly Christians are also drawn from various linguistic groups. Madras city is not only poly-glott but each linguistic group is heterogeneous in creed. However, mother-tongue generally indicates the region of origin. An attempt has been made to classify the various communities according to mother-tongue. Data relating to immigrants and non-immigrants have been separately shown as they would shed light on the regional affiliations of the immigrants. (Vide Table 4.31).

HINDUS—ADVANCED

4.32. From table 4.31 it may be seen that in the 'Hindu advanced' community, the percentages of households with Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Bengali, and Gujarati respectively as mother-tongue are higher among the immigrants than among the non-immigrants. It is particularly notable among the Malayalam speaking households which record more than two-fold increase being 8.3% against 3.9%. The Telugu speaking households form but 28.2% among immigrants compared with 42.9% among non-immigrants. In the Hindu-advanced community Tamil is the mother-tongue of nearly 50%, Telugu 38%, Malayalam 5.4%, Kannada 1.6%, Marathi 1.5%, Hindi and Gujarati 1% each.

HINDUS—BACKWARD AND SCHEDULED

4.33. In regard to the Hindu backward the percentage of households with Malayalam Kannada and Hindi respectively as mother-tongue are higher among the immigrants than among the non-immigrants. The percentage of Telugu speaking households is less at 10.9 among the immigrants compared with 12.6 among the non-immigrants. In this community as a whole Tamil is the mother-tongue of 84.7%, Telugu 12.3%, Malayalam 0.5%, Kannada and Hindi 0.3% each, and Marathi 1.3%. In the scheduled castes there are only four linguistic groups having Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Marathi as mother-tongues. There is hardly any difference in the linguistic composition of the households as between immigrants and non-immigrants. In this community Tamil is the mother-tongue of 89.7%, Telugu 10.2, Kannada and Marathi occurring in very insignificant percentages.

MUSLIMS

4.34. In the sample households Muslims are seen to belong to three major linguistic groups, Urdu leading with 85.6% followed by Tamil with 10.6% and Malayalam with 2.4%. There is a small sprinkling of Muslims with three other languages as their mother-tongue, Telugu and Gujarati accounting for 0.5% each and Kannada 0.1%. Among the immigrants the composition of the three major linguistic groups is different from that of the non-immigrants. Urdu speaking Muslims form 69.7% among the former against 83.3% among the latter. Tamil 14.7% against 10.0% and Malayalam 9.8% against 1.1% respectively. It may be noted that Telugu speaking Muslims form 3.3% against nil among non-immigrants and Gujarati 1.7% against 0.3%.

TABLE 4.31—*Percentage Distribution of Communities According to Mother Tongue*

[illegible]

CHRISTIANS

4.35. The Christian community consists of five linguistic groups of which Tamil accounts for 74.5%, English 13.6%, Telugu 6.2%, Malayalam 4.6% and Kannada 0.4% besides other languages 0.7%. The position of the immigrants varies from that of the non-immigrants, Tamil accounting for 63.5% among the former against 78.8% among the latter; English 9.8% against 15.1%, with regard to other linguistic groups the percentages of immigrants is much higher than among non-immigrants. They are 13.5 and 3.3 respectively for Telugu, 10.5 and 2.2 respectively for Malayalam, 0.8 and 0.3 respectively for Kannada and 1.9 and 0.3 respectively for other languages.

LITERACY AND EDUCATION

4.36. Of late the literacy status of a household as a unit is assessed in sociological surveys applying a simple criterion: households having at least one person educated up to S.S.L.C. are ranked as 'educated', those having at least one literate person (according to 1951 census concept) are defined as 'literate' and those having not even a single literate person are classed as 'illiterate'. On the above basis households have been classified community-wise as shown in statement opposite (Table 4.36).

4.37. In the total sample households 27.2% are 'educated', 63.6% 'literate' and 9.2% 'illiterate'. The 'Hindu advanced' community has the highest percentage of 52.5 'educated' households followed by the Christians with 35.3, the Muslims with 21.1, the Hindu backward with 17.9 and scheduled castes with 4.8. The percentage of 'illiterate' households varies from 3.1 among Hindu-advanced to 18.3 among the scheduled castes. The position of the scheduled castes appears to be most unsatisfactory, one redeeming feature however being that 76.9% of households are at least 'literate'. Compared with the non-immigrants the immigrants have a large percentage of 'educated' households in all communities except the 'Hindu backward'. With regard to the 'illiterate' households the percentage is higher in all communities except the 'Hindu-advanced' and the Muslim.

CONCLUSIONS

4.38. To sum up the findings in the foregoing paragraphs the pattern of distribution of the sample households among the important communities varies slightly from that of the 1951 census. The Hindus have increased from 81.6% to 86.4% while the Muslims have decreased from 10.0% to 6.2% and Christians from 7.8% to 7.0%. The immigrant households have relatively a larger percentage of the advanced-Hindus and the Christians. As between the zones the Hindu-advanced and the Muslims are more preponderant in the first zone, scheduled castes in the second, Hindu-backward in the third as well as the fourth zones. Jain households are evenly distributed in all the zones except the first in which their occurrence is relatively less. Different communities appear to be attracted to different zones. The advanced-Hindu to the first and the fourth, the backward to the third and the fourth and Muslims and Christians to the second zone and Jains to the third zone.

4.39. One-in-every-two households is a nuclear or natural family. The immigrants are found to have their parents with them more than the non-immigrants. Three-generation households consisting of grand-father, or grandson are relatively less among immigrants who appear however, to be more accommodative to on-relatives. If the nuclear or 'I degree' household is symptomatic of modernism, giving up patriarchal and traditional families, this seems to be most evident in IV zone and least evident in I zone, amply justified by the traces of conservatism noticeable in Mylapore-Triplicane block.

4.40. In general, the immigrant households are of smaller size—the average being 4.9 persons—than the non-immigrants with 5.5 persons. This sample survey reveals a small rise in the average size of households to 5.4 from 5.2 in 1951 census, mainly attributable to absorption of immigrants into the households of the original residents. In respect of the average size of the households, the Muslims lead with 6.1 persons followed closely by Jains with 6, Anglo-Indians with 5.8 and Christians with 5.6.

4.41. The 'first degree' household is most prevalent among the scheduled castes because of their low earning capacity which is, however, disguised among the advanced-Hindu by an

TABLE 4.36—Percentage Distribution of Households According to Literacy Status

Religion and community	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	Illiterates	Literates	Educated	Total	Illiterates	Literates	Educated	Total	Total
Hindus : Advanced	3.5	47.6	48.9	100	2.4	30.1	59.5	100	100
Backward	9.5	72.4	18.1	100	17.1	66.1	16.8	100	100
Scheduled	16.4	78.9	4.7	100	29.9	64.7	5.4	100	100
Muslims	10.5	68.6	20.9	100	8.2	70.5	21.3	100	100
Christians	2.8	67.5	29.7	100	4.6	46.9	48.5	100	100
Others	—	55.5	44.5	100	—	59.1	40.9	100	100
TOTAL	8.8	66.8	24.4	100	10.6	52.9	36.5	100	100
									63.6
									27.2
									9.2

admixture of resident servants. The 'third and fifth degree' households are most significant among the Muslims who seem to be noted for continuance of traditional families.

4.42. In all the zones the percentage of 'small' households (up to three members) among the immigrants is much higher than among the non-immigrants. One-in-every-four Muslim family is 'large' and one-in-eight 'very large'. Among the Christians, another community noted for large families more than one-in-five is large and one-in-fourteen 'very large' compared with the Hindu backward and advanced communities having one 'very large' for every nineteen households.

4.43. The percentage of households in which one or more members were away is 4.8 for the sample, 4.4 for non-immigrants and 6.2 for the immigrant households.

4.44. The custom of accepting paying-guests, related or otherwise is not widely in vogue in Madras city. Less than 0.15% of the sample households have reported lodgers whose aggregate number is but 23. Resident servants are reported in 398 households or about 3% of the sample.

4.45. In regard to the composition of households the percentage of adult women is slightly less and the percentage of non-adults slightly higher among immigrants than among non-immigrants. The sex-ratio of the population of the sample is 952 females per 1,000 males. It is 979 in zone I, 947 in zone II, 945 in zone III and 944 in zone IV. For non-immigrants it is 949 against 963 for immigrants. In zone IV the sex-ratio among the immigrants is the lowest being 926, and the highest is 1,001 in zone I. The relatively higher sex-ratio among immigrants is mainly due to larger number of girls below 15 years. While the sex-ratio is apparently satisfactory it does not truly reflect the sex-disparity in the adult group. The sex-ratio varies with communities from 1,117 among the Anglo-Indians to 639 among the Jains. It is 937 for the Scheduled Castes, about 957 for the rest of the Hindus, 933 for Muslims and 924 for Indian Christians.

4.46. The linguistic pattern reveals that the percentage of Tamil and Telugu immigrants is less than the non-immigrants whereas for every non-immigrant households there are four Malayalam speaking and a little more than two Kannada speaking immigrant households respectively. Telugu infiltration is the least in zone I and most in other zones being second only to Tamil. The influx of Urdu speaking population is pretty low as may be seen from the low percentage of 2.8 among immigrants as against 6.0 among the non-immigrants. In the Hindu-advanced community there is a notable increase in non-Tamil groups among the immigrants, particularly Malayalam, Kannada, Bengali, and Gujarati. In the Hindu-backward, the Telugu group has relatively decreased while Malayalam, Kannada and Hindi groups have relatively increased. The Scheduled Castes are drawn from four linguistic groups, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Marathi and their percentage distribution among the immigrants is almost the same as among non-immigrants. Kannada and Marathi Scheduled Caste Hindus occur in an insignificant percentage; approximately there are nine Tamil-speaking to one Telugu-speaking in the Scheduled Castes.

4.47. Among Muslims the Urdu speaking population tends to decrease, Tamil-speaking to increase moderately and Malayalam to increase sharply; Telugu-Muslim influx is also notable. Among Christian immigrants English has suffered considerably while Telugu has gained substantially, Malayalam and Kannada registering a mild increase.

4.48. This survey reveals that 27.2% of the sample households may be deemed educated, having at least one person with S.S.L.C. or higher educational qualification, 63.6% have at least one literate and 9.2% are entirely illiterate.

CHAPTER V

HOUSEHOLDS

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is devoted to an analysis of the data relating to the economic conditions of the households. In view of the fact that households are the sampling units in the present survey, certain basic economic characteristics will have to be studied in a general way, postponing a more intensive investigation into economic conditions of individuals, the crux of the problem of the present survey, to part III. The scope of the present chapter will thus be limited to a study of the economic status, unemployment, income and property of the households.

UNEMPLOYED HOUSEHOLDS

5.2. Determination of the magnitude of unemployment in an under-developed economy is a challenging task. This is mainly due to the wide prevalence of disguised as well as partial unemployment. Some indication of this problem can be gained by counting all the households which have one or more unemployed persons in the sense of their actively and eagerly seeking gainful employment. The first step towards full-employment, an ideal set for the Welfare State, could well consist of providing employment to this particular group. In the present survey an attempt has been made to find out the number of such households in the sample. The data reveal that 1,960 or 14.7% of the households in the sample have one or more unemployed persons. Among them 1,671 or 85.3% of households have one unemployed person each, 245 or 12.5% of households with two each, 35 or 1.8% with three each, eight or 0.4% with four each and one with seven making up in the aggregate 2,305 unemployed persons. The percentage of this type of unemployed households is 15.8 among the non-immigrant and 11.3 among the immigrant households. A comparison of the position in the four zones reveals that this type of households forms 17.8% in the first, 16.5% in the second, 13.6% in the third and 10.7% in the fourth zones. In all the zones the non-immigrant group has a larger percentage of unemployed households than the immigrant group (*Vide* Appendix VII).

5.3. This category of unemployed households has been classified into three groups according to the literacy and education tests already adopted in paragraph 4.27. This analysis reveals that out of the 1,960 households 50 or 2.5% are illiterate, 1,246 or 36.6% literate, 664 or 33.9% educated households. With regard to the 'literate' group of households there is a lesser percentage among the immigrants than among the non-immigrants. This is perhaps due to a lesser degree of reluctance on the part of the immigrants to accept lower grade or hard manual labour. But in the 'educated' group the percentage is higher among the immigrants than among the non-immigrants. This situation may also be explained by the fact that non-immigrants seized of a better knowledge of the employment opportunities and more capable of pulling the proper strings succeed better in getting employed.

EARNERS

5.4. In the urban economic set up, households maintained exclusively by unearned income is generally in a smaller percentage than in the rural sector. Even the so-called rentier class in Madras city has several members in gainful employment, whereas in the rural areas households living on unearned income hardly get suitable opportunities for gainful employment for their members besitting their traditional considerations of 'dignity'. Consequently although there are 1,960 'unemployed' households (classified as such because at least one person might be unemployed) almost all the houses will have at least one earner. While he may be the bread-winner in the non-rentier class of households, such a person may be earning supplementary income in the rentier class. The schedules have provided for the collection of data relating to the number of earners in each household which have been processed in the table shown on page 52 (Table 5.4).

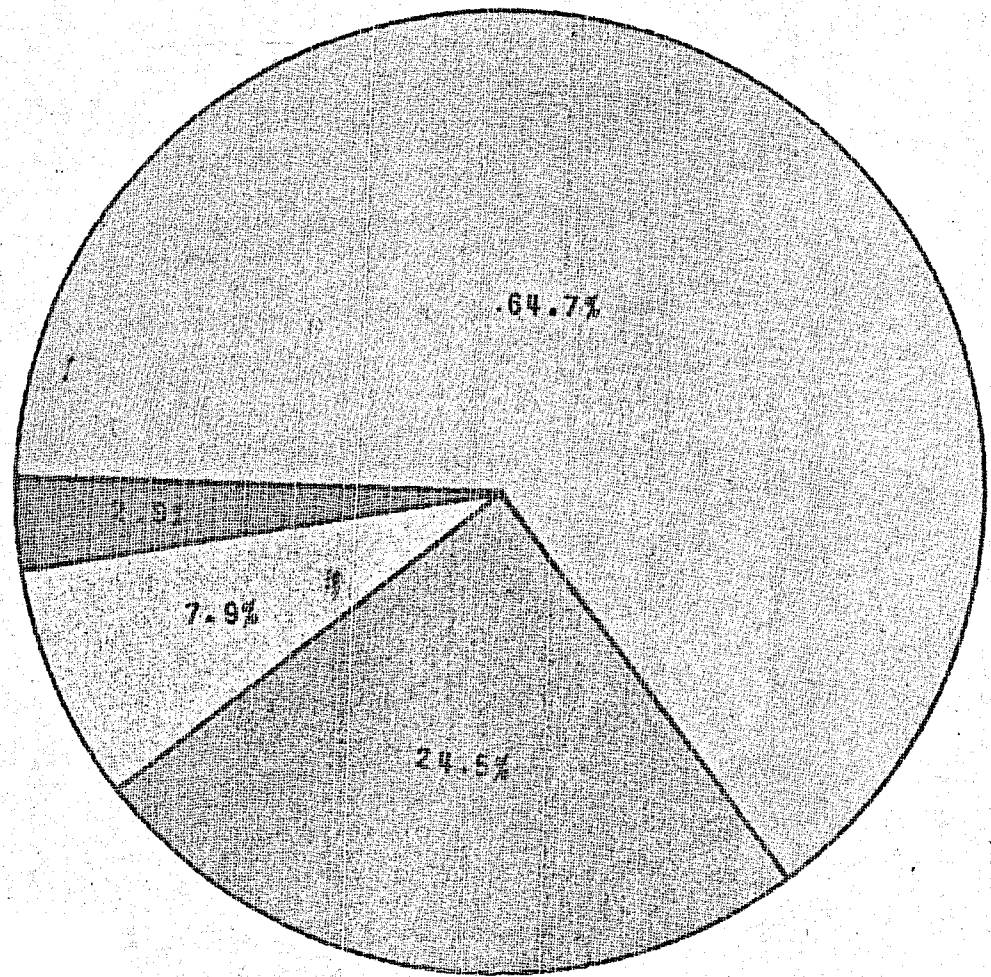
5.5. It may be seen from table 5.4 that among the households having earners, 64.7% have one earner each, 24.5% two earners each, 7.9% three each, 2.1% four each, and 0.6% five each. It may be noted that one-in-five hundred households have six or more earners. The

TABLE 5.4—Percentage Distribution of Households According to Number of Earners

Percentage Number of Earners	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City	
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I
1	58.1	65.4	59.7	67.0	73.1	68.2	64.7	72.6	66.5	59.4	62.2	60.1	63.4	69.4
2	27.7	23.0	26.7	23.4	19.0	22.5	25.0	21.3	24.2	26.7	26.4	26.6	5.3	22.0
3	9.9	7.8	9.4	7.2	5.7	6.9	7.5	5.0	6.9	10.5	8.3	10.0	8.3	6.3
4	2.8	2.6	2.8	1.8	2.1	1.9	2.0	0.8	1.8	2.6	2.2	2.5	2.2	1.7
5	1.0	0.6	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.4
6	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.1	—	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
7	0.2	—	0.2	Neg.	—	Neg.	0.1	—	Neg.	0.1	—	0.1	0.1	—
8	—	—	—	Neg.	—	Neg.	—	—	—	—	—	—	Neg.	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10 And Above	Neg.	—	Neg.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

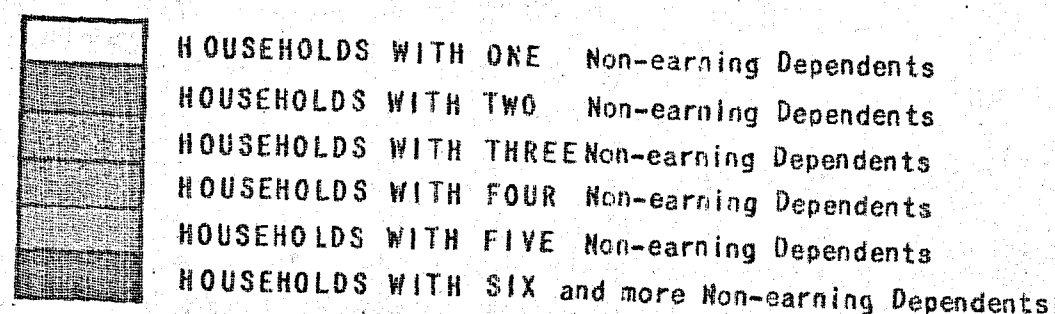
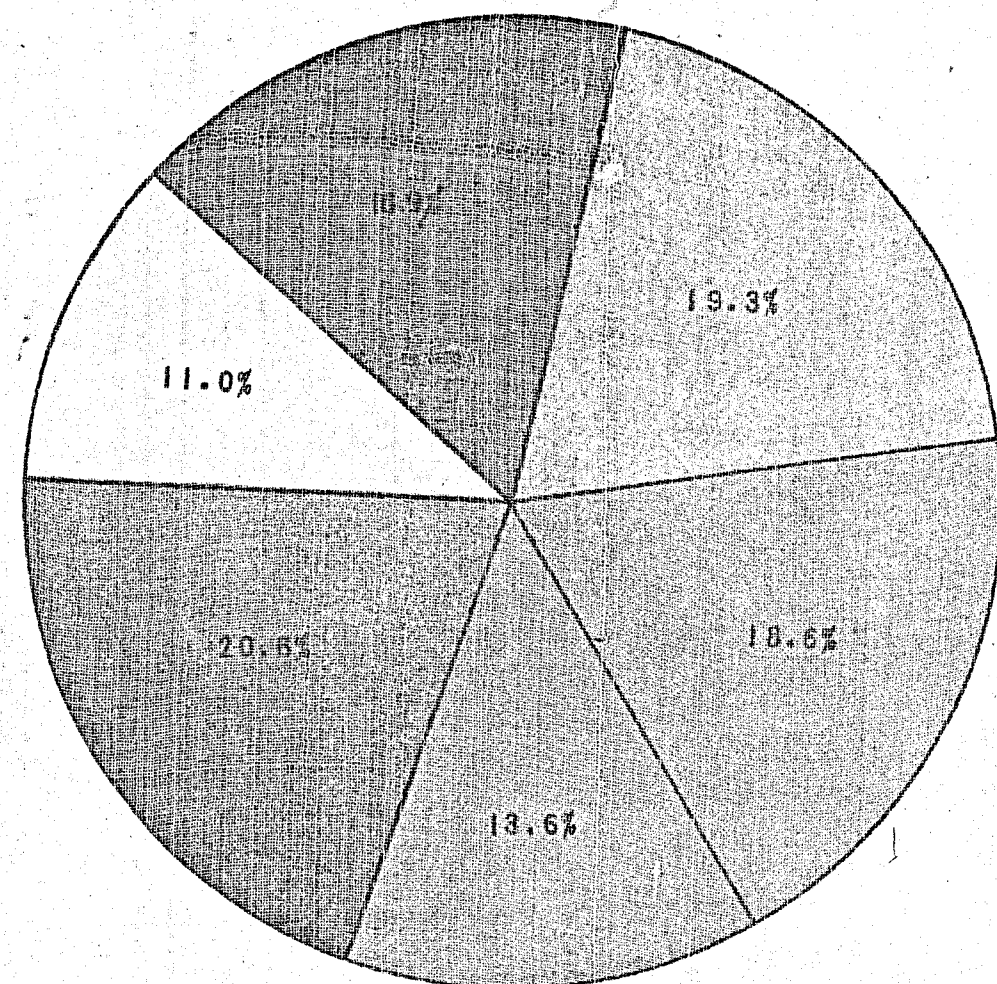
Neg. :—Negligible.

HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
NUMBER OF EARNERS



- HOUSEHOLDS WITH ONE Earner.
- HOUSEHOLDS WITH TWO Earners.
- HOUSEHOLDS WITH THREE Earners.
- HOUSEHOLDS WITH FOUR and more Earners.

HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF NON-EARNING DEPENDENTS



percentage of one-earner household is 69.4 among immigrants compared with 63.4 among non-immigrants. In regard to households having more than one earner the non-immigrants have a better showing than the immigrants. This pattern is reflected in all the zones. There are 134 or 1% of the sample households which do not have even a single earner.

EARNING DEPENDANTS

5.6. For the present survey earning dependants have been defined as those earning some income but not sufficient to maintain themselves according to their accustomed standard of living. Data relating to households with earning dependants and the number of earning dependants in each have been collected. There are 698 or 5.3% of the sample households which have earning dependants. The number of this class of households is 565 or 5.5% among the non-immigrants and 133 or 4.4% among the immigrants. In all the zones except the third, the non-immigrant group has a higher percentage of this class of households. The immigrant households have fared better in the third zone because it is relatively the most industrialised area. Of the total households having earning dependants 82.9% have one earning dependant each, 12.5% two each, 3.9% three each, 0.6% four each and 0.1% six each.

NON-EARNING DEPENDANTS

5.7. The number of non-earning dependants would generally vary with the size of the household. However, it would be useful to examine the position of the sample households in respect of the number of non-earning dependants in each. Relevant data are processed and shown in Table 5.7.

5.8. It may be seen from table 5.7 that 11.0% of the households have one non-earning dependant, 16.9% have two, 19.3% three, 18.6% four, 13.6% five and 20.6% have six or more non-earning dependants. It is noteworthy that the percentage of households with not more than four dependants is relatively larger among immigrants than non-immigrants. With regard to households having five or more dependants the percentage is higher among non-immigrants. It appears that immigrant households generally do not tolerate non-earning dependants beyond a maximum of five. It is also likely that larger immigrant households with more than one earner and with numerous dependants get sooner than later split up into two or three households thus causing a reduction in the statistical average of non-earning dependants per household. This brittleness and the process of splitting up could not be so evident among the overgrown non-immigrant households, particularly those owning undivided ancestral houses to live in. The house like an umbrella keeps the entire brood together.

INCOME GROUPS

5.9. The analysis of the data relating to incomes of the households falls conveniently into three parts dealing with (1) earned income, (2) unearned income and (3) both earned and unearned incomes. In each part, apart from the useful classification of households zonewise and according to migratory status the households have been classified into eleven income groups the lowest being "Re. 1 to Rs. 24" and the highest "Rs. 1,000 and above". There are a few cases of incomes exceeding Rs. 10,000 per household per month. But in the context of Madras city further classification of incomes above Rs. 1,000 into sub-groups was deemed to be unnecessary because of their small number.

EARNED INCOME

5.10. In the total sample of 13,288 households 12,792 or 96.3% have reported earned income consisting of 9,866 or 95.9% of this group out of the 10,284 non-immigrant households and 2,926 or 97.4% out of the 3,004 immigrant households. The number of households not reporting any earned income is 496 or 3.7% in the sample, 418 or 4.1% in the non-immigrant and 78 or 2.6% in the immigrant households. The percentage distribution of households into eleven income groups zone-wise is shown in the Table 5.10.

5.11. It may be seen that the two extremes of the lowest and the highest income groups "Re. 1 to Rs. 24" and "Rs. 1,000 and above" have 1.7% and 1.0% of the households respectively in the sample. Reducing the detailed classification into three broad income groups of (i) "less than Rs. 100"; (ii) "Rs. 100 to Rs. 349" and (iii) "Rs. 350 and above", the differences between the zones are brought into bold relief. In this three-fold classification the

TABLE 5.7—Percentage Distribution of Households According to Number of Non-earning Dependents (NDS)

Number of NDS	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1	9.6	12.4	10.2	10.4	11.6	10.6	11.0	13.8	11.6	11.3	10.8	11.2	10.6	12.4	11.0
2	15.3	18.3	16.0	16.2	20.4	17.1	15.4	21.1	16.6	18.0	18.7	18.2	16.0	19.9	16.9
3	18.8	20.4	19.29	18.1	22.3	19.0	19.5	21.6	20.0	17.3	20.7	18.2	18.6	21.4	19.3
4	16.8	18.9	17.2	18.4	20.4	18.8	19.0	18.2	18.9	12.7	19.8	19.0	18.4	19.2	18.6
5	15.3	13.6	14.9	13.4	11.6	13.0	14.4	13.0	14.1	12.2	11.1	11.9	13.9	12.4	13.8
6	9.5	8.2	9.2	10.4	7.6	9.8	9.0	5.4	8.2	9.2	8.8	9.0	9.5	7.2	8.9
7	6.9	3.4	6.1	6.4	2.9	5.7	5.2	3.7	4.9	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.9	3.8	5.4
8	3.1	1.9	2.9	3.4	1.6	3.1	3.0	1.6	2.7	3.3	2.5	3.1	3.2	1.9	2.9
9	2.1	1.5	2.0	1.1	0.8	1.0	1.6	0.9	1.4	2.3	1.1	2.0	1.7	1.0	1.5
10 & Above	2.6	4.4	2.3	2.2	0.8	1.9	1.9	0.7	1.6	2.1	0.9	1.8	2.2	0.8	1.9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5.10—Percentage Distribution of Households According to Income Groups

Earned Income Group	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1-24	3.9	2.8	3.6	1.5	0.9	1.3	1.2	0.6	1.0	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.3	1.7
25-49	20.0	15.1	18.9	17.4	16.6	17.2	14.9	19.5	15.9	20.9	18.9	20.3	17.5	17.8	17.6
50-74	16.9	10.8	15.5	19.6	22.8	20.3	19.5	22.9	20.3	22.1	17.9	21.0	19.5	19.8	19.6
75-99	12.7	9.6	12.0	21.2	20.6	21.2	18.0	15.0	17.3	13.4	11.7	12.9	17.3	14.9	16.7
100-149	14.4	17.1	15.0	17.9	13.3	17.2	15.4	15.4	18.6	13.4	13.4	12.9	17.0	14.8	16.5
150-199	8.3	12.9	9.4	10.2	8.0	9.6	10.5	10.0	10.3	7.4	7.4	7.4	9.5	9.4	9.5
200-349	14.1	18.2	15.0	7.9	11.3	8.7	11.0	11.3	11.1	11.2	13.1	11.7	10.7	12.9	11.2
350-499	3.8	6.3	4.4	2.3	3.4	2.5	3.0	3.3	3.1	4.2	7.4	5.0	3.1	4.6	3.5
500-749	3.2	4.1	3.4	1.0	1.6	1.1	1.2	1.7	1.4	3.3	4.1	3.5	1.9	2.6	2.0
750-999	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.5	1.3	1.4	1.4	0.7	0.6	0.7
1000 +	1.8	2.1	1.9	0.5	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.5	1.6	2.8	1.9	0.9	1.3	1.0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

lowest getting "less than Rs. 100" per household per month represents the poorest, on or below the poverty line since the per capita income is less than Rs. 20 on the basis of the average size of the household which is 5.4 (see table 4.9). The next income group earning between "Rs. 100 and Rs. 349" should be deemed the lower middle-class with reference to the character of income structure in Madras city. The third income group earning "Rs. 350 and above" constitutes the upper-middle and the well-to-do classes, paying income-tax even before the Budget of May 1957.

5.12. In the city as a whole 55.6% of the households belong to the lowest income group, 37.2% to the middle, and 7.2% to the highest income group. The position of the immigrants slightly differs from that of the non-immigrants in regard to the distribution of the households. Most noteworthy is the higher percentage of 9.1 for the former against 6.6 for the latter in the highest earned income group of Rs. 350 and above. For the middle income group the position is even with 37.1% for the immigrant and 37.2% for the non-immigrants. In respect of the lowest income group the non-immigrants class has 56.2% of households against 53.8% in the immigrant group. From an overall view it may be legitimately concluded that the immigrants occupy higher rungs than the non-immigrants. It is of interest to note that the third and fourth zones have almost the same percentage, about 54.2, of households occurring in the lowest income group, whereas it is 50 in the first zone and 60 in the second zone. As for the middle income group, the percentage of households is 40.0 in zone III, 39.4 in zone I, 35.3 in zone II, and 34.0 in zone IV. The percentage of households in this high income group is 11.8 for the fourth, 10.6 for the first, 5.5 for the third and 4.7 for the second zone. Of all the zones the fourth zone shows the extremes of poverty and riches, the first relatively the least unequal distribution. Judged by all criteria the second zone is the poorest and this may look paradoxical in view of this zone being described earlier as the centre of banking and financial houses. It would scarcely be enigmatic if it is known that a substantial majority earning higher incomes in this zone happens to live in the other zones. The reason is the greatest congestion prevailing in this part of the city, both streets and houses still proclaiming unmistakably their origin in the good old days of the John Company.

5.13. The total earned income of the 12,792 reporting households amounts to Rs. 16,85,622 yielding an average income of Rs. 131.77 per reporting household per month. The corresponding figures are Rs. 127.42 for the non-immigrant and Rs. 146.44 for the immigrant reporting households. Spreading all the earned income over both reporting and non-reporting households in the sample the average earned income per household works out to Rs. 126.85 for the sample, Rs. 122.24 for the non-immigrant and Rs. 142.64 for the immigrant households (Vide Table 5.16) at page 58.

UNEARNED INCOME

5.14. The unearned income of households is generally derived from house property and stocks and shares for the non-immigrants and from the land for the immigrants. This, however, should not be taken too rigidly because quite a good number of recent immigrants to the city consist of the retired salariat class from both the public and the private sectors whose scale of preference regarding investments places land at the bottom. In the sample households 2,693 or 20.3% are reported to be enjoying unearned income compared with 479 or 15.9% of the 3,004 immigrant households and 2,214 or 21.5% of non-immigrant households. All the households deriving unearned income have also been classified into eleven income groups zone-wise and on the basis of migratory status in Table 5.14.

5.15. Reducing the eleven income groups into three broad categories as before, the percentage distribution of the households leads to certain significant conclusions. For the whole city 31.5% of the households enjoy unearned income of "less than Rs. 100" per month each, 51.6% between "Rs. 100 and Rs. 349" and 16.9% "Rs. 350 and above". As between the immigrants and non-immigrants there is a perceptible variation in the distribution: the percentage of households in the lowest unearned income group is 32.4 for non-immigrants against 27.6 for the immigrants. This may be attributed to small house properties owned by the non-immigrants let out partly or fully for rent. The percentage of households in the middle unearned income group is more or less the same, being 51.9 for non-immigrants and 50.5 for immigrants. In the highest unearned income group the difference between the non-immigrants with 15.7% and immigrants with 21.9% is striking. This is explained by the fact that a considerable number of the immigrants are fairly rich comprising pensioners and the well-to-do land-holding classes.

TABLE 5.14—Percentage Distribution of Households According to Unearned Income Groups

Unearned Income Group	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1-24	2.0	—	1.6	1.2	—	1.0	1.2	2.1	1.3	—	0.8	0.6	1.3	0.6	1.2
25-49	7.6	2.3	6.8	11.1	7.0	10.4	6.4	5.5	6.3	7.5	8.2	5.9	8.3	5.9	7.8
50-74	9.1	8.1	9.0	11.6	18.5	12.7	11.7	16.4	12.5	10.5	10.7	13.8	11.0	13.8	11.5
75-99	10.6	8.1	10.2	11.9	6.1	11.0	13.3	8.2	12.5	6.8	9.3	7.3	11.8	7.3	11.0
100-149	14.8	15.1	14.8	23.8	10.5	21.7	21.9	19.2	21.5	13.5	14.1	14.8	19.6	14.8	18.7
150-199	12.4	10.5	12.1	16.4	16.7	16.5	13.3	13.0	13.9	12.8	10.7	13.4	13.4	13.4	13.4
200-349	23.5	27.9	24.2	14.1	22.8	15.5	18.8	21.9	19.3	15.8	20.4	22.3	18.9	22.3	19.5
350-499	8.0	7.0	7.9	4.4	7.9	4.9	7.1	5.5	6.8	9.7	10.3	6.1	7.0	6.1	7.2
500-749	5.2	11.6	6.2	2.2	6.1	2.8	3.0	6.1	3.5	8.3	8.8	4.3	4.3	7.7	4.9
750-999	2.2	4.7	2.6	1.3	0.9	1.3	1.7	1.4	1.6	3.0	2.2	1.8	2.6	2.3	1.9
1000 +	4.6	4.7	4.6	2.0	3.3	2.2	1.6	0.7	1.4	6.8	4.5	2.9	2.6	3.8	2.9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

settling down in the city for reasons other than gainful employment. Of the four zones, it is again the fourth zone that records the highest percentage of 25.8 enjoying unearned incomes of "Rs. 350 and above" closely followed by zone I with 21.3% while the second zone has only 11.2% and the third zone 13.3%. As for the middle group deriving unearned income ranging from Rs. 100 to 349, the third zone leads with 54.1% of the households followed by the second with 53.7% the first with 51.1% and the fourth with 45.2%. The total unearned income accruing to the 2,693 reporting households in the sample is Rs. 4,64,621 of which Rs. 3,56,812 relates to 2,214 non-immigrant households and Rs. 1,07,809 to the 479 immigrant households. The average unearned income per reporting household is Rs. 161.16 for the non-immigrants, Rs. 225.07 for the immigrants and Rs. 172.53 for both. On the other hand the average unearned income per household in the sample of 13,288 households comprising reporting and non-reporting households is Rs. 34.97, the corresponding figures for the non-immigrant and immigrant groups being Rs. 34.70 and Rs. 35.89 respectively (*Vide* Table 5.16).

TOTAL INCOME

5.16. The earned and unearned income together for the sample households is Rs. 21,50,243 which works out to an average of Rs. 161.82 per household. Similar computation for the non-immigrant and immigrant households separately reveals that the average income per household is Rs. 156.94 for the former and Rs. 178.53 for the latter (*Vide* Table 5.16).

TABLE 5.16—*Earned and Unearned Income — Total and Average per Household.*

Description	Non-Immigrants	Immigrants	Total
1. Earned income	12,57,130	4,28,492	16,85,622
2. Households reporting earned income	9,366	2,926	12,792
3. Sample Households	10,284	3,004	13,288
4. Average earned income per reporting household (1÷2)	127.42	146.44	131.77
5. Average earned income per household (1÷3)	122.24	142.64	126.85
6. Unearned Income	3,56,812	1,07,809	4,64,621
7. Households reporting unearned income	2,214	479	2,693
8. Average unearned income per reporting household (6÷7)	161.16	225.07	172.53
9. Average unearned income per household (6÷3)	34.70	35.89	34.97
10. Total earned and unearned income	16,13,942	5,36,301	21,50,243
11. Average earned and unearned income per household (10÷3)	156.94	178.53	161.82

5.17. On the basis of the total income of the households comprising both earned and unearned incomes the sample households have been classified zone-wise into the usual eleven income groups in Appendix VIII from which it may be seen that 107 out of the 13,288 households have not reported any income, of which 88 are in the non-immigrant and 19 in the immigrant group. Various reasons are given for this state of affairs. In some households the bread-winners are temporarily unemployed, in some others the bread-winners had died recently and in yet others the incomes are not given, as a revelation of the sources of income would create embarrassment, although the source could be suspected as either prostitution or illicit distillation. A summary statement of the percentage distribution of the rest of the households into the three broad categories is given in the table 5.17.

5.18. From the table 5.17 it is seen that the percentage of households in the low income group is 55.9 for the sample, 56.3 for the non-immigrants and 53.9 for immigrants. In the middle income group the percentage of households strangely coincides, being either 36.8 or 36.9 for the non-immigrant and the immigrant groups respectively. In the high income group the immigrant households score better having 9.2% of the households compared with 6.7%

TABLE 5.17—*Percentage Distribution of Households According to Total Income (Earned and Unearned Together)*

Group	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			Total		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
I	53.7	38.7	50.5	61.0	60.4	60.4	53.9	58.0	54.7	58.4	50.1	36.2	56.5	53.9	55.9
II	36.1	47.7	38.7	35.5	34.8	34.8	40.7	36.8	39.9	31.1	33.9	21.9	36.8	36.9	36.8
III	10.2	15.6	10.8	4.3	5.8	5.8	5.4	5.2	5.4	10.5	16.0	11.9	6.7	9.2	8.3

among non-immigrants and 8.3% for the whole sample. In the four zones the statistics reveal once again a larger percentage of the highest income group in the first and the fourth zones and the occurrence of more than 60% of the households in the lowest income group in the second zone. Compared with second and third zones the first and the fourth have relatively twice as many households in the highest income group.

INCOME GROUPS AND SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

5.19. In comparing the incomes of the non-immigrants and the immigrants it is pertinent to investigate the distribution of households according to size in each of the three broad income categories. For this purpose the households have been classified into the three income brackets and correlated to the four size categories, separately for non-immigrants and immigrants. (Vide table 5.19 below) :

TABLE 5.19—Households According to size Correlated to three Income Brackets—Percentage.

Income Group	Size of the Household				
	Small	Medium	Large	Very Large	Total
<i>Non-Immigrants</i>					
Below Rs. 100	29.3	53.7	15.2	1.8	100
Rs. 100—349	11.5	45.6	31.3	11.6	100
Rs. 350 and above	5.8	31.0	34.3	28.9	100
TOTAL	21.3	49.3	22.3	7.1	100
<i>Immigrants</i>					
Below Rs. 100	36.6	54.5	8.4	0.5	100
Rs. 100—349	19.8	52.5	23.6	4.1	100
Rs. 350 and above	6.2	37.9	33.2	22.7	100
TOTAL	27.6	52.2	16.2	4.0	100

5.20. In all the three income groups the percentages of households in the 'small' and the 'medium' groups are greater among the immigrants than among the non-immigrants. The percentage of larger households are smaller among the immigrants than among the non-immigrants. It is noteworthy that in the 'middle' income group the percentage of small households is 19.8 among immigrants and 11.5 among non-immigrants. The corresponding percentages for the 'medium' households are 52.5 and 45.6 and for the 'very large' households 4.1 and 11.6. More or less similar to this pattern is the distribution between the 'low' and 'high' income brackets. From this it may be inferred that the immigrant households would in general be able to maintain better levels of living to whichever income group they belong compared with the non-immigrant households.

PROPERTY OUTSIDE THE CITY

5.21. One of the important links between the urban dwellers and the rural sector is the ownership of property outside the city. Data have been collected relating to this aspect and the value of the property classified into eight groups. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 5.21.

5.22. In the sample of 13,288 households 555 or 4.2% have reported ownership of property outside the city which consists of 84 or less than 1% of the non-immigrants households and 471 or 15.7% immigrant households. Among the immigrant households zone III records the highest percentage of this category of households being 16.3 compared with 14.8 in zone I, 15.8 in zone II and 15.2 in zone IV. Classifying the households of this category according to the value of the property the largest group in the same representing 23.2% owns property valued at less than Rs. 500. This percentage varies from zone to zone, being 11.3 in zone I, 25.3 in the second, 30.3 in the third and 15.4 in the fourth zone. With regard to

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TABLE 5.21—Property Outside the City — Percentage Distribution

Value*	Zone I		Zone II		Zone III		Zone IV		City	
	NI	T	NI	T	NI	T	NI	T	NI	T
1 Less than Rs. 500	5.6	12.7	18.8	16.2	32.0	30.3	15.6	15.4	19.0	24.0
2 Rs. 501 to Rs. 1,000	5.6	17.7	37.5	17.6	14.5	14.5	16.7	16.4	16.7	16.3
3 Rs. 1,001 to Rs. 2,500	27.8	15.5	18.8	17.6	18.6	19.0	12.2	12.1	21.4	16.1
4 Rs. 2,501 to Rs. 5,000	50.0	12.7	—	16.2	12.2	14.5	14.4	14.3	23.8	13.8
5 Rs. 5,001 to Rs. 10,000	5.5	21.5	12.5	7.7	13.4	12.7	14.4	14.3	9.5	13.4
6 Rs. 10,001 to Rs. 25,000	—	11.4	6.2	7.7	5.9	5.9	17.8	18.7	6.0	9.6
7 Rs. 25,001 to Rs. 50,000	—	2.4	—	3.9	1.7	1.8	3.3	3.3	1.2	2.8
8 Over Rs. 50,000	5.5	8.9	6.2	3.1	1.7	1.3	5.6	5.5	2.4	4.0
Rs. 10,001 and above	5.5	22.7	12.4	14.7	9.3	9.0	26.9	27.5	9.6	16.4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Value of property outside the City.

properties valued at Rs.10,000 and above the percentage of the reporting households is 15.4 in the city recording wide variations as between zones. The corresponding percentages are 27.5 in zone IV, 19.6 in the first, 14.3 in the second and 9.0 in the third.

REMITTANCES

5.23. That there has been a large-scale drain of rural income into the urban areas squandered in an unproductive and ostentatious way is a time-honoured theory. The planning era has witnessed a huge capital outlay on rural development contributing to raise productivity and increase social amenities. The recent buoyancy of the prices of agricultural produce is said to have considerably augmented the income of the rural sector. No comprehensive attempt has been made so far to assess whether the 'drain' theory is still in operation. The large-scale rural exodus evident from the rapid rate of urbanization is supposed to be the result of the rural unemployed flocking to urban centres for gainful employment. If these immigrants are really well employed and are bound by strong ties to their native places, a tendency for at least a part of the urban earnings to flow back to rural areas would have been generated. How far this tendency has asserted itself is a point for consideration. At the same time, the educational, medical and other social amenities for which urban areas are legitimately noted might lead to an influx of population and inflow of rural incomes. There is no iron wall separating the urban from the rural areas. Money incomes would normally register a two-way traffic. An attempt has been made in the present survey to estimate the direction and magnitude of the money flow by a collection of data relating to inward and outward remittances.

REMITTANCES—OUTWARD

5.24. In the sample of 13,288 households 618 or 4.6% have recorded remittances to persons outside the city of which 333 or 3.2% households belong to the non-immigrant group and 285 or 9.8% to the immigrant group. The total amount of outward remittances is Rs. 17,256 and the average amount of remittance per reporting household is Rs. 27.92. For the non-immigrant group the total amount is Rs. 9,588 and the average per household Rs. 28.79 compared with Rs. 7,668 and Rs. 26.90 respectively for the immigrants. If the total amount of outward remittances is spread over the sample households, the average per household works out to Rs. 1.30 for the sample, Re. 0.93 for non-immigrants and Rs. 2.55 for the immigrant households.

5.25. Ability to make remittances generally varies with income provided the size of the households is the same and needs and tastes do not widely vary. An attempt to find out the proportion of households making outward remittances among the three broad income brackets has been made. The relevant data are tabulated in the table below.

TABLE 5-25—Proportion of Households Sending Remittances

	Income Groups							
	Number	%	I Group less than Rs. 100	%	II Group Rs.100 to Rs. 349	%	III Group Rs. 350 & above	%
Sample	12,792	100.0	7,120	100.0	4,753	100.0	919	100.0
Reporting Households	618	4.8	161	2.3	325	6.8	132	14.4
Non-immigrants—Total	9,866	—	5,545	—	3,668	—	653	—
Remitting Households	333	4.2	67	1.2	179	4.9	87	13.3
Immigrants—Total	2,926	—	1,575	—	1,085	—	266	—
Remitting Households	285	9.7	94	5.9	146	13.5	45	16.9
I Zone—Total	2,271	—	1,136	—	895	—	240	—
Remitting Households	109	4.7	18	1.6	59	6.7	32	13.3
II Zone—Total	3,799	—	2,280	—	1,043	—	179	—
Remitting Households	163	4.2	56	2.4	85	6.3	22	12.2
III Zone—Total	4,583	—	2,501	—	1,734	—	248	—
Remitting Households	211	4.6	60	2.3	119	6.8	32	12.8
IV Zone—Total	2,139	—	1,203	—	684	—	252	—
Remitting Households	135	6.3	27	2.2	62	9.1	46	18.3

5.26. The figures in the above table reveal that the percentage of households sending remittances sharply rises with increase in income. For all the sample households it rises from

2.3 in the low income group to 6.8 in the middle income group reaching 14.4 in the high income group. This rise may be seen in the case of non-immigrants by the corresponding percentages of 1.2, 4.9 and 13.3. On the other hand, it is more accentuated among the immigrant households where even the low income group starts with a higher percentage of 5.9 reaching 13.5 and 16.9 in the middle and high income groups respectively. It is quite apparent that immigrants have greater urge or compulsion to send remittances, the percentage households among them of this category is 9.7 compared with 4.2 among the non-immigrants. The proportion of households sending remittances varies not only with income groups but also with zones in this city. In the low income group the percentage of these households varies but slightly being 1.6 in zone I, 2.4 in zone II, 2.3 in zone III and 2.2 in zone IV. In the middle income group the fourth zone is distinctly different with 9.1% of households against 6.7% in the first zone, 6.3% in the second and 6.8% in the third. The difference between the zones is more pronounced in respect of the high income group in which the percentage of households varies from 12.2 in the second zone to 18.3 in the fourth while the first zone has 13.3 and the third 12.8. Taking all the income groups together the percentage of households sending remittances is highest in the fourth zone being 6.3, followed by zone I with 4.7, zone III with 4.6 and zone II with 4.2.

5.27. For a better appreciation of the problem of remittances to others a classification of the amounts into four groups has been adopted. A detailed statement of the percentages in the four zones according to migratory status is given in Appendix IX. It may be seen from that table that 23.4% of the households make remittances up to Rs. 9; 32.1% between Rs. 10 and 19, 17.3% between Rs. 20 and Rs. 29; and 27.2% remit Rs. 30 and above. The figures reveal that the second and the third zones have a lower proportion of households in the largest remittance group being 23.3 and 22.3 respectively, whereas the corresponding percentages for zones I and IV are 32.4 and 35.6 respectively.

REMITTANCES—INWARD

5.28. In the whole sample of 13,288 households 492 or 3.7% are in receipt of remittances. The 3,004 immigrant households have 150 belonging to this category working out to 5% which is higher than 3.3% of the households and 342 out of 10,284 among the non-immigrants. The total amount of remittances received is Rs. 30,363 of which the non-immigrant households have received Rs. 18,840 and immigrants Rs. 11,523. The average remittance received is Rs. 61.71 of the reporting households in the sample, Rs. 55.08 among the non-immigrants and Rs. 76.82 among the immigrants. If the total amount of inward remittances is shared among the 13,288 sample households, the average per household works out to Rs. 2.28 for the sample, Rs. 1.83 for non-immigrants and Rs. 3.83 for immigrants.

5.29. Although the principle of equity demands that relatively more households in the low income group should receive remittances than the higher, in practice the position is reversed for obvious reasons. Equally obvious is the fact that non-immigrants will have lesser percentage of households receiving remittances. The relevant data of households receiving remittances are tabulated in the table 5.29 below.

TABLE 5-29 Proportion of Households Receiving Remittances.

	Total		I Income Group		II Income Group		III Income Group	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Sample	12,792	100.0	7,120	100.0	4,753	100.0	919	100.0
Reporting Households	492	4.6	226	3.2	204	6.3	62	6.7
Non-immigrants—Total	9,866	—	5,545	—	3,668	—	653	—
Receiving Households	342	4.5	182	3.3	127	3.4	33	5.1
Immigrants—Total	2,926	—	1,575	—	1,085	—	266	—
Receiving Households	150	5.1	44	2.7	77	7.1	29	10.9
I Zone—Total	2,271	—	1,136	—	895	—	240	—
Receiving Households	129	5.6	49	4.3	60	6.7	20	8.3
II Zone—Total	3,799	—	2,280	—	1,340	—	179	—
Receiving Households	134	3.5	78	3.4	48	3.6	8	4.4
III Zone—Total	4,583	—	2,501	—	1,734	—	248	—
Receiving Households	126	2.7	64	2.5	54	3.1	8	3.2
IV Zone—Total	2,139	—	1,203	—	684	—	252	—
Receiving Households	103	4.8	35	2.9	42	6.1	26	10.3

5.30. Taking individually the three income groups together the percentage of households receiving remittances is 5.1 among the immigrants against 4.5 among the non-immigrants. In the high income group it is 10.9 against 5.1 and in the middle income group 7.1 against 3.4. In the low income group, however, the percentage of households of this category is lower at 2.7 for the immigrants compared with 3.3 for the non-immigrants. From the table it may also be seen that the proportion of households of this category varies with zones as well. The percentage of households of this category is 5.6 in the first zone, 4.8 in the fourth, 3.5 in the second and 2.7 in the third zone. In the low income group the percentage of households varies from 2.5 in the third zone to 4.3 in the first zone. In the middle income group it varies from 3.1 again in the third zone to 6.7 again in the first zone. In the high income group it varies from 3.2 still again in the third zone to 10.3 in the fourth zone, the first zone closely following with 8.3. On the whole the first zone leads with relatively larger percentage of this category of households except with regard to the high income group where the palm goes to the fourth zone. The third zone already found to be relatively poor is least blessed with remittances.

5.31. Besides the magnitude of the remittances and the average per household receiving them, it is necessary to investigate into the varying sizes of remittances to gain a better understanding of the situation. The amounts of remittance received have been classified into eight groups and the percentage distribution of the households has been worked out as shown in Appendix X. A scrutiny of this Appendix shows that there is household in the sample getting a remittance of Rs. 1,000 and above; 10.3% of the households are receiving small remittances up to Rs. 9 per month, 29% "between Rs. 10 and Rs. 24", 26% "between Rs. 25 and Rs. 49", 18.3% "between Rs. 50 and Rs. 99", 12% "between Rs. 100 and Rs. 249", 2.6% "between Rs. 250 and Rs. 499" and 1.8% "between Rs. 500 and Rs. 999". Between immigrants and non-immigrants there is a notable difference, the percentage of households receiving remittances of Rs. 100 and above is 27.2 among the former and 11.7 among the latter. The over-all position regarding inward and outward remittances may now be considered. Against the total receipts of Rs. 30,363, the amount of outward remittances is Rs. 17,256, yielding an excess of inflow of Rs. 13,107. The average per capita excess inward remittance is Rs. 0.98 for the sample, Rs. 0.89 for non-immigrants and Rs. 1.28 for immigrants.

CONCLUSIONS

5.32. The conclusions of this chapter may be briefly indicated. Defining an 'unemployed household' as one having at least one unemployed person, it is seen from the figures that 14.7% of the sample households are unemployed. In all the zones the non-immigrant group has a larger percentage of unemployed households than the immigrant group. It is also seen that 2.5% of the unemployed households are illiterate, 63.6% literate and 33.9% educated.

5.33. The data show that among the households having earners 64.7% have one earner each, 24.5% two earners each, 7.9% three each, 2.1% four each and 0.8% five or more earners each. There is no earner in 134 or 1% of the sample households. According to the present survey, earning dependents are extremely few in Madras city, only 692 or 5.3% of the sample households having reported earning dependents. In regard to non-earning dependents 11.0% of the sample households have one each, 16.9% two, 19.3% three, 18.6% four, 13.6% five and 20.6% have six or more. Generally the immigrant households have less number of non-earning dependents than non-immigrant households.

5.34. In the sample, 96.3% of the households have reported earned income, among non-immigrants 95.9% and among immigrants 97.4%. The percentage of households earning less than Rs. 100 per month is 55.6, those earning Rs. 100 to 349, 37.2, and those earning Rs. 350 and above 7.2. The percentage of households in the 'high' income group is highest in the fourth zone being 11.8 and lowest in the second zone being 4.7. The second zone appears to be the poorest. The average earned income per household is Rs. 131.77 in the sample, Rs. 127.42 among the non-immigrants and Rs. 146.44 for the immigrant reporting households.

5.35. In the sample 20.3% of households have reported unearned income, among the immigrants 15.9% and 21.5% among the non-immigrants. The average unearned income per reporting household is Rs. 161.16 for the non-immigrants, Rs. 225.07 for the immigrants and Rs. 172.53 for both. Spreading out all the unearned income among the 13,288 sample households the average per household works out to Rs. 34.97.

5.36. Merging together earned and unearned incomes the average income per household works out to Rs. 161.82 per month; for the non-immigrant households Rs. 156.94 and for the immigrant Rs. 178.53. Further analysis shows that the percentage of households in the 'low income' group is 55.9, the 'middle income' group 36.8 and the 'high income' group 8.3.

5.37. A correlation of incomes to size of households leads to the conclusion that in all the three broad income brackets the per capita income works out more favourably for immigrants than non-immigrants.

5.38. The number of households owning property outside the city is 555 or 4.2% of the sample. The value of such property is less than Rs. 500 for 23.2% of these households and the percentage of households owning properties valued at Rs. 10,000 and above is 15.4 which is indeed 0.7% of the 13,288 sample households.

5.39. Remittances to persons outside the city have been sent by 618 or 4.6% of the sample households, the corresponding percentages for non-immigrants and immigrants being 3.2 and 9.8. In all the three income groups the percentage of households sending remittances are higher among immigrants than among non-immigrants. As between the zones this category of houses records the highest percentage of 6.3 in IV zone and the lowest of 4.2 in II zone. The amount of remittance is generally lower in the second and the third zones than the first and the fourth zones.

5.40. The number of households in receipt of remittances is 492 or 3.7% of the sample households compared with 5% among immigrants and 3.3% among non-immigrants.

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CHAPTER VI

HOUSING

The problem of housing is the most intractable in the rapidly growing urban centres. The number of houses in Madras city (excluding four divisions added in 1946) has increased from 87,888 to 99,314 or by 13.4%, compared with more than 60% increase in population between 1941 and 1951. This indicates in a crude form the formidable leeway to be made with regard to the housing situation. Apart from the wide gap between the rates of increase in the number of houses and population, the deplorable conditions of house congestion already prevailing in 1941 should be borne in mind to appreciate fully the gravity of the present day problem.

GENERAL APATHY RELATING TO HOUSING

6.2. If employment is essential to make a living, not necessarily for immigrants alone, decent dwelling is indispensable to make that life worth living. In colder climates proper housing is a necessity without which man may be frozen to death. Despite its inconveniences the warm climate of Madras city permits families not only to live on the pavements and in the open but also to survive and breed. But for this boon conferred by Nature the successive waves of immigrants would not have persisted in clinging to urban life. Most of the immigrants accustomed to deplorable standards of living appear to be contented with whatever patch of ground they are able to squat upon. But this process of squatting leads to an insanitary growth of slums jeopardising the health of the city. The better sort of immigrants crowd into the already congested houses putting up with the worst conditions of ventilation, sanitation and water supply.

DISGUISED SLUMS

6.3. In the overcrowded Divisions of the city like Sanjeevirayanpet, Peddunaickenpet, Trevelyan Basin, Choolai, Periamet, Edapalayam and Napier Park (*Vide* Paragraph 2.16) it is not uncommon to find more than ten households sharing one house. These families live under more sordid conditions than the denizens of the slums who at least get the benefit of open air and sunshine and are not so baked by heat and radiation of the brick and mortar structure. Everyone of these houses deserves to be selected as a case study to do full justice to the multitude of problems associated with housing.

PROBLEMS OF HOUSING

6.4. However, in the present survey the analysis of housing comforts or discomforts in Madras city will be limited to a study of the types of houses, exclusive or shared occupation of houses, ownership and tenancy, lighting facilities, rent and number of rooms. It may be added that for the present survey with households as sampling units the entire study of housing comforts deals not with houses in all cases but with portions of houses or apartments as the case may be, occupied by the sample households.

VARIETY OF HOUSES

6.5. The definition of a house "as a building within which people lived" adopted in the 1951 census is a case of simplification *in excelsis*. Particularly so it is in Madras city where according to the 1901 census, "the definition of a house covers from the palace of the Rajah to the basket work hut of the Kuravan which he carries with him on his head when he changes his quarters and every grade and style of residence coming between these two extremes". Half a century has elapsed since these words were written. Rajahs have of course gone but palaces have not. Not only is the traditional Kuravan there but also numerous immigrants living in such thatched huts which the former would scorn. Madras city is practically a museum of houses of all architectural styles—European, Saracenic and Dravidian of all ages—the ancient Hindu of Valluvar days, the medieval days of the Sultans and the Naiks; the early British age of the East India Company and the modern inter-war and post-world war periods, of all sizes—from large bungalow with 20 or 30 rooms to small one-room huts.

HOUSES DESCRIBED

6.6. The spacious Garden Houses edging the banks of the Cooum and the Adyar built by the Nabobs of the East India Company stare at the ultra-modern mansions of the *Nouveau-Riche*. Dull and drab storeyed houses more than hundred years old jostle with new type houses, bright and well-ventilated. The old type houses characteristic of the northern districts of Tamilnad with a central square open to the sun, terraced as well as tiled, fifty to two hundred years old are strewn all over particularly in the 'old towns' of the city. Contrasted with the attractive residential colonies like TNagar, Gandhinagar and Shenoyagar laid out in the most modern style are the running stores on the fair face of the "City Beautiful" of 300 and odd slums covering an area of nearly 19,000 grounds littered with nearly 60,000 huts crammed with a population of more than 2½ lakhs, exceeding the combined population of the twin municipalities of Tiruchirapalli and Srirangam. With such a baffling variety of houses no classification of houses into broad groups could bring out vividly the actual situation unless it contains numerous categories and definition grown flabby into elaborate descriptions. For the statistical analysis of the housing situation a fairly compact yet comprehensive classification had to be evolved in the present survey.

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSES

6.7. Based on the background knowledge of the various types of houses a six-fold classification has been attempted :—(i) Garden houses are those big mansions situated on sites exceeding 10 grounds; (ii) New-type colony houses are those usually met with in residential areas like Gopalapuram and Sait Colony; (iii) Storeyed houses are street houses without any surrounding patch of ground; (iv) Old type houses are typical of mofussil towns well-built, with open brick-laid or cement central courtyard but low and crouching, (v) Hutments consist of flimsy structure with thin walls and roofs made of cheap tiles, asbestos or zinc-sheets, or terraced tenements with usually one or two rooms, warmer, less comfortable and unhealthy to live in under the prevailing climatic conditions and (vi) Thatched huts are generally mud-walled one-room tenements thatched with coconut or palmyra leaves with hardly any window, having only one door not more than three-feet in height, the only aperture through which man, beast, wind and light gain a grudging entry.

TYPES OF HOUSES

6.8. Data relating to six types of households have been collected and tabulated zone-wise in the table below :—

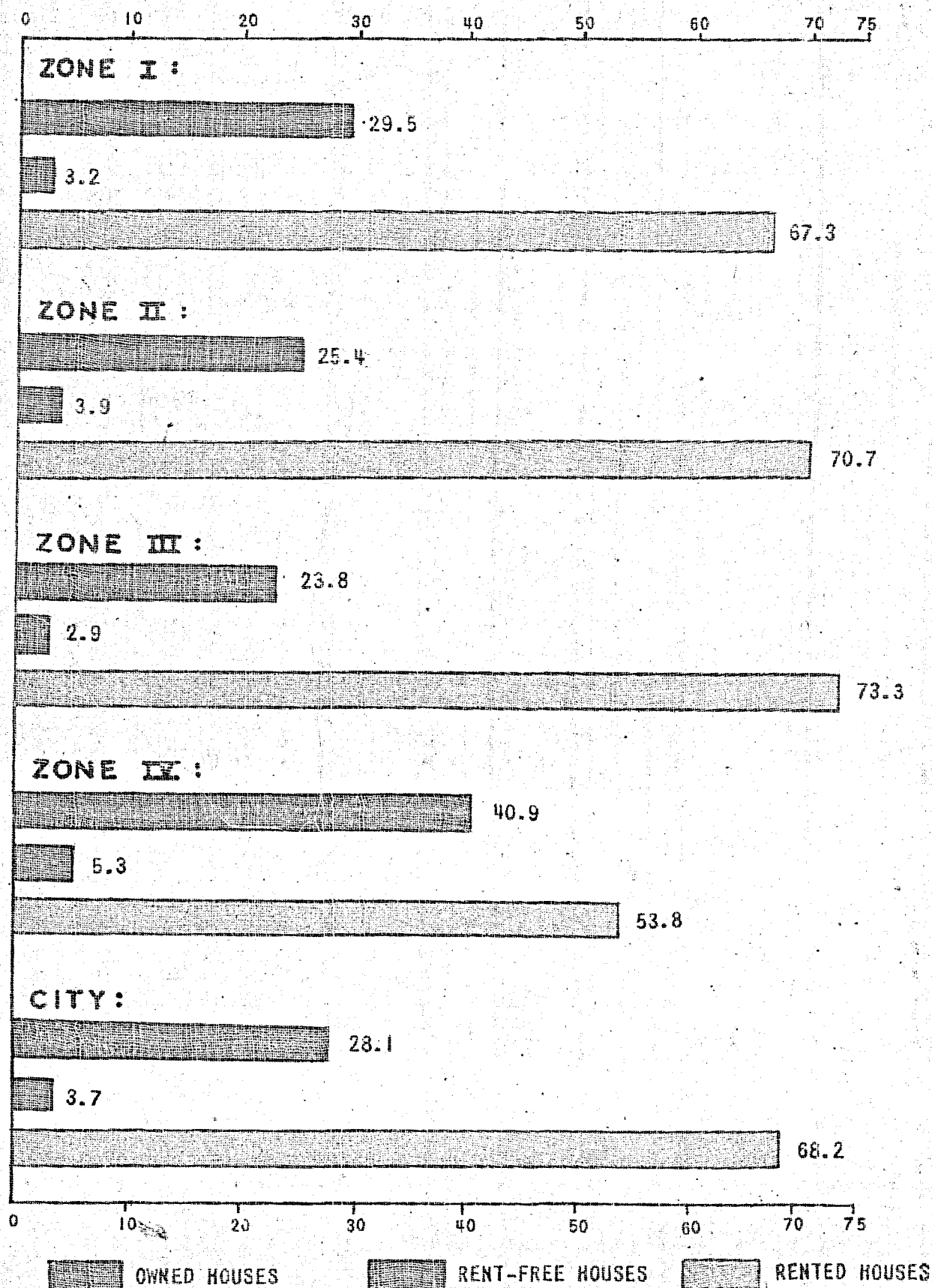
TABLE 6.8—Percentage Classification of Types of Houses

Class—Description	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV	Total
1. Garden House	0.8	0.4	—	1.0	0.4
2. New Type Colony	1.3	1.3	0.3	2.8	1.2
3. Storeyed House	23.0	13.7	18.4	10.0	15.7
4. Old type house	54.8	55.2	62.7	45.7	56.2
5. Hutments	6.8	6.6	8.3	16.8	9.0
6. Thatched huts	13.3	22.8	10.3	23.7	17.5

6.9. It may be seen from the above table that the old type house is by far the largest accounting for 56.2% of the total sample households. Most of them as already stated are more than a century old. It may be reiterated that compared with the cities in the United States, Madras is a pretty old city. Nor had Madras the "benefits" of a 'Great Fire' or a Blitz which could have helped the scrapping out of century-old buildings and the construction of modern apartment houses. The third category of storeyed houses, quite as old as the fourth, accounts for 15.7%, both representing 71.9%. The sixth category of thatched huts ranks second in the percentage distribution with 17.5. The prominence of this group is entirely due to 'private enterprise' in its sinister form working itself out in the spread of worst slums in all vacant plots whether owned by Government, Corporation or private individuals. The cost of a thatched hut is small. It could be put up without skilled labour by the squatters themselves.

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DISTRIBUTION OF OWNED, RENT-FREE AND RENTED HOUSES - ZONEWISE



As a result of these factors thatched huts have increased in largest numbers in recent years. The hutments represent only 9% as they are the result of planned and orderly development by Government, semi-public or industrial institutions. Consequently this category of dwellings has increased at a low rate. At a still lower rate do the new type colony houses seem to have been planned and executed as they account for only 1.2%. The Garden house is the least important accounting for 0.4% of the households.

6.10. Table 6.8 shows also the distribution of the six types of houses in the four zones. A scrutiny of the data reveals that the percentage of thatched huts is highest in the second and the fourth zones being 22.8 and 23.7 compared with 13.3 in the first and 10.3 in the third zone. This greater concentration of thatched huts in the former two zones is attributable to the fact that they have larger vacant areas than the latter. The percentage of hutments is the highest in the fourth zone being 16.8 against 8.3 in zone III, 6.8 in zone I and 6.6 in the second zone. The old-type houses are more prominent in the third zone accounting for 62.7% while zone I and II record about 55.0% and the fourth 45.7%. With regard to Garden houses and new-type colony houses, the fourth zone has relatively larger numbers than any other. Even here the percentage of the former is but one and the latter 2.8.

EXCLUSIVE AND SHARED HOUSES

6.11. The general classification of households into six categories in the previous section does not indicate whether the sample households occupy them exclusively or share them with co-tenants. As already pointed out most of the houses in Madras city are occupied by more than one tenant, no one can gainsay that sharing a house however big and comfortable it may be substantially detracting much of its utility and comforts. In order to get a better knowledge of this aspect of the housing problem necessary data have been collected as to whether the sample household is in full or partial occupation of the house described. From the relevant data tabulated in Appendix XI it may be seen that of the sample of 13,288 households the number exclusively occupying their houses is 4,077 or 30.7% and the number sharing their houses with co-tenants is 9,211 or 69.3%. The exclusively used house is most prominent in the fourth zone accounting for 49.2% and least in zone III with 23.4%, while it is 27.2% in zone II and 33.8% in the first zone. One interesting facet of this problem may also be noted. With regard to storeyed and old type houses the number of shared houses is most predominant. There are five and four shared houses respectively in these two categories for every exclusively used house. In respect of the Garden house at one extreme and thatched hut at the other the exclusively used houses preponderate over the other types.

OWNERSHIP AND TENANCY

6.12. To own a house is a matter of both pleasure and pride. To the majority of the immigrant urban dwellers this privilege is denied. To assess the position quantitatively the schedule was designed to collect statistics relating to ownership. The relevant data are shown in table 6.12.

6.13. It may be seen from the table 6.12 that there are three categories among households, some owners, others tenants paying rent and a small number not owning nor paying rent. Of the 13,288 households the number of households living in their own houses is 3,737 or 28.1%, households paying rent is 9,064 or 68.2% while 487 households or 3.7% occupy houses free of rent. The percentage of non-immigrants owning houses is 33.4 against 10.1 for the immigrants. The percentage of rent-paying tenants is 63.1 for the former against 85.7 for the latter. Rent-free occupants form 3.5% amongst non-immigrant households against 4.2% among the immigrants. It is in the fourth zone that ownership features prominently accounting for 40.9% compared with 29.5% in the first, 25.4% in the second and 23.8% in the third zone. Tenant households are dominant in zone III with 73.3% followed by the second zone with 70.7% first zone with 67.3% and the fourth with 53.8%.

LIGHTING FACILITIES

6.14. A classification of households into electrified and non-electrified has also been made with reference to the rental value of households. For this purpose rental value of houses has been divided into ten groups, those paying Rs. 5 and below, constituting the lowest category and those paying Rs. 201 and above the highest category. The relevant data are tabulated in Table 6.14.

TABLE 6.12—Distribution of Houses : Owned, Rent Free and Rent Paying.

Type	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City	
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	T
Number of Houses														
Owned	678	31	709	931	71	1,002	1,039	89	1,128	785	113	898	3,433	3,717
Free	63	12	77	117	38	155	99	40	139	80	36	116	361	48
Rented	1,122	492	1,614	2,077	713	2,790	2,553	926	3,479	738	443	1,181	6,490	9,064
Total	1,865	535	2,400	3,125	822	3,947	3,691	1,055	4,746	1,603	592	2,195	10,284	13,288
Percentage														
Owned	36.3	5.8	29.5	29.8	8.6	25.4	28.1	8.4	23.8	49.0	19.1	40.9	33.4	28.1
Free	3.5	2.2	3.2	3.7	4.6	3.8	2.7	3.8	2.9	5.0	6.1	5.3	3.5	3.7
Rented	60.2	92.0	67.3	66.5	86.8	70.7	69.2	87.8	73.3	46.0	74.8	53.8	63.1	68.2

TABLE 6.14—Percentage of Electrified and Non-Electrified Houses According to Rental Value.

Rental Value	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City	
	E	NE	T	E	NE	T	E	NE	T	E	NE	T	E	T
5	1.0	99.0	100	2.0	98.0	100	2.0	98.0	100	0.7	99.3	100	1.6	100
6-10	9.4	90.6	100	7.0	92.4	100	9.0	91.0	100	9.0	91.0	100	10.2	100
11-25	35.4	64.3	100	26.6	73.4	100	38.0	62.0	100	47.6	52.4	100	35.4	100
26-40	62.5	37.5	100	61.7	38.3	100	69.8	30.2	100	78.1	21.9	100	67.7	100
41-50	85.6	14.4	100	85.9	14.1	100	89.3	10.7	100	79.6	20.4	100	84.9	100
51-75	94.1	5.9	100	88.5	11.5	100	90.1	9.9	100	97.9	2.1	100	93.1	100
76-100	98.1	1.9	100	96.2	3.8	100	98.4	1.6	100	97.5	2.5	100	97.6	100
101-150	96.3	3.7	100	100	—	100	100	—	100	97.1	2.9	100	97.8	100
151-200	100	—	100	100	—	100	100	—	100	100.0	—	100	100	100
201+	100	—	100	100	—	100	100	—	100	100	—	100	100	100

6.15. The statistics in table 6.14 reveal that 98.4% of the houses fetching a rent of Rs. 5 and below do not have electricity nor do 89.8% of the houses with a rent of Rs. 6 to Rs. 10. Nearly two houses out of three belonging to the rent group Rs. 11 to Rs. 25 have no electricity. In the next rent group Rs. 26 to Rs. 40 the ratio between non-electrified and electrified is 1:2. As the rent increases the percentage of electrified houses also increases. All the houses with rental values of Rs. 151 to Rs. 200 and Rs. 201 and above are electrified. In the rental group of Rs. 51 to Rs. 75 nearly one-in-fourteen is not electrified and in the rental group Rs. 76 to Rs. 100, one in forty.

RENTAL VALUE

6.16. The sample households have been classified according to the rental value of their houses into twelve groups. The relevant data are shown in Table 6.16. It is noteworthy that only 1.1% of the households pay a rent exceeding Rs. 100, while 56% pay rents below Rs. 10. About one-in-four of the households pays a rent between Rs. 11 and Rs. 25 and about one-in-ten between Rs. 26 and Rs. 40. In the lowest three rental groups the percentage of households among immigrants is less than among non-immigrants. This is more pronounced in the highest rental group, Rs. 201 and above; the percentage of households is 0.2 for non-immigrants and 0.1 for immigrants, while in the four rental groups from Rs. 41 to Rs. 50 to Rs. 101 to Rs. 150 the percentage of households is 9.7 among immigrants against 7.6 among non-immigrants. This difference is more notable in the rental group Rs. 26 to Rs. 40, in which the percentage of immigrant household is 11.5 against 8.7 for the non-immigrants. It is not known from table 6.16 whether the higher percentage of immigrant households in houses fetching rents varying from Rs. 26 to Rs. 150 than the non-immigrant households is due to the disadvantage the former suffer from on account of their arrival in the city during the war and post-war periods. This needs an investigation into living space correlated to income group as between non-immigrants and immigrants.

LIVING SPACE

6.17. Housing comfort depends on several factors some of which like the type and style of the house, exclusive use and lighting facilities have been already examined. Whether the house is located in the heart or the fringe area of the city is a matter of considerable importance. Street houses without even a ribbon of ground around them are certainly less comfortable than the new type colony houses. Above all, it is the *per capita* living space that is most vital in assessing housing comfort. It is also susceptible of quantitative measurement unlike most of the other factors, and as such it could well form the subject of a statistical survey, while the qualitative factors are appropriate for case studies. *Per capita* living space in special housing surveys is elaborately computed with reference to floor area and cubic feet per head besides the height of the plinth area, the type of floor surface, the number of windows etc.

6.18. The present survey being concerned with the several facets of the urbanization problem, it was deemed neither necessary nor feasible to launch upon such a detailed investigation. It was decided to treat rooms as units of measurement and correlate them with the number of members in households. This procedure helps to simplify the collection of data although the qualitative differentials of the room will have to be ignored. In this procedure a room with modern equipments in a fashionable house as well as a room in a thatched hut will be treated as one unit. The residents of each enjoy the comforts befitting their standards of living and income. The most important characteristic of a room is not its lush appurtenances but the privacy it affords to its occupants. On this criterion the treatment of all rooms irrespective of their qualities is justifiable.

6.19. Even in counting the number of rooms the question arose whether the kitchen should be treated separately and separate bath rooms and latrines should also figure in the survey. It was decided to leave out the latter from detailed consideration because it is possible to know from the type of the house and its exclusive or shared use whether the household enjoys these facilities separately. Further in the case of thatched huts and hutments constituting a considerable percentage these facilities are conspicuously absent. On the other hand, the question of kitchens could not be settled so easily because it is well known that most of the households live in single rooms which are used as kitchen, living room as well as sleeping room. It was therefore decided to keep a separate count of kitchens in all households having more than one room. On the basis of this approach, households have been classified into ten groups, the first representing those having only kitchen-cum-living-cum-bedroom and the rest of the

TABLE 6.16—Percentage Distribution of Houses According to Rental Value.

Rental Group	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
Rs. 5 & below	22.8	16.3	21.3	29.2	26.3	28.6	26.4	25.7	26.2	43.0	37.0	41.4	29.2	26.5	28.6
Rs. 6—10	21.7	16.3	20.5	35.3	33.3	34.9	28.6	30.5	29.1	19.2	15.2	18.1	27.9	25.7	27.4
Rs. 11—25	31.2	32.2	31.4	24.5	23.8	24.4	29.4	28.2	29.1	15.8	20.6	17.1	26.1	26.2	26.2
Rs. 26—40	12.1	18.7	13.6	6.0	9.1	6.7	8.9	9.4	9.0	9.6	11.8	10.2	8.7	11.5	9.3
Rs. 41—50	4.8	5.2	4.9	1.8	2.5	2.0	2.4	3.2	2.6	4.5	4.4	4.5	3.0	3.6	3.1
Rs. 51—75	3.9	5.6	4.3	1.4	2.1	1.5	2.3	1.6	2.1	4.1	5.4	4.4	2.6	3.2	2.7
Rs. 76—100	1.8	3.8	2.2	1.2	1.8	1.3	1.4	0.9	1.3	1.6	2.2	1.8	1.4	1.9	1.6
Rs. 101—150	1.0	1.5	1.1	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	1.2	2.5	1.5	0.6	1.0	0.7
Rs. 151—200	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.3
Rs. 201 & above	0.2	—	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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TABLE 6.19—Percentage Distribution of Houses Classified According to Number of Rooms

Number of Rooms	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			City		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
0	27.8	27.5	27.7	33.6	37.3	34.4	31.2	40.4	33.4	38.6	40.2	39.0	32.5	37.2	33.6
1	25.9	27.3	26.3	37.4	36.8	37.3	34.0	32.3	33.6	23.8	26.4	24.5	32.0	31.4	31.8
2	22.4	21.5	22.2	18.4	14.1	17.5	21.1	16.9	20.2	18.7	15.5	17.9	20.2	16.7	19.4
3	11.2	12.0	11.4	6.0	7.4	6.3	8.1	6.3	7.7	7.6	8.3	7.8	8.0	8.0	8.0
4	6.9	6.4	6.7	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.7	1.8	2.5	4.7	4.4	4.6	3.7	3.3	3.6
5	2.3	2.4	2.3	0.9	0.6	0.8	1.3	1.1	1.2	3.2	2.7	3.0	1.6	1.5	1.6
6	1.5	1.5	1.5	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.3	0.6	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.9
7	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.3	—	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4
8	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
9+	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	—	0.2	1.1	1.0	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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categories representing the number of rooms other than kitchen from 'one' to 'nine and above'. The percentage distribution of houses classified on the above basis of rooms is given in the Table 6.19.

6.20. It may be stated at the outset that four out of the sample of 13,288 households have reported no house room to live in. They were found to be using the pials of houses for living and sleeping and the pavement for cooking. These households occurred in the sample and were identified and included in the survey. In this context it must be mentioned that the present survey does not cover the pavement dwellers whose number according to a recent Corporation Report is more than 45,000. In the remaining 13,284 households table 6.19 shows that 33.6% live in one-room tenements which are used for cooking, living and sleeping. Excluding the kitchen the percentage of one-living room households is 31.8%. Both these categories together account for 65.4% of the households. Applying the average size of the household worked out earlier the number of persons per room is 5.4 which is an index of the house-congestion. The percentage of households with two living rooms is 19.4 in which the number of persons works out to be 2.7 per room. Although special investigation has not been undertaken it is quite easy to visualise the magnitude of promiscuous mix-up in these households. The percentage of households with three living rooms is 8 and that with more than three is 3.6.

6.21. As between immigrants and non-immigrants there is significant difference in regard to the available room space. In the first two categories of kitchen-cum-living rooms and one-living room, the percentage of households among the immigrants is 68.6 against 64.5 among the non-immigrants. The percentage of households in these two categories of greatest congestion varies in the four zones, from 71.7 in the second to 54.0 in the first. It is 67.0 in the third zone and 63.5 in the fourth zone. In respect of households having more than three rooms the difference between the zones is more striking. The percentage of such households is 12.4 in the first zone, 10.8 in the fourth, 5.1 in the third and 4.5 in the second zone.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS AND LIVING SPACE

6.22. It may be assumed that both immigrants and non-immigrants will have the same income elasticity of demand for house space which in the present context has to be reckoned in terms of rooms. There is another variable in the form of size of the household which also affects the demand for rooms.

6.23. By keeping the size of the house constant for both immigrants and non-immigrants and finding out the number of rooms they enjoy it will be possible to compare the housing comforts of the two groups. With this object in view a cross tabulation of data relating to the four classes of households according to size and five classes of houses according to number of room has been done. (Vide Table 6.23),

6.24. It may be seen that the 'small' households among the immigrants have a larger percentage living in smaller houses. For kitchen-cum-living one-room tenement (coded '0' in the table 6.23), the percentage is 52.9 for immigrants against 49.0 for non-immigrants. In respect of 'medium' households the percentage occupying this class is 37.2 for immigrants against 36.3 for non-immigrants, the percentage occupying 2 to 3 room tenements is 24.1 for immigrants against 23.7 for non-immigrants. In respect of 'large' households the position of the immigrants seems to be fairly even. With regard to 'very large' households the percentage of '0' code houses is 6.9 among immigrants against 4.5 among non-immigrants. As for the other classes of houses the very large immigrants households seem to be in a better position. The percentage of households occupying one-room tenements (code 1) is 9.5 for the former against 15.4 for non-immigrants. As for 2 to 3 room houses they are 45.7 and 52.7 respectively. This together with the even position seen between the two groups in regard to 'six and more rooms' houses shows that migrants are having relatively larger room space than the non-migrants.

AMENITIES

6.25. In large cities housing comfort alone cannot constitute the sole determinant of what may be called general comforts or good life. It is quite possible for a house to satisfy all the canons of ventilation, sanitation, accommodation, open ground space surrounding it and yet it may be situated in a remote corner of the city without easy and quick access to certain essential amenities of life like school, shopping and recreation centres. Following the celebrated Marshallian classification of the advantages of industrial units into internal and external economies the

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF ROOMS - PERCENTAGE

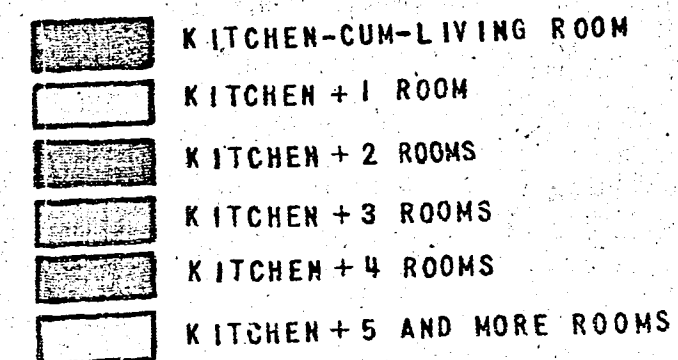
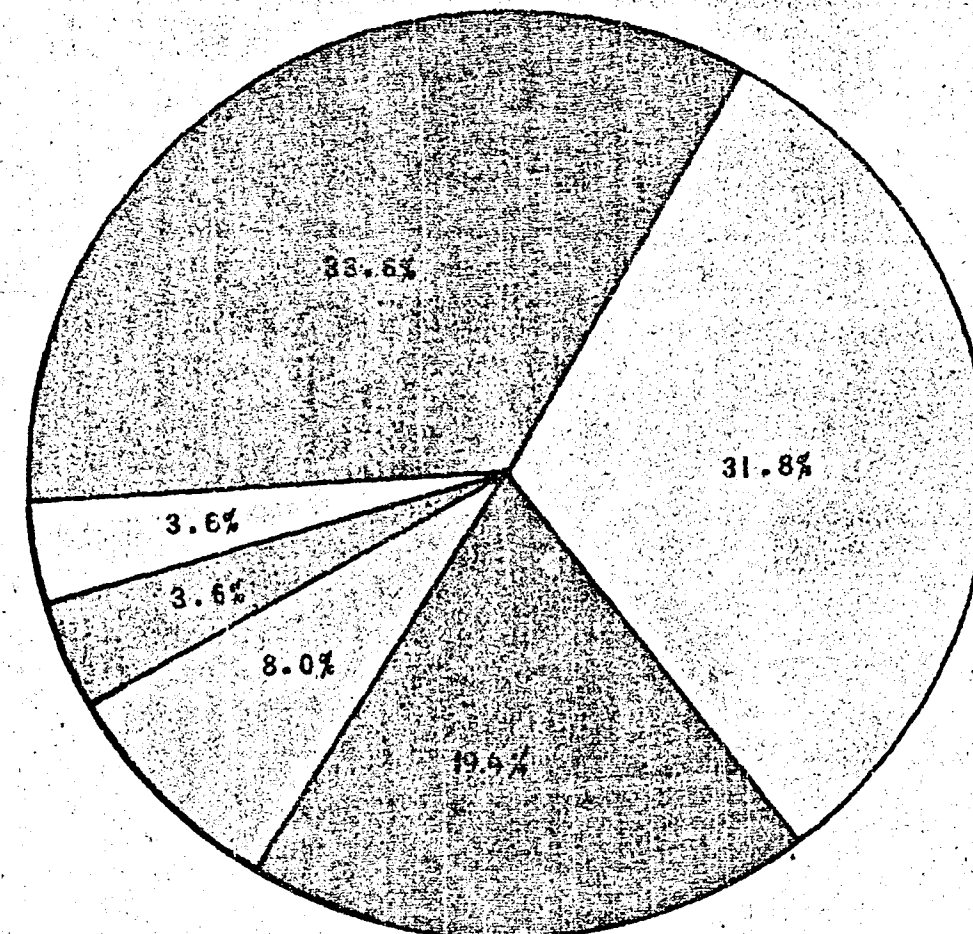


TABLE 6-23—Correlation of Sizes of Households to Number of Rooms Occupied

Size of Households	Number of Rooms occupied										
	0	%	1	%	2-3	%	4-5	%	6	%	Total
<i>Non-Immigrants</i>											
Small 1-3	1,071	49.0	708	32.4	351	16.0	43	2.0	14	0.6	2,187
Medium 4-6	1,839	36.3	1,773	35.0	1,201	23.7	201	4.0	51	1.0	5,065
Large 7-9	404	17.6	691	30.2	939	41.0	188	8.2	69	3.0	2,291
Very Large 10+	33	4.5	114	15.4	389	52.7	127	17.2	75	10.2	739
TOTAL	3,347	32.6	3,286	32.0	2,880	28.0	559	5.4	209	2.0	10,281
<i>Immigrants</i>											
Small 1-3	440	52.9	263	31.6	116	13.9	11	1.3	2	0.3	832
Medium 4-6	584	37.2	536	34.2	378	24.1	53	3.4	18	1.1	1,569
Large 7-9	88	18.1	121	24.9	210	43.2	49	10.1	18	3.7	486
Very Large 10+	8	6.9	11	9.5	53	45.7	32	27.6	12	10.3	716
TOTAL	1,120	37.3	931	31.0	757	25.2	145	4.8	50	1.7	3,003

common comforts contributing to good life may also be viewed as a function of internal or home and external or environmental comforts. If housing comforts could be described as internal or home, facilities to schooling, shopping and recreation may be described as external or environmental comforts.

6.26. Although Madras City could boast of no less than 24 Colleges, 67 High schools and nearly 500 Elementary Schools, their location and distribution within the city are not in the least uniform. Madras city has numerous popular as well as fashionable shopping centres like, China Bazaar, Moore-Market, Round Tana, Pondy Bazaar, Pycrofts Road, Purasawalkam High Road, Luz, Tiruvotiyur High Road and Strahans Road. Yet their distribution in this 50 square mile city is not all that could be desired. Unlike Bombay and Calcutta, although Madras has grown horizontally there are still heavily congested areas where Corporation has opened more than 100 parks including one terraced park to serve as it were as the lungs of the city. More than the Corporation Nature had gifted to the city the enviably vast stretch of sandy foreshore to serve as the place for recreation and sports. But parks and Marina despite their loneliness and grandeur to the aesthetic sense of the fleeting visitor to the city do not adequately satisfy the craving for recreation to the domiciled population. They flock to cinema, stage and music sabhas and queue up everlastingly in noon, evening and night—a striking evidence of the need for recreation centres. Even from a superficial acquaintance with the city it would be apparent that there is too much of clustering of recreation centres in this large city. In view of these considerations three more items relating to educational, shopping and recreational facilities were added to the main questionnaire. This was done after some deliberation when the field investigation had been underway for six months. Hence the data relating to these items cover 10,888 households.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

6.27. The schedules drawn up for enquiry into these three types of facilities were designed to elicit information regarding subjective evaluation of these facilities by the respondents. The heads of households were requested to express their opinion as to whether they are good, indifferent or bad. Data relating to educational facilities are processed and tabulated below:—

Response	Non-immigrants	Immigrants	Total
Good	52.2	53.8	52.6
Indifferent	42.0	39.7	41.5
Bad	5.8	6.5	5.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

It may be seen that only about 6% of the households are positively dissatisfied with educational facilities available, while more than half have expressed perfect satisfaction.

SHOPPING FACILITIES:

6.28. Data relating to shopping facilities have been similarly processed and given below:—

Facilities	Non-immigrants	Immigrants	Total
Good	57.7	59.5	58.1
Indifferent	29.7	27.4	29.2
Bad	12.6	13.1	12.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

About one-in-eight is dissatisfied with shopping facilities and three in ten not fully satisfied, while about six-in-ten appears to be fully satisfied with shopping facilities.

RECREATION FACILITIES

6.29. Data relating to recreational facilities processed on the same lines as above show the percentage distribution given below:

Categories	Non-Immigrants	Immigrants	Total
Good	25.2	28.1	25.8
Indifferent	40.0	40.4	40.1
Bad	34.8	31.5	34.1

It is of interest to note that more than one-third of the respondents are dissatisfied with the recreation facilities available to them, two-fifths not completely satisfied and only one-fourth fully satisfied. This situation may be due partly to the concentration of recreation centres already mentioned and partly to a livelier sense of dissatisfaction in this regard.

CONSUMPTION LEVELS

6.30. From the outset the Research Programmes Committee was definite in its directives that no family budget enquiry should be clubbed with the urbanization survey lest the natural reluctance to divulge statistics of income and expenditure should infect the answers to the main questions on immigration and employment. However, it was felt that some idea of the standards of living of the middle and working classes should be gained to complete the picture of the study on urbanization. That is why two special studies of very modest dimension have been undertaken by this Research Unit. (*Vide* Chapters XVIII and XIX). Although the samples were small they were intensive investigations into family budgets. For the large sample of the main survey it was proposed to enquire into the consumption of four items viz., clothing, milk, meat and fish. The procedure adopted was simple. Without prying into the actual expenses incurred the standard of clothing was determined by observation and the levels of consumption of the other three articles were sought to be found out by means of simple questions relating to quantities consumed. The analysis of the data is done for the entire sample without classifying them into income, education or occupation categories. It may be admitted that this part of the enquiry is a very feeble attempt to find out whether the sample population is decently clothed and adequately fed.

CLOTHING

6.31. The schedule for collecting information about clothing was provided with three attributes wretched, shabby and decent. The Investigators were instructed to observe carefully the clothes worn by men, women and children of the household during the course of the investigation. They were asked to record the over-all impression created. It should be recorded "wretched" if the clothing falls below the minimum requirements for decency, "shabby" if it satisfies decency but kept soiled and dirty, and decent if reasonable standards pertaining to the income and occupational group the head of the household belonged to. The percentage distribution of the households in the three categories is shown below:

	Non-Immigrants	Immigrants	Total
Wretched	18.9	12.8	17.7
Shabby	52.6	45.9	51.3
Decent	28.5	41.3	31.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

6.32. It is noteworthy that 41.3% of the immigrant households are decently clothed compared with 28.5% of the non-immigrants. The percentage of households wretchedly clothed

is also high among the non-immigrants with 18.9 against 12.8 for the immigrants. As for the total sample 31.0% are decently clothed, 51.3% shabbily clothed and 17.7% wretchedly clothed. Much of the shabbiness is attributable to the desire for and purchase of costlier clothes than the households could afford. For example, lace dhoti and art silk sarees in the lower income groups deprive them of an adequate number of pieces resulting in constant if not continuous wear of costly yet dirty apparels.

MILK, MEAT AND FISH

6.33. In the enquiry into consumption of food articles milk, meat and fish were purposively selected as fairly reliable indicators of adequate and nutritive food. The schedule classified consumption of these three articles into five groups (i) 'Nil' signified that the article in question was not brought in the month prior to date of investigation; (ii) 'Negligible' purchase of the article for less than seven days; (iii) 'Small quantity' purchase for from eight to fifteen days; (iv) 'Regular' bought every day in limited quantities (v) 'Adequate' purchase every day in adequate quantities. The data collected regarding the consumption of these three items are analysed in table 6.33.

6.34. With regard to milk only 5.2% of the households are enjoying adequate supply, 17.2% are regular buyers of milk but always feeling the quantities to be inadequate; 19.2% are buying milk in small quantities for less than 16 days in a month, 20.4% are buying for less than 8 days and 38.0% are buying no milk at all. The last category does not imply that the households do not consume any milk at all, because most of them are in the habit of buying cups of tea or coffee which may contain a dash of milk and almost all the households consume buttermilk but in very poor quantities.

6.35. In regard to the consumption of meat vegetarians have to be excluded. Approximately one-in-five of the sample households is vegetarian by convention or necessity. It is only 0.3% of the households who get adequate meat; 2.9% are regular buyers of limited quantities of meat; 32.3% buy meat for less than 16 days; 45.2% buy for less than 8 days; and 19.3% buy no meat at all.

6.36. As for the consumption of fish 1% of the households get adequate supply, 7.3% regular but limited quantities; 34.4% for less than 16 days; 33.3% for less than 8 days and 24.0% do not buy any fish.

CONCLUSIONS

6.37. In conclusion the salient points emerging from the foregoing survey of Housing may be noted. The old type houses, several decades old, are seen to be the largest in number accounting for 56.2% followed by storeyed houses with 15.7%. This group forming in the aggregate nearly 72% no doubt consists of brick and mortar structure but hopelessly deficient in ventilation, lighting, fresh air and open space and least equipped with modern sanitary conveniences. In most cases ten or more households share one bath room, one lavatory and one water tap. The modern new-type colony house accounts for only 1.2%, whereas thatched huts account for 17.5%, a monstrous proof of the unrestricted and haphazard growth of slums. Hutments representing orderly development of housing for low income groups constitute but a modest 9%.

6.38. The data reveal that 69.3% of the households are living in portions of houses and the balance of 30.7% enjoy exclusive occupation of their houses although most of them are represented by thatched huts, hutments, and small houses.

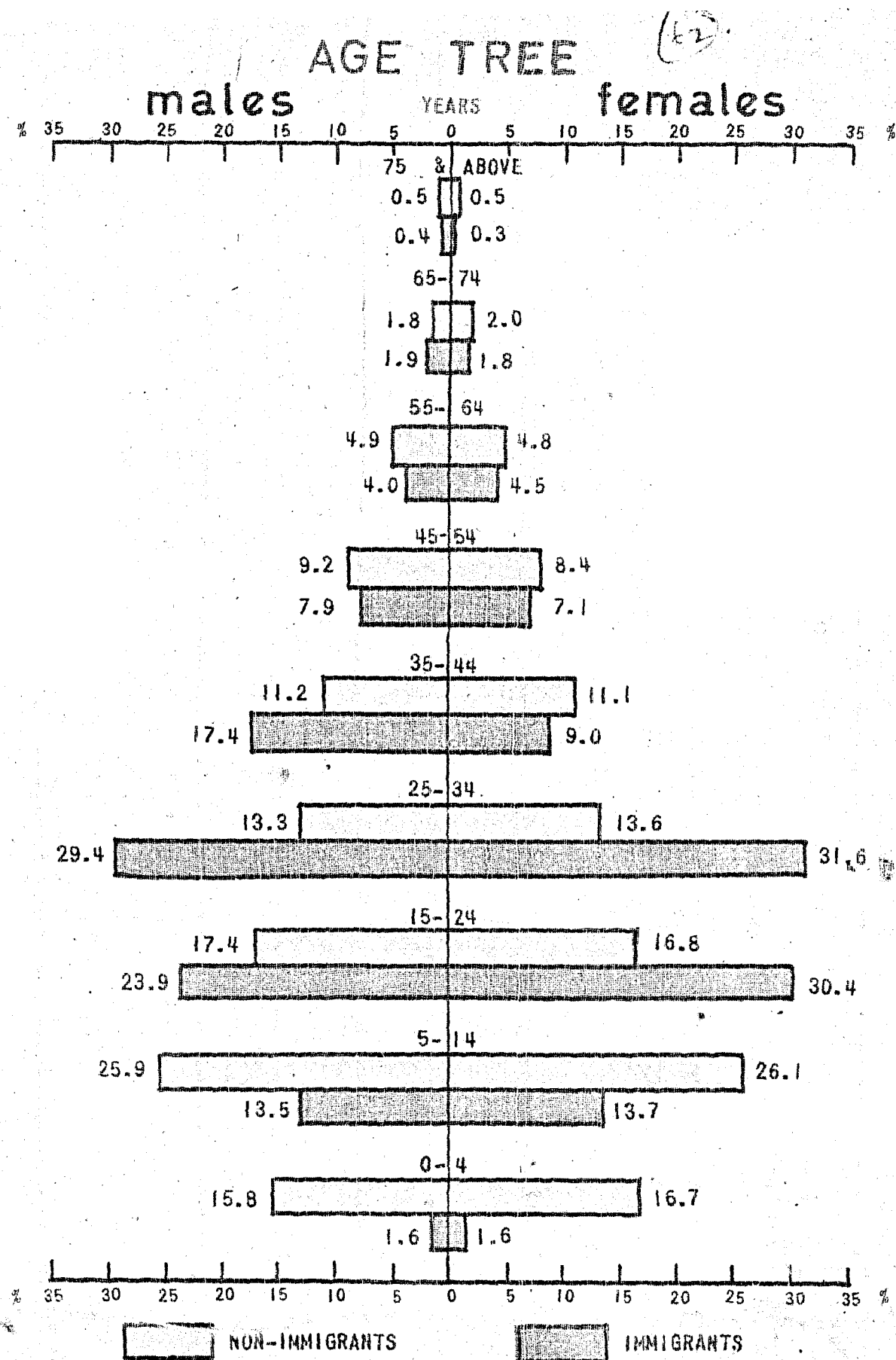
6.39. In the sample households 28.1% own their houses (mostly thatched huts), 68.2% are rent paying tenants and 3.7% occupy rent free houses. In the sample households 1.1% pay a rent of more than Rs. 100 while 56% below Rs. 10.

6.40. One-in-every three households is found to live in one-room tenements, cooking, living and sleeping being done in the same room. Three-out-of-every-ten households have one living room besides a kitchen. The percentage of households having more than three living rooms is 3.6. Relatively more immigrants live in one-room tenements and kitchen-cum-living rooms than non-immigrants. The 'small' and 'medium' households in the immigrant group live under more cramped conditions in smaller houses than the non-immigrants.

TABLE 6.33—Consumption of Milk, Meat & Fish—Percentage

Items	Milk		Meat		Fish	
	NI	I	NI	I	NI	I
Nil	39.2	33.1	16.9	29.0	21.6	33.6
Negligible	20.9	18.2	45.9	42.5	34.3	29.6
Small quantity	19.7	17.0	34.2	24.5	35.9	28.2
Regular	15.0	26.0	2.8	3.2	7.3	7.3
Adequate	5.2	5.7	0.2	0.8	0.9	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

PART III
INDIVIDUALS



CHAPTER VII

TOTAL SAMPLE POPULATION

SCHEME OF ANALYSIS

As indicated at the end of the third chapter this part will be concerned with a study of the individuals who form the members of the 13,288 sample households. The total population, excluding the "members away from the city" covered by this survey is 71,888, comprising men and women, girls and boys, children and the aged, employed and unemployed, earners and rentiers, family helpers and household workers, pensioners and remittance holders. For proper appreciation of the character and composition of this vast and heterogeneous population it is proposed to sub-divide this study of individuals into three sections. The first is intended to examine the sociological and economic characteristics of the total population followed by a separate study of the individuals relating to those characteristics peculiar to them. The second is designed to make an intensive investigation of the economically significant population. The third section will be concerned with a detailed study of the unemployed section of the population in the sample. The present chapter is concerned with a study of the social, educational and economic characteristics of the sample population as a whole. A separate study of children who are gainfully employed has been added towards the end.

SEX COMPOSITION

7.2. The total population covered by the survey is 71,888 of whom 51.2% are males and 48.8% females; 59,689 or about 83% are non-immigrants and 12,199 or 17% immigrants. Of the non-immigrants 30,928 or 51.8% are males and 28,761 or 48.2% females. The corresponding figures for the immigrants are 5,906 or 48.4% for males and 6,293 or 51.6% for females. This is contrary to the common belief that the process of immigration is marked by males coming in first followed by females, later than sooner. The phenomenon in Madras shows an immigration of both the sexes in equal proportions; wherever disparity occurs it is by tilting the sex ratio up rather than down. (The disparity in the sex ratio given here and that given earlier in paragraph 4.27 arises because of the definition of households on the basis of the migratory status of the heads of households only. It has been found that large number of immigrants are in the so-called non-immigrant households as wives and domestic servants).

AGE STRUCTURE

7.3. The total population of 71,888 for whom social and economic characteristics are studied and analysed excludes members of the families away from the city. It includes all the rest, infants born even on the date of investigation and persons in their death bed but not dead. Indeed a few people reported to have been living at the time of investigation were found no more at the time of spot checking. The population has been classified into age groups mainly following the pattern of the 1951 census. The relevant data are processed in the table 7.3.

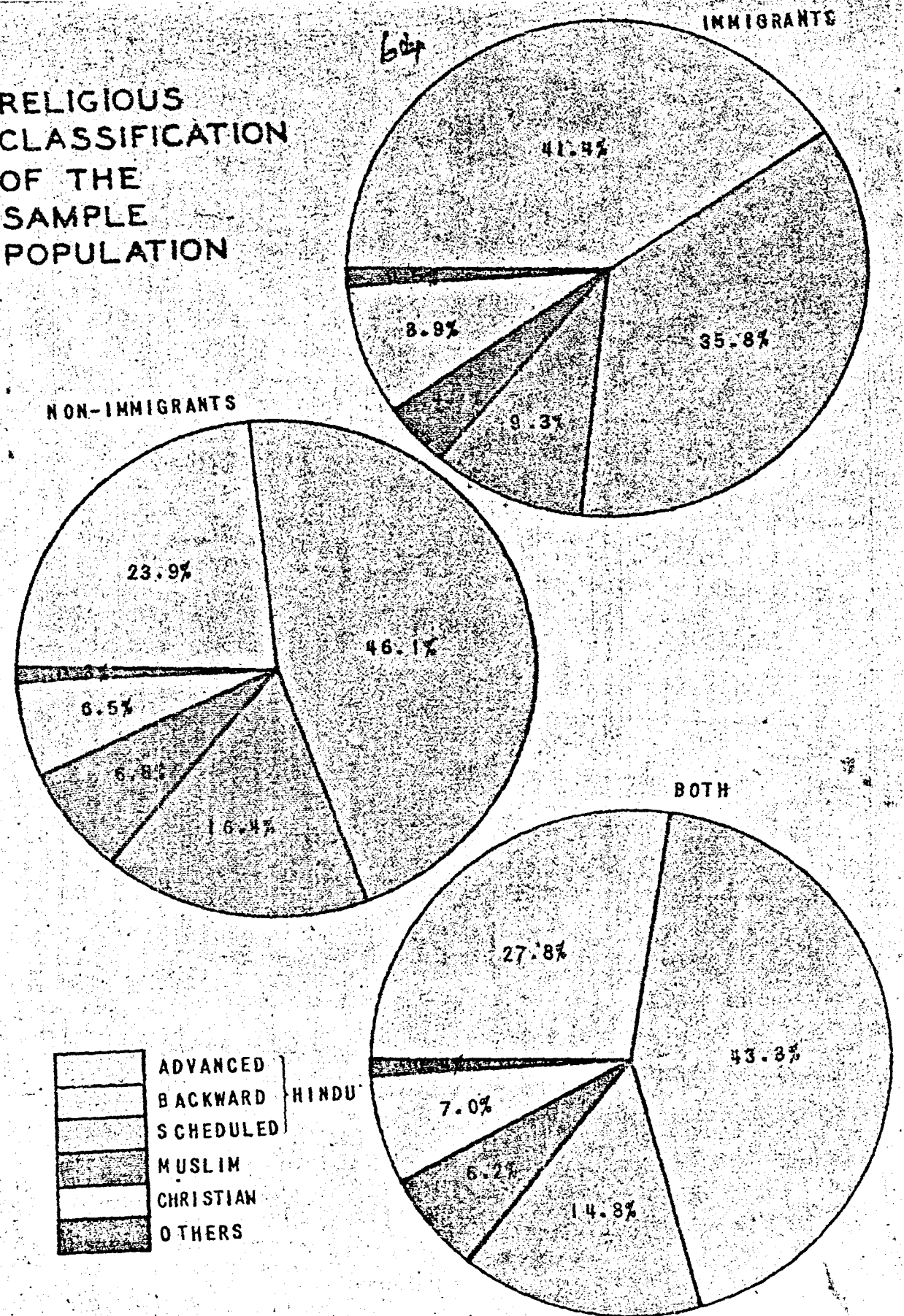
7.4. Children below 5 years form 13.7% and between 5 and below 15 years 23.9%, making up in the aggregate 37.6% of the total population. The younger adults in the two age groups 15 to 24 years and 25 and below 35 years constitute 35.1%. The older adults in the age group ranging from 35 and below 55 form 20.1%. The percentage of population is 4.8 in the age group of 55 to less than 65 years. This group representing the older section of the population has a considerable number of persons healthy or needy to seek and be engaged in gainful employment. The percentage of population above 64 years is 2.4 who are seldom seen in active employment. The age structure of the female population manifests mild variation from that of the males. In the lower age groups upto 35 years the percentage of females is slightly higher than that of the males; between 35 and 55 years it is lower and above 55 years equal to that of the males.

7.5. There are noteworthy variations between the age structures of the non-immigrants and the immigrants. It is 16.2% for the former against 1.6% for the latter in the lowest age group

TABLE 7.3—Percentage Distribution of Population According to Age Groups

Age Group	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
0-4	15.8	16.7	16.2	1.6	1.6	1.6	13.5	14.0	13.7
5-14	25.9	26.1	26.0	13.5	13.7	13.6	23.8	23.9	23.9
15-24	17.4	16.8	17.1	23.9	30.4	27.3	18.4	19.2	18.8
25-34	13.3	13.6	13.4	29.4	31.6	30.5	15.9	16.8	16.3
35-44	11.2	11.1	11.2	17.4	9.0	13.2	12.2	10.8	11.5
45-54	9.2	8.4	8.8	7.9	7.1	7.5	9.0	8.1	8.6
55-64	4.9	4.8	4.9	4.0	4.5	4.2	4.8	4.8	4.8
65-74	1.8	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.9
75+	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Numbers	30,928	23,761	59,689	5,906	6,293	12,199	36,834	35,054	71,888

RELIGIOUS CLASSIFICATION OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION



of '0 to less than 5 years'; the corresponding percentages are 26.0 and 13.6 in the age group '5 to below 15 years', 17.1 and 27.3 in '15 and below 25 years', 13.4 and 30.5 in '25 and below 35 years' and 11.2 and 13.2 in '35 and below 45 years'. In the higher age groups the differences in percentages are less significant. These figures show that the proportion in the children group is remarkably low among the immigrants. This apparent distortion in the age structure cannot be attributed to a lower fertility rate among the immigrants but to the specific definition of immigrants by the Research Programmes Committee which led to the exclusion of immigrants' children born in the city from the group of immigrants proper. This argument applies equally to the lower percentage of children between 5 and 15 years. In contrast to the situation in the children group the percentage of immigrants in the age groups of 15 to 24 years and 25 to 34 years are 27.3 and 30.5 respectively compared with the corresponding figures of 17.1 and 13.4 for the non-immigrants. This relatively larger hump in the young adults age group among the immigrants indicates how the process of immigration has skimmed away the best of the age groups from the original habitat. The sex ratio in the various age groups are fairly uniform both among non-immigrants and immigrants except in the solitary instance of the age group '35 to 44 years' relating to the immigrants. How against 17.4% of males in this age groups there are only 9.0% of females remains inexplicable.

RELIGIOUS CLASSIFICATION

7.6. Data relating to religion and community of the total population have been analysed on the basis of migratory characteristics and sex. (Vide table 7.6).

7.7. Of the total population 85.4% are Hindus, 6.9% Muslims, 7.1% Christians, 0.4% Jains and 0.1% others. Among the Hindus further sub-classification into three broad communities reveals that nearly 1/2 belong to the backward, 1/6th to the scheduled and 1/3 to the Advanced community. Among the Christians 1/7th of the population consists of Anglo-Indians. The percentage of Advanced Hindu is 43.0 among immigrants compared with 25.8 among non-immigrants, indicating the large influx of population belonging to this group. The percentage of Backward community is 35.6 among immigrants against 43.7 among non-immigrants. Corresponding percentages for the scheduled are 8.4 and 15.7. It is apparent from the figures that the influx of Moslems is of a lower order in relation to their significance in non-immigrant population. On the other hand the influx of Christians is in the other way. In short Advanced Hindu and Christian communities are more prominent among the immigrants than among non-immigrants.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND AGE GROUP

7.8. With the object of finding out whether the age structure of the various religious communities conforms to that of the total population, special processing of the data was undertaken as shown in table 7.8.

7.9. The figures in table 7.8 disclose a remarkable similarity in the patterns of age groups of the three chief religious communities, the Hindu, Moslem and Christian. It is only in respect of the Jains and 'others' group that significant variations are noticeable. But both these groups, it may be noted, consist of 347 persons or 0.5% of the sample population. However a word about the age composition of particularly the Jain population is appropriate here. It does not reveal that much of distortion as the age structure of the total immigrant population. This may be ascribed to the fact that the Jain immigrants, fairly affluent and mainly engaged in money-lending and jewellery business arrive in the city not only in their 'teen age' but most of them married and with babies in arms.

MARITAL STATUS

7.10. The total sample population has been classified into four categories according to marital status as shown in table 7.10.

7.11. It may be seen from table 7.10 that 52.8% are unmarried, 39.6% married, 7.2% widowed and 0.4% separated. It is remarkable that the percentage of married is 59.6 among immigrants against 35.5 among non-immigrants. The high percentage of unmarried in the non-immigrant population is due mainly to the fact that considerable number of children born to immigrants after their arrival in the city, thanks to the concept of immigrants adopted, have gone

TABLE 7.6—Religious Classification—Percentages

Religion	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
<i>Hindu:</i>									
Advanced H ₁	25.9	25.6	25.8	44.5	41.6	43.0	28.9	28.5	28.7
Backward H ₂	43.6	43.7	43.7	33.5	37.6	35.6	42.0	42.6	42.3
Scheduled H ₃	15.7	15.7	15.7	7.9	8.8	8.4	14.4	14.5	14.4
Muslims M	7.3	7.5	7.4	4.9	4.1	4.5	6.9	6.9	6.9
Christians C	6.0	6.1	6.0	7.5	6.6	7.0	6.2	6.2	6.2
Anglo-Indians AI	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.9
Jains J	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4
Others O	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.04	0.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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TABLE 7.8—Percentage Distribution of Population According to Religious Classification & Age Group

Age Group	H ₁			H ₂			H ₃			AI			J			O			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
0-4	13.1	13.9	14.3	14.4	13.1	13.1	14.4	13.1	13.1	20.4	20.4	20.4	20.4	20.4	20.4	6.2	6.2	6.2	13.7
5-14	23.7	23.5	24.6	24.2	24.6	27.7	24.2	24.6	27.7	25.4	25.4	25.4	25.4	25.4	25.4	25.0	25.0	25.0	23.9
15-24	19.4	18.3	18.7	20.4	18.7	14.0	20.4	18.7	14.0	17.7	17.7	17.7	17.7	17.7	17.7	20.8	20.8	20.8	18.8
25-34	15.8	16.6	16.6	15.7	16.8	14.8	15.7	16.8	14.8	17.7	17.7	17.7	17.7	17.7	17.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.3
35-44	11.3	11.6	11.8	10.8	11.8	12.1	10.8	11.8	12.1	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	10.4	10.4	10.4	11.5
45-54	8.9	8.5	8.3	8.2	8.4	9.5	8.2	8.4	9.5	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	12.5	12.5	12.5	8.6
55-64	4.9	5.0	4.1	4.1	4.3	5.3	4.1	4.3	5.3	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	4.8
65-74	2.2	1.9	1.2	1.6	1.8	2.4	1.6	1.8	2.4	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	6.2	6.2	6.2	1.9
75+..	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.4	1.1	0.6	0.4	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	—	—	—	0.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of persons	20,569	30,333	10,333	4,974	4,459	663	4,974	4,459	663	299	299	299	299	299	299	48	48	48	71,888

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TABLE 7.10—Percentage Distribution of Population According to Marital Status

Marital Status	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Not married	61.6	51.6	56.8	43.0	23.1	32.8	58.7	46.5	52.8
Married	35.4	35.6	35.5	54.2	64.7	59.6	38.4	40.8	39.6
Widowed	2.9	12.0	7.2	2.7	11.5	7.2	2.8	11.9	7.2
Separated	0.1	0.8	0.5	0.1	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.8	0.4
Divorced	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Neg : Negligible.

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to inflate it. This explanation receives support from the occurrence of almost the same percentages in the widowed and separated categories for both non-immigrants and immigrants as also by the fact that common customs and traditions govern marriage institutions of both.

RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

7.12. In an earlier chapter the size and degree of households were studied with the object of finding out the changes in family structure resulting from urbanization. Further light on this problem is sought from an analysis of the data relating to individuals on the basis of relationship to the head of the household. The relevant data are tabulated in table 7.12.

7.13 The percentage of the sample population featuring as heads of households is 18.4 and the percentage of spouses is 16.2. By far the largest percentage of 42.6 is recorded by sons and daughters. Parents account for 3.9%, brothers and sisters 4.7%, 'in-law' group (comprising brother-in-law, sister-in-law, father-in-law and mother-in-law and the like) 4.9%, grand children 3.8%, grand parents 0.1%, other relations 4.6%, non-relations 0.1% and servants 0.7%. The wide disparity between the percentages of sons and daughters in the immigrant and non-immigrants groups is explainable by the fact of the city born children of the immigrants getting shifted to non-immigrant group for reasons already mentioned. From this difference therefore no valid inference can be drawn in comparing the structure of the families among non-immigrants and immigrants. But the higher percentages of parents, brothers and sisters, in-laws and other relations recorded by the immigrants are significant showing how the immigrant households are carrying the burden of joint family responsibility in a special sense.

COMMUNITY-WISE ANALYSIS

7.14. In regard to the large sample covered by the survey an attempt has been made to determine differentials obtaining between various communities in the composition of the families. In brief the end in view is to find out which of the communities are tolerating relations other than the first degree including non-relations and servants. The relevant data are tabulated in table 7.14.

7.15. The first point to note in table 7.14 is the variation in the percentage of heads of households from 18.1 for Jains to 22.4 for the Backward Hindu. Obviously the inference is that the Jain head of the household supports more members than his opposite numbers in other religious communities. In this respect Moslems rank second only to Jains. As for children Anglo-Indian community leads with 42.5% followed by Christians with 37.6%; other communities are fairly even. Percentage of parents varies from 5.2 among Jains to 3.2 among Anglo-Indians, brothers and sisters from 7.2 among Muslims to 3.6 among Anglo-Indians. The in-laws seem to occur largest in Jain households recording 10.3% at one end and least among Christians with 4.9% at the other. Grand children too figure more prominently among Jains accounting for 3% and they are least among the scheduled castes with 1.7%. Other relations occur most prominently among Muslims recording 7.5% and least among Anglo-Indians having 2.9%. Non-relations are seen most in the Anglo-Indian community, the percentage being 0.7 and least among the Scheduled castes with 0.01. The percentage of servants living with households is 1.7 among Jains, 1.2 among Christians, 1.1 among Muslims, 1.0 among the Advanced, 0.8 among the Backward Hindus, 0.5 among Anglo-Indians and 0.3 among Scheduled castes.

GENERAL EDUCATION

7.16. A classification of the sample population into 9 groups according to general educational qualification has been done as shown in table 7.16.

7.17. The percentage of illiterates is 28.9 in the sample. The group labelled 'primary' denoting more or less the mere literates accounts for 36.4%. The percentage is 17.1 for the middle school category (1st form to 3rd form), 6.8% for the secondary school category (4th to 6th form), 7.4 for S.S.L.Cs., 1.7 for Intermediates and 1.7 for graduates. Of the total male population 15.4% are illiterates, 11.6% are S.S.L.Cs. and 2.8% are graduates. From the employment point of view the position of these three categories is much easier than that of the primary, middle and secondary constituting 67.3% who on account of literacy and a smattering of education generally develop a fastidious attitude towards choice of jobs. Equally difficult is the situation of the Intermediates consisting of 2.8% of the sample population who psychologically feel superior to S.S.L.Cs. and hence look out for better jobs without much success, and

MARITAL STATUS — SAMPLE POPULATION

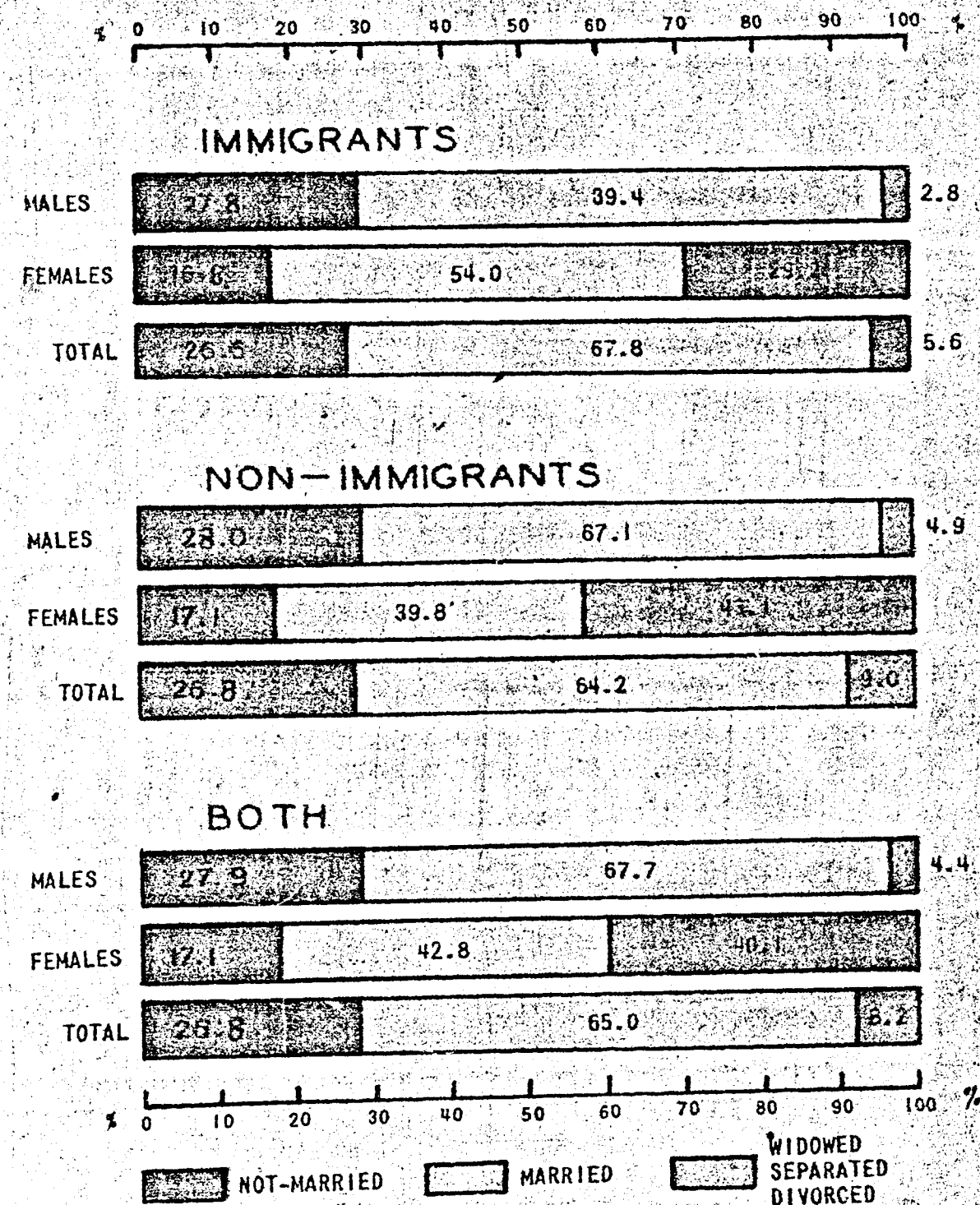


TABLE 7.12—Percentage Distribution of Population According to Relationship to the Head of Household

Relationship to Head	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
X Head	31.6	1.6	17.2	49.6	1.3	24.7	34.5	1.6	18.4
1 Wife or Husband	0.3	28.4	13.8	0.2	53.5	27.7	0.3	32.9	16.2
2 Son or Daughter	50.4	43.6	47.1	23.7	17.4	20.4	46.1	38.9	42.6
3 Father or Mother	1.0	6.7	3.7	1.7	7.5	4.7	1.1	6.8	3.9
0 Brother or Sister	5.1	3.4	4.3	9.5	4.0	6.6	5.8	3.5	4.7
4 In-Law	2.3	6.3	4.3	5.7	9.7	7.8	2.9	6.9	4.9
5 Grand-child	4.4	4.4	4.4	0.9	0.9	0.9	3.8	3.8	3.8
6 Grand-parent	0.02	0.3	0.1	0.02	0.3	0.2	0.02	0.3	0.1
7 Other relation	4.4	4.5	4.5	6.4	4.0	5.2	4.7	4.4	4.6
8 Non-relation	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.05	0.1	0.1
9 Servant	0.4	0.7	0.5	2.1	1.4	1.7	0.7	0.8	0.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 7.14—Religious Classification and Relationship to Head

Relationship to Head	II ₁	II ₂	II ₃	M	C	AI	J	Others
* Head	21.5	22.4	22.7	19.9	21.1	21.5	18.1	20.0
1 Husband or Wife	18.4	20.3	19.6	17.0	17.4	15.7	15.5	20.0
2 Son or Daughter	36.4	34.3	35.8	34.1	37.6	42.5	34.5	46.7
3 Father or Mother	4.4	4.9	4.8	3.8	4.0	3.2	5.2	—
0 Brother or Sister	5.5	5.1	5.6	7.2	6.0	3.6	5.6	6.6
4 In-Law	5.6	5.8	5.0	7.1	4.9	6.9	10.3	—
5 Grand-Child	2.5	2.3	1.7	2.1	2.2	2.5	3.0	—
6 Grand-Parent	0.2	0.2	0.09	0.2	0.2	—	—	—
7 Other relation	4.4	3.8	4.3	7.5	5.3	2.9	6.0	6.6
8 Non-relation	0.1	0.1	0.01	—	0.1	0.7	—	—
9 Servant	1.0	0.8	0.3	1.1	1.2	0.5	1.7	—
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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TABLE 7.16—Percentage Distribution of Population According to General Education

General Education	Non-Immigrants				Immigrants				Total	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
0 Illiterate	15.4	42.9	28.6	15.5	44.2	30.0	15.4	43.2	28.9	
1 Primary	38.8	37.1	38.0	29.9	30.2	29.8	37.1	35.7	36.4	
2 Middle School	21.4	13.2	17.4	17.1	14.7	15.7	20.7	13.5	17.1	
3 Secondary	9.8	3.7	6.9	8.4	4.9	6.6	9.5	3.9	6.8	
4 S.S.L.C.	10.1	2.4	6.4	18.4	4.6	11.2	11.6	2.9	7.4	
5 Intermediate	2.4	0.4	1.4	4.9	0.8	2.7	2.8	0.5	1.7	
6 Graduates in Arts	1.4	0.2	0.8	3.7	0.4	1.9	1.8	0.2	1.1	
7 Graduates in Science	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.9	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.3	
8 Post-Graduates in Arts	0.2	Neg	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.5	0.4	—	0.2	
9 Post-Graduates in Science	Neg	Neg	Neg	0.3	—	0.1	0.1	—	0.1	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

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TABLE 7.18—Religious Classification & General Education—Percentages

General Education	Religious Classification									
	H ₁	H ₂	H ₃	M	C	AI	J	O	Total	
0 Illiterate	15.1	34.5	46.7	34.0	14.6	3.7	12.2	13.3	28.9	
1 Primary	33.6	38.9	34.1	39.1	35.7	27.7	52.2	26.7	36.4	
2 Middle School	19.7	15.2	14.4	14.0	24.3	37.8	14.4	30.0	17.1	
3 Secondary	9.9	5.5	3.4	5.9	9.4	12.1	8.3	3.3	6.8	
4 S.S.L.C.	14.0	4.4	1.2	4.9	11.6	16.2	7.8	23.4	7.4	
5 Intermediate	3.6	0.8	0.2	1.6	2.2	1.6	3.0	—	1.7	
6 Graduates in Arts	2.5	0.4	(0.04)	0.4	1.6	0.7	1.7	3.3	1.1	
7 Graduates in Science	0.8	0.2	(0.01)	0.1	0.3	—	0.4	—	0.3	
8 Post-Graduates in Arts	0.6	0.1	—	(0.04)	0.3	—	—	—	0.2	
9 Post-Graduates in Science	0.2	(0.003)	—	—	—	0.2	—	—	0.1	
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

remain unemployed for longer spells. In respect of education females lag much behind males with 43.2% illiterates and 35.7% in the primary group. Although the immigrants show a relatively larger percentage in the illiterate category, they are in the aggregate more highly educated than the non-immigrants.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND GENERAL EDUCATION

7.18. The levels of education attained by the various religious communities varies widely. An attempt has been made to compare the educational standards attained by them in the sample population. Relevant data have been processed and tabulated in table 7.18.

7.19. The percentage of illiteracy varies from 3.7 among Anglo-Indians to 46.7 among the Scheduled Caste group, leaving out 'others'. Jains come next to Anglo-Indians in regard to the small percentage of illiterates, followed by the Christians and the Advanced Hindu. The level of illiteracy is the same in the Backward Hindu and the Muslim communities, the percentage being around 34. In all categories of education up to S.S.L.C. the Anglo-Indian community leads, the Christian and the Advanced Hindu following neck to neck. Above S.S.L.C. the Advanced Hindu community records relatively better levels than any other community. The percentage with S.S.L.C. and higher education is 26.7 among others, 21.7 among the Advanced Hindus, 18.7 among Anglo-Indians, 16.0 among Christians, 12.9 among Jains, 7.0 among Muslims, 5.9 among backward Hindu and 1.4 among the Scheduled Castes compared with 10.8 for the whole sample population.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

7.20. Technical education comprises law, medicine, engineering, agriculture, veterinary, audit and accounting, music, painting, photography, etc. Data relating to technical education of the sample population were collected. They have been classified into 3 broad groups namely, (i) degree holders, (ii) diploma holders and (iii) trained or experienced technicians without either a degree or a diploma. The relevant data are tabulated in table below.

TABLE 7.20—Technical Education

Technical Education	NON-IMMIGRANTS		IMMIGRANTS		TOTAL	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>Break-up Figures for Technical Personnel</i>						
Degrees	215	0.4	113	0.9	328	0.5
Diplomas	1,164	1.9	576	4.8	1,740	2.4
Non-diplomas	1,140	1.9	222	1.8	1,362	1.9
Total Technical Personnel	2,519	4.2	911	7.5	3,430	4.8
Non-Technical Personnel	57,170	95.8	11,288	92.5	68,458	95.2
TOTAL	59,689	100.0	12,199	100.0	71,888	100.0

7.21. Of the sample population, 3,430 or 4.8% have had technical education or training of whom 328 are degree holders, 1,740 diploma holders and 1,362 technicians without any degrees and diplomas. Some of the last mentioned have certificates issued by the Military authorities as having had vocational training and experience in the defence services before their demobilization. There is one degree holder for a population of 200, one diploma holder for about 40 and one trained technician of the lower ranks for about 50 according to the findings of the present survey. Among the group of technical personnel, diploma holders form nearly half, degree holders one-in-ten and the lower-level technicals four-in-ten. An overwhelming majority of the technical personnel are males, forming 90% among degree holders, 85% among diploma holders and 98% among the technicians.

RELIGIOUS CLASSIFICATION AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

7.22. As in general education, attainments in technical education vary widely among the religious communities. Data have been specially analysed for assessing the differentials between the communities, in table 7.22 below.

TABLE 7.22—Religious Classification and Technical Education

Religious classification	Technical Education				
	Degrees	Diplomas	Non-Diploma	Non Reported	Total
Hindu : Advanced	1.4	5.0	1.0	92.6	100.0
" Backward	0.2	1.8	3.6	94.4	100.0
" Scheduled	0.03	0.8	1.4	97.8	100.0
Muslims	0.2	1.1	1.1	97.6	100.0
Christians	0.6	6.1	2.4	90.9	100.0
Anglo-Indians	0.7	10.8	2.7	85.8	100.0
Jains	—	2.2	0.9	96.9	100.0
Others	3.3	3.3	3.3	90.1	100.0
NET TOTAL	0.5	2.9	2.3	94.3	100.0

7.23. Per ten thousand persons in the community there are 140 degree holders among the Advanced Hindu, 70 among Anglo-Indians, 60 among Christians, 20 each among Muslims and the Backward Hindu communities and 3 among the Scheduled castes. Corresponding numbers for diploma holders are 500 for the Advanced Hindu, 1,080 for the Anglo-Indians, 610 for Christians, 220 for the Jains, 110 for Muslims, 180 for the backward and 80 for the Scheduled. For the lower rank technicians comparable figures are 100 for the Advanced, 270 for Anglo-Indians, 240 for Christians, 110 for Muslims, 360 for the backward, 90 for the Jains and 140 for the Scheduled caste.

MOTHER TONGUE

7.25. In an earlier chapter the households were classified into linguistic groups on the basis of the mother tongue of the heads of households. It is quite likely that some of the non-relations and domestic servants wherever they occur not to mention stray cases of sons-in-law and daughters-in-law may have some other mother-tongue. In the present section an attempt is made to classify the individuals forming the sample population according to mother-tongue. The relevant data are shown in table 7.25 below.

TABLE 7.25—Percentage Distribution According to Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	NI	I	TOTAL		
			Males	Females	Total
1 Tamil	71.5	69.4	71.1	71.2	71.1
2 Telugu	16.6	16.4	16.6	16.6	16.6
3 Malayalam	1.1	4.9	2.0	1.7	1.9
4 Kannada	0.6	1.2	0.7	0.8	0.7
5 Urdu	6.6	3.1	5.9	5.9	5.9
6 Hindi	0.5	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.6

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
7 English	1.1	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.0
8 Bengali	—	0.1	—	—	—
9 Marathi	0.9	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.9
0 Sindhi	—	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1
X Gujarati	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.4
Y Others	0.6	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.7
TOTAL	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

7.26. Of the total population, 71.1% have Tamil as their mother tongue, 16.6 Telugu, 1.9 Malayalam, 0.7 Kannada, 5.9 Urdu, 0.6 Hindi, 1.0 English, 0.9 Marathi, 0.1 Sindhi, 0.4 Gujarati and 0.7 other languages. In respect of Malayalam, Kannada, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and others the percentage of immigrants are higher than the corresponding percentages among non-immigrants.

KNOWLEDGE OF TAMIL

7.27. Special provision was made in the schedules for collecting data relating to a working knowledge of Tamil, the regional language of Madras city. An analysis of the data reveals that the percentage knowing Tamil is 94.2 among non-immigrants, 86.4 among immigrants and 92.5 among both. Of the non-immigrants 95.6% of the males and 92.5% of the females have a knowledge of Tamil. In the immigrant population the corresponding percentages are 88.7 for males and 84.2 for females. The percentage not knowing Tamil is 7.5 in the total population 5.9 among males and 9.3 among females.

KNOWLEDGE OF HINDI

7.28. Provision was also made for the collection of data relating to a working knowledge of Hindi. The survey reveals that the percentage with a knowledge of Hindi is 2 in the whole sample, 2.9 among males and 1.0 among females. The immigrants have a large percentage of 4.2 knowing Hindi against 1.5 among non-immigrants. Among males the percentage knowing Hindi is 6.5 in the immigrant against 2.1 in the non-immigrant population. Corresponding percentages for females are 2.1 and 0.7 respectively.

ECONOMIC STATUS

7.29. Data relating to economic status of the sample population have been analysed as shown in the table 7.29. The percentage of earners is 28.6 for the sample, 27.1 for non-immigrants and 36.3 for immigrants. The percentage of earning dependents is 1.2 for the sample, 1.1 for non-immigrants and 1.6 for the immigrants. Corresponding percentages for non-earning dependents are 70.2, 71.8 and 62.1 respectively. Among the earners 91.2% are males and 8.8% females. It is interesting to note that this proportion between males and females is exactly the same for both non-immigrants and immigrants. Among the earning dependents 51.1% are males and 48.9% females. Among non-earning dependents 35.0% are males and 65.0% females. It may be noted that the percentage of male non-earning dependents is 23.3 among immigrants against 37.0 among non-immigrants. The reason for this higher percentage among the latter is once again the smuggling of the immigrants' children born in this city into the camp of the non-immigrants as a result of the special conceptual significance of the immigrants.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

7.30. Data relating to employment status of the sample population have been analysed into 12 categories following broadly the concepts evolved for the urbanization survey by the Research Programmes Committee. The relevant data are processed and shown in table 7.30.

7.31. Of the sample population 40.4% are children and students, 25.6% household workers, and 2.6% 'old age, sick and retired'. These three groups making up in the aggregate

TABLE 7.29—Economic Status

Economic Status	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
<i>Sample</i>									
1 Earner	47.7	5.0	27.1	68.4	6.2	36.3	51.0	5.2	28.6
2 Earning Dependents	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.2	1.2	1.2
3 Non-earning Dependents	51.2	93.9	71.8	29.9	92.3	62.1	47.8	93.6	70.2
TOTAL ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 Earner	91.2	8.8	100.0	91.2	8.8	100.0	91.2	8.8	100.0
2 Earning Dependents	51.2	48.8	100.0	50.5	49.5	100.0	51.1	48.9	100.0
3 Non-earning Dependents	37.0	63.0	100.0	23.3	76.7	100.0	35.0	65.0	100.0
TOTAL ..	51.8	48.0	100.0	48.4	51.6	100.0	51.2	48.8	100.0

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TABLE 7.30—Percentage Distribution of Total Population According to Employment Status

Employment status	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1 Employer	1.9	0.05	1.0	2.8	0.1	1.4	2.1	0.1	1.1
2 Employee	31.7	3.3	18.0	53.1	2.8	28.2	35.2	3.5	19.7
3 Self-employed	9.4	1.8	5.7	11.6	1.6	6.5	9.8	1.7	5.9
4 Family helper	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.4
5 Household worker	0.5	47.5	23.1	0.4	73.3	38.0	0.5	52.1	25.6
6 Children and students	46.2	43.5	44.9	20.7	16.3	18.4	42.1	38.7	40.4
7 Old age, sick & retired	3.0	2.1	2.6	3.1	1.9	2.5	3.0	2.1	2.6
8 Unearned income receivers	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.8
9 Remittance holders	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2
X Unemployed for 1 time	3.3	0.4	1.9	3.5	0.6	2.0	3.3	0.4	1.9
Y Unemployed Not for 1 time	2.3	0.1	1.3	3.0	0.1	1.5	2.4	0.1	1.3
0 No desire to work	0.1	—	0.1	0.1	—	0.1	0.1	0.01	0.1
TOTAL ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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TABLE 7-33—Employment Status and Sex Ratio—Percentages

Employment status	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1 Employer	97.7	2.3	100	95.3	4.7	100	97.2	2.8	100
2 Employee	91.2	8.8	100	91.2	8.8	100	91.2	8.8	100
3 Self-employed	85.1	14.9	100	87.1	12.9	100	85.5	14.5	100
4 Family helper	65.4	34.6	100	69.7	30.3	100	66.4	33.6	100
5 Household worker	1.1	98.9	100	0.5	99.5	100	0.9	99.1	100
6 Children and Students	53.3	46.7	100	54.3	45.7	100	53.4	46.6	100
7 Old age, sick & retired	60.3	39.7	100	60.0	40.0	100	60.2	39.8	100
8 Unearned income receivers	60.4	39.6	100	61.8	38.2	100	60.6	39.4	100
9 Remittance receivers	22.7	77.3	100	21.9	78.1	100	22.5	77.5	100
X Unemployed Freshers	90.4	9.6	100	83.9	16.1	100	89.2	10.8	100
Y Unemployed Veterans	94.4	5.6	100	95.7	4.3	100	94.6	5.4	100
0 No desire to work	94.3	5.7	100	100	—	100	95.3	4.7	100

68.6% may be viewed as the economically inactive population. The figures in the above table show that 1.1% of the total population are employers, 19.7% employees, 5.9% self-employed and 0.4% family helpers. These four groups forming 27.1% represent the employed section of the economically active population. The unearned income receivers forming 0.8%, remittance holders 0.2% and persons having no desire to work 0.1% together making up 1.1% may be viewed as the passive section of the economically active population. Lastly the unemployed for the first time and not for the first time account for 3.2%. From the above employment status pattern it appears that the magnitude of unemployment is far from significant. It works out to only one unemployed person for every 30 in the population.

7.32. A more realistic way of looking at the problem of unemployment would be to deduct from the total population children below 15 years and adults above 55 years and work out the proportion of the unemployed with reference to the net total who constitute the really economically active population. Worked out this way the percentage of the unemployed moves up to 5.75. This percentage is so low because of the presence in the employment status group of household workers accounting for 25.6% of the total population. It may be noted that this large population of household workers are adults. The figures in the table show that 52.1% of the females and 0.5% of the males belong to this group. This really means that there is a large army of 18,432 household workers, mostly feminine. Allowing one woman to each household for house-keeping the excess number of household workers is estimated at 3,144 or 4.4% of the total population. The latter, reporting themselves to be household workers, are in fact unemployed. In this group those women belonging to upper income groups may not be in need of gainful employment, but their number will not be considerable. Assuming that they are about 700 forming 1% of the total population the percentage of household workers suffering from disguised unemployment will be 3.75. Adding this percentage to 5.75% worked out earlier the percentage unemployed open and disguised would increase to 9.5. Indeed this higher percentage worked out so elaborately is but the result of a striving after theoretical perfection in the determination of the truly unemployed. But in the national policy of solving unemployment, society is concerned with only the vocally unemployed forming but 3.2% of the total population and 5.75% of the economically active population. These findings indicate that the magnitude of unemployment in Madras city is much less than it is commonly believed or notionally estimated.

7.33. A break down of the figures relating to employment status according to sex may be of interest. With this object the relevant data are processed and tabulated in table 7.33.

7.34. It may be seen that 99.1% of the household workers are females. The percentage of males in the employed and the unemployed groups is overwhelmingly large; it is 97.2 in the employer, 91.2 in the employee, 85.5 in the self-employed, 66.4 in the family helpers, 89.2 in the unemployed freshers and 94.6 in the unemployed veterans' group.

INCOME GROUPS

7.35. Data relating to incomes of the individuals have been collected. Without distinguishing earned income from the rest the collected data have been processed to classify the individuals getting income into six income groups as shown in table 7.35 below.

TABLE 7-35—Total Population—Income Groups

Income Groups (Per month)		Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Rs. 1—49	..	6,494	41.1	1,760	37.9	8,254	40.3
50—99	..	5,336	33.8	1,397	30.1	6,733	32.9
100—199	..	2,679	16.9	959	20.6	3,638	17.8
200—499	..	1,030	6.5	433	9.3	1,463	7.2
500—999	..	183	1.2	68	1.5	251	1.2
1000+000	..	86	0.5	30	0.6	116	0.6
TOTAL	..	15,808	100.0	4,647	100.0	20,455	100.0
Total Income Receivers	..	15,808	26.5	4,647	38.1	20,455	28.5
Total Non-Income Receivers	..	43,881	73.5	7,552	61.9	51,433	71.5
GRAND TOTAL	..	59,689	100.0	12,199	100.0	71,888	100.0

TABLE 7-37—Sources of Income

Sources of Income	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	Amount	%1	%2	Amount	%1	%2	Amount	%1	%2
Main Occupation ..	12,45,589	99.1	77.2	4,24,608	99.1	79.2	16,70,197	99.1	77.7
Subsidiary Occupation ..	11,541	0.9	0.7	3,884	0.1	0.7	15,425	0.9	0.7
Total Earned Income ..	12,57,130	100.0	77.9	4,28,492	100.0	79.9	16,85,622	100.0	78.4
House ..	1,10,880	31.1	6.9	11,546	10.7	2.2	1,22,426	26.3	5.7
Land ..	26,585	7.4	1.6	20,576	19.1	3.8	47,161	10.2	2.2
Remittances ..	15,547	4.4	1.0	13,020	12.1	2.4	28,567	6.4	1.3
Others ..	30,923	8.7	1.9	10,336	9.6	1.9	41,259	8.9	1.9
Income from outside ..	1,72,877	48.4	10.7	52,331	48.5	9.8	2,25,208	48.5	10.5
Total Unearned Income ..	3,56,812	100	22.1	1,07,809	100	20.1	4,64,621	100	21.6
GRAND TOTAL ..	16,13,942		100.0	5,36,301		100.0	21,50,243		100.0

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7.36. Of the sample population 51,433 or 71.5% do not have any income, earned or unearned and 20,455 or 28.5% derive incomes. Of the income receivers 40.3% aggregating less than Rs. 50 per month; 32.9% between Rs. 50 and Rs. 99, 17.8% Rs. 100 and Rs. 199, 7.2% Rs. 200 and Rs. 499, 1.2% Rs. 500 and Rs. 999 and 0.6% Rs. 1,000 and above. It may be of interest to record that three cases in the sample have reported incomes of Rs. 10,000 and above. The percentages of immigrants in Rs. 100 and Rs. 199 and the higher income groups are slightly larger than the corresponding percentages for non-immigrants. The percentage getting incomes of Rs. 100 and above is 32 among immigrants against 25.1 among non-immigrants. These figures indicate that in general the immigrants are better off than non-immigrants.

SOURCES OF INCOME

7.37. The total income of the sample population works out to Rs. 21,50,243, which is derived from various sources. The pattern of distribution of the total income according to sources is shown in table 7.37.

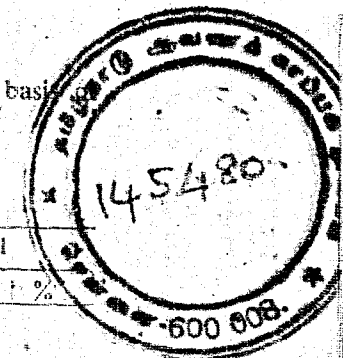
7.38. Of the total income 78.4% consists of earned and 21.6% unearned income. The percentage of income from main occupation is 77.7 and from subsidiary occupation 0.7. It is 5.7 from house, 2.2 from land, 1.3 from remittances, 1.9 from 'others' and 10.5 from 'income from outside'. While income from main occupation is overwhelmingly large accounting for 99.1% of the earned income, it is income from outside accounting for 48.5% that is the largest single source in respect of unearned income. The non-immigrants derive a higher percentage of income from house and from 'income from outside' than the immigrants. On the other hand the immigrants derive a larger percentage of income from land, remittances and main occupation.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND INCOME

7.39. The total income of the sample population has also been classified on the basis of employment status categories. The relevant data are processed in table 7.39 below.

TABLE 7-39—Employment Status & Percentage of Income

Employment Status	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
0 No Desire to Work ..	315	0.02	17	—	332	0.02
1 Employer ..	2,02,435	12.5	43,119	8.0	2,45,554	11.4
2 Employee ..	9,70,610	60.1	3,78,367	70.5	13,48,977	62.7
3 Self-employed ..	2,58,010	16.0	56,643	10.6	3,14,653	14.6
4 Family Helper ..	6,650	0.4	2,098	0.4	8,748	0.4
5 Household Worker ..	1,973	0.1	624	0.1	2,597	0.1
6 Students ..	536	0.03	374	0.1	910	0.04
7 Old, Sick & Retired (Pensioners) ..	33,553	2.1	17,172	3.2	50,725	2.4
8 Unearned Income ..	1,06,078	6.6	21,675	4.0	1,27,753	5.9
9 Remittance Holders ..	16,922	1.1	10,208	1.9	27,130	1.3
X Unemployed Freshers ..	3,623	0.2	1,400	0.3	5,023	0.2
Y Unemployed Veterans ..	13,237	0.8	4,604	0.9	17,841	0.8
TOTAL ..	16,13,942	100.0	5,36,301	100.0	21,50,243	100.0



7.42. The figures in the above table show that the average *per capita* income is Rs. 27.04 group, 14.6% by the self-employed, 5.9% by unearned income recipients, 1.3% by remittance holders, 2.4% by the old, sick and retired, 0.8% by unemployed veterans and still smaller percentages by the rest. The employee group among immigrants accounts for 70.5% of their income compared with 60.1% by their opposite numbers among the non-immigrants. Similar variations are significant in respect of employer, self-employed and unearned income groups in which the non-immigrants record a higher percentage than the immigrants.

PER CAPITA INCOME IN EMPLOYMENT STATUS CATEGORIES

7.41. Data relating to income have been analysed with a view to finding out the average income per head in the various employment status categories. The processed data are given in the table 7.41 below.

TABLE 7.41—Employment Status and Number of Persons and Income Per Head

Employment status	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	I Rs.	Number	I Rs.	Number	I Rs.
0 No Desire to Work	35	9.00	8	2.13	43	7.72
1 Employer	613	330.24	171	252.16	784	313.21
2 Employee	10,755	90.25	3,439	110.02	14,194	95.04
3 Self-employed	3,425	75.33	788	71.88	4,213	74.69
4 Family Helper	208	31.97	66	31.79	274	31.93
5 Household Worker	13,800	0.14	4,632	0.13	18,432	0.14
6 Children & Students	27,796	0.02	2,249	0.17	29,045	0.03
7 Old, Sick and Retired	1,554	21.59	305	56.30	1,859	27.29
8 Unearned Income	497	213.44	76	285.20	573	222.95
9 Remittance Holders	97	174.45	32	319.00	129	210.31
X Unemployed Freshers	1,126	3.22	248	5.65	1,374	3.66
Y Unemployed Veterans	768	17.24	185	24.89	953	18.72
NET TOTAL	59,674	27.05	12,199	43.96	71,873	29.92
Not Reported	15				15	
GRAND TOTAL	59,689	27.04	12,199	43.96	71,888	29.91

I : Income per head.

7.42. The figures in the above table show that the average *per capita* income is Rs. 27.04 for non-immigrants, Rs. 43.96 for immigrants and Rs. 29.91 for the whole sample population. The *per capita* income varies from Rs. 313.21 in the employer group of 14 Naye, Paise in household worker group. It is Rs. 222.95 in the unearned income group, Rs. 210.31 in the remittance-holders group, Rs. 95.04 in the employee group and Rs. 74.69 in the self-employed group. The family helpers get an average income of Rs. 31.93, the old, sick and the retired Rs. 27.29, the unemployed veterans Rs. 18.72 and freshers Rs. 3.66. The survey reveals that the children and students get 3 nP. The immigrants get lower *per capita* income than the non-immigrants only in the three groups of employer, self-employed and 'no desire to work'. In all other groups they are perceptibly better off than the non-immigrants.

7.43. Some broad facts emerging from the analysis of the income data may be presented to complete the picture. Of the total income of Rs. 21,50,243 for the sample, Rs. 16,13,942 consists of the income of non-immigrants and Rs. 5,36,301 of the immigrants. The total earned income is Rs. 16,85,622, of which the share of the non-immigrants is Rs. 12,57,130 and that of the immigrants Rs. 4,28,492. The total unearned income amounts to Rs. 4,64,621 of which Rs. 3,56,812 is received by non-immigrants and Rs. 1,07,809 by immigrants. The average

monthly income per household is Rs. 161.82 for the sample, Rs. 156.94 for the non-immigrants and Rs. 178.53 for the immigrants. The average *per capita* income for the corresponding groups are Rs. 29.91, Rs. 27.04 and Rs. 43.96. The average *per capita* earned income is Rs. 21.06 for non-immigrants, Rs. 35.13 for immigrants and Rs. 23.45 for the sample. If the total earned income is divided among the earners in the respective groups the monthly per capita income works out to Rs. 83.08, Rs. 94.32 and Rs. 85.68 respectively. The average monthly per capita unearned income is Rs. 5.98 for non-immigrants, Rs. 8.84 for immigrants and Rs. 6.46 for the sample. If the unearned income is divided among the number of recipients it rises to Rs. 61.19, Rs. 71.92 and Rs. 63.39 for the three groups respectively.

GAINFULLY EMPLOYED CHILDREN

7.44. The original design of the survey aimed at an intensive study of the industrial and occupational classification of the adults only. However, as the schedules passed through the scrutiny stage the data revealed the occurrence of a considerable number of non-adults or children below 15 years engaged in gainful employment. This led to a separate scheme of analysis for the employed children. Although this is not so elaborate as for the adults in the subsequent chapters it deals with the essential characteristics like age and sex, education, occupation and earnings.

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION

7.45. In the sample population of 71,888 persons, 17,159 or 23.9% are in the age group "5 to 14 years" and 9,867 or 13.7% "below 5 years". The survey has revealed that 301 in the former age group accounting for 1.8% and the one two year child in the latter age group are in gainful employment. The infant of 2 years old is found in this group because as a child film star he has been earning for his parents Rs. 100 per mensem in the year of investigation. Leaving alone this child, of the 301 employed children 197 or nearly two-thirds are males and 104 are females. As for migratory status 210 are non-immigrants and 91 immigrants. These children have been classified into 9 age groups as shown below :

TABLE 7.45—Age Groups of Employed Children—Percentage to Total

Age	Non-Immigrants	Immigrants	Total
6	—	1.1	0.3
7	1.9	—	1.3
8	0.6	—	0.3
9	2.5	1.1	2.0
10	17.3	12.1	15.7
11	7.0	6.5	7.0
12	27.0	26.4	26.9
13	17.2	26.4	19.9
14	26.5	26.4	26.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

7.46. Of the 301 children, 73.4% are "between 12 and 14 years", 15.7% are ten years old, 7.0% eleven years old, 3.9% are between six and nine years. The percentage of children below 10 years is five among non-immigrants and 2.2 among immigrants. This difference in the employment of young juveniles may be attributed either to the greater difficulties of procuring employment or greater reluctance to be employed on the part of the immigrant parents.

TABLE 7.47—Distribution of Employed Children According to Education

Education	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total			Percentage		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	NI	I	T
Illiterate	54	53	108	25	32	57	79	85	164	40.3	81.7	54.6
Literate	5	2	7	8	3	11	13	5	18	6.5	4.8	6.0
I Standard	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	2	1.0	—	0.7
II	15	6	21	4	2	6	19	8	27	9.9	7.7	8.9
III	21	1	22	6	—	6	27	1	28	13.6	1.0	9.3
IV	19	3	22	5	1	6	24	4	28	12.1	3.8	9.3
V	14	—	14	3	—	3	17	—	17	8.6	—	5.6
VI	7	1	8	1	—	1	8	1	9	4.0	1.0	3.0
VII	6	—	6	—	—	—	6	—	6	3.0	—	2.0
VIII	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
IV Form	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	0.5	—	0.3
TOTAL	144	66	210	53	38	91	197	104	301	—	100	100
	68.7	31.3	100	58.2	41.8	100	—	—	—	—	—	—

EDUCATION

7.47. Although universal compulsory primary education is in force in Madras city it is not known how these 301 children are gainfully employed. Data relating to their education have been analysed as shown in the table 7.47.

7.48. Of the total number of employed children 54.6% are illiterate, 5.6% are "between V standard and IV form". The percentage of illiterate is 40.3 among males and 81.7 among females. Children above V standard level form 8% among males and 1% among females.

OCCUPATION

7.49. The usual classification of the employed persons into twelve groups adopted for adults is hardly appropriate to children. An attempt has, therefore, been made to find out the variety of occupations in which these juveniles actually fit in as disclosed by the survey. As these occupations ran into an unwieldy number they have been classified into 31 groups. The relevant data are shown in table 7.49, below. It may be seen from the table that 104 or more than one-third are girls. Second in importance is the occupation labelled 'shop assistants' accounting for 42 of whom only 3 are girls. Third come 'weaver-assistants' with 26 children of whom half are boys and half are girls followed by 'tailor-assistants' with 19 boys, 'beedi-workers' consisting of 12 boys and three girls, 'cook' five boys and five girls, 'press-employees' with 7 boy, 'carpenter-apprentices' with six boys, 'dhoby' with five boys and one girl, 'embroidery workers' with five boys and 'tinkers' with five boys. One of these children a girl aged thirteen and sister of the infant film star mentioned earlier is also in the film line earning on an average Rs. 15 per month.

TABLE 7.49—Occupational Classification of the Non-adults in Employment

Occupation	N.I.			I			TOTAL		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. Domestic servant	19	42	61	22	31	53	41	73	114
2. Cook	2	4	6	3	1	4	5	5	10
3. Shop assistants	32	3	35	7	—	7	39	3	42
4. Beedi workers	12	2	14	—	1	1	12	3	15
5. Carpenter	6	—	6	—	—	—	6	—	6
6. Weaver assistants	9	10	19	4	3	7	13	13	26
7. Tailor assistants	17	—	17	2	—	2	19	—	19
8. Saloon assistants	—	—	—	3	—	3	3	—	3
9. Dhobi assistants	3	—	3	2	1	3	5	1	6
10. Tinker	5	—	5	—	—	—	5	—	5
11. Goldsmith's Asst.	1	—	1	—	—	2	3	—	3
12. Pickers (Ball)	3	—	3	—	—	—	3	—	3
13. Coir workers	—	—	—	2	—	2	2	—	2
14. Basket makers	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
15. Bakery Assistants	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
16. Hotel employees	1	—	1	3	—	3	4	—	4
17. Embroidery workers	4	—	4	1	—	1	5	—	5
18. Hair net makers	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	2
19. Shoe making Assts.	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1

TABLE 7.49—Contd.

Occupation	N.I.			I			TOTAL		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
20. Paper Boy	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	2
21. Hawkers	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
22. Watch repairing ..	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
23. Cycle shop Assts. ..	4	—	4	—	—	—	4	—	4
24. Auto works Assts. ..	3	—	3	—	—	—	3	—	3
25. Building coolies ..	1	2	3	—	—	—	1	2	3
26. Factory & Mill workers	3	—	3	1	—	1	4	—	4
27. Press employees ..	6	—	6	1	—	1	7	—	7
28. Milk Vendors	2	2	4	—	—	—	2	2	4
29. Cattle yard Assts. ..	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	2
30. Coolies (General) ..	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
31. Film Acting	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1
TOTAL ..	144	66	210	53	38	91	197	104	301

EARNERS

7.50. The aggregate money-income of these 301 children cannot be precisely determined because some of them are family workers and most of the domestic servants get free boarding and lodging. An attempt was made to study all the cases where money income has been clearly recorded or capable of being approximately worked out. From this kind of study, the minimum and maximum earnings per month of the employees have been collected and tabulated below :

Juvenile domestic servants get Rs. 2 to Rs. 30.

Cooks from Rs. 4 to Rs. 25.

Shop Assistants from 6 to Rs. 18.

Tailor-Assistants from Rs. 5 to Rs. 13 per month.

Beedi workers about six annas and carpenter-apprentices about eight annas per day.

TABLE 7.50—Minimum and Maximum Earnings of Non-adult Earners

Occupation	Minimum Salary	Maximum Salary
1. Domestic servant	Rs. 2	Rs. 30
2. Cook	4	25
3. Dhobi	10	20
4. Ball Picker	5	6
5. Handloom Weaving Assistant ..	2	15
6. Tailor's boy	5	13

TABLE 7.50—Contd.

Occupation	Minimum Salary	Maximum Salary
	Rs.	Rs.
7. Tinker	15	15
8. Fish selling	3	4
9. Coir worker	4	10
10. Shop Assistant	6	18
11. Ice, Sarbat etc. selling ..	5	20
12. Boy—Press	4	13
13. Apprentice—Workshop ..	5	14
14. Paper Boys	5	8
15. Carpenter	5	15
16. Building construction cooly ..	5	15
17. Worker—Embroidery ..	5	22
18. Binding worker	3	12
19. Beedi worker	5	10
20. Milk seller	10	15
21. Hotel server	3	10
22. Goldsmith's Assistant ..	8	15
23. Locksmith	8	10
24. Basket maker	3	15
25. Composing Apprentice ..	5	14
26. Saloon Assistant	5	15
27. Scaring crow	—	7
28. Bakery Assistant	4	15
29. Hair net etc.	5	13
30. Factory Peon	5	10
31. Umbrella company cooly ..	5	10
32. Cow dung cake seller ..	3	5

CONCLUSIONS

7.51. The broad conclusions emerging from the above study dealing with the total sample population may now be briefly stated :

(i) The total population covered by this survey is 71,888 of whom 51.2% are males and 17% are immigrants. The percentage of females is 51.6 among immigrants compared with 48.2 among non-immigrants.

(ii) The percentage of children below 15 years is 37.6 in the sample and old people above 55 years 7.2%. The proportion between the children and the old shows, according to Sundbarg formula, signs of a rapidly growing population.

(iii) The total 'Hindu' population in the sample forms 85.4%, Muslim 6.9%, Christians 7.1%, Jains 0.4% and 'others' 0.1%.

(iv) Of the sample population, 52.8% are unmarried, 39.6% married, 7.2% widowed and 0.4% separated.

(v) In the sample population heads of households and their spouses form 34.6%, children 42.6%, brothers and sisters 4.7%, parents 3.9% and the rest consist of non-relations and relations of remoter degree.

(vi) Illiterate accounts for 28.9% of the sample and S.S.L.Cs. and above 10.8%. The percentage of illiterates among males is 15.4 and among females 43.2. A relatively larger percentage of the immigrants are more highly educated compared with non-immigrants. At the same time illiterates are also relatively larger among the former than among the latter. Illiteracy is least among Anglo-Indians and Christians and highest in the scheduled castes group recording 46.7%. The percentage of graduates is highest in the Advanced-Hindu community with 4.1, the Christians following with 3.2.

(vii) In the sample one-in-two hundred is a technical degree holder, one-in-forty diploma holder and one-in-fifty low grade technician.

(viii) The percentage of population without a working knowledge of Tamil is 7.5 and of Hindi 9%.

(ix) The percentage of earners is 28.6, earning-dependents 1.2 and non-earning dependents 70.2.

(x) Of the sample population, two-fifths are children and students, one-fourth household workers, one-in-forty old, sick and retired making up in the aggregate more than two-thirds who are economically inactive.

(xi) The economically active as well as employed form 27.1% and the percentage of unearned income recipients 1.1%.

(xii) Of the total sample population, the unemployed constitute only 3.2%. However, the percentage rises to 5.75 if it is computed with regard to that population which is between 15 and 55 years.

(xiii) Of the sample population, 71.5% are not self-supporting, two-fifths earn less than Rs. 50, another one-third between Rs. 50 and less than Rs. 100.

(xiv) The earned income forms 78.4% of the total income. Unearned income from outside the city is 10.5%; from house property 5.7%, from land 2.2%, from remittances 1.3% and from miscellaneous 1.9%.

(xv) The average income per household is Rs. 161.82 per month for the sample, Rs. 156.94 for non-immigrants and Rs. 178.53 for the immigrants.

(xvi) Of the 27,026 children below 15 years, 302 or 1.1% are gainfully employed in various capacities like domestic servants, shop-assistants, beedi-workers and apprentices to artisans.

CHAPTER VIII

IMMIGRANTS—TOTAL POPULATION

IN THE SAMPLE OF 13,288 households the analysis of data relating to the migratory status has revealed that the number of immigrants is 12,199 or about 16% of the total sample population. This figure obviously does not tally with the population of 14,858 in 3,004 immigrant households. (Vide Table 4.10). This difference of 2,521 persons is noticeable because of the connotation given to the term immigrant household for one thing. An immigrant household has been defined as one in which the head of the household happens to be an immigrant. As has been noticed such immigrant households include some non-immigrants too, for example, domestic servants or wives of the immigrants. For another, the connotation of an immigrant does not apply to children born to immigrants after their arrival in the city. This definition of immigrant has been evolved by the Research Programmes Committee for use by all the Units conducting Urbanisation Surveys. Hence these 12,199 persons are the pure immigrants. In the preceding chapter in a comparison with the non-immigrant population common characteristics like the age and sex composition, marital status, education and occupational classification have already been studied. In this part of the present chapter the peculiar traits applicable only to the immigrants like the original habitat, year of arrival, cause of migration and reasons for selecting Madras city as the ultimate destination will be examined.

ORIGINAL HABITAT

8.2. Madras is not only a cosmopolitan city, but also the third largest in India and the biggest south of Bombay. Immigrants have been drawn from all directions—from the districts of Madras State as well as the other States of the Indian Union and from countries in Far East Asia, the last being chiefly repatriates. In view of the wide dispersal of the original habitat of the immigrants, an attempt has been made to classify the native places from which the first stage of migration has taken place. A preliminary study of the data indicated a high degree of correlation between proximity and the number of immigrants. A classification of the original habitat into 23 categories has been made on the basis of distance making due allowance for political divisions of the country and the independent States outside.

8.3. The single district of Chingleput has been constituted into a separate category because it enjoys a supremely effective vantage position in respect of migration since Madras city is but an administrative enclave, geographically forming a part of it. Similarly Chittoor and Nellore have been classified into separate categories due to their proximity and both of them have not been merged together due to the controversial linguistic position in which Chittoor was placed till it was resolved by the Pataskar Report. Madras city features as another independent category because a significant number of the so-called immigrants reported it as their original home. At the time when the present survey was initiated, Malabar and South Kanara formed part of the Madras State. Yet the shadow of Reorganization of the States was already on them. So it was decided to treat them as independent categories as they were to fall apart and merge into the two different States of Kerala and Mysore. This classification was adopted early in 1954 before the merger of the French possessions with the Indian Union which accounts for the latter featuring as a separate category. The other categories hardly need any comments.

8.4. In analysing the data relating to original habitat, a distinction has been made between its rural or urban character. This has been done with the object of testing the time-honoured theory of rural exodus which means rural-urban migration and the post 1951 census view of larger cities growing still larger which implies urban—urban migration. Provision was made in the schedules to collect data relating to this aspect. The processed data are given in table 8.4.

TABLE 8.4—Total Immigrants—Original Habitat

Original Habitat	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Chingleput	2,756	521	3,277	40.0	9.8	26.9
North Arcot and South Arcot	1,656	877	2,533	24.0	16.5	20.8

TABLE 8.4—Contd.

Original Habitat	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Tanjore, Tiruchirapalli, Salem, Coimbatore & Nilgiris	778	983	1,761	11.3	18.5	14.4
Madurai, Ramanathapuram & Tirunelveli	556	569	1,125	8.1	10.7	9.2
Malabar	244	182	426	3.5	3.4	3.5
South Kanara	23	42	65	0.3	0.8	0.5
Chittoor	102	85	187	1.5	1.6	1.5
Nellore	181	121	302	2.6	2.3	2.5
Andhra	201	254	455	2.9	4.8	3.7
Travancore-Cochin State	165	225	390	2.4	4.2	3.2
Mysore	18	328	346	0.3	6.2	2.8
Hyderabad	12	48	60	0.2	0.9	0.5
Other Indian States	109	313	422	1.6	5.9	3.5
Pakistan	20	61	81	0.3	1.2	0.7
Nepal	5	1	6	0.07	0.02	0.05
Burma	16	246	262	0.2	4.6	2.1
Ceylon	2	35	37	0.03	0.7	0.3
Federated Malay States	9	45	54	0.1	0.8	0.4
Other Asiatic countries	—	2	2	—	0.04	0.02
Africa	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other countries	10	1	11	0.2	0.02	0.1
French India (Former)	26	84	110	0.4	1.6	0.9
Madras city	—	287	287	—	5.4	2.4
TOTAL	6,889	5,310	12,199	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Rural Population			6,889			56.5
Total Urban Population			5,310			43.5
Total Immigrant Population			12,199			100.0

8.5. Of the total number of immigrants, 6,889 or 56.5% are of rural and 5,310 or 43.5% of urban origin. These figures tend to confirm the post-1951 census view although in a country with an unduly large rural population even a higher rate of rural exodus would effect a welcome drain of the superfluous population. It is noteworthy that the rural immigrants are in an overwhelming majority from those districts which are nearest to the city. The ratio of rural to urban migrants is more than 5 : 1 from Chingleput, about 2 : 1 from North and South Arcot, 5 : 4 from Chittoor and 3 : 2 from Nellore. The more distant the original habitat to Madras city, the less is the proportion of rural to urban immigrants, except in the case of Malabar. It may be stated that in general the process of urbanization is heavily weighted by a larger migration of rural folks from the neighbourhood of the urban centres. As for urban migrants distance does not appear to have offered any disincentive. Their movement seems to

have been influenced by a fairly intelligent appreciation of the prospects of better employment.

8.6. In respect of the percentage of both rural and urban immigrants, Chingleput leads with 26.9 of the total, followed by the next nearest districts of North and South Arcot with 20.8, the medium distance districts of Tanjore, Tiruchirapalli, Salem, Coimbatore and Nilgiris with 14.4 and the more distant districts of Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli with 9.2. On the whole 71.3% of the immigrants are from Tamil districts, 7.7% from the Andhra districts, 6.7% from the present Kerala State, the percentages from other regions being of a very low order.

YEAR OF ARRIVAL

8.7. Data relating to the year of arrival were collected for every year from 1940 to 1957. For the purposes of analysis they have been grouped into four classes namely, (1) 1940 to 1945 covering the war period; (2) 1946 to 1950, the post-war period; (3) 1951 to 1953, the earlier phase of the planning period and (4) 1954 to 1957, the later phase of the planning period. The relevant data are tabulated in table 8.7, below.

TABLE 8.7—Total Immigrants—Year of Arrival

Year of arrival	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
War Period 1940-45	2,097	1,447	3,544	30.4	27.2	29.1
Post-war Period 1946-50	2,413	1,875	4,288	35.0	35.3	35.1
Planning Period Earlier Phase 1951-53	1,472	1,151	2,623	21.4	21.7	21.5
Planning Period Later Phase 1954-1957	907	837	1,744	13.2	15.8	14.3
TOTAL	6,889	5,310	12,199	100.0	100.0	100.0

8.8. In drawing conclusions from the figures in the above table, one important caveat is called for. These figures relate only to those of the immigrants who had come in successive waves to Madras city during the reference period of the survey and had chosen to stay on at least till the date of the investigation. It is quite likely that a considerable number of immigrants, who had come in these waves, might have left the city, seeking pastures new. Obviously these persons could not have occurred in the sample of the present survey. It is, therefore, necessary to bear in mind that the percentages worked out for the four different periods do not portray the actual magnitudes of immigration in the successive phases. However, these figures are presented for what they are worth to assess in a very general way the trend of immigration and the order of stickiness of the immigrants. Of the total immigrants covered by the survey, 29.1% have come to the city in the war period and 35.1% in the post-war period. This tends to confirm the general impression that the city has attracted relatively larger population in the post-war rationing days than during the worst part of the war years. Alternatively if the influx of population had been larger in the war period, a larger proportion should have been temporary residents in the city, leaving it after the cessation of hostilities or at least before the present survey was initiated. From 1951 up to the date of investigation the percentage of immigrants is 35.8 for a period of seven years compared with 35.1 in the previous five year period. It may be reasonable to infer from these figures that the tempo of immigration has somewhat been abated in recent years. In the context of the low industrial development of Madras city and the extreme degree of house congestion experienced since the World War II, this inference may be fairly correct.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

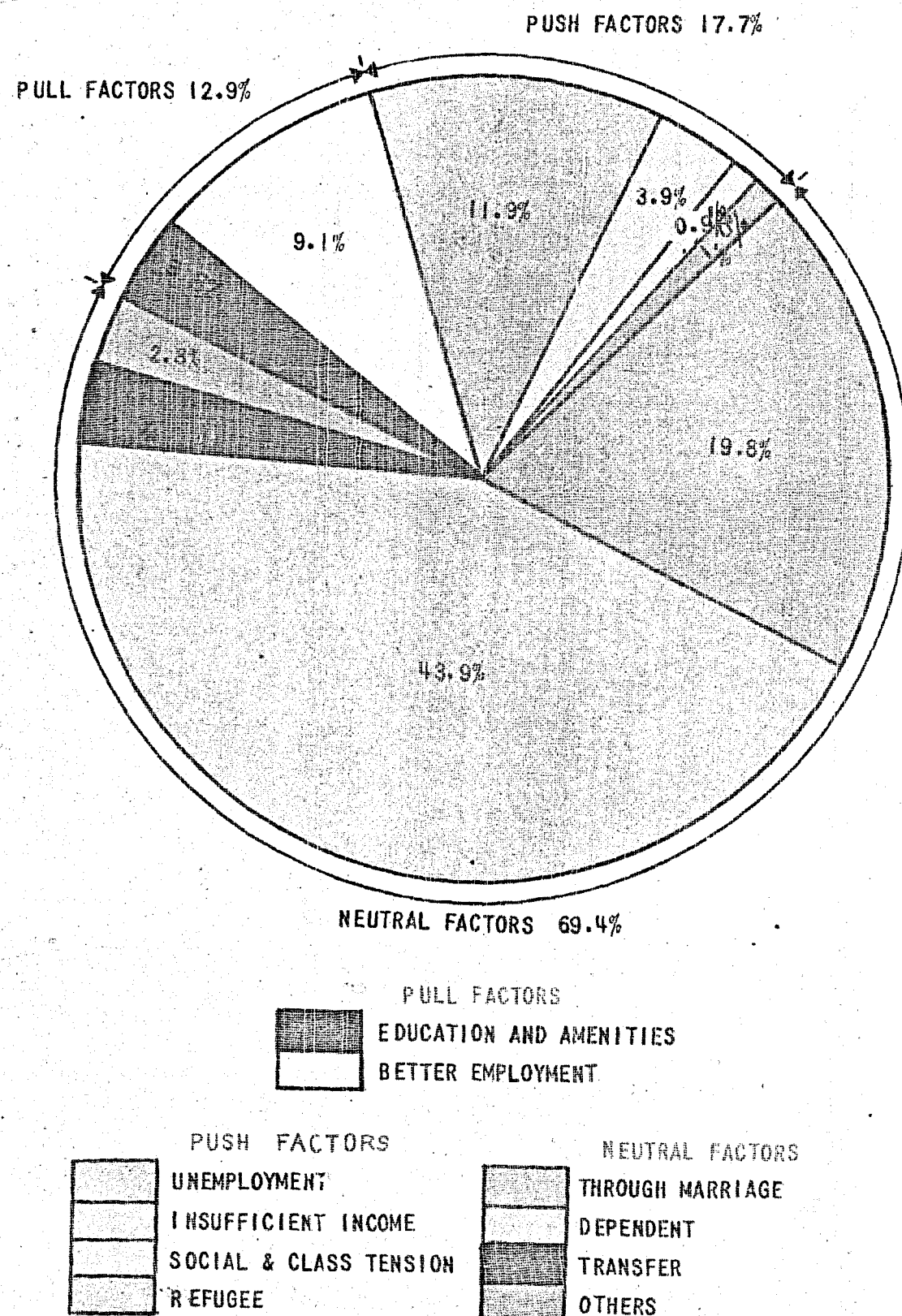
8.9. The causes of migration to the city may be broadly classified into three groups. The first consists of what are known as pull factors like the opportunities of better employment—

real or fancied, growth of new business, educational facilities and the attraction of civic, cultural and social amenities. The second group comprises push factors, responsible for ejecting the immigrants out of their ancestral villages or towns. The more important among them are unemployment and insufficient income at home, family quarrels, social and class tension and agricultural insolvency. The third group of neutral factors have neither the lure of the pull factors nor the punch of the push factors. They are the concomitants of the operation of the natural laws of life like marriage and dependency making the married and the dependent follow the bread-winners of the families away from their native place. Transfer of employees by the employers from other stations to Madras city also figures in this group. The data relating to the causes of migration, analysed on these lines, maintaining the rural-urban classification, are shown below.

TABLE 8.9—Total Immigration—Causes of Migration

Causes of Migration	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
<i>Pull</i>						
For study	224	159	383	3.3	3.0	3.2
Education of children	29	24	53	0.4	0.5	0.4
For better employment	642	382	1,024	9.3	7.2	8.4
New Business	42	43	85	0.6	0.8	0.7
Lack of civic amenities	11	12	23	0.2	0.2	0.2
TOTAL	948	620	1,568	13.8	11.7	12.9
<i>Push</i>						
Unemployment at home	802	653	1,455	11.6	12.3	11.9
Insufficient Income	293	59	352	4.3	1.1	2.9
Insufficient land Income and agricultural insolvency.	96	33	129	1.4	0.6	1.0
Disgust with employment at home	15	21	36	0.2	0.4	0.3
Family Differences	24	22	46	0.3	0.4	0.4
Social and class tension	6	14	20	0.1	0.3	0.2
Refugee	13	111	124	0.2	2.1	1.0
TOTAL	1,249	913	2,162	18.1	17.2	17.7
<i>Neutral</i>						
Transfer	99	255	354	1.4	4.8	2.9
Through marriage	1,567	852	2,419	22.7	16.0	19.8
As Dependent	729	521	1,250	10.7	9.8	10.2
Others	79	259	338	1.1	4.9	2.8
Accompanying spouse	841	623	1,464	12.2	11.7	12.0
Accompanying parents	1,135	1,108	2,243	16.5	20.9	18.4
Accompanying children	225	140	365	3.3	2.6	3.0
Accompanying Master	17	19	36	0.2	0.4	0.3
TOTAL	4,692	3,777	8,469	68.1	71.1	69.4
GRAND TOTAL	6,889	5,310	12,199	100.0	100.0	100.0

CAUSES OF MIGRATION



8.10. It is remarkable that 69.4% of the immigrants have moved into the city on account of neutral factors of which only 2.9% are due to transfer. The rest constituting 66.5% or 2/3 of the total immigrants have migrated as dependents—parents, children, wives, sisters, brothers, servants, uncles and nephews—following satellite-fashion the heads of household. Among the results of the three groups of factors, the first two represent the active push and pull factors and are, therefore, of major significance. Of these two groups the percentage of immigrants is 17.7 in the "push factors" group against 12.9% in the "pull factors" group. Even in the latter the most important cause of migration is seen to be "for better employment" accounting for 8.4%. This percentage could well be added to 17.7% of the push group, as the difference between the two is only of degree and not of kind, when the entire migratory process is viewed from the economic standpoint. All these sub-groups have the common trait of leaving their native places in search of gainful employment. Thus 26.1% out of 30.6% subject to the active factors are solely influenced by the search for employment in the city. This would mean that 5/6 of the immigrants subject to positive factors appear to be in sore need of employment. On them depend for their maintenance approximately equal proportion of the dependent-immigrants who are in the table separately grouped under neutral factors. This analysis clearly indicates the significance of employment as a positive factor inducing migration to the city.

REASONS FOR SELECTING MADRAS CITY

8.11. The causes of migration examined in the previous section help to reveal the forces operating elsewhere than in Madras city leading to rural exodus or migration from smaller or bigger towns. Once as a result of the above mentioned causes the decision to migrate has been taken, the immigrant is faced with the problem of choosing his destination. The migrants could well have chosen any town or city in Madras State or outside. The specific reasons which have led them to choose this city in preference to others is an issue that well merits further consideration. Following the instructions of the Research Programmes Committee ten different reasons were listed on the basis of which the immigrants were further investigated. The data relating to this part of the enquiry are tabulated in table 8.11 below.

TABLE 8.11—Total Immigrants—Reasons for Selecting Madras City

Reasons for selecting city	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Friends to help	57	94	151	0.8	1.8	1.2
Relations to help	1,000	624	1,624	14.5	11.7	13.3
Proximity to native place	63	42	105	0.9	0.8	0.9
Education	85	76	161	1.2	1.4	1.3
Belief in greater employment opportunities.	1,457	917	2,374	21.2	17.3	19.5
New Government offices	47	39	86	0.7	0.7	0.7
New Industrial Establishments	21	19	40	0.3	0.3	0.3
New Building activity	5	2	7	0.1	0.04	0.1
Lower cost of living	10	10	20	0.1	0.2	0.2
Others, transfer, medical aid, etc.	4,144	3,487	7,631	60.2	65.7	62.5
TOTAL	6,889	5,310	12,199	100.0	100.0	100.0

8.12. Here too there are some neutral factors grouped as "others, transfer, medical aid", which have accounted for the highest percentage of 62.5 of the immigrants. Next in order of importance is "belief in greater employment opportunities" which has influenced 19.5%. How far this theory of expectation has been fulfilled may be seen in the sections relating to the period of waiting in a later section. However, the belief had been powerful enough to set them on the move. The third important reason is what is labelled "relations to help" accounting

for 13.3%, which serves to show the persistence of family ties even among the so-called highly sophisticated, if not cynical, inhabitants of the city. Friendly help features to the extent of 1.2%; this together with the previous figure is indicative of the fact that the old moorings and traditional scale of values have not yet been completely shattered by the impact of the individualistic and atomistic ways of living that are urban life today. Other reasons for choosing the city are of minor significance.

ECONOMICALLY SIGNIFICANT POPULATION

8.13. Of the total immigrant population covered by this survey, the economically significant, comprising the employed and the unemployed, recipients of unearned income and remittances including pensioners and others with employment or income history in the reference period of the survey is 5,093. For this section of the immigrants, statistics relating not only to original habitat, year of arrival, cause of migration, reasons for selecting Madras city but also to the nature of link, number of visits, stages of migration, time taken to reach Madras city, economic and employment status, industry and occupation have been collected. With these statistics special studies pertaining to the economically significant population are undertaken in this part of the chapter.

ORIGINAL HABITAT

8.14. Adopting the general classification of original habitat into 23 categories, the data relating to the economically significant immigrants are being analysed. In doing so a distinction is made between the rural and urban character of the native place from which these immigrants have arrived in Madras city. Relevant data are given in the table 8.14 below.

TABLE 8.14—Immigrants According to Original Habitat

Original habitat	Number			Percentage			Percentage of Rural and Urban to total from each "original habitat" category.	
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total		
0 Chingleput ..	1,102	213	1,315	38.9	9.4	25.8	83.8	16.2
1 North and South Arcot.	690	333	1,023	24.4	14.7	20.1	67.4	32.6
2 Tanjore, Salem, Coimbatore, Tiruchirappalli.	301	375	676	10.6	16.6	13.2	44.5	55.5
3 Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli.	242	250	492	8.5	11.1	9.6	49.2	50.8
4 Malabar ..	128	99	227	4.5	4.4	4.5	56.4	43.6
5 South Kanara	7	18	25	0.2	0.8	0.5	28.0	72.0
6 Chittoor ..	35	32	67	1.2	1.4	1.3	52.2	47.8
7 Nellore ..	72	43	115	2.5	1.9	2.3	62.6	37.4
8 Andhra State (excluding 6 & 7).	73	103	176	2.6	4.6	3.5	41.5	58.5
9 Travancore-Cochin	79	109	188	2.8	4.8	3.7	42.0	58.0
10 Mysore ..	12	117	129	0.4	5.2	2.5	9.3	90.7
11 Hyderabad ..	5	14	19	0.2	0.6	0.4	26.3	73.7
12 Other Indian States.	27	100	127	1.0	4.4	2.5	21.3	78.7
13 Pakistan ..	6	22	28	0.2	0.98	0.6	21.4	78.6

TABLE 8.14—Contd.

Original Habitat	Number			Percentage			Percentage of Rural and Urban to total from each "original habitat" category.	
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total		
14 Nepal ..	3	1	4	0.1	0.04	0.1	75.0	25.0
15 Burma ..	15	122	137	0.5	5.4	2.7	10.9	89.1
16 Ceylon ..	2	20	22	0.1	0.9	0.4	9.1	90.9
17 Federated Malay States.	9	18	27	0.3	0.8	0.5	33.3	66.7
18 Other Asian Countries.	—	1	1	—	0.04	0.02	—	100.0
19 Africa ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20 Other countries	10	1	11	0.4	0.04	0.2	90.9	9.1
21 Former French Possessions.	13	37	50	0.6	1.6	0.98	26.0	74.0
22 Madras city ..	—	234	234	—	10.3	4.6	—	100.0
TOTAL ..	2,831	2,262	5,093	100.0	100.0	100.0	55.6	44.4

8.15. Of the 5,093 immigrants belonging to this section of the population 25.8% have come from the contiguous district of Chingleput, 20.1% from North and South Arcot district, 13.2% from Tanjore, Salem, Coimbatore and Tiruchirappalli districts and 9.6% from Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts. Thus from the Tamil districts 68.7% of the total economically significant population have come to the city. This works out to a little more than 2/3 of the total number of this group. It is also remarkable that 1/4 of the total immigrants are from the adjacent districts and 1/5 from the next nearest districts.

8.16. The rest constituting 31.3% have come from non-Tamil districts, the largest percentage of 4.5 have come from Malabar followed by 3.7% from Travancore-Cochin State. On the whole 8.2% of the immigrants have come from the present Kerala State. From the two neighbouring Andhra districts of Chittoor and Nellore have come 3.6% and from the rest of the Andhra State (as it was constituted before the creation of the larger Andhra Pradesh in November 1956) 3.5%, making up the total percentage of Andhra immigrants to 7.1. From the old Mysore State the percentage of immigrants works out to 2.5, from Hyderabad 0.4 and from other Indian States 2.5. Repatriates from Federated Malay States, Ceylon and Burma work out to 3.6% and refugees from Pakistan 0.6%. It is of interest to note that among the immigrants 4.6% have given Madras city as the native place. These people have come back to the city between 1940 and 1957 after a shorter or a longer sojourn outside Madras city. Nearly 1% of the immigrants have come from the former French possessions.

8.17. Of these immigrants, 55.6% are of rural and 44.4% of urban origin. Of the 23 categories of original habitat leaving out Madras city and other Asian countries (from which only one immigrant has come) the highest percentage of urban immigrants is 90.9 from Ceylon followed by 90.7 from Mysore, 89.1% from Burma, 78.6% each from other Indian States and Pakistan, 74.0% from former French possession, 72.0% from South Kanara and 66.7% from Federated Malay States, 58.5% from the Andhra State excluding Nellore and Chittoor and 58.0% from Travancore-Cochin State. One common trait about these categories of original habitat is that they are fairly remote from Madras city. The percentage of urban immigrants is lowest at 16.2 from Chingleput followed by 32.6% from North and South Arcot districts. In general it may be concluded the more distant the original habitat from Madras city the higher is the percentage of urban immigrants. There are of course two exceptions, one being Nepal from which 25.0% of the immigrants have come from urban centres and the second is Malabar equally distant like Travancore-Cochin State from which the percentage of urban immigrants is

but 43.6. This situation is not inexplicable. The Nepalese immigrants belong to the lower strata working mainly as night watchmen who could well be drawn from the rural sector. In Malabar the level of education is fairly uniform between the rural and the urban areas and among the economically significant immigrants the educated unemployed are fairly prominent who could also well be drawn from rural or urban areas.

YEAR OF ARRIVAL

8.18. Data relating to the year of arrival have been classified into four time-intervals as in the case of the total immigrant population, *vide* table 8.18 below.

TABLE 8.18—Year of Arrival—Immigrants

Year of arrival	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
1940—1945	1,010	729	1,739	35.7	32.2	34.1
1946—1950	1,012	807	1,819	35.7	35.7	35.7
1951—1953	518	432	950	18.3	19.1	18.7
1954+	291	294	585	10.3	13.0	11.5
TOTAL	2,831	2,262	5,093	100.0	100.0	100.0

8.19. Nearly 70% of the immigrant population have arrived in Madras between 1940 and 1950, of whom nearly half before 1946 and the other half after. The percentage of immigrants who have arrived between 1951 and 1953 is 18.7 and in 1954 and later years 11.5. It may be reiterated that this percentage distribution of the immigrants since 1940 does not take into account those who would have come to the city and left before the date of investigation.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

8.20. Data pertaining to the economically significant population relating to causes of migration have been analysed as done earlier into twenty-two sub-groups and three major groups comprising push, pull and neutral factors respectively. The results of this analysis are bound to be highly significant because these are the people who take decisions and the rest accompany or follow them in due course to the city. The relevant data are tabulated in table 8.20, below.

TABLE 8.20—Causes of Migration

Causes of Migration	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Pull :						
(1) For study	71	55	126	2.5	2.4	2.5
(2) Education of children	22	18	40	0.7	0.8	0.8
(3) For better employment	630	369	999	22.3	16.3	19.6
(4) New Business	38	35	73	1.3	1.5	1.4
(5) Lack of civic amenities	11	11	22	0.4	0.5	0.4
TOTAL	772	488	1,260	27.2	21.5	24.7
Push						
(6) Unemployment at home	754	633	1,387	26.6	28.0	27.2
(7) Insufficient income	289	56	345	10.2	2.5	6.8

TABLE 8.20—Contd.

Causes of Migration	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
(8) Insufficient land	80	32	112	2.8	1.4	2.2
(9) Agricultural insolvency						
(10) Insufficient Employment						
(11) Disgust with employment	13	21	34	0.5	0.9	0.7
(12) Family difference	19	16	35	0.7	0.7	0.7
(13) Social and class tension	6	13	19	0.2	0.6	0.4
(14) Refugee	10	54	64	0.4	2.4	1.3
TOTAL	1,171	825	1,996	41.4	36.5	39.3
Neutral:						
(15) Transfer	94	247	341	3.3	10.9	6.7
(16) Through Marriage	100	65	165	3.5	2.9	3.2
(17) As dependent	234	141	375	8.3	6.2	7.4
(18) Others	56	203	259	2.0	9.0	5.1
(19) Accompanying spouse	97	56	153	3.4	2.5	2.9
(20) Accompanying parents	261	199	460	9.2	8.8	9.0
(21) Accompanying children	36	23	59	1.3	1.0	1.2
(22) Accompanying Masters	10	15	25	0.4	0.7	0.5
TOTAL	888	949	1,837	31.4	42.0	36.0
GRAND TOTAL	2,831	2,262	5,093	100.0	100.0	100.0

8.21. It may be seen that neutral factors like transfer, marriage and members following the heads of households account for 36.0% of the immigrants, pull factors like educational facilities, better civic amenities, greater employment opportunities for 24.7% and push factors like unemployment, insolvency, social and class tension for 39.3%. Among the neutral factors transfer has been the cause for affecting only 1/5. Dependant members following the heads of households constitute the majority. Among the pull factors better employment opportunities have been responsible for the migration of nearly 4/5 of this major group. Among the push factors unemployment at home has been the most dominant accounting for nearly 7/10 of this group and 27.2% of the total immigrants. As between the immigrants from rural and urban areas larger percentage has come from the former than the latter due to unemployment and insufficient income, the percentages being 50.1 and 46.8 respectively.

REASONS FOR SELECTING MADRAS CITY

8.22. Reasons for selecting Madras city as the destination have been classified into ten groups and the relevant data tabulated in table 8.22, below.

TABLE 8.22—Immigrants—Reasons for Selecting City

Reasons	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
0 Others—Transfer, Medical Aid	753	885	1,638	26.6	39.1	32.1
1 Friends to help	41	80	121	17.8	16.2	17.1
2 Relations to help	463	287	750			
3 Proximity to native place	54	38	92	1.9	1.7	1.8
4 Education	39	29	68			

TABLE 8.22—Contd.

Reasons	Number			Percentage		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
5 Belief in greater employment opportunities.	1,409	887	2,296	49.7	39.2	45.0
6 New Government Offices	46	38	84			
7 New Industrial Establishments	16	11	27			
8 New Building Activity	4	2	6			
9 Low cost of living	6	5	11			
TOTAL	2,831	2,262	5,093	100.0	100.0	100.0

8.23. Of the immigrants 45.0% have come to Madras city in their belief of greater employment opportunities 32.1% on account of transfer, medical facilities and others, 17.1% because of friends and relatives to help and 1.8 because of proximity to native place. Small number have come because of the establishment of new industries, opening of new Government offices and the post-war boom in building activity. It may be noted that 11 out of the 5,093 immigrants have chosen to come to Madras city on the impression that the cost of living will be lower. Belief in greater employment opportunities has brought 49.7% of the immigrants, from rural sector compared to 39.2% from the urban areas. On the other hand "transfer and other causes" has accounted for 26.6% of the former and 39.1% of the latter arriving in Madras city. In respect of other reasons the percentages between rural and urban categories of immigrants do not present any significant difference.

NATURE OF LINK

8.24. Whether the immigrant population would strike roots in the city or remain birds of passage returning to their native places sooner or later is one of the subjects of the present survey. An investigation for this purpose could not be done better than by focussing the enquiry on the economically significant population. A direct question on this subject may be evaded or at best yield answers which could not be statistically evaluated. On the other hand, questions bearing on the stakes in their native place would produce better results. With this object in view these immigrants were asked to furnish information on various links that still bind them to their native place. They have been classified into nine categories and the relevant data are analysed in table 8.24, below.

TABLE 8.24—Nature of Link—Immigrants

Nature of Link	Number of cases	Percentage
(1) Agricultural land only	91	4.3
(2) House only	67	3.2
(3) Non-Agricultural property excluding living house	5	0.2
(4) Family members only	1,433	68.0
(5) Family members with other item of property	373	17.7
(6) Land and House	124	5.9
(7) Land and non-agricultural property	5	0.2
(8) House and non-agricultural property	6	0.3
(9) Land, House and non-agricultural property	4	0.2
No Link	2,985	
TOTAL	5,093	100.0

8.25. Of the 5,093 economically significant persons 2,985 had hardly any answer to give. They may be viewed as persons completely torn off, from their native places. The number of persons who have responded to this enquiry is 2,108. Even among them 16.0% have no material property to lure them back to their original home although they have reported that members of their family are left behind. For 17.7% of these persons there are some items of property in addition to members of the family. It may be added that these members of the family are to be construed in the widest sense of the term, not necessarily relations of the first degree, but also collaterals and cousins. The percentage owning houses only is 3.2, land and house 5.9, agricultural land only 4.3 and non-agricultural property with or without other items of property 0.9. These figures indicate that for the majority of the immigrants, the links attaching them to their native place seem to be extremely tenuous.

ORIGINAL HABITAT AND NATURE OF LINK

8.26. It is generally reasoned out that from the regions contiguous to the city larger numbers of the propertyless proletariat come into the city seeking and doing odd kinds of jobs and that distance forbids persons similarly situated to converge into the city in equally large numbers. The data collected relating to nature of links have been analysed with reference to the various categories of original habitat, near and remote, vide table 8.26, below.

TABLE 8.26—Original Habitat and Nature of Link

Original Habitat	Land only	House only	Members only	Members & property	Land & House	Others	Total
Chingleput	5.3	0.6	74.6	14.7	3.6	1.2	100.0
North & South Arcot	5.4	1.7	71.8	15.0	5.0	1.1	100.0
Tanjore, Salem, Tiruchirapalli, Nilgiris & Coimbatore.	6.6	0.9	58.7	23.3	9.5	0.9	100.0
Madurai, Ramanathapuram & Tirunelveli.	1.3	2.6	69.6	20.3	5.3	0.9	100.0
Malabar	3.5	4.4	66.4	20.4	4.4	0.9	100.0
South Kanara	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	100.0
Chittoor	7.0	72.1	—	7.0	13.9	—	100.0
Nellore	—	1.5	72.3	20.0	6.2	—	100.0
Andhra (other parts)	1.1	—	65.2	19.6	14.1	—	100.0
Travancore-Cochin State	—	5.5	64.8	20.9	8.8	—	100.0
Mysore	—	1.8	81.5	14.8	1.8	—	100.0
Hyderabad	—	—	75.0	12.5	—	12.5	100.0
Other Indian States	2.5	7.5	70.0	17.5	2.5	—	100.0
Other Areas	8.5	2.1	57.4	25.5	2.1	4.3	100.0
TOTAL	4.3	3.2	68.0	17.7	5.9	0.9	100.0

8.27. It may be seen that the data relating to South Kanara and Chittoor are highly distorted which is due to the small number of reporting cases. Ignoring them a scrutiny of the figures in the above table reveals that the common reasoning contains a large elementary truth. The percentage of immigrants having members only in their native places or the proletariat is above 70% in regard to Chingleput, North and South Arcot and Nellore; whereas the percentage is around 65 for the more distant Malabar, Andhra districts and Travancore-Cochin State and 58.7 for Tanjore, Salem, Tiruchirapalli, Nilgiris and Coimbatore. The percentage of immigrants having family members and property in their native places varies between 12.5% for those from Hyderabad to 25% from other areas and for the districts belonging to Madras

State of pre-1950 the variation is smaller between 14.7 in Chingleput and 23.3 in Tanjore, Salem group.

VISITS TO NATIVE PLACE

8.28. Another method of testing attachment to native place will be to find out the frequency of visits. Data relating to this characteristic among the immigrants have been analysed by classifying the immigrants into four groups as shown below :

TABLE 8.28—Number of Visits to Native Place

	Number of cases	Percentage
Once in 3 months or less	244	6.4
Once in 6 months	465	12.3
Once in a year	1,071	28.3
Once in two years and over	1,984	53.0
TOTAL ..	3,764	100.0

8.29. This enquiry covers 3,764 persons out of the 5,093 immigrants. It is remarkable that 53% of the reporting cases are visiting their native place only once in two years, 28.3% once in a year, 12.3% once in six months and 6.4% once in three months or less. Roughly 1 in 5 visits his native place twice a year.

ORIGINAL HABITAT AND NUMBER OF VISITS

8.30. Data relating to visits to native place have been further analysed with reference to original habitat. The object is to find out whether distance reduces and proximity increases the number of visits. Relevant data are tabulated below :

TABLE 8.30—Number of Visits and Original Habitat—Percentages

Original habitat	Once in				Total
	Three months	Six months	One year	Two years	
0 Chingleput	10.7	12.4	23.4	53.5	100
1 North & South Arcot	6.5	17.6	30.1	45.8	100
2 Tanjore, Salem, Coimbatore, Tiruchirappalli	6.3	15.7	28.7	49.3	100
3 Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli	1.7	7.1	35.9	55.3	100
4 Malabar	0.6	6.6	41.5	51.3	100
5 South Kanara	—	—	35.7	64.3	100
Total for the State	6.9	13.3	28.9	50.9	100
6 Chittoor	14.8	25.9	31.6	27.1	100
7 Nellore	9.6	9.6	41.2	39.6	100
Total for other area	3.8	7.8	24.4	64.0	100
TOTAL ..	6.4	12.3	28.3	53.0	100

8.31. It is apparent from the above figures that nearer the native place the more frequent are the visits. The percentage visiting native place once in three months is 10.7 for Chingleput,

14.8 for Chittoor, 9.6 for Nellore, 6.5 for North and South Arcot and 6.3 for Tanjore, Salem group. With regard to other regions the percentage is extremely low. Similar pattern is noticeable in respect of one visit in six months. As for one visit in a year the more distant regions generally show a higher percentage.

STAGE OF MIGRATION

8.32. Whether the immigrants have made a beeline to Madras city from their native places by means of a single hop or have made halts in the course of their migration at one or more places before reaching the city is another problem for investigation. A great deal of controversy has risen as to the character of migration. In certain countries direct migration to metropolitan cities is a dominant feature. This would naturally make big cities bigger. Migration by stages from the remote up-country villages to nearby towns and after a while to bigger towns in the region observed in certain other countries helps urbanization to be broad-based and dispersed throughout the country. To find out the character of immigration to Madras city necessary data were collected and analysed.

TABLE 8.32—State of Migration—Percentages

Number of Stages	Rural	Urban	Total
Direct	88.4	80.6	84.9
One	4.9	10.0	7.2
Two	2.8	3.5	3.1
Three and more	3.9	5.9	4.8
TOTAL ..	100.0	100.0	100.0

8.33. It may be seen from the table that 84.9% have come straight to the city from their native places, 7.2% have stopped at one place, 3.1% at two places and 4.8% at three or more places before arriving in the city.

TIME TAKEN TO REACH THE CITY

8.34. Immigrants coming straight to the city do not spend any time worth mentioning in reaching the city. Madras is within reach of an overnight journey even for regions of three hundred and fifty miles distance. As for the immigrants moving by stages, trying their fortunes in one or more towns en route, time taken for reaching the city from the date of their original exodus from native place forms a subject of useful investigation. The data collected are tabulated below :

TABLE 8.34—Time Taken—Percentages

Time taken to reach the city	Rural	Urban	Total
Straight from home	88.9	80.8	85.3
1 year and less	0.6	1.6	1.0
2 year and less but more than one year	0.7	1.6	1.1
2 to 3 years	0.7	2.1	1.4
3 to 4 years	0.6	1.6	1.0
4 to 5 years	1.2	1.7	1.4
5 to 6 years	0.9	1.5	1.2
6 to 7 years	0.3	1.2	0.7
7 to 8 years	0.6	0.5	0.5
Above 8 years	5.5	7.4	6.4
TOTAL ..	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 8.36—Period of Waiting—General and Technical Education

Education	Period of Waiting (in months)										Total	
	Upto 3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	19-24	25-30	31-36	37		
General Education												
	Illiterate ..	No. 32 24.1	No. 12 9.0	No. 1 0.7	No. 37 27.8	No. —	No. —	No. 15 11.3	No. —	No. 11 8.3	No. 25 18.8	No. 133 100.0
	Literate ..	No. 86 17.1	No. 69 13.7	No. 19 3.8	No. 126 25.1	No. 6 1.2	No. 2 0.4	No. 77 15.3	No. —	No. 58 11.6	No. 59 11.8	No. 502 100.0
	Educated ..	No. 36 14.9	No. 27 11.2	No. 14 5.8	No. 84 34.9	No. 7 2.9	No. 2 0.8	No. 32 13.3	No. 3 1.3	No. 23 9.5	No. 13 5.4	No. 241 100.0
Graduates	No. 9 19.1	No. 10 21.3	No. —	No. 14 29.8	No. —	No. 5 10.6	No. 5 10.6	No. —	No. 2 4.3	No. 2 4.3	No. 47 100.0	
	TOTAL	No. 163 17.7	No. 118 12.8	No. 34 3.7	No. 261 28.2	No. 13 1.0	No. 9 14.0	No. 129 14.0	No. 3 0.3	No. 94 10.2	No. 99 10.7	No. 923 100.0
Technical Education												
	Degrees ..	No. 1 10.0	No. 4 40.0	No. —	No. —	No. —	No. 2 20.0	No. 1 10.0	No. —	No. 1 10.0	No. 1 10.0	No. 10 100.0
	Diplomas	No. 19 16.8	No. 18 15.9	No. 7 6.2	No. 38 33.6	No. 4 3.5	No. —	No. 10 8.9	No. 1 0.9	No. 13 11.5	No. 3 2.7	No. 113 100.0
	Non-Diplomas	No. 12 32.5	No. 7 18.9	No. 1 2.7	No. 9 24.3	No. —	No. 1 2.7	No. 1 2.7	No. —	No. 2 5.4	No. 4 10.8	No. 37 100.0
TOTAL	No. 32 20.0	No. 29 18.1	No. 8 5.0	No. 47 29.4	No. 4 2.5	No. 3 1.9	No. 12 7.5	No. 1 0.6	No. 16 10.0	No. 8 5.0	No. 160 100.0	

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8.35. Two points stand out prominently in the above table. One is that 85.3% or an overwhelming majority of the immigrants has come direct to Madras city spending a day or a night for the journey. The other is the fact that 6.4% have taken more than eight years. In between these two extreme cases stand about 1% of the immigrants each in varying time interval groups. The data reveal direct migration to be the dominant feature among immigrants.

PERIOD OF WAITING

8.36. The economically significant immigrants have come to the city chiefly in search of employment bitten hard in their original environments by adversity, unemployment and seasonal fluctuations. Generally speaking they are fastidious sort lacking in adjustability to accept even inferior jobs. There are immigrants who have stooped to do much inferior jobs than they deserve and have later worked their way up to fairly prosperous situations. Even then a considerable number have had to undergo the sufferings of frictional unemployment. To assess the magnitude of this factor data relating to the period of waiting before securing their first jobs in the city were collected. These data are analysed with reference to both their general and technical education, vide table 8.36, opposite.

8.37. Of the 5,093 immigrants all those who actively sought employment got fixed up temporarily or otherwise within a week of their arrival in the city except 923. As may be seen from the above table, 17.7% of this group have secured their first job within three months, 12.8% between 4 and 6 months, 3.7% between 7 and 9 months, 28.2% between 10 and 12 months. Of the remaining 35.2%, 15% have got their first jobs before the end of second year and 10.5% before the end of third year and only 10.7% remained without employment for more than three years. The figures in table 8.36 reveal that nearly 60% of the literate and illiterate groups have secured employment within one year, the corresponding percentages for the educated, S.S.L.C. and Intermediates being 65.0 and graduates 70.2. The percentage who have failed to get employed within three years is 18.8 for illiterates, 11.8 for literates, 5.4 for the educated and 4.3 for the graduates. The high percentage among the illiterates may be attributed more to their lack of earnestness than anything else.

8.38. The immigrants with technical education who failed to get employed within one week number 160 for whom the figures are given in the above table. All the groups together show that 72.5% have secured their first jobs within one year. Among the degree holders only one out of the ten has not been fixed up for over three years, among the diploma holders only three out of 113 and among the non-diploma technical personnel 4 out of 37.

CHANGES IN ECONOMIC STATUS

8.39. The primary object of immigration being search of employment and better income its economic effects deserve a careful study. For this purpose changes in economic and employment status, industry and occupation have been specially investigated and relevant data obtained. Changes in economic status are tabulated below :

TABLE 8.39—Changes in Economic Status

Economic Status	Job in Native Place		Present Job	
	Number	%	No.	%
1 Earner	2,727	53.5	4,376	85.9
2 Earning dependent	27	0.6	162	3.3
3 Non-earning dependent	2,339	45.9	555	10.8
TOTAL	5,093	100.0	5,093	100.0

8.40. Of the 5,093 immigrants 2,339 or 45.9% were non-earning dependents in their native place, the corresponding figures of the present job in the city are 555 persons or 10.8% which marks a considerable improvement in economic activity. Compared with 2,727 earners forming 53.5% of the total in the native place the number of earners in the city is 4,376 or 85.9%. A similar increase is also noted in the number of earning dependents from 27 persons or 0.6% in the native place to 162 or 3.3% in Madras city.

CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT STATUS

8.41. A similar analysis of changes in employment status following the usual classification into thirteen groups is shown in table 8.41, below.

TABLE 8.41—Changes in Employment Status

Employment Status	Job in Native Place		Present Job	
	Number	%	Number	%
0 No desire to work	1	—	1	—
1 Employer	29	1.1	109	3.9
2 Employee	2,131	77.4	1,865	67.7
3 Self-employed	564	20.5	502	18.2
4 Family Helper	25	0.9	17	0.6
5 Household worker	1	—	15	0.5
6 Students	1	—	—	—
7 Old age and sick	—	—	110	4.0
8 Unearned income	1	—	26	0.9
9 Remittance Holders	—	—	5	—
X Unemployed for 1 time	1	—	1	—
Y Unemployed NOT for 1 time	—	—	103	3.7
TOTAL ..	2,754	100.0	2,754	100.0

8.42. A significant feature revealed by this table relates to the employer group. From 29 persons or 1.1% of the 2,754 earning group in the native place, the number of employers has increased to 109 and the percentage to 3.9 in the city. The number of employees has decreased from 2,131 in native place to 1,865 in the city and the percentage from 77.4 to 67.7. The number of self-employed too has diminished from 564 to 502 and the percentage from 20.5 to 18.2, as also family helpers from 0.9% to 0.6%. The increase in the number of household workers from 1 in native place to 15 in the city may be viewed as an indicator of better times permitting more members to enjoy leisure and attend exclusively to household duties. As against none in the native place there are 110 old and sick persons in the city indicating the deleterious effects of city life on the health of the new comers. Another significant feature in the above table is the presence of 103 unemployed not for the first time against none in this category in the native place. These 103 have had employment after coming to the city but were passing through a spell of unemployment at the time of investigation. Further the idea of unemployment has hardly any place in the rural set-up where it is mostly disguised. From an overall point of view even the changes in employment status seem to indicate improvement in economic conditions.

CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

8.43. Another method of assessing the economic effects of migration involves a comparison of the industrial classification of the immigrants in their native place and in the city. The number of immigrants brought within the scope of this analysis is 2,523, who happened to be employed in the city at the time of investigation. The distribution of these individuals according to the usual industrial classification both in native place and the city is given in the table 8.43.

TABLE 8.43—Changes in Industrial Classification

Industrial Classification	Job in Native Place			Present Job		
	Number	%	Rank	Number	%	Rank
0 Agriculture	810	32.2	1	33	1.3	9
1 Mining and quarrying	9	0.4	11	—	—	12
2 Manufacturing—Processing textiles and fibres.	206	8.1	4	323	12.8	4
3 Manufacturing—Leather, Chemicals, metal, engineering.	156	6.1	7	300	11.8	5
4 Construction	20	0.8	9	89	3.5	8
5 Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services.	14	0.5	10	28	1.1	10
6 Distributive services—Trade, insurance, banking, auction etc.	356	14.2	3	584	23.3	1
7 Transport, storage and communication	171	6.8	6	434	17.3	2
8 Services—Public	520	20.6	2	371	14.8	3
9 Services—Private	174	6.9	5	242	9.5	6
X Services—Personal	82	3.2	8	98	3.8	7
Y Activities NOT adequately described	5	0.2	12	21	0.8	11
TOTAL ..	2,523	100.0		2,523	100.0	

8.44. The pattern of distribution in the city shows radical changes from that obtained in the native place. The percentage employed in 'agriculture' has sharply fallen from 32.2 in native place to 1.3 in the city while that in the 'distributive services' has sharply risen from 14.2 to 23.3 and that in 'transport', 'storage and communication' from 6.8 to 17.3 respectively. The percentage in both the 'manufacture' groups (code 2 and 3) has also increased from 14.2 in the native place to 24.6 in the city, that in 'construction' from 0.8 to 3.5 and that in private services from 6.9 to 9.5. The perceptible decline in the percentage employed in public services from 20.6 in native place to 14.8 in the city is rather intriguing, but it is attributable to the fact that a considerable number occurring in this group in the native place had been unskilled workers employed by local boards in the repair and maintenance of roads, most of whom had been absorbed in other industries after their arrival in the city. The relatively smaller percentage of immigrants in 'public service' in the city represents persons in ministerial and subordinate occupations. Although the total number in public service has decreased from 520 to 371, it is amply made good by the higher quality of the jobs held. In the group activities not adequately described the percentage has increased from 0.2 in the native place to 0.8 in the city which is but natural in view of the numerous types of non-descript work available to the lower strata of the urban population. It may also be noted that none of the immigrants is employed in 'mining and quarrying' in the city as against 9 in the native place—truly a release from the hardest drudgery that this work entails.

CORRELATION ANALYSIS

8.45. With the object of statistically evaluating the shifts in the number of persons employed in the various industrial categories two methods of correlation were adopted. Ranking correlation works out to 0.67 while the correlation co-efficient to 0.94. This would mean that there has been relatively a greater change, in the order of significance of the industrial categories. But the number of persons employed in the major industrial categories, major in the sense of having absolute relatively larger numbers, have found themselves redistributed mostly in the same categories namely 'public service', 'trade and commerce', 'manufacture I', 'private service' and 'transport'. The only exception to this general trend is 'agriculture' which has lost its first place in the ranking relating to native place, falling to the 9th place in that relating to the city.

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

8.46. A further analysis of the data in respect of changes in occupational categories has been attempted to discover further evidence relating to the economic effects of migration. These data are concerned with the same 2,523 immigrants whose industrial classification has been studied in the preceding section. A comparison of the occupation-wise distribution is given in table 8.46, below.

TABLE 8.46—Changes in Occupational Classification

Occupational Classification	Job in Native Place			Present Job		
	Number	%	Rank	Number	%	Rank
0 Managerial	43	1.7	11	71	2.8	8
1 Professional	214	8.5	6	233	9.2	5
2 Subordinate	225	8.9	5	336	13.3	4
3 Ministerial	340	13.5	3	349	13.8	3
4 Sales	238	9.5	4	373	14.9	2
5 Subordinate Technical	139	5.5	8	183	7.2	7
6 Subordinate Technical	396	15.7	2	783	31.0	1
7 Service	152	6.0	7	187	7.6	6
8 Cultivating Owner	79	3.1	10	2	0.1	10
9 Cultivating Tenant	122	4.8	9	2	0.1	9
X Landless Labour	559	22.2	1	2	0.1	11
Y Non-cultivating Owner	15	0.6	12	2	0.1	12
TOTAL	2,523	100.0		2,523	100.0	

8.47. The considerable decline in the numbers employed in the four agricultural occupations revealed in the table above is nothing unexpected. It is most noteworthy that in almost all the non-agricultural occupations there has been a considerable increase in the number after migration to the city. This shift for the better is most pronounced in 'subordinate technical' group (code 6) being 15.7% in native place and 31.0 in the city. As this group is mostly representative of unskilled labour there can hardly be any change in the quality of employment. But more intensive employment at relatively higher wages could be expected. The percentage has risen from 1.7 to 2.8 in the managerial, 8.5 to 9.2 in the 'professional' 8.9 to 13.3 in the 'subordinate' 13.5 to 13.8 in the 'ministerial' 9.5 to 14.9 in the 'sales', 5.5 to 7.2 in the subordinate technical (code 5) and 6.0 to 7.5 in the 'service' group. These figures indicate some measure of improvement in the economic conditions of the immigrants due to immigration.

CORRELATION ANALYSIS

8.48. Similar correlation analysis worked out with regard to occupational changes shows that ranking qualification works out to 0.59 and the correlation co-efficient to 0.96. The disparity between these two measures is attributable to reasons similar to those advanced in regard to shifts in industrial distribution. Here too there are intro-group movements among the major industrial categories. It means that occupations of minor significance have not been transformed into those of major significance or *vice versa*.

EARNINGS IN THE NATIVE PLACE AND THE CITY

8.49. Of the various measures that could be adopted to assess the economic effects of immigration, changes in income appear to be the most useful and popular. Data relating to incomes, earned or otherwise, of all the 5,093 immigrants, both in native place and in the city at

the time of investigation have been collected and analysed with this object in view. Incomes are divided into seven groups including what is designated as 'no income' group as shown below :

TABLE 8.49—Changes in Income of Immigrants

Income categories per month.	Native Place		Present	
	Number	%	Number	%
No income	2,335	45.8	677	13.3
Rs. 1—49	1,558	30.6	1,535	30.1
Rs. 50—99	582	11.4	1,392	27.3
Rs. 100—199	371	7.3	958	18.8
Rs. 200—499	195	3.8	433	8.5
Rs. 500—999	49	1.0	68	1.3
Rs. 1000	3	0.1	30	0.6
TOTAL	5,093	100.0	5,093	100.0

8.50. The number of persons deriving no income has declined from 2,335 or 45.8% in the native place to 677 or 13.3% in the city. Similarly the number of persons with incomes less than Rs. 50 per month too has fallen slightly from 1,558 or 30.6% to 1,535 or 30.1%. In respect of the higher income groups both the numbers and percentages have recorded a notable increase. They have increased from 11.4% to 27.3% in the income group between 'Rs. 50 and Rs. 99', from 7.3% to 18.8% in the income group 'Rs. 100 to Rs. 199', from 3.8% to 8.5% in the income group 'Rs. 200 to Rs. 499', from 49 to 68 persons in the income group 'Rs. 500 to Rs. 999', and from 3 to 30 persons in the income group 'Rs. 1,000 and above'. It is apparent from these figures that there has been a uniform upward shift in the income structure of the immigrants after their arrival in Madras city.

8.51. CONCLUSIONS

(i) The total number of immigrants, excluding children born in the city after arrival, is 12,199 or 16.3% of the total sample population. Of these immigrants 56.5% are of rural and 43.5% of urban origin. A little more than 1/4th have come from the surrounding Chingleput district and 4% from the adjacent Chittoor and Nellore districts. On the whole 71.3% are from Tamil districts, 7.7% from the former Andhra State, 6.7 from the present Kerala State and the remaining 14.3% from other regions.

(ii) The analysis is obviously confined to immigrants who have arrived in the city within the reference period and have continued to stay on. A trend study reveals that 29.1% of the immigrants have come into the city during the war period 1940—1945, 35.1% in the post-war period 1946—1950, 21.5% in the earlier phase of the planning period 1951—1953 and 14.3% in the latter phase 1954—1957.

(iii) Among the causes of migration 69.4% are influenced by 'neutral', 17.7% by 'push' and 12.9% by 'pull' factors. Leaving 66.5% of the immigrants who have been mere passive followers out of consideration, among the rest who are subject to the positive factors of pull and push 5 out of 6 have migrated to the city in search of gainful employment.

(iv) Among the reasons for choosing Madras city, 62.5% are affected by neutral factors, 19.5% by the belief in greater employment opportunities, 13.3% by 'relations to help' and 1.2% by 'friends to help'.

(v) Of the 12,199 immigrants, the economically significant population forms about 46%. Classified according to original habitat, the pattern of distribution closely resembles that of the total population. Minor deviations are of course noticeable, for e.g. with regard to Malabar.

(vi) The proportion of rural and urban immigrants too is closely similar to that of the total population. It is remarkable that about 9 out of 20 immigrants have come from urban areas, rather a high proportion showing that the tempo of rural exodus is not as high as it could well be in view of the superfluous population in the rural sector.

(vii) A study of the trend of immigration of the economically significant population shows that 34.1% have come in the war period, 35.7% in the post-war period, 18.7% in the earlier phase and 11.5% in the later phase of the planning period.

(viii) Pull factors account for 24.7%, push factors for 39.3% and neutral factors 36.0%. Among the reasons inducing them to choose Madras city, the belief in greater employment opportunities is the most important influencing 45.0%.

(ix) Nearly three-fifths of the economically significant have no link worth mentioning, binding them to their native place. Of the remaining two-fifths, 68.0% have only family members, 17.7% some property besides, 4.3% agricultural land only, 5.9% land and house, 3.2% house only. As for visits to native place, 1,329 out of the total 5,093 persons have no visits to report; among the rest 53.0% visit once in "two years or more", 28.3% once in a year, 12.3% "once in six months" and 6.4% once in "three months or less".

(x) Of the economically significant immigrants, 17 out of 20 persons have come straight to Madras city, 1 in 14 after stopping at one place, 1 in 33 two places and about 1 in 5 three or more places.

(xi) After arrival in the city, 10.7% have waited for more than three years before securing the first job, 10.5% between two and three years, 29% between one and two years, 32% between six months and one year and about 31% six months or less. Among the technically qualified, the percentage who have secured their first job within six months is 50 for degree holders, 32.7 for diploma holders and 51.4 for non-diploma non-degree holders.

(xii) A perceptible improvement is noticeable in the economic status of the immigrants after their arrival in the city. The percentage of non-earning dependents has decreased from 45.9 in native place to 10.8 in the city. The percentage of the earners has increased from 53.5 to 85.9 and that of earning dependents from 0.6 to 3.3. The corresponding figures for "employer status" category are 1.1 and 3.9, for the "self-employed" 20.5 and 18.2 and for "employees" 77.4 and 67.7 respectively.

(xiii) Changes in industrial pattern as between native place and city also indicate an improvement. Percentage employed in agriculture has declined from 32.2 in native place to 1.3 in the city, while that in trade has risen from 14.2 to 23.3, in transport from 6.8 to 17.3, in manufacture from 14.2 to 24.6, in construction from 0.8 to 3.5 and in private services from 6.9 to 9.5.

(xiv) Changes in occupational pattern also tend to confirm this conclusion. The percentage in "sales" has increased from 9.5 in native place to 14.9 in the city, subordinate technical from 21.2 to 38.2, managerial from 1.7 to 2.8, professional from 8.5 to 9.2 and subordinate (super-visory) from 8.9 to 13.3.

(xv) In respect of income too, the figures indicate an improvement. The percentage deriving no income has fallen from 45.8 in the native place to 13.3 in the city; it has increased from 11.4 to 27.3 in respect for persons deriving incomes between Rs. 50 and Rs. 99, from 7.3 to 18.8 for incomes between Rs. 100 and Rs. 199 and from 3.8 to 8.5 for incomes between Rs. 200 and Rs. 499.

CHAPTER IX

ADULTS—SOCIOLOGICAL

FOR the purpose of analysis the total population of the 13,288 sample households living in Madras city has been classified into two broad groups. One group consists of all children below 15, and the non-earning adults comprising household workers and all those persons who have never been gainfully employed nor have ever been seeking employment in the period 1940 to 1957 covered by this survey. This group of adults has no history of employment to offer. The other group includes the rest of the population who are all adults for one thing; for another, they have been for some part or the whole of the period covered by this survey recipients of earned or unearned income or actively seeking employment. Consequently the individuals belonging to this group have an employment or income history an investigation into which will help considerably a proper appreciation of the process and problems of urbanization. An enquiry into the fortunes and vicissitudes of this group of population naturally forms an integral part of the present survey. Defined this way the population that will be brought under the scope of the present analysis will consist of the adult section of the recipients of unearned income or remittances and those who had been economically active in 1940 or subsequently as well as the so-called economically significant population at the time of investigation including the employed and the seekers of employment. Consequently this concept carries a wider meaning than the conventional definition of the "economically significant". Due to the additional elements of population thus let into this concept, the population studied in this and the subsequent chapters may be defined as the "economically significant" population.

9.2. Constituted of these elements the economically significant form the core of the population. They represent mainly the producers of the national wealth and the sharers thereof; on them falls the responsibility of feeding, educating and supporting the non-productive elements of the community. In view of the fact that analysis of the data pertaining to this vital segment of the population is undertaken in these chapters, it may be viewed that in them lies the kernel of the present report. The total sample population has been studied from different sociological and economic angles. A similar study of this vital corps should prove instructive. The salient sociological aspects of this segment of the population are examined in the following sections.

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION

9.3. In the total sample population, the present survey reveals that the number of economically significant persons is 23,097 or 32.1%. Of these persons 20,611 or 89.2% are males and 2,486 or 10.8% females. It is also seen that 18,004 or 77.9% are non-immigrants of whom 16,053 or 89.2% are males and 1,951 or 10.8% females. The number of immigrants is 5,093 or 22.1% of whom 4,558 or 89.5% are males and 535 or 10.5% females. The percentage distribution of the economically active population according to age group and sex is given in table 9.3.

9.4. As children up to 15 years have been excluded in conformity with the definition of the economically significant population, table 9.3 begins with "15 to 24 years" as the lowest age group. It may be seen that 22.6% of the population is in this age group and 27.7% in the next age group "25 to 34 years". A little over two-thirds of the population is below 45 years. It is noteworthy that 11% of the population is above 55 years and 3% above 65 years. Anticipating employment status classification to be undertaken in the next chapter, a further probe into the age groups "above 55" was made. It has revealed that no less than 1,436 persons belong to these superannuated groups in active employment. They form 6.2% of the total economically significant population. This is rather a high percentage for a population that is traditionally believed to be too much worn out at 55 for any useful occupation. From the above factual situation it is to be inferred that either the traditional belief is erroneous or that superannuated persons are constrained to work and earn by dire necessity. If it were possible to withdraw this 6.2% of the population above 55 years, an equal number in the lower age groups remaining unemployed could be absorbed. However, this 6.2% has an element of exaggerated importance because a significant section is found to be self-employed as in running petty shops and doing casual unskilled or semi-skilled labour. This view receives support from the fact that the percentage of the self-employed in the employed non-immigrant superannuated is 90.4 compared

TABLE 9.3—Percentage Distribution of Economically Significant Population According to Age Group and Sex Compared with Sample Population

Age Group	Economically Significant						Sample Population					
	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total					
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
15-24	23.1	17.2	22.4	22.6	26.2	23.0	23.0	19.2	22.6			
25-34	25.2	22.2	24.9	37.9	35.1	37.6	28.0	25.0	27.7			
35-44	21.4	26.8	22.0	22.4	20.4	22.2	21.7	25.4	22.0			
45-54	17.7	21.6	18.1	10.1	11.8	10.3	16.0	19.5	16.4			
55-64	9.1	9.3	9.1	4.9	5.6	5.0	8.2	8.5	8.2			
65-74	3.0	2.4	2.9	1.8	0.9	1.7	2.7	2.1	2.7			
75+	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	—	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4			
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
above 55	12.5	12.1	12.4	6.9	6.5	6.9	11.3	10.9	11.3			
below 65	3.4	2.8	3.3	2.0	0.9	1.9	3.1	2.4	3.1			
below 45	69.7	66.2	69.3	82.9	81.7	82.8	72.7	69.6	68.3			

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with 9.6 in the corresponding group among the immigrants.* It is but to be expected that to be employed in these types of occupations the non-immigrants enjoy a greater advantage than the immigrants. Whatever might be their origin and character of their occupation, their withdrawal from employment cannot be thought of unless a well devised scheme of old age pension could be put into effect beforehand.

9.5. It is striking that the percentage of population below 45 is 83 among the immigrants against 69 among non-immigrants. Equally so is the fact that among females 82% of the immigrants are below 45 years compared with 66% among non-immigrants. From the overall standpoint half the population is below 35 years. It is significant that the rural-urban migration distorts not only the age structure of the total immigrant population but more so that of the economically significant section. A larger proportion of the younger adults and those in the prime of life is drained away from the rural sector inflicting a serious loss in the efficient man-power.

9.6. The proportion between the sexes in the economically significant population is another line of analysis that could be instructive. Relevant data have been processed for both non-immigrants and immigrants according to various age groups as shown below :

TABLE 9.6—Number of Females per 100 Males in the Economically Significant Population

Age Group	Non-immigrants	Immigrants	Total
15-24	9.0	13.6	10.0
25-34	10.7	10.9	10.7
35-44	15.1	10.7	14.1
45-54	14.8	13.6	14.6
55-64	12.4	13.3	12.5
65-74	9.9	6.1	9.3
75+	11.4	—	10.3
TOTAL	12.1	11.7	12.0

The number of women per 100 males in this segment of the population is 12 for both immigrants and non-immigrants. It is 11 for both in the age group 25 to 34 years. In the age groups 45 to 54 and 55 to 64 the disparity in the numbers between non-immigrants and immigrants is negligible. However, in the lowest age group 15 to 24 the number of females per 100 males is 14 among immigrants against 9 among non-immigrants. The position is almost reversed in the age group "35 to 44" where the number of females is 15 among non-immigrants against 11 among immigrants. It is not known whether the larger number of younger women (15 to 24) occurring in the economically significant immigrant population is due to a greater eagerness to get employed or more urgent necessity. In the age group 35 to 44 the lower number of economically significant women in the immigrant population may be due to the edge of their eagerness being blunted or to the male members attaining a better earning capacity. Assuming the number of children to be more or less the same among both immigrant and non-immigrant women as also their economic and educational characteristics, it seems that the immigrant women's desire for leisure increases with growing age.

RELIGION AND COMMUNITY

9.7. Following the procedure and concepts adopted in Part II, the economically significant population has been classified according to religion and community in table 9.7. There is a remarkable coincidence in the percentage distribution of the total population and economically significant population among the various religious communities. This coincidence is seen again with regard to non-immigrants and immigrants. Apparently there is hardly any particular community which is over-represented in the employment sector viewed from its proportional significance in the total population.

*Self employed superannuated : 573

Immigrants : 54 or 9.6%

Non-Immigrants : 519 or 90.4%

TABLE 9.7—Percentage Distribution of Population According to Religion and Community

Religion	Economically Significant Population						Sample Population		
	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Hindu :									
Advanced ..	24.0	20.3	23.6	41.8	34.0	41.0	23.9	41.4	27.8
Backward ..	45.3	40.2	44.8	35.2	36.1	35.3	46.1	35.8	43.8
Scheduled ..	16.2	18.7	16.5	8.7	7.5	8.6	16.4	9.3	14.8
Muslims ..	7.5	7.1	7.5	4.9	2.4	4.6	6.8	4.1	6.2
Christians ..	5.8	10.5	6.3	7.8	15.5	8.6	6.5	8.9	7.0
Anglo-Indians ..	0.8	3.0	1.0	0.7	3.9	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.9
Jain ..	0.4	—	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
Others ..	0.03	—	0.02	0.4	0.4	0.4	—	0.1	0.1
TOTAL ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

MARITAL STATUS

9.8. The marital status studied in an earlier chapter is concerned with the total sample population, presenting the overall position. A separate study of the marital status of the economically significant population will be appropriate here. The relevant data are tabulated in table 9.8. It may be seen that the percentage of unmarried persons is 26.8, married 65.0, widowed 7.7 and separated 0.5 in the economically significant population.

There is a considerable difference between males and females in regard to marital status. The percentage of married is 67.7 among males against 42.8 among females. The position with regard to the widowed is revealing. The percentage among males is 4.2 compared with 36.2 among females. As between non-immigrants and immigrants, although the percentage of married among males is nearly the same, around 67%, among the females there is a wide difference, the percentage being 39.8 among non-immigrants against 54.0 among immigrants. The percentage of 'separated' women is almost the same in both groups forming about 3.7 of the total female population. In respect of widows the non-immigrants record a higher percentage of 39.1 against 25.2 among immigrants.

9.9. In the economically significant population the males and females are in the ratio of 8:1. In the married and unmarried groups it is about 13:1 whereas in the widowed group it is about 1:1. Apparently widowhood, which virtually means the absence of a male bread-winner, drives women to seek and retain gainful employment.

GENERAL EDUCATION

9.10. In classifying the economically significant population according to general education the same procedure as in the earlier chapter is followed. The relevant data processed according to sex and migratory status are shown in table 9.10. The percentage of illiterate is 18.7 among males, 57.2 among females and 22.9 for both sexes together. Persons with primary education or those who are just literates form nearly one-fourth of the population; those with middle school education one-fifth. There are three S.S.L.Cs. for every twenty persons; about one-in-twenty-five is a graduate. The percentage of S.S.L.Cs. among the immigrants is 20.7 against 13.5 among non-immigrants. The corresponding figures for graduates are 6.7 and 3.0. This difference is more pronounced with regard to women graduates who form 3.8% among immigrants compared with 1.8% among non-immigrants. The percentage of literate persons below S.S.L.Cs. level is 57.4 among non-immigrants against 47.7% among the immigrants. In respect of illiterates the percentage is higher among the non-immigrants being 23.5 against 20.7 among immigrants. From these figures it is apparent that the level of education is higher among immigrants than among non-immigrants.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

9.11. A detailed analysis of the technical education and training of the economically significant population is not only useful *per se* but it will also serve as an indicator of the industrial-commercial character of the city. In an earlier chapter 29 categories of technical education and training had been evolved for analytical purposes. On the basis of the same classification relevant data have been processed as shown in Appendix XII. It shows that 3,405 or 14.8% of the economically significant population possess some technical qualification or other. It means that roughly only one-in-seven significant persons has technical qualification. Among the economically significant males 3,068 or 14.9% and among the economically significant females 337 or 13.6% constitute the technically trained group. A scrutiny of the Appendix XII will show that technical qualification includes not merely engineering and other crafts but also learned professions like law, medicine and teaching, audit and accounts, agriculture and veterinary, commerce and business organisation etc.

9.12. The 29 categories of technical education recorded in the Appendix XII cover three separate grades, the first eight represent degree-holders, the next thirteen diploma-holders and the last eight technically-trained personnel with practical experience varying from one to several years, having neither a degree nor a diploma. An abstract from this Appendix showing these three broad groups is given in Table 9.12.

9.13. It may be seen that of the total 3,405 persons with technical qualification 326 or 9.5% are degree-holders, 1,721 or 50.5% diploma-holders and 1,358 or 40.0% non-diplomaed but

TABLE 9-8—Marital Status—Non-Immigrants and Immigrants Percentage

Marital Status	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	T
Not married	28.0	17.1	26.8	27.8	16.8	26.6	27.9	26.8
Married	67.1	39.8	64.2	69.4	54.0	67.8	67.7	65.0
Widowed	4.7	39.1	8.4	2.7	25.2	5.1	4.2	7.7
Separated	0.2	3.7	0.6	0.1	3.8	0.5	0.2	0.5
Divorced	—	0.3	—	—	0.2	—	—	—
ALL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Percentage of Females to Males in each Category								
Not married	93.0	7.0	100.0	93.3	6.7	100.0	93.1	6.9
Married	93.2	6.8	100.0	91.7	8.3	100.0	92.9	7.1
Widowed	49.5	50.5	100.0	48.0	52.0	100.0	49.3	50.7
ALL	89.2	10.8	100.0	89.5	10.5	100.0	89.2	10.8

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TABLE 9-10—Percentage of Population According to General Education

General Education	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	T
Illiterate	19.2	59.1	23.5	17.2	50.3	20.7	18.7	22.9
Primary	29.2	14.2	27.6	27.1	14.9	25.8	28.8	27.2
Middle School	22.4	10.9	21.1	16.5	9.3	15.7	21.1	20.0
Secondary	9.3	3.6	8.7	6.5	3.9	6.2	8.7	8.1
S.S.L.C.	14.0	9.3	13.5	21.2	16.3	20.7	15.6	15.0
Intermediate	2.7	1.1	2.6	4.5	1.5	4.2	3.1	2.9
Graduates in Arts	2.0	1.0	1.9	4.5	2.4	4.3	2.6	2.5
Graduates in Science	0.7	0.4	0.7	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.7
Post Graduates in Arts	0.4	0.3	0.3	1.1	0.6	1.1	0.5	0.5
Post Graduates in Science	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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TABLE 9·12—Classification of Technically Qualified Persons Into Three Broad Groups*

Groups	Non-Immigrants						Immigrants						Total					
	Males			Females			Total			Males			Females			Total		
	Number		%	Number		%	Number		%	Number		%	Number		%	Number		%
	Number	%		Number	%		Number	%		Number	%		Number	%		Number	%	
1. Degrees ..	195	8.6		19	8.0		214	8.5		101	12.3		11	11.0		112	12.3	
2. Diplomas ..	940	41.5		206	87.0		1,146	46.0		490	60.7		85	85.0		575	63.4	
3. Non-Diploma Trained Crafts-men.	1,126	49.9		12	5.0		1,138	45.5		216	27.0		4	4.0		220	24.3	
TOTAL ..	2,261	100		237	100		2,498	100		807	100		100	100		907	100	
																3,405	100	

trained technicians. Among the females this distribution is heavily weighted in favour of diploma-holders who form 86.3% compared with 8.9% of degree-holders and 4.8% non-diplomaed. It may be noted that among the female diploma-holders about 60% are teachers, 15% typists, 5% stenographers and about 8% health visitors and vaccinators. These few avenues appear to attract most of the women with the result that there is not much diversification of technical training and education. Among the males, the distribution is very closely akin to the pattern of the total technically-trained population. One silver lining in this pattern is the fact that the diploma-holders forming 46.7% are in larger numbers than the non-diploma men forming 43.8%. As between immigrants and non-immigrants the former are definitely better-trained than the latter having 12.3% degree-holders and 63.4% diploma-holders while the corresponding percentages for the non-immigrants are 8.5 and 46.0.

9.14. Apart from the above grading of the technical personnel according to grades of their attainments, it is also necessary to gain some knowledge of their functional distribution. For this purpose, ignoring the distinctions between degree, diploma and the rest, all the 29 categories have been re-grouped into seven classes; viz. (i) Law, (ii) Medicine, Public Health and Sanitation, (iii) Teaching, (iv) Commerce, Auditing and Accounts and Book-keeping, (v) Typewriting and Shorthand, (vi) Engineering and (vii) Others which would include arts and crafts, photography, music, cinematography and goldsmithy. The distribution of the technical personnel among these seven classes is shown in table 9.14:

9.15. The distribution of the technical personnel among the various functional groups is most revealing as it incidentally throws some light on the character of employment opportunities available in Madras city. By far the largest percentage of the technically qualified personnel belongs to engineering, accounting for 30.2. This is not necessarily due to the existence of giant engineering firms in Madras city, but mostly due to a vast mushroom growth of small and medium scale firms undertaking repairs. Next in importance is the group typing and shorthand, accounting for 22.7%. This is quite symbolic of the dominantly commercial character of the city. Third in order of magnitude is teaching with 11.9%. It should be borne in mind that the majority of the persons in this group consists of primary school teachers, thanks to the introduction of universal compulsory primary education several years ago. The group labelled "Medicine, Public Health and Sanitation" records a modest 3.5% and "Law" a still smaller 2.1%. "Agriculture and Veterinary", as it could well be anticipated in a metropolitan area, has an insignificant 0.4%. The miscellaneous group entitled 'others' includes such heterogeneous trades like goldsmithy, photography, music, arts and crafts which account for 26.4%.

9.16. As between immigrants and non-immigrants there are some perceptible differences in certain groups. The percentage with typing and shorthand qualification is 32.6 among immigrants against 19.1% among non-immigrants. It looks as though the immigrants consist of swarms of typists and stenographers. Quite the opposite is the position in respect of engineering where the non-immigrants have recorded 32.7% against 22.8% by the immigrants. In teaching and commerce, auditing and accounts, the immigrants score better than the non-immigrants. In the medical group the non-immigrants appear to be better represented than the immigrants.

MOTHER TONGUE

9.17. A classification of the economically significant population according to mother-tongue has been made with the object of finding out the comparative position between non-immigrants and immigrants as well as between the sexes. The relevant data are processed and given in table 9.17.

9.18. The percentage of Tamil population is 71.2 for non-immigrants, 68.3 for immigrants and 70.6 for both. The corresponding percentages for the Telugu population are 17.3, 16.6 and 17.1. For the population having English as mother-tongue the percentage is almost the same around 1.1 for both immigrants and non-immigrants. Similar coincidence is seen among the Marathi speaking population, the percentage being 0.9 for both groups. On the other hand for Malayalam speaking population, the percentage is 1.1 for non-immigrants and 6.3 for immigrants. In this linguistic group the difference is more striking in the case of females, where the percentage is 1.1 for non-immigrants and 8.2 for immigrants. The Kannada speaking population resembles to some extent the Malayalam speaking. They form but 0.5% among the non-immigrant economically significant population against 1.1% among the immigrant group. From these figures, it is apparent that the Malayalam speaking immigrant population

TABLE 9.14—Percentage Distribution of Technical Personnel in Various Functional Groups

Technical Education	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. Law	1.9	0.4	1.8	3.3	—	3.0	2.3	0.3	2.1
2. Medicine, Public Health and Sanitation	3.2	10.6	3.9	2.5	9.0	3.2	3.0	10.1	3.5
3. Teaching	6.4	56.6	11.2	8.3	58.0	13.8	6.9	56.9	11.9
4. Commerce, Auditing & Accounting, Book-keeping	3.0	0.4	2.8	5.1	—	4.5	3.5	0.3	2.8
5. Typing and Shorthand	19.3	17.3	19.1	34.1	20.0	32.6	23.2	18.1	22.7
6. Engineering	36.2	1.6	32.7	25.6	—	22.8	33.4	1.2	30.2
7. Veterinary and Agriculture	0.4	—	0.3	0.5	—	0.4	0.4	—	0.4
8. Others	29.6	13.1	28.3	20.6	13.0	19.7	27.3	13.1	26.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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TABLE 9.17—Percentage Distribution of Economically Significant Population According to Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	Non-Immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. Tamil	71.4	69.1	71.2	68.9	63.5	68.3	70.9	67.9	70.6
2. Telugu	17.2	18.1	17.3	16.5	17.6	16.6	17.0	18.0	17.1
3. Malayalam	1.2	1.0	1.1	6.1	8.2	6.3	2.2	2.5	2.3
4. Kannada	0.5	0.8	0.5	1.0	1.7	1.1	0.6	1.0	0.6
5. Urdu	6.6	6.2	6.6	3.2	2.2	3.1	5.9	5.4	5.8
6. Hindi	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8	—	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.5
7. English	0.9	3.1	1.1	0.8	4.5	1.2	0.9	3.4	1.1
8. Bengali	—	—	—	0.1	—	0.1	—	—	—
9. Marathi	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.9
0. Sindhi	—	—	—	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	—	0.1
X. Gujarati	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.6	—	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.4
Y. Others	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.8	1.7	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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is more successful in getting employed, which may be attributed to their better equipment, greater resourcefulness and quicker adjustability to new urban environment. Quite contrary is the position of the Urdu-speaking population, the percentage of which is 6.6 among non-immigrants against 3.1 among immigrants. The latter have fared badly compared with the former. This is mainly because the original Urdu population of the city has generally enjoyed certain historic advantages. At the same time it must be remembered that Tamil and Telugu speaking Muslims have achieved considerable business success for which, although separate statistics have not been collected, there is clear evidence of their outstanding success in the hides and skins trade and universal success in retail shop-keeping and restaurant business throughout the city.

KNOWLEDGE OF TAMIL

9.19 Among the problems of urbanization, social adjustments of the immigrants to the new environment is one of the most important. This adjustment depends on various factors; a knowledge of the regional language is not the least significant. Apart from social intercourse, cordial relationship with fellow-workers hinges upon knowing the local language. As stated earlier, Tamil is indeed the regional language of the city. With the object of finding out whether the non-Tamil speaking population has a working knowledge of the local language, relevant information has been collected which is tabulated in Table 9.19, below.

TABLE 9.19—Knowledge of Tamil

Mother Tongue	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total		Grand Total
	Knowing Tamil	Not knowing Tamil	Knowing Tamil	Not knowing Tamil	Knowing Tamil	Not knowing Tamil	
Telugu	3,073	30	820	24	3,893	54	3,947
Malayalam .. .	196	5	307	13	503	18	521
Kannada	87	3	56	—	143	3	146
Urdu	1,160	24	151	7	1,311	31	1,342
Hindi	75	1	34	2	109	3	112
English	184	13	56	6	240	19	259
Bengali	4	0	4	0	8	0	8
Marathi	164	0	44	0	208	0	208
Sindhi	5	0	14	2	19	2	21
Gujarati	66	0	26	2	92	2	94
Others	86	0	44	1	130	1	131
TOTAL	5,100	76	1,556	57	6,656	133	6,789
Not reported ..	41	—	—	—	41	—	—

9.20. It may be seen from the above table that 6,789 persons in the economically significant population have mother-tongues other than Tamil of whom 5,176 are non-immigrants and 1,613 are immigrants. The number of persons not knowing Tamil is 76 or 1.5% among non-immigrants and 57 or less than 4% among immigrants. These facts indicate that the problem of ignorance of the regional language does not exist in any serious proportion in Madras city.

KNOWLEDGE OF HINDI

9.21. Provision was made in the schedule even at the outset for collection of data relating to a working knowledge of Hindi among the non-Hindi section of the population. Neither for

TABLE 9.21—Knowledge of Hindi

Mother Tongue	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number of people	%	Number of people	%	Number of people	%
1. Tamil	12,787	1.8	3,480	5.7	16,267	2.7
2. Telugu	3,103	2.3	844	5.3	3,947	2.9
3. Malayalam ..	201	7.9	320	11.6	521	10.2
4. Kannada .. .	90	10.0	56	26.8	146	16.4
5. Urdu	1,184	1.4	158	4.4	1,342	1.8
6. Hindi	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. English	197	7.1	62	12.9	259	8.5
8. Bengali	4	75.0	4	75.0	8	75.0
9. Marathi	164	22.6	44	27.3	208	23.6
0. Sindhi	5	80.0	16	68.8	21	71.4
X. Gujarati .. .	66	75.8	28	60.7	94	71.3
Y. Others	85	20.9	45	31.1	131	24.4
TOTAL	17,887	2.6	5,057	7.2	22,944	3.7
Not reported ..	41	—	—	—	—	—

business nor for pleasure is a knowledge of Hindi necessary in Madras city. This is but to say that there is no powerful incentive, except a vague sense of patriotism, to study and master the national language. The relevant data concerning the economically significant population are separately processed and tabulated in Table 9.21.

9.22. It may be seen that the percentage of the population knowing Hindi is 3.7 for the sample, 2.6 for non-immigrants and 7.2 for immigrants. Generally the immigrants appear to have a better knowledge of Hindi. Among the various south Indian linguistic groups, Tamil population seems to be the least proficient in Hindi, the percentage of population knowing Hindi being only 2.7 among the Tamil population. A shade better is the Telugu population with 2.9% followed by the English-speaking population with 8.5%. Among the four Dravidian linguistic groups, it is the Kannada speaking population which has recorded the highest percentage of 16.4 having a working knowledge of Hindi. Next in order is the Malayalam speaking population, scoring 10.2%. In the opposite table a very poor percentage of 1.8 is recorded for the Urdu-speaking population although it is well known that difference between Urdu and Hindi is hardly greater than that between tweedledum and tweedledee. Perhaps sentiment and attitudes have forbidden all the Urdu speaking population from admitting that they possess a working knowledge of Hindi.

CONCLUSIONS

9.23. The analysis of the data relating to the economically significant population leads to the following conclusions :

- (i) The sample population has 23,097 or 32.1% economically significant persons. The ratio between males and females is 8 : 1. A little over 2/3 of the population is below 45 years.
- (ii) Among the immigrants the percentage of population below 45 is 83 against 69 among non-immigrants. The percentage of women in the age-group '15 to 24 years' is higher among immigrants than among non-immigrants, whereas in the age group 35 to 44 years, it is the other way.
- (iii) There is remarkable coincidence between the percentage distribution of the total population among the various religious communities and that of the economically significant religion-wise.
- (iv) In the economically significant population the percentage of the unmarried is 26.8, married 65.0, widowed 7.7 and separated 0.5. The ratio between males and females in the married group is 13 : 1 compared with 1 : 1 in the widowed group. Apparently widowhood which virtually means the absence of a male breadwinner forces women to seek and retain gainful employment.
- (v) In general as well as technical education the immigrants are much better placed than non-immigrants.
- (vi) The largest percentage of the technically qualified personnel belongs to engineering being 30.2, followed by typing and shorthand accounting for 22.7% and teaching 11.9%.
- (vii) The various linguistic groups in the population are represented in the economically significant population in their due proportions.
- (viii) The percentage of the economically significant population without a working knowledge of Tamil, the regional language, is 1.5 among non-immigrants and 4 among immigrants.
- (ix) The percentage having a working knowledge of Hindi is 3.7 for the sample, 2.6 for non-immigrants and 7.2 for the immigrants.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

economically
significant
population

immigrants

UNEMPLOYED 8.4%

RENTIERS 5.9%

EMPLOYED 85.7%

66.0%

15.3%

EMPLOYED
82.1%

non-immigrants

58.8%

18.9%

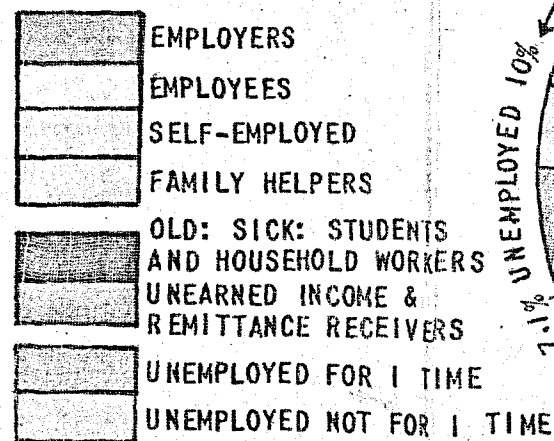
RENTIERS
7.3%

EMPLOYED
82.9%

60.3%

18.1%

both



CHAPTER X

ADULTS—EMPLOYMENT

THE BROADER DEFINITION of the economically significant population adopted for the present analysis, it may be reiterated, covers both earned and unearned income recipients. The study of the economic characteristics of this population therefore, necessarily involves, first, the work of separating the earning group from the rest. The composition of the latter may be studied in passing. But the main attention will be focussed on the earning group with the object of finding out their economic status, industrial and occupational classification, character and period of employment and income.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

10.2. In National Income analysis undertaken in United States of America and United Kingdom, considerable importance is attached to the proportionate share of the earners otherwise called employees and the unearned income recipients described as the rentier class. Between 1939—47 in United States of America the trend study has produced a remarkable result; the share of the employees has increased by more than 110% whereas that of the dividend, interest and rent earning community by about 40% only. It is not possible with the available data to enter upon a similar trend study in the period of analysis from 1940 to 1957. However, it is feasible to determine the percentage of population in these two broad groups in this section, postponing the consideration of the quantum of income received by these two groups respectively to a later section. It may be added that such an analysis will provide a photostat position pertaining to the period of investigation which could serve as a basis for future trend studies of the urban population.

10.3. The economically significant population occurring in the sample has been classified into 12 groups, viz., (i) employer; (ii) employee; (iii) self-employed; (iv) unpaid family workers; (v) household workers; (vi) students; (vii) old, sick and pensioned; (viii) unearned income recipients; (ix) remittance holders; (x) persons without any urge or desire to work; (xi) unemployed for the first time and (xii) unemployed not for the first time. This classification in essential details follows broadly the instructions received from the Research Programmes Committee in the annexure to their letter No. PC/RPC/5/9/54, dated the 4th October, 1954. Some refinements made may be indicated. From the broader group of persons living on independent income, remittance holders have been withdrawn to form a separate category. Able-bodied persons without any urge or desire to work are unique pathological cases who deserve and get a separate place. The data collected on the basis of such a schedule have been processed as shown in Table 10.3.

10.4. It may be seen that of the total economically significant population of 23,097 persons, employers form 3.4%; employees 60.3%, self-employed 18.1%, unpaid family workers 1.1%, unemployed for the first time 5.9% and unemployed not for the first time 4.1%. In the various employment status categories belonging to the earning group difference between non-immigrants and immigrants is not significant. For, e.g., employers, unpaid family workers and the unemployed. In the category of employees, the immigrants record 66.0% against 58.8% for the non-immigrants. It may be recalled that in an earlier section it was observed that the non-immigrants enjoy greater opportunities to become 'self-employed' workers like petty shop-keepers. That inference is confirmed by the figures in the table. The percentage belonging to this category is 18.9 among non-immigrants compared with 15.3 among immigrants. It is of interest to note that the percentage of females belonging to this category is 25.1 for the former and 18.3 for the latter. It looks as though the city-born women belonging particularly to the lower income groups are born own-account workers showing remarkable resourcefulness in opening small corner shops, eating houses, vegetable stalls and in vending eggs, rice-cakes and "Aappams". It is noteworthy that the pathological cases of persons devoid of any urge or desire to work occur mostly among non-immigrants. It is, however, heartening to know that they form only one-in-thousand of the significant population.

TABLE 10.8—Economic Status

Economic Status	Non-immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	F			F			F		
	M	T	T	M	T	T	M	T	T
Self-supporting persons	14,670	1,337	16,057	4,018	357	4,375	18,688	1,744	20,432
Earning Dependents	262	295	557	74	88	162	336	383	719
Non-earning Dependents	1,101	265	1,366	465	90	555	1,566	355	1,921
Net Total	16,033	1,947	17,980	4,557	535	5,092	20,590	2,482	23,072
Not Reported	—	2	2	—	—	—	2	—	2
TOTAL	16,033	1,949	17,982	4,557	535	5,092	20,592	2,482	23,074
Self-supporting persons	91.5	71.3	89.3	88.2	66.7	85.9	90.8	70.3	88.6
Earning Dependents	1.6	15.1	3.1	1.6	16.5	3.2	1.6	15.4	3.1
Non-earning Dependents	6.9	13.6	7.6	10.2	16.8	10.9	7.6	14.3	8.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Self-supporting persons	91.3	8.7	100	91.8	8.2	100	91.4	8.6	100
Earning Dependents	47.1	52.9	100	45.6	55.4	100	46.7	53.3	100
Non-earning Dependents	80.6	19.4	100	83.7	16.3	100	81.6	18.4	100

unearned income, have been classified as unemployed. In the above table those unemployed persons who had such sources of income have moved up to the higher rungs of earning dependants or self-supporting persons according to the quantum of income.

10.10. Among the self-supporting persons 91.4% are men and 8.6% women. In the group of earning dependants 46.7% are men and 53.3% are women. In the non-earning dependants 81.6% are men and 18.4% are women. The low percentage of women in the last category is not to be construed as a result of higher level of employment among them and conversely a lower level of employment among men. It is but the result of a lower percentage of women seeking employment and thus qualifying themselves to be counted as the economically active.

CHARACTER OF EMPLOYMENT

10.11. Apart from the magnitude of income derived from employment, psychological satisfaction depends a great deal on the character of employment. The most glaring example is found in the deeprooted, traditional glamour for appointments in the public sector. There is a school of opinion which holds that the prestige value of public sector jobs is declining which cannot, however, be tested now. Because after independence the public sector has extended rapidly. Naturally the percentage of employed persons in the public sector would have become higher now than before 1947. Greater psychological satisfaction is derived from jobs with security than from those subject to insecurity. A secure job in a private commercial house is frequently preferred to an insecure job in Government. Further the degree of preference for regular jobs is greater than for casual jobs, although there may be persons who are disgruntled with the discipline of regularly enforced attendance and hours of work but temperamentally delighted in doing odd jobs in a hectic fashion. Leaving such individual idiosyncracies aside, a seven-fold classification of the character of employment applicable to normal conditions was evolved. Data collected on that basis are analysed in the table below:

TABLE 10.11—Percentage Distribution of the Employed According to Character of Employment

Character of Employment	NI	I	Total
Private, Regular, Secure	54.3	60.2	54.9
Private, Regular, Insecure	7.5	16.4	8.3
Private, Casual, Secure	3.3	2.0	3.2
Private, Casual, Insecure	8.6	8.3	8.6
Private Sector—Total	73.7	86.9	75.0
Public, Regular, Secure	25.6	12.5	24.3
Public, Regular, Insecure	0.5	0.3	0.5
Public, Casual, Secure	0.2	0.3	0.2
Public Sector—Total	26.3	13.1	25.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

10.12. It may be seen that 25% of the employed persons are in the public sector. As between non-immigrants and immigrants the difference is remarkable, the percentage being 26.3 and 13.1 respectively. In the private sector persons having regular jobs form 63.2% and casual jobs 11.8%. In the category of "private, regular, secure" jobs the percentage of 60.2 for immigrants compares favourably with 54.3 for non-immigrants. Similarly the category of "private, regular, insecure" jobs show 16.4% for immigrants against 7.5% for non-immigrants. In the casual but secure jobs in the private sector there is but a small percentage of employed persons because this combination of security and casualness is rather rare as in the case of unskilled workers attached to established engineering contractors in the building-trade. The

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

10.14. It may be seen from the table mentioned above that the category of "distributive services" and transport together rank first, accounting for 35.9% of the employed persons, the former with 22.0% and the latter with 13.9%, of the employed population, confirming the earlier postulate that Madras is more a commercial than an industrial city. In manufacture, the percentage employed works out to 29.2%, almost equally divided between the industrial categories three and four in the table. The "services" sector accounts for 26.9% of which nearly half or 12.6% of the total is employed in the public sector and 8.9% in the private sector. These services are mainly, administrative, medical, public health, teaching and others. Personal services including laundry, barber saloon, domestic help and kindred activities account for 5.4% of the employed persons. As for "agriculture" the percentage is 2.3 and for "mining and quarrying" 0.1. Finally "activities not adequately described" account for 1%.

10.15. The non-immigrants are seen to be better represented in manufacturing industries, the percentage being 30.9 compared with 23.4 for the immigrants. The position in the commercial sector is quite the reverse, the immigrants recording 30.2% against 24.7% for the non-immigrants. The disparity in these two sectors has been anticipated earlier when it was pointed out that the immigrants are usually confronted with greater difficulties in finding jobs in the old well-established factories. The non-immigrants with longer association with the management of industrial establishments, either on account of their own prior employment or other social contacts direct or indirect, stand in a better position to procure suitable jobs for their children and relations. With this sort of difficulty in entering the old and well-established industrial units accentuated by the fact that hardly any new industrial establishment has sprung up within city limits in the period since 1940, the immigrants are generally forced to turn to the other major alternative field of employment, that is commerce, in this city. It may be added that the few large-scale establishments started in recent years have their location outside the city precincts.

TABLE 10.13—Percentage Distribution of the Employed Persons According to Industrial Classification

[illegible]

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10.20. Making appropriate allowance for all these differences would render the collection of data very complicated and the analysis still more so. Hence a simplified method of taking into account the period of employment of the various individuals since 1940 has been adopted. Data were collected under eleven categories for the period of employment starting from 'below one year' and ending with '10 years and above', with nine intermediate categories in an ascending order of years in cardinal numbers from one to nine. The processed data given below give a more concise classification containing seven categories :—

Period of employment	NI	I	Total
Below 1 year	2.0	2.6	2.1
1 year	2.5	2.4	2.5
2 years	3.9	4.6	4.1
3 years	3.7	3.9	3.7
4 years	3.5	3.8	3.6
5 years to 9 years	16.0	19.1	16.7
10 years and above	68.4	63.6	67.3
TOTAL ..	100.0	100.0	100.0

Occupational Classification	Non-immigrants			Immigrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0 Managerial	2.0	—	1.8	2.2	0.5	2.0	2.1	0.1 ^a	1.9
1 Professional	5.5	12.4	6.2	7.6	18.6	8.6	6.0	13.7	6.7
2 Subordinate	12.5	3.5	11.6	13.5	2.7	12.5	12.7	3.3	11.8
3 Ministerial	12.2	3.4	11.3	18.5	6.5	17.4	13.6	4.1	12.7
4 Sales	13.0	24.3	14.1	15.2	12.2	14.9	13.5	21.6	14.3
5 Sub-Technical	11.5	9.0	11.3	6.6	5.7	6.5	10.4	8.3	10.2
6 Sub-Technical	36.0	13.17	33.8	29.2	16.6	28.0	34.4	14.4	32.4
7 Service	7.0	33.4	9.6	7.1	37.0	9.9	7.0	34.2	9.7
8 Cultivating owner	0.1	0.1	0.1	—	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.1
9 Cultivating Tenant	0.1	—	0.1	—	—	—	0.1	—	0.1
X Cultivating Landless labour	0.1	0.2	0.1	—	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Y Non-cultivating owner	—	—	—	0.1	—	0.1	—	—	—
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	—	100	100

10.21. Table 10.20 shows that 67.3% of the employed persons have had 10 or more years of employment and 16.7% between 5 and 9 years. With regard to periods of employment of 2, 3 and 4 years, the percentage of employed persons varies from 4.1 to 3.6. It is noteworthy that the percentage of employed persons for a period of one year is lower at 2.5 and for below one year still lower at 2.1. This kind of distribution between the various periods of employment for the total sample is observed in the case of non-immigrants as well as immigrants with but minor changes. One point of difference may, however, be noted. With regard to the longest period of employment of 10 years and above the percentage is 68.4 for non-immigrants against 63.6 for immigrants and for the category '5 to 9 years' it is 16.0 for the former and 19.1 for the latter. This variation tends to confirm the general hypothesis that the non-immigrants show longer periods of employment and that the immigrants since 1940 have had better opportunities of employment.

NUMBER OF JOBS HELD

10.22. In the preceding section the data relating to period of employment have not taken into consideration the number of jobs held by the employed persons in the period from 1940 to 1957 covered by this survey. In an earlier section reference was made to the necessity to accept the first job that comes in the way on the part of the immigrants. Having got a foothold the immigrants would look out for better jobs. This attitude is no doubt inherent among the non-immigrants. To study this aspect in greater detail data were collected with regard to the number of jobs held by the employed persons since 1940 or the date of their first employment. For this purpose change in job has been defined as movement from one employer to another in the same industrial group or from one industrial group to another, or from private to public sector or vice versa. A change in occupation under the same employer on account of promotion or otherwise is not viewed as a change in job. The data collected have been processed in the table below:

TABLE 10.22—Percentage Distribution of the Employed According to number of Jobs held

No. of jobs held	Non-immigrants	Immigrants	Total
1	71.0	47.5	65.7
2	21.7	36.7	25.1
3	6.1	11.9	7.3
4	0.9	3.0	1.4
5	0.2	0.6	0.3
6	0.1	0.3	0.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

10.23. Among the total employed persons 65.7% have had only one job, 25.1% two jobs, 7.3% three jobs, 1.4% four jobs, 0.3% five jobs and 0.2% six or more jobs. The figures pertaining to the non-immigrants and immigrants are most revealing. The percentage having had one job is 71.0 for the former compared with 47.5 only for the latter. With regard to two jobs it is 21.7 and 36.7 respectively. It is clear that the immigrants seem to have changed their jobs more frequently than the non-immigrants. The percentage of persons who had three jobs is twice as much among immigrants as among non-immigrants. The percentages of persons who had 4, 5 and 6 or more jobs among the immigrants are thrice as much.

CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT STATUS

10.24. The present urbanization survey is not designed to be a mere snapshot of the population in Madras city regarding their migratory and employment status and other characteristics on the date of investigation. In view of the survey having a fairly long reference period of seventeen years from 1940 to date of investigation, besides a still picture of the conditions prevailing at the present moment, it has been designed to study the results of the dynamic forces operating in the urban economy, changing unemployed into employed, the

employees into employers, young into old and active into superannuated, occasionally throwing employed out of employment, reducing employers to employees etc. Efforts have been made to provide schedules for collecting necessary data on the basis of which a dynamic picture of the changing economic conditions of the sample population within the reference period could be presented.

10.25. After processing all the data collected it was proposed to confine these special studies on the dynamics of employment to the three aspects of changes in employment status, industry and occupation. Data relating to changes in employment status are tabulated in table 10.25, below:

TABLE 10.25—Changes in Employment status

Employment Status	First Job			Present Job		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	Total
0 Employer	0.8	0.4	0.8	3.9	4.5	4.0
1 Employee	80.8	91.9	82.3	59.4	75.2	61.5
2 Self-employed	17.8	7.2	16.4	17.4	14.1	17.2
3 Family Helper	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4
4 Household workers	0.02	0.1	0.03	0.3	0.7	0.4
5 Children and students	0.1	—	0.04	0.1	—	0.1
6 Old age and sick	(0.01)	—	0.01	6.9	3.7	6.4
7 Unearned income	(0.01)	0.2	0.03	2.4	0.9	2.2
8 Remittance Holder	—	—	—	0.2	0.2	0.2
9 No desire to work	—	—	—	0.1	—	0.1
X Unemployed for I time	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y Unemployed Not for I time	—	—	—	8.6	0.4	7.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

10.26. The figures in the above table reveal the pattern of distribution of the economically significant population among the twelve employment status categories according to their first job and the present job. The first job refers to the first gainful employment the individual had within the reference period. Those persons who have not had any change in their jobs, but have stuck to the same job all through the years have been excluded from the scope of this analysis. The figures in the above table relate to 9,336 persons of whom 8,088 are non-immigrants and 1,248 are immigrants. The percentage of employees has decreased from 82.3 in the first job to 61.5 in the second job classification, while the percentage of self-employed has risen from 16.4 to 17.2 and that of employers from 0.8 to 4.0 respectively. The percentage of the old and the sick has increased perceptibly from 0.01 to 6.4 and that of the unearned income from 0.03 to 2.2. Whereas there is no case in the three groups of (i) persons having no desire to work, (ii) unemployed veterans and (iii) freshers according to the first job classification, 0.1% was recorded as persons having no desire to work and 7.5% as unemployed veterans in the present job classification. Indeed the more significant employment status categories are the first four accounting for 99.7% in the first job, but only 83.1% in the present job classification. Although there is a higher percentage in the self-employed and employer situation, the high percentages in the unemployed and the old age and sick categories point to some amount of deterioration. If unemployment and sickness are but transient features the deterioration is only apparent and not real, which aspect is, however, beyond investigation by means of probability calculus.

CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES

10.27. In analysing the data relating to changes in industrial categories the number of persons involved is 8,002, of whom 5,784 are non-immigrants and 1,218 immigrants. These are the individuals who did have a first job and then changed over to the present job with or without intervals of unemployment as also with one or more changes. Compared with the study in the preceding section, this section is concerned with earners and job holders only, the rentier group falling outside the scope of the present analysis. It is not proposed here to follow the vicissitudes of every individual in the sample regarding the number of jobs held and the number of spells of unemployment, but only to study the final position at the time of investigation compared with the first job. The distribution of these 8,002 persons among the industrial categories according to the first job and the present job is given in the table 10.27 below :

TABLE 10.27—Changes in Industrial Pattern

Industrial classification	First Job			Present Job		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	Total
0 Agriculture	2.9	0.9	2.6	2.9	1.2	2.6
1 Mining and quarrying	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.1	—	0.1
2 Manufacturing I	12.6	7.0	11.8	12.9	10.3	12.5
3 Manufacturing II	15.8	14.9	15.7	16.6	14.5	16.3
4 Construction	2.7	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.3	2.8
5 Electricity, Gas, water etc.	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.5	1.3	1.4
6 Distributive services	22.5	25.6	23.0	22.3	29.2	23.4
7 Transport, Storage, Communication	9.5	10.7	9.7	14.3	15.4	14.5
8 Services—Public	15.2	20.1	15.9	12.5	16.3	13.1
9 Services—Private	10.1	10.8	10.2	8.6	6.2	8.3
X Services—Personal	5.2	2.7	4.8	4.2	3.0	4.0
Y Activities NOT adequately described	2.1	3.4	2.3	1.2	0.3	1.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

10.28. The distribution according to industrial categories in the first job and the present job may be viewed from three stand-points (1) the first relates to those categories where hardly any change in percentage distribution is noticeable. There are three categories belonging to this group namely agriculture, construction and trade. The first two among them together account for about 5% of the total employed persons and hence of very low significance. But the third which accounts for about 23% is also the most important, occupying the first rank among the 12 categories. That there is hardly any perceptible change in this percentage is a no mean indicator of the almost changeless industrial pattern of the urban economy. (2) The second group of industrial categories are those recording a rise in percentage. In this group are manufacturing I showing an increase from 11.8% to 12.5%, manufacturing II from 15.7% to 16.3%, electricity, gas and water from 0.9% to 1.4% and transport from 9.7% to 14.5%. The increase in percentage in these categories is not considerable except in transport, further confirming the conclusion relating to changeless industrial pattern. The relatively larger increase in transport in the present job pattern may be ascribed to the expansion of the city limits and the consequent growth of transport industry, albeit not adequate to satisfy the users of the transport services. (3) The third group relates to those categories in which the percentage employed registers a decline. It has declined from 0.4% to 0.1% in Mining and Quarrying (about which none need regret), from 15.9% to 13.1% in public services (mainly due to decontrol and derationing), 10.2% to 8.3% in private services, 4.8% to 4.0% in personal

services and 2.3% to 1.0% in activities not adequately described. The fall in the percentage of the last mentioned category could be viewed as rather a sign of improvement in the economic conditions because it represents casual and precarious, hard and ill-paid jobs.

10.29. From the above analysis one significant conclusion emerges. The shifts in employment from one category to another have been of a very low order. Even this low rate of shift seems to have taken place within allied and adjacent categories. Industrial categories of major significance in point of their employment appear to have clustered into a single broad division within which intra-category shifts have taken place. Similarly industries of minor significance from the standpoint of employment have formed into another broad division and intra-category shifts have similarly taken place. What is significant in the reshuffling that has taken place from the first job to the second job pattern is the low rate of extra-divisional spill over. This is borne out by the ranking correlation which works out to 0.94 and the correlation co-efficient which works out to 0.99.

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

10.30. A similar analysis to the foregoing has been undertaken with reference to changes in the occupational pattern according to the first job and the present job. The number of persons brought within the scope of this analysis is 8,006, of whom 6,779 are non-immigrants and 1,227 immigrants. The relevant data are tabulated in table 10.30, below :

TABLE 10.30—Changes in Occupational Pattern Percentage

Occupational classification	First Job			Present Job		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	Total
0 Managerial	1.2	0.9	1.2	2.5	2.2	2.4
1 Professional	6.4	6.1	6.4	6.5	6.7	6.5
2 Subordinate-supervisory	12.3	10.9	12.0	13.4	14.2	13.5
3 Ministerial	13.2	25.7	15.1	11.7	21.5	13.2
4 Sales	12.3	11.2	12.2	14.6	17.4	15.1
5 Subordinate Technical I	11.0	4.5	10.0	11.0	5.9	10.2
6 Subordinate Technical II	34.3	33.2	34.1	33.4	27.1	32.4
7 Service	8.7	7.2	8.5	6.6	4.9	6.4
8 Cultivating owner	0.1	—	0.1	0.1	—	0.1
9 Cultivating tenant	0.2	—	0.1	0.1	—	0.1
X Landless labour	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1	—	0.1
Y Non-cultivating owner	—	—	—	(0.02)	0.1	(0.03)
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

10.31. In the first group of occupational categories showing hardly any change in respect of percentages according to the first and present jobs are professional, subordinate technical (i), cultivating owners and tenants. The second group showing an increase in percentage consists of managerial, recording an increase from 1.2% to 2.4%, sales from 12.2% to 15.1% and subordinate-supervisory from 12.0% to 13.5%. The third group in which percentages have declined consists of ministerial with changes in percentages from 15.1 to 13.2, subordinate technical II from 34.1 to 32.4 and landless labour from 0.3 to 0.1.

10.32. These figures also indicate that there has scarcely been any significant shift in occupational categories. The pattern has remained almost the same with regard to the first job and the present job. This is also borne out by the ranking correlation which works out to 0.97 and the correlation co-efficient which works out to 0.99.

CONCLUSIONS

10.33. To sum up the conclusions emerging from the foregoing analysis :

(i) In the economically significant population 82.9% are recipients of earned income, 7.1% of unearned income and 10% are unemployed. In the earned income group 6 out of 8 are employees, less than 1 in 20 employer and less than 1 in 4 self-employed. In the unearned income group half the number belong to the group of old age and sick and 1 in 3 recipients of unearned income. 6 in 10 of the unemployed are fresh entrants and the remaining 4 veterans. Non-immigrants seem to enjoy greater opportunities to become self-employed workers. Relatively more immigrant women are recipients of unearned income.

(ii) In the economically significant population 88.6% are self-supporting, 3.1 earning dependants and 8.3 non-earning dependants.

(iii) Viewed from employment angle, 'trade and transport' rank first accounting for 35.9% followed by 'manufacture' with 29.2%, 'public services' with 12.6%, 'private services' with 8.9% and 'personal services' with 5.4% and 'Agriculture' with only 2.3%.

(iv) From the occupational standpoint subordinate technical consisting of mostly unskilled workers accounts for 32.4% followed by 'sales' with 14.3%, 'ministerial' with 12.7% 'subordinate' with 11.8%, 'service' with 9.7% and 'professional' with 6.7%. Roughly one-in-fifty is found in 'managerial' group.

(v) Employed persons had been moving from one job to another to a significant extent. This is borne out by the fact that 34.3% of the employed persons have held more than one job in the reference period. It is noteworthy that only two out of three persons have stuck to the same job. The occupational mobility is more pronounced among the immigrants among whom a little more than half the number have had not less than two jobs, it is less among non-immigrants as only three out of ten have held more than one job. Among the employed persons 75% are in the private sector. The percentage enjoying regular, secure jobs is 79.2, 54.9 being in the private and 24.3 in the public sector.

(vi) Of the 19,170 persons employed on the date of investigation 9,834 have continued in the same job. An assessment of the changes in employment status pattern for 9,336 persons reporting change of jobs shows that the percentage of employees has decreased from 82.3 in the first job to 61.5 in the present job, that of the employers has increased from 0.8 to 4.0. From negligible percentage the old and the sick have increased to 6.4% and the unearned income recipients to 2.2%. The unemployed veterans have relatively decreased in number as also the self-employed persons.

(vii) Changes in Industrial pattern are extremely small as between the first and the present job. The ranking correlation between industrial categories being 0.94 and the correlation co-efficient 0.99. Similarly changes in occupational pattern are in no way significant as it is borne out by the ranking correlation of 0.97 and correlation co-efficient of 0.99.

CHAPTER XI

ADULTS—INCOME

SOURCES OF INCOME

The total income of the sample of 23,097 individuals studied in these chapters is Rs. 21,46,036. This income may be divided into two broad groups of (i) earned and (ii) unearned income. The former can be further sub-divided into income derived from (i) main and (ii) subsidiary occupations. The latter comprises receipts from (i) house and (ii) land in the city, (iii) property outside the city, (iv) remittances and (v) others including pensions and dividends from stocks, shares, mortgages etc. An analysis of the total income under the two main and the seven sub-heads is shown in table 11.1.

11.2. Of the total income Rs. 16,81,713 or 78.4% is earned income and Rs. 4,64,323 or 21.6% unearned income. It is most remarkable that of the earned income nearly 99% is derived from the main occupation and only 1% from subsidiary occupations. The latter forms only 0.7% of the total income. This appears to be rather a very low figure because observation of the employment market gives an impression that a fairly good percentage of the employed is also engaged in subsidiary occupations. However, investigation in the present survey was not quite successful in eliciting correct information regarding secondary or subsidiary employment. The respondents are most reluctant to disclose the actual situation. Having no statutory powers of compelling the respondents to place all the cards on the table, the Investigators had to content themselves with recording whatever information that was voluntarily given. In fact this deficiency in the collection of income data has far-reaching ramifications affecting the total picture relating not only to income but also to subsidiary employment. It has to be admitted that information regarding the latter collected in this survey suffers in comparison with that in 1951 census.

11.3. Of the unearned income nearly half is derived from property outside the city amounting to Rs. 2,25,208, i.e., 10.5% of the total income. Nearly 1/4 of the unearned income is derived from house property in the city and about 1/10th from land property in the city, about 1/12th from 'others'—stocks, shares and bonds and 1/16th from remittances.

11.4. Among the immigrants the percentage of earned to total income is 79.9 against 77.8 among non-immigrants. The percentage of income derived from subsidiary occupations is the same 0.7 of the total income for both immigrants and non-immigrants. Of the total income, the receipts from main occupation, land and remittances are relatively larger for the immigrants than for non-immigrants, while they are smaller in the case of incomes from house and property outside the city.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND AVERAGE PER CAPITA INCOME

11.5. A special analysis of the income data correlated to the employment status of the 23,097 adults has also been attempted. The object of this study is to understand the average position of the various categories. This analysis will throw light on such points as whether the unemployed persons and persons having no desire to work have anything at all to fall back upon. It will also indicate how far the old and the sick, students and household workers, recorded to be deriving some income or other, are better or worse off. Further, this analysis will yield the gross income of the earning classes—employers, employees, self-employed workers and family-helpers. It may be added that the figures from these twelve categories represent aggregate incomes from all the sources. It is quite possible that some individuals may have three or four sources of income; for instance an employer may derive his income from business,

TABLE 11.1—Sources of Income According to Migratory Status

Source of Income	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total (NI + I)	
	Amount in Rs.	%	Amount in Rs.	%	Amount in Rs.	%
Main occupation	12,42,823	99.1	4,23,465	99.1	16,66,288	99.1
Subsidiary occupation	11,541	0.9	3,884	0.9	15,425	0.9
Total Earned income (Main + Subsidiary)	12,54,364	100	4,27,349	100	16,81,713	100
House	1,10,880	31.1	11,546	10.7	1,22,426	26.4
Land	26,585	7.4	20,576	19.1	47,161	10.1
Remittances	15,364	4.3	12,905	12.0	28,269	6.1
Others	30,923	8.7	10,336	9.6	41,259	8.9
Income from outside	1,72,877	48.5	52,331	48.6	2,25,208	48.5
TOTAL	16,10,993	100	5,35,043	100	21,46,036	100
Total Unearned income	3,56,670		1,07,694		4,64,363	

*Percentage to major head income; % to total.

house and land owned in and outside the city, stocks, and bonds. In the present analysis sources are not distinguished but only aggregate incomes worked out. The distribution of the total income among the persons in the twelve employment status group as well as the average income per head in each category is tabulated in table 11.5, below:

TABLE 11.5—Distribution of total and average per capita income according to Employment Status

Employment Status	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total (NI + I)	
	Amount in Rs.	%	Amount in Rs.	%	Amount in Rs.	%
0 No desire to work	993	0.02	17	—	332	0.02
1 Employer	2,02,420	12.36	43,119	8.05	2,45,539	11.44
2 Employee	9,68,793	59.17	3,77,272	70.51	13,46,065	62.72
3 Self-employed or independent	2,57,766	15.74	56,578	10.57	3,14,344	14.65
4 Family helper	6,469	0.40	2,000	0.37	8,469	0.39
5 Household worker	1,743	0.11	624	0.12	2,367	0.11
6 Students	536	0.03	374	0.07	910	0.04
7 Old age and sick	33,553	2.05	17,172	3.21	50,725	2.36
8 Unearned income	103,616	6.45	21,675	4.05	1,27,291	5.93
9 Remittance holders	16,922	1.03	10,208	1.91	27,130	1.26
X Unemployed for I time	3,623	0.22	1,400	0.26	5,023	0.23
Y Unemployed NOT for I time	13,237	0.81	4,604	0.86	17,841	0.83
TOTAL	16,10,993	100.00	5,35,043	100.00	21,46,036	100.00

11.6. Of the total income, the employee group enjoys 62.7%, the self-employed or independent workers 14.7%, the employer group 11.4%, the unearned income group 5.9%, the old and the sick 2.4%, remittance-holders 1.26%, unemployed veterans 0.83%, unemployed freshers 0.23%, family-helpers 0.4% and the other groups very insignificant percentages. In the distribution of the income among the employment status groups there are some perceptible differences between immigrants and non-immigrants. The percentage of income of the employee group is 70.51 for the former against 59.2 for the latter. In the self-employed group they are 10.57 and 15.74, in the employer group 8.05 and 12.36 and in the unearned income group 4.05 and 6.45 respectively.

11.7. The employment status of the individuals is based upon their primary means of livelihood, wherever there are more than one means of livelihood. The total income is the aggregate of all the resources accruing from all of them. This point has to be borne in mind in studying the results of the analysis leading to an estimate of the average income of individuals in the various employment status categories. As already indicated an employer may get supplementary income from house and other properties. Similarly an unearned income recipient defined as such on the basis of the primary income may be getting small sums of earned income. In processing the data for arriving at the average income, the total income accruing to each employment status category is divided by total number of persons in it. The result of this analysis is given in table 11.7.

TABLE 11.7—Average per capita income in the various Employment Status Categories

Employment Status	Number of Persons			Average Income per Head in Rs. and nP.		
	NI	I	Total	NI	I	Total
0 No desire to work	9	2	11	35.00	8.50	30.18
1 Employer	612	167	779	330.75	258.20	315.20
2 Employee	10,582	3,360	13,933	91.55	112.28	96.55
3 Self-employed or independent	3,378	780	4,157	76.31	72.54	75.60
4 Family helper	188	57	240	34.41	35.09	34.57
5 Household worker	55	50	105	31.69	12.48	22.54
6 Students	18	5	23	29.77	74.80	39.56
7 Old age and sick	674	134	808	49.78	128.14	62.78
8 Unearned income	490	75	565	215.54	289.00	225.29
9 Remittance holders	96	31	127	176.27	329.29	213.62
X Unemployed for I time	1,119	247	1,358	3.24	5.67	3.68
Y Unemployed NOT for I time	768	185	953	17.24	24.89	18.73
TOTAL	17,989	5,093	23,059	89.55	105.06	92.97

11.8. By far the largest *per capita* average income of Rs. 315.20 is derived by the 'employer' group, followed by Rs. 225.29 by the 'unearned income' group, Rs. 213.62 by the 'remittance holders' group, Rs. 96.55 by the 'employee' group, Rs. 75.60 by the 'self-employed' group, Rs. 62.78 by the 'old and the sick', Rs. 39.56 by students, Rs. 30.18 by persons having no desire to work and Rs. 34.57 by family-helpers. Among the unemployed the average *per capita* income of the veterans is Rs. 18.73 compared with Rs. 3.68 for the freshers.

11.9. The average *per capita* incomes in the various groups differ widely as between non-immigrants and immigrants. The immigrants derive higher incomes in the categories of employees, Rs. 112.28 against Rs. 91.55, students Rs. 74.80 against Rs. 29.77, the old and the sick Rs. 128.14 against Rs. 49.78 and unearned income Rs. 289.00 against Rs. 215.54. In the other categories the differences are less striking except for the fact that the non-immigrant household worker has an average *per capita* income of Rs. 31.69 against Rs. 12.48 for his counterpart among the immigrants. So also the average *per capita* income in the category of persons having no desire to work is Rs. 35.00 among non-immigrants compared with Rs. 8.50 among immigrants. For the sample as a whole the average *per capita* income is Rs. 89.55 for the non-immigrants, Rs. 105.06 for immigrants and Rs. 92.97 for both.

INCOME GROUPS

11.10. The data relating to income have been analysed to classify the individuals into seven broad income groups. These individuals consist of the employed and the unemployed, the old and the sick, earners of very large incomes and absolutely no income. The distribution of this population into the seven income groups (of which one is no income group) is shown in table 11.10.

TABLE 11.10—Distribution of individuals according to Income Groups

Income groups	Number			Percentage		
	NI	I	Total	NI	I	Total
0	2,405	533	2,938	13.3	10.5	12.7
Rs. 1—49	6,291	1,674	7,965	35.0	32.9	34.5
Rs. 50—99	5,333	1,397	6,730	29.6	27.4	29.1
Rs. 100—199	2,676	958	3,634	14.9	18.8	15.8
Rs. 200—499	1,030	433	1,463	5.7	8.5	6.3
Rs. 500—999	183	68	251	1.0	1.3	1.1
Rs. 1,000 and above	86	30	116	0.5	0.6	0.5
TOTAL	18,004	5,093	23,097	100.0	100.0	100.0

11.11. Of the total population covered by this analysis 12.7% have no income, 34.5% have incomes below Rs. 50 per month, 29.9% between Rs. 50 and Rs. 99, 15.8% between Rs. 100 and Rs. 199, 6.3% between Rs. 200 and Rs. 499, 1.1% between Rs. 500 and Rs. 999 and 0.5% Rs. 1,000 and above. It may be noted that the percentage of persons getting no income is less among immigrants at 10.5 than among non-immigrants, recording 13.3. Further the percentages of persons in all the income groups from Rs. 100 to Rs. 999 are higher than the corresponding percentages for the non-immigrants. This relative superiority of the immigrants in the income structure is further confirmed by the lower percentages occurring in the two lowest income groups.

MODE OF PAYMENT

11.12. The employed persons are customarily classified into the salariat and the wage-earning class. Statistically the distinction between the two could be studied from the mode of payment whether it is monthly, or at shorter intervals. Outside this two-fold distinction will fall the self-employed persons who do not strike accounts at periodic intervals of the profits from their occupation as also persons engaged in certain varieties of occupations in which no determinate pay period exists. For the present study the mode of pay has been divided into four classes viz., day, week, month and others. The percentage distribution of employed persons is shown in the table below:

TABLE 11.12—Percentage distribution of the employed according to mode of payment

Mode of payment	NI	I	Total
Day	25.8	34.1	26.6
Week	2.9	5.0	3.1
Month	68.3	59.4	67.4
Others	3.0	1.5	2.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

11.13. It is noteworthy that about two-thirds of the employed persons belong to the category of monthly paid who, according to the definition adopted, represent the salariat. The percentage of employed persons getting daily wages is 25.8 among non-immigrants, 34.1 among immigrants and 26.6 among both. The system of weekly payment seems to be not very much in vogue as may be seen from the low percentage of 3.1 belonging to this group. Equally insignificant is the

category of 'others' with 2.9% of the total employed persons. Even here the percentage of non-immigrants is twice as much as that among immigrants which confirms the earlier inference of the relatively larger number of self-employed persons among the former.

REMITTANCES

11.14. Data relating to remittances sent have been analysed with the object of finding out (1) the relationship of the recipients to the senders and (2) the purpose. In the sub-sample of 23,097 persons the survey reveals that 607 persons are making remittances of whom 295 are non-immigrants and 312 immigrants. The recipients of the remittances have been classified into 9 groups and the relevant data are given below :

TABLE 11.14—Remittances—Relationship of the Recipients

Relationship	NI No.	%	I No.	%	Total No.	%
0 Brothers and sisters	54	18.2	33	10.6	87	14.2
1 Husband and wife	17	5.8	30	9.6	47	7.8
2 Son and daughter	45	15.4	19	6.1	64	10.6
3 Father and mother	119	40.4	210	67.3	329	54.3
4 In-law	15	5.1	2	0.6	17	2.8
5 Grand-parent	1	0.3	3	1.0	4	0.7
6 Other relations	31	10.3	12	3.8	43	7.0
7 Non-relations	6	2.1	3	1.0	9	1.5
8 Servants	7	2.4	—	—	7	1.1
TOTAL	295	100.0	312	100.0	607	100.0

11.15. It may be seen that 54.3% of the remitters make remittances to parents, clearly showing filial affection to be still the most active force. Next in order of relationship comes the group "brothers and sisters" to whom 14.2% of the remitters send some financial help. Third comes "sons and daughters" group accounting for 10.6% and fourth "spouses" accounting for 7.8%. It may be noted that 7% of the remitters send to other relations. With regard to parents, the percentage of remitters is 67.3 among immigrants against 40.4 among non-immigrants and with regard to husband or wife it is 9.6 for the former against 5.8 for the latter. As for brothers and sisters, sons and daughters and other relations the immigrants record a low percentage than the non-immigrants.

AMOUNT OF REMITTANCES AND RELATIONSHIP

11.16. Data relating to the amounts of remittances have been collected and correlated to the relationship of the recipients. The processed data are shown in table 11.16 below :

TABLE 11.16—Remittance and Relationship

Relationship	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total		Average per Remitter Rs. nP.
	Amount Rs.	%	Amount Rs.	%	Amount Rs.	%	
0 Brothers or sisters	1,161	15.3	440	5.8	1,601	10.6	18.40
1 Husband or wife	860	11.3	1,390	18.3	2,250	14.8	47.87
2 Son or daughter	1,736	22.9	1,101	14.5	2,837	18.7	44.32
3 Father or mother	2,462	32.5	4,030	53.1	6,492	42.8	19.73

TABLE 11.16—Contd.

Relationship	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total		Average per Remitter Rs. nP.
	Amount Rs.	%	Amount Rs.	%	Amount Rs.	%	
4 In-law	330	4.4	53	0.7	383	2.5	22.52
5 Grand-parent	20	0.3	44	0.6	64	0.4	16.00
6 Other relations	545	7.2	373	4.9	918	6.1	21.34
7 Non-relations	220	2.9	163	2.1	383	2.5	42.69
8 Servants	246	3.2	—	—	246	1.6	35.14
TOTAL	7,580	100.0	7,594	100.0	15,174	100.0	25.04

11.17. The total amount of remittance is Rs. 15,174 of which Rs. 7,580 is by the 295 non-immigrants and Rs. 7,594 by the 312 immigrants. Of the total amount, 42.8% has been remitted to parents, the average per remitter being Rs. 19.73; 18.7% is sent to sons and daughters, the average per remitter being Rs. 44.32. This part of the remittance is mainly for education. To spouses, the percentage of remittance sent is 14.8, the average per remitter being Rs. 47.87. This is obviously for maintenance. The percentage of remittances to brothers and sisters is 10.6 and the average per remitter Rs. 18.40; corresponding figures for other relations are 6.1 and Rs. 21.34. It is interesting to note that 4 persons are making an aggregate remittance of Rs. 64 to grand-parents.

PURPOSE OF REMITTANCES

11.18. An analysis of the data revealed that no remittance has been sent for investment. There might have been cases but the information to that effect has not been furnished. Hence in analysing the data relating to the purpose of remittances six groups have been evolved as shown in the table below :

TABLE 11.18—Remittances sent—Purpose

Purpose	Number			Percentage		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	Total
1 Maintenance	242	285	527	82.0	91.4	86.8
2 Education	21	14	35	7.1	4.5	5.8
3 Interest payment	15	1	16	5.1	0.3	2.6
4 Gifts	14	11	25	4.8	3.5	4.1
5 Social function	1	—	1	0.3	—	0.2
6 Religious ceremonies	2	1	3	0.7	0.3	0.5
7 All Purposes	295	312	607	100.0	100.0	100.0

11.19. Of the 607 cases of remittances, 86.8% are for maintenance, 5.8% for education, 4.1% for gifts, 2.6% for interest payment, 0.5% for religious ceremonies and 0.2% for social functions. Relatively a larger percentage of immigrants make remittances for maintenance; for interest payment their percentage is much below that of the non-immigrants, being 0.3 and 5.1 respectively.

REMITTANCES—AMOUNTS AND PURPOSE

11.20. Data relating to the amounts of remittances correlated to their purpose have been analysed as shown in the table 11.20 below:

TABLE 11.20—Remittances and Purpose

Purpose	Non-immigrants		Immigrants		Total		Average per Remitter Rs. nP.
	Amount Rs.	%	Amount Rs.	%	Amount Rs.	%	
1 Maintenance	6,137	80.9	6,486	85.4	12,623	83.1	23.97
2 Education	850	11.3	839	11.1	1,689	11.2	48.45
3 Interest payment	419	5.6	93	1.2	512	3.4	32.43
4 Gifts	153	2.0	151	2.0	304	2.0	12.16
5 Social functions	3	—	—	—	3	—	3.00
6 Religious ceremonies	18	0.2	25	0.3	43	0.3	14.33
TOTAL	7,580	100.0	7,594	100.0	15,174	100.0	25.04

11.21. Of the total amount of Rs. 15,174, 83.1% has been remitted for maintenance, 11.2% for education, 3.4% for interest payment, 2.0% for gifts and 0.3% for religious ceremonies. Relatively a larger percentage of immigrants make remittances for maintenance and a smaller percentage for payment of interest than the non-immigrants. The amount per remitter is Rs. 48.45 for education, Rs. 32.43 for payment of interest, Rs. 23.97 for maintenance, Rs. 14.33 for religious ceremonies, Rs. 12.16 for gifts and Rs. 3 for social functions. For all purposes together the average remittance works out Rs. 25.04 per remitter.

PROBLEM OF URBAN TRANSPORT

11.22. Being a city of long distances, Madras has always experienced acute urban transport problems. The city is served by various means of transport. The distance between the residence and the working place is a resultant of a complexity of factors like occupation, income and the period in which the worker, if he happens to be an immigrant, has arrived in the city. Before world war II the question of accommodation did not present serious difficulties. The present situation has been aggravated by the stoppage of the tram service. The hackney carts drawn by ponies and bullocks are not of any great significance in the transport of the working population to and from their working places. It is commonly believed that the employed population in the city is confronted by transport difficulties, costing considerable expenditure of time and money. In view of these reasons special provision has been made in the main questionnaire to collect data relating to the distance to working place, the mode and cost of conveyance and the time taken for travel. In analysing the collected data, an attempt is made to study these four aspects of the transport problem as experienced by the six broad income groups into which the sub-sample of 23,097 has been classified in the earlier sections.

DISTANCE TO WORKING PLACE

11.23. Madras city as already seen is nearly 10 miles from north to south and 5 miles east to west. The industrial units are concentrated mainly in north and north-east Madras. Both Government and Commercial offices are located right in the centre of the city—Mount Road, George Town and Chepauk. The distance to the working place has been classified into 11 groups of which 1 relates to no fixed working place as in the case of casual workers and another to persons working in their own homes. The other 9 groups range from less than half a mile to

6 miles and above. The percentage distribution of workers according to income groups and the distance travelled is given in table 11.23, below:

TABLE 11.23—Distance to Working Place—Percentage

Distance to Working place	INCOME GROUP						Net Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Less than ½ mile	24.4	21.7	17.8	15.9	16.3	13.3	21.6
½ to 1 mile	6.0	10.0	9.1	6.4	3.7	0.9	7.9
1 to 1½ miles	6.3	10.7	10.4	8.3	6.5	3.8	8.7
1½ to 2 miles	6.7	13.1	11.7	9.9	6.5	8.6	10.1
2 to 3 miles	3.5	6.8	7.6	6.4	6.0	4.8	5.7
3 to 4 miles	4.4	9.2	11.6	11.8	13.0	10.5	8.0
4 to 5 miles	1.6	5.0	7.2	8.4	10.7	14.3	4.5
5 to 6 miles	1.0	3.2	5.4	6.7	11.6	14.3	3.2
6 miles and above	1.4	6.1	10.5	14.9	13.0	15.2	5.6
No fixed place	28.6	8.7	4.1	4.4	2.8	4.8	15.1
Home	16.1	5.5	4.5	6.9	9.8	9.5	9.6
NET TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

11.24. In the total sub-sample of 23,097 persons 4,602 did not furnish correct data regarding the distance to working place. The data in the above table relate therefore to 18,495 cases. It may be seen that 9.6% of the persons are working in their own homes and 15.1% have no fixed place to work. These two groups are in one sense extreme cases relating to distance travelled. Home workers have no distance to cover while the others may have to roam miles on end for getting work. The figures show that 21.6% travel less than half a mile, 7.9% ½ to 1 mile, 8.7% 1 to 1½ miles and 10.1% 1½ to 2 miles. In other words nearly half the number of workers travel 2 miles or less and one fourth more than 2 miles. As between the income groups it is of interest to note that the percentage of persons travelling less than ½ a mile decreases from 24.4 in the lowest income group to 13.3 in the highest income group. But for all distances ranging above 3 miles the percentage of persons increases as the income increases. For example in the distance group 6 miles and above the percentage is 1.4 for the lowest and 15.2 for the highest income group.

MODE OF CONVEYANCE

11.25. The mode of conveyance has been classified into nine categories and the percentage distribution worked out as shown below:

TABLE 11.25—Mode of Conveyance—Percentages

Mode of Conveyance	Income Group						Total
	Below Rs. 50	Rs. 50—99	Rs. 100—199	Rs. 200—499	Rs. 500—999	Rs. 1000 and above	
Walk	92.3	69.0	44.6	28.5	21.8	13.8	67.3
Cycle	1.9	9.0	15.6	13.8	6.6	1.1	8.3
Bus	3.0	13.6	24.7	34.0	24.3	7.4	14.3
Rickshaw	0.05	0.5	0.6	1.8	4.6	1.1	0.5

TABLE 11.25—Contd.

Mode of Conveyance	Below Rs. 50	Rs. 50— 99	Rs. 100— 199	Rs. 200— 499	Rs. 500— 999	Rs. 1000 and above	Total
Motor Cycle	—	0.5	0.3	2.1	4.6	—	0.3
Car	—	0.1	0.5	5.8	31.5	74.4	1.5
Railway	2.5	7.5	13.6	13.4	6.1	2.2	7.5
Taxi	—	0.5	0.1	0.2	—	—	0.1
Others	0.3	0.2	—	0.4	0.5	—	0.2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

11.26. The above analysis covers 15,278 persons who have responded to this item of investigation. It may be seen that 67.3% of the workers walk to their working places and the percentage steadily diminishes from 92.3 in the lowest income group to 13.8 in the highest. The third important mode of conveyance is cycle accounting for 8.3%. As between the income groups, the highest percentage of 15.6 is recorded by persons with incomes ranging from "Rs. 100 to Rs. 199" followed by 13.8% in the income group from "Rs. 200 to Rs. 499." It may be noted that 1/4 of the persons in income groups "Rs. 100 to Rs. 199" and "Rs. 500 to Rs. 999" and 1/3 of the income group "Rs. 200 to Rs. 499" travel by bus. Next in importance is the railway which is used by 7.5% of the sample. The percentage using own cars is 1.5. Nearly 3/4 of the persons earning Rs. 1,000 and above and a little less than 1/3 earning between Rs. 500 and Rs. 999 travel in their own cars.

COST OF TRANSPORT

11.27. Data relating to cost of transport refer to expenditure incurred per day. It has been classified into seven groups, ranging from 'As. 4 and less' to 'As. 33 and above'. The distribution of persons according to cost of transport and income group is tabulated below:

TABLE 11.27—Cost of Transport—Percentages
Income Group

Cost of transport	Below Rs. 50	Rs. 50— 99	Rs. 100— 199	Rs. 200— 499	Rs. 500— 999	Rs. 1000 and above	Total
As 4 & less	83.8	76.2	70.7	56.5	53.4	45.4	70.3
5—8	15.8	21.6	26.3	36.7	24.7	36.4	25.9
9—12	0.4	1.4	1.9	3.4	9.6	—	2.1
13—16	—	0.4	0.9	1.9	8.2	9.1	1.1
17—24	—	0.4	0.2	0.9	2.7	—	0.4
25—32	—	—	—	0.4	—	9.1	0.1
33 +	—	—	—	0.2	1.4	—	0.1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

11.28. The figures in the above table reveal that 70.3% spend "As. 4 or less", 25.9% between "As. 5 and As. 8", 2.1% "As. 9 to As. 12", 1.1% "As. 13 to As. 16". Only 6 in 1,000 spend more than Re. 1 per day. It is noteworthy that 1 in 1,000 spends between "As. 25 and Rs. 32" and another one in 1,000 more than "Rs. 2 per day". As between the income groups, the percentage spending As. 4 or less decreases from 83.8 in the lowest to 45.4 in the highest income group, while the percentage spending As. 5 to As. 8 rises from 15.8 to 36.4.

TIME TAKEN

11.29. Data relating to time taken for travelling from residence to working place have been classified into six groups. An equal amount of time may be assumed to be taken for returning home. This investigation covers 15,046 respondents who have furnished reliable data. The distribution of this sample of workers is shown below:

TABLE 11.29—Time Taken—Percentages

Time Taken	Income Group						Total
	Below 50	Rs. 50— 99	Rs. 100— 199	Rs. 200— 499	Rs. 500— 999	Rs. 1000 and above	
Less than 20 mt.	59.1	37.9	36.0	35.5	42.3	48.4	44.0
20—40 mts.	19.9	28.9	30.3	30.7	30.4	39.8	26.6
40—60 mts	11.7	19.5	21.1	2.0	18.6	11.8	17.6
60—90 mts	6.4	8.9	8.7	8.4	6.7	—	8.0
90—120	1.7	2.8	2.3	1.7	1.0	—	2.2
120 mts. and above	1.2	2.0	1.6	1.7	1.0	—	1.6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

11.30. The figures show that 44.0% of the persons surveyed spend less than 20 minutes for the one-way journey, 26.6% 20 to 40 minutes, 17.6% 40 to 60 minutes, 8.0% 60 to 90 minutes, 3.8% more than 1 1/2 hours for each journey. The higher the income group the smaller the time spent in travelling to working place. To spend more than 40 minutes for each journey even in this city of great distances may be considered an unconscionable waste of time. If this standard is adopted 3 in 10 of the working population are compelled to waste much precious hours in merely going to and fro.

EARNING DEPENDENTS

11.31. As defined earlier, earning dependents are persons of either sex earning incomes not adequate for their maintenance at the accustomed standards of living. The problem of fixing an upper limit to their incomes presented certain difficulties. For the majority of the individuals in this category an income of less than Rs. 50 would be generally acceptable. But, for individuals in such households as would be enjoying a total income of more than Rs. 750 the income adequate for maintaining their standards would naturally be the *per capita* incomes of the households. Even assuming the average size of the households to be six, the average *per capita* income would work out to Rs. 150 which appears to be rather too high a figure. As a sort of compromise, in such cases earnings upto Rs. 100 only have been deemed to confer the status of earning dependents. It is on this concept that the category of earning dependents has been evolved. Data relating to them have been analysed for finding out their industrial, occupational and income classifications.

INDUSTRIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

11.32. The survey reveals that out of the 23,097 adults the number of earning dependents is 669 or 2.9%. Adopting the usual twelve-fold industrial and occupational classification the statistics relating to the earning dependents have been analysed as shown in table 11.32.

TABLE 11.32—Earning Dependents : Industrial & Occupational Classification

Industrial classification	No.	%	Occupational classification	No.	%
0 Agriculture	12	2.0	0 Managerial	—	—
1 Mining and quarrying ..	—	—	1 Professional	11	1.8
2 Manufacturing—Processing etc. ..	174	29.0	2 Subordinate	31	5.1
3 Manufacturing—Leather chemicals ..	75	12.5	3 Ministerial	4	0.7
4 Construction	9	1.5	4 Sales	142	23.7
5 Electricity, gas, water, etc. ..	3	0.5	5 Subordinate—Technical ..	111	18.5
6 Distributive services	144	24.0	6 Subordinate—Technical ..	173	28.9
7 Transport	9	1.5	7 Services	126	21.0
8 Services—Public	13	2.2	8 Cultivating owners	2	0.3
9 Services—Private	71	11.8	9 Cultivating tenant	—	—
X Services—Personal	78	13.0	X Landless labourers	—	—
Y Activities NOT adequately described.	12	2.0	Y Non-cultivating owners ..	—	—
Not Reported	69	—	Not Reported	69	—
TOTAL	669	—	TOTAL	669	—
NET TOTAL	600	—	NET TOTAL	600	—

11.33. Of the 669 earning dependents, 174 or 29.0% are employed in "manufacturing processing" industry. Next comes the group "distributive services" having 144 persons or 24.0%. About 12% each of the earning dependents are employed in (i) services personal; (ii) "manufacturing—leather, metals, chemicals" and (iii) services private. The rest of them are distributed in very small percentages in the other industrial groups. It may be noted that there is no person of this category in the mining and quarrying group. From the data it is apparent that about 2/3 are employed in manufacture and commerce; a considerable number among them have been found to be family helpers. It is also noteworthy that 1/4 of the earning dependents are engaged in services—private or personal.

11.34. It may be seen from the above table that the earning dependents occur only in eight occupational groups. Even among them the occupational classes labelled "ministerial" and "cultivating owners" together account for but 1%. In the professional group the percentage employed is 1.8 and in the subordinate 5.1. It is in the other four occupational groups they are seen in larger proportions being 47.4% in the two "subordinate—Technical" occupations, 23.7% in sales and 21.0% in services. These figures indicate that the most important avenues of employment for earning dependents are manufacture, sales and services.

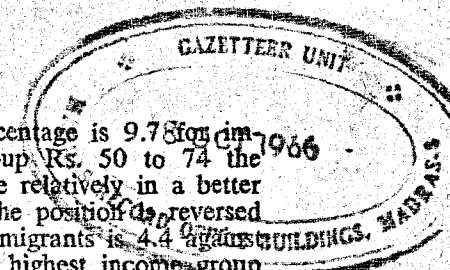
INCOME GROUPS

11.35. In view of the limited range of the incomes of the earning dependents, they are classified into 4 income groups namely (i) upto Rs. 24; (ii) Rs. 25 to 49; (iii) Rs. 50 to 74 and (iv) Rs. 75 to 100. The data relating to the income of the earning dependents have been processed and tabulated below :

TABLE 11.35—Income Groups—Earning Dependents

Income Groups	NUMBER			PERCENTAGE		
	NI	I	Total	NI	I	Total
Upto Rs. 24	466	125	591	88.8	86.8	88.3
Rs. 25—49	31	14	45	5.9	9.7	6.7
Rs. 50—74	5	4	9	0.9	2.8	1.4
Rs. 75 and 100	23	1	24	4.4	0.7	3.6
TOTAL	525	144	669	100.0	100.0	100.0

11.36. Of the 669 earning dependents, 591 or 88.3% are earning below Rs. 25, 45 or 6.7% between Rs. 25 and 49, 9 or 1.4% between Rs. 50 and 74 and 24 or 3.6% between 75 and 100. As between non-immigrants and immigrants the position is almost the same with



regard to the lowest income group. In the next income group the percentage is 9.7 for immigrants compared with 5.9 for non-immigrants and in the income group Rs. 50 to 74 the corresponding percentages are 2.8 and 0.9. The immigrants appear to be relatively in a better position than the non-immigrants in those two middle income groups. The position is reversed in respect of the highest income group in which the percentage for non-immigrants is 4.4 against 0.7 for immigrants. The superior position of the non-immigrants in the highest income group is probably due to the inherent advantages they seem to enjoy in procuring suitable jobs. On the other hand the relatively better position of the immigrants in the two middle income groups may be attributed to their ability and eagerness to get jobs.

CASUAL WORKERS

11.37. In studying the character of employment (vide paragraphs 10.11 and 10.12) an eight-fold classification of occupations has been made as also a division of occupations into two broad groups Public and Private. It is also conventional to effect a dichotomy of occupations into regular and casual work. In the preceding sections analysis was mainly concerned with regular workers. It is here proposed to study separately casual workers occurring in the sample in greater detail. They comprise the sub-groups (i) Private, casual secure; (ii) Private, casual insecure; (iii) Public, casual, secure. The efforts towards further investigation into industrial and occupational classification, the number of unemployed days per month and the daily earnings of these 3 groups did not succeed fully in eliciting information from all the individuals concerned, because some of them in the sub-groups "Private, casual, secure" and "Public, casual, secure" did not furnish full information. This was mainly due to their confusion about their status. Some of them were afraid to give the data under the impression that their private employers might resent it. Some of them in the Public sector with security of employment for a specified number of days refused to align themselves with mere casual labourers under a false notion that they were as good as regular workers. Hence the data collected are confined to the willing respondents. The total number of casual workers covered by this intensive investigation is 2,129 or 9.2% of the total employed persons.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

11.38. Adopting the usual industrial classification the data collected have been analysed in table 11.38, below :

TABLE 11.38—Casual Employment

Industrial classification	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0 Agriculture	52	3.1	6	1.4	58	2.7
1 Mining and quarrying	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 Manufacturing: Processing textiles and fibres.	367	21.6	62	14.3	429	20.2
3 Manufacturing: Leather, chemicals, metal.	242	14.3	44	10.2	286	13.4
4 Construction	331	19.5	99	22.9	430	20.2
5 Electricity, gas, water, sanitary services	12	0.7	—	—	12	0.6
6 Distributive services	120	7.1	36	8.3	156	7.3
7 Transport	196	11.6	83	19.2	279	13.1
8 Services : Public	19	1.1	7	1.6	26	1.2
9 Services : Private	240	14.1	65	15.0	305	14.3
X Services : Personal	19	1.1	10	2.3	29	1.4
Y Activities NOT adequately reported ..	92	5.8	21	4.8	119	5.6
TOTAL	1,696	100.0	433	100.0	2,129	100.0

11.39. Of the 2,129 casual labourers 20.2% each are employed in (i) Manufacturing—Processing and (ii) Construction. Next comes "Services Private" with 14.3% followed by "Manufacturing—leather, chemicals, metals" with 13.4%, Transport 13.1% and "distributive services" with 7.3%. Employment in the other industrial groups is negligible. Of the total number of casual workers 1,696 or nearly 4/5 are non-immigrants and 433 or about 1/5 are immigrants. The immigrants are better represented in "construction", "transport" and "private services" than the non-immigrants. In manufacture (Code 2 and 3), the percentage employed is 35.9 for the non-immigrants compared with 24.5% for the immigrants. It is noteworthy that even in the casual employment sector, the non-immigrants score much better in manufacture than the immigrants.

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

11.40. Adopting the occupational classification already evolved the data relating to the casual workers have been processed and tabulated in table 11.40, below:

TABLE 11.40—Casual Employment

Occupational classification	Non-immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0 Managerial	—	—	1	0.2	1	0.1
1 Professional	57	3.4	16	3.7	73	3.4
2 Subordinate	26	1.5	8	1.9	34	1.6
3 Ministerial	12	0.7	5	1.2	17	0.8
4 Sales	45	2.7	5	1.2	50	2.4
5 Sub-Technical	461	26.5	76	17.4	527	24.6
6 Sub-Technical	914	53.9	260	60.0	1,174	55.1
7 Service	182	10.7	62	14.4	244	11.5
8 Cultivating Owner	—	—	—	—	—	—
9 Cultivating Tenant	1	0.1	—	—	1	0.1
X Landless Labour	8	0.3	—	—	8	0.4
Y Non-cultivating Owner	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1,696	100	433	100	2,129	100

11.41. Of the 12 occupational groups "Subordinate technical" and "Services" account for 91.2% of the workers. More than half the total number of workers are in the "Subordinate technical" (Code 6) representing mostly unskilled work. As between the non-immigrants and immigrants there are perceptible differences in the occupational grouping. The percentage employed in subordinate technical (Code 6) unskilled is 60.0 for the latter against 53.9 for the former. In the service group, the immigrants are relatively in larger numbers than the non-immigrants. But in subordinate technical (Code 5) which represents semi-skilled jobs, the non-immigrants fare better with 26.5% against 17.4% for the immigrants.

INTENSITY OF EMPLOYMENT

11.42. An attempt has been made to collect data relating to the number of unemployed days per month for the casual workers. For this purpose data were collected regarding the actual number of unemployed days in the month prior to the date of investigation. In analysing these data intensity of unemployment has been divided into five grades viz. (i) up to 5 days;

(ii) 6 to 10 days; (iii) 11 to 15 days; (iv) 16 to 20 days and (v) 21 days and above. On this basis, the data are analysed in the table below:

TABLE 11.42—Number of Days of Unemployment

Number of days of unemployment	NI	%	I	%	Total	%
1—5	67	4.0	31	7.2	98	4.6
6—10	588	34.7	150	34.6	738	34.7
11—15	530	31.2	125	28.9	655	30.8
16—20	368	21.7	91	21.0	459	21.5
21 days and above	143	8.4	36	8.3	179	8.4
TOTAL	1,696	100.0	433	100.0	2,129	100.0

11.43. The above table shows that 34.7% of the casual workers are unemployed for 6 to 10 days, 30.8% for 11 to 15 days, 21.5% for 16 to 20 days, 8.4% for 21 days and above, and 4.6% for less than 6 days. It is apparent that 3 out of 10 are unemployed for more than half the days in the month and about only one in 20 is fairly fully employed (i.e. 25 days in a month). There is not much difference between the non-immigrants and immigrants with regard to days of employment except among the "fully employed" category. The percentage in this category is 7.2 among the immigrants against 4.0 for the non-immigrants.

EARNINGS PER DAY

11.44. Data relating to earnings of casual labourers reveal that they range from less than 8 annas to more than Rs. 4 per day. Among the casual labourers it is the carpenters and masons who earn the highest wages. Some of the casual labourers like porters, (men and women with baskets carrying provisions etc., from the shops to customers' houses) seeking jobs in the shopping centres occasionally earn less than 8 annas a day. The data relating to wages have been classified into six groups as shown below:

TABLE 11.44—Casual Employment : Daily Earnings

Daily Earnings	NI	%	I	%	Total	%
1—8 Annas	135	8.0	17	3.9	152	7.1
9—16 Annas	272	16.0	50	11.6	322	15.1
17—32 Annas	876	51.7	265	61.2	1,141	53.6
33—48 Annas	329	19.4	81	18.7	410	19.3
49—64 Annas	58	3.4	16	3.7	74	3.5
65+	26	1.5	4	0.9	30	1.4
TOTAL	1,696	100.0	433	100.0	2,129	100.0

11.45. By far the largest number of 1,141 workers or 53.6% earn between Re. 1 and Rs. 2. The percentage of workers earning above Rs. 2 and upto Rs. 3 is 19.3; it is 15.1 in the group earning from annas 9 to Re. 1, 7.1 in the group earning up to As. 8, 3.5 in the group above Rs. 3 and upto Rs. 4 and 1.4 in the group above Rs. 4. Among the immigrants 61.2% earn above Re. 1 and upto Rs. 2 against 51.7% among the non-immigrants. The percentage earning Re. 1 or less is 24 among non-immigrants compared with 15.5% among the immigrants.

PENSIONERS

11.46. The sub-sample of 23,097 adults, as already indicated, includes not only the employed and the unemployed but also pensioners. A special study of the characteristics of the pensioners

is attempted here. The total number of pensioners is 278 or 1.3%. Data relating to their employment status are tabulated in table 11.46, below :

TABLE 11.46—Pensioners—Employment Status

Employment Status	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1 Employer	1	0.4	1	2.0	2	0.7
2 Employee	28	12.3	11	22.0	39	14.0
3 Self-employed persons	13	5.7	2	4.0	15	5.4
4 Family helper	1	0.4	—	—	1	0.4
5 Household worker	—	—	1	2.0	1	0.4
6 Children and students	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 Old and sick	146	64.0	32	64.0	178	64.0
8 Unearned income	20	8.8	—	—	20	7.2
9 Remittances	4	1.8	—	—	4	1.4
X Unemployed for 1 time	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y Unemployed NOT for 1 time	15	6.6	3	5.0	18	6.5
O No desire to work	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	223	100.0	50	100.0	278	100.0

11.47. Of the 278 pensioners, 178 or 64.0%, are found in the group 'old and sick', 20 persons or 7.2% are enjoying unearned income and 4 or 1.4% remittances. It may be seen that 18 persons or 6.5% fall in the category of unemployed not for the first time signifying that they are still seeking employment. Allowing for 1 who has become a household worker, there are 57 persons or 20.5% who are in gainful employment. Of this bunch 39 or 14% of the total are employees, 15 or 5.4% self-employed and 2 or 0.7% employers, and 1 a family helper. In short, about 1 in 5 of the superannuated is re-employed and 1 in 16 is seeking re-employment. As between immigrants and non-immigrants the percentage distribution according to employment status is extremely alike except in three groups. It is remarkable that none of the immigrants pensioners derives either unearned income or remittance. In the employees group the percentage of immigrant pensioners is 22.0 against 12.3 for non-immigrants. This is as it should be, because the pensioners migrating to the city would be doing so for getting remunerative jobs and not for enjoying the greater amenities of urban life. This statement does not of course apply to the pensioners belonging to the high income groups like retired District Collectors and District Judges who form but an insignificant percentage in the pensioners group.

PENSIONER'S INCOME

11.48. Data relating to the incomes of the pensioners correlated to their employment status have been processed with the object of determining their levels of income (*vide* table 11.48, below :

TABLE 11.48—Average Income of the Pensioners

Employment Status	Non-immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Amount	Average per head	Amount	Average per head	Amount	Average per head
1 Employer	65	(In Rupees) 65.00	651	651.00	716	358.00
2 Employee	1,224	43.71	621	56.45	1,845	47.31
3 Self-employed persons	514	39.54	48	24.00	562	37.46

TABLE 11.48—Contd.

Employment Status	Non-immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Amount	Average per head	Amount	Average per head	Amount	Average per head
4 Family helper	62	62.00	—	—	62	62.00
5 Household worker	—	—	200	200.00	200	200.00
6 Children and students	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 Old and sick	10,028	68.68	4,868	152.13	14,896	83.68
8 Unearned income	2,397	119.85	—	—	2,397	119.85
9 Remittances	190	47.50	—	—	190	47.50
X Unemployed for 1 time	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y Unemployed NOT for 1 time	756	50.40	223	74.30	979	54.39
O No desire to work	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	15,236	66.82	6,611	132.22	21,847	78.58

11.49. It may be seen from the above table that the total income of the pensioners is Rs. 21,847, which works out to an average per capita income of Rs. 78.58. Among the various employment groups the highest average *per capita* income is earned by the 'employer' group, which works out to Rs. 358. In this group only two cases have occurred, of whom the non-immigrant pensioner has an income of Rs. 65, while the immigrant pensioner Rs. 651. The latter is no doubt an employer in the real sense, while the former appears to belong to the humbler sort. Next comes the only pensioner—household-worker who records an income of Rs. 200 followed by the 20 'unearned income recipients', with an average income of Rs. 119.85 and the 'old and the sick' with an average income of Rs. 83.68. The 18 pensioners seeking re-employment derive an average income of Rs. 54.39. The average income of the 39 pensioners in the employee group is Rs. 47.31 and the 1 family helper has an income of Rs. 62, and the 15 self-employed persons have an average income of Rs. 37.46. The above data show that the re-employed pensioners in general appear to belong to the lower income groups deriving an income of less than Rs. 50.

CONCLUSIONS

11.50. To sum up the conclusions emerging from the foregoing analysis :

(i) Of the total income of the economically significant population, 77.7% is from main occupation, 0.7% from subsidiary occupation, the total earned income forming 78.4%. Income from house property accounts for 5.7% of the total income, 2.2% from land, 1.3% from remittances, 10.5% from property outside city and 1.9% other miscellaneous sources, the percentage of total unearned income working out to 21.6.

(ii) Monthly paid employees form 67.4% of the total, 68.3 among the non-immigrants and 59.4% among the immigrants. Daily paid category form 26.6% of the total, one-in-four among the non-immigrants and one-in-three among the immigrants.

(iii) The share of the employed persons works out to 89.2% of the total income of which the employees derive 62.7%, employers 11.4%, self-employed 14.7% and family helpers 0.4%. The rest who may be identified with the rentier class derive 10.8% of the total income of whom the category of unearned income recipients account for 5.9%, the old and the sick 2.4%, remittance holders 1.26%, unemployed veterans 0.83% and the unemployed freshers 0.23%. Numerically 7.2% of the economically significant population constituting the rentier class enjoy 10.8% of the total income.

(iv) Irrespective of the sources of income the average *per capita* income of the economically significant population works out to Rs. 92.97.

(v) About one-third of the population derive an income of less than Rs. 50, nearly three-in-ten between Rs. 50 and 99, one-in-six "between Rs. 100 and Rs. 199", one-in-sixteen "between Rs. 200 and Rs. 499", one-in-hundred "between Rs. 500 and Rs. 999" and one-in-two hundred "Rs. 1,000 and above".

(vi) Of the total working population, one-in-five lives at a distance of half-a-mile from the working place, 48.3% upto two miles; 15.1% have no fixed working place and 9.6% are home workers. The percentage walking to working place is 67.3, cycling 8.3, travelling by bus 14.3 and by Railway 7.5. Nearly seven-out-of-ten incur an expenditure of four annas per day on transport to working place, one-in-four between five and eight annas, one-in-five hundred more than Rs. 1-8-0. As for time taken for one-way journey, 44.0% spend less than 20 minutes, 26.6% between 20 and 40 minutes, 17.6% between 40 and 60 minutes and nearly 12% more than one hour.

(vii) Of the economically significant population, 607 persons or 2.6% make remittances. Among the recipients 54.3% are parents, 14.2% brothers and sisters, 10.6% sons and daughters, 7.8% spouses and 7.0% other relations. The average remittance per remitter is Rs. 25. Nearly 87% of the remittances are for maintenance of the recipients, 6% for education, 2.6% for interest payment and 4.1% for gifts.

(viii) The number of earning dependents in the economically significant 23,097 persons is 669 or 2.9%. Of these, 41.5% are in 'manufacturing' industries, 24.0% in 'distributive services', 13.0% in 'personal services' and 11.8% in 'private services'. Occupationally 28.9% are in 'subordinate-technical II', 23.7% in 'sales', 21.0% in 'services' and 18.5% in 'subordinate technical I'. Seven-out-of-ten earning dependents earn less than Rs. 25 per month, one-in-sixteen from "Rs. 25 to Rs. 49", one-in-twenty "Rs. 50 and above".

(ix) The number of casual workers among the economically significant population is 2,129 or 9.2%. Industrially, one-in-three is in 'manufacture', one-in-five in 'construction', one-in-seven each in 'private services' and 'transport' and one-in-fourteen in 'trade'. Occupationally, eight out of ten are in 'subordinate-technical' one-in-nine in 'service' jobs. Among them 8.4% are unemployed for over "20 days" and 4.6% only for "five days or less", nearly 30% get employment for not less than 15 days. By far the largest percentage of 53.6 earn between Re. 1 and Rs. 2 and 5% earn more than Rs. 3.

(x) The total number of pensioners among the economically significant population is 278 or 1.3%. Among them 20.5% are re-employed, 64% are old and sick, 8.6% have unearned income and 6.5% are in search of re-employment. The average income per pensioner works out to Rs. 78.58 and for pensioners in the "employee" status category Rs. 47.31, and the "self-employed" category Rs. 37.46.

CHAPTER XII UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYED—THREE FACETS TO THE PROBLEM

THIS CHAPTER is devoted to a study of the magnitude and character of the unemployed in the city as revealed from the present survey. The problem of unemployment in a growing economy is supposed to have three facets. The first is concerned chiefly with fresh entrants into the labour force, young persons having completed the school, collegiate or technical education and training, seeking gainful employment. The Second Five Year Plan has estimated that this type of the unemployed enters the national labour market at the rate of 2,000,000 per annum. To urban areas go the more venturesome of the rural unemployed in search of jobs swelling disproportionately the number of fresh entrants in the cities and larger towns. The total population of these freshers is thus unequally distributed between the rural and urban areas, aggravating the situation in the latter to a greater extent. These persons are described by the Research Programmes Committee as the unemployed for the first time. Due to age-long under-employment that has characterised the city as well as the village in India, the unemployed for the first time consist not only of the fresh entrants of the year but also those who had never been employed for years at a stretch since their first entry into the labour market. If their period of waiting is 4 to 6 years, it may be concluded that such cases are chronic and incorrigible ones, nevertheless conceptually they belong to the freshers' group because they have never had any prior employment. It is to this section that the Planning Commission applies the term 'backlog of unemployed.'

12.2. The second facet of the problem relates to those persons, who have had previous employment for a shorter or longer time but currently unemployed. In advanced and highly dynamic economies, this class of unemployed is said to belong to the categories of frictional and structural unemployment. But in the context of the economy of Madras city, the changes in the industrial and other sectors, have been neither sudden nor sweeping. Yet certain changes perhaps of a milder character there have been. It was during the period covered by the survey 1940—57 that one textile mill was closed, the Tramway Company went into liquidation, bullock power for transport of the goods was rapidly substituted to a large extent by motor trucks and the hackney cabs by motor buses and taxis. Even if the economy of the city had not been overrun by a tidal wave of technological changes, it was subject to several ripples of continual occurrence. These changes have thrown large numbers of people out of employment. In advanced countries this number is usually large, about 2,000,000 in United States of America at any point of time but their spell of unemployment is generally very short unless the country plunges into a depression. But in this city, frequently a long period elapses before one thrown out of a job gets another. Hence this type, designated by the Research Programmes Committee as the unemployed NOT for the first time, could not be ignored as a community who could be re-absorbed in suitable jobs in due course on the exhaustion of the effects of the technological and structural changes. This class therefore deserves a careful study.

12.3. The third facet of the problem cuts across the first two. It relates to the educated unemployed who would be found in both the groups of the new entrants into the labour market and the veterans who had been previously employed but currently unemployed. As the Second Five Year Plan says "unemployment among the educated is part of the general problem of unemployment in the country". One of the principal objectives of the present survey is to make a careful assessment of the specific situations of the first two groups of the unemployed accompanied by a general probe into the correlation between educational attainments and unemployment.

EDUCATION

12.4. In the economically significant population of 23,097, the survey has revealed that the number of unemployed persons is 2,311 or 10% of whom 1,350 are 'unemployed for the first time' or FRESHERS to be brief, and 961 'unemployed NOT for the first time' or VETERANS. Adopting the usual ten-fold categories of general education the percentage distribution among them has been worked out for freshers and veterans classified according to their migratory status (*Vide* Table 12.4).

TABLE 12.4—General Education:

General Education	Unemployed for the first time					
	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	68	6.2	11	4.6	79	5.9
Literate or Primary	172	15.6	46	19.1	218	16.2
Middle School	379	34.3	60	24.9	439	32.6
Secondary	190	17.2	32	13.3	222	16.5
S.S.L.C.	248	22.5	73	30.3	321	23.9
Intermediate	25	2.3	9	3.7	34	2.5
Graduates in Arts	10	0.9	6	2.5	16	1.2
Graduates in Science	7	0.6	2	0.8	9	0.7
Post-Graduates in Arts	5	0.4	2	0.8	7	0.5
Post-Graduates in Science	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not Reported	5	—	—	—	5	—
TOTAL	1,109	—	241	—	1,350	—
NET TOTAL	1,104	100	241	100	1,345	100

12.5. Among the total unemployed persons belonging to both the groups, 8.5% are illiterate, 23.1% are S.S.L.Cs. and above, 20.0% are just literates and nearly half have educational qualification ranging from first form to sixth form.

12.6. In both the categories of the unemployed, persons with middle-school education form nearly one-third. It is also striking that among the immigrants in both the categories persons falling in the category of middle school is nearly one-fourth. Except for this similarity a scrutiny of the table would reveal that the freshers are relatively more highly educated than the veterans. This is most noticeable in the higher educational categories; among S.S.L.Cs the percentage is 23.9 for freshers against 12.2 for veterans; among graduates in arts the percentages are 1.2 and 0.7 and in science 0.7 and 0.3 respectively. As for the illiterates the percentage is 12.3 for veterans and 5.9 for freshers. It is only in the literate group the veterans score better with 25.3% compared with 16.2% for freshers.

12.7. Of the 961 veterans 777 or 80.9% are non-immigrants and 184 or 19.1% immigrants. Among the 1,350 freshers 1,109 or 82.1% are non-immigrants and 241 or 17.9% immigrants. As between non-immigrants and immigrants in both the groups of the unemployed, the latter as noticed earlier are relatively more highly educated than the former. A comparison of the non-immigrants among veterans and freshers reveals that the latter are more highly educated than the former. Similar is the situation between the immigrants in these two unemployed groups.

UNEMPLOYED PERSONS AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

12.8. Of the unemployed population of 1,350 described as freshers, 173 or 12.8% and of the 959 veterans 119 or 12.4% are found to possess some technical qualification or other.

According to the migratory status

Unemployed NOT for the first time						Total Unemployed					
Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total		Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
91	11.7	27	14.7	118	12.3	159	8.5	38	8.2	197	8.5
202	26.1	41	22.3	243	25.3	374	19.9	87	20.5	461	20.0
269	34.7	49	26.6	318	33.2	648	34.5	109	25.6	757	32.9
108	13.9	26	14.1	134	14.0	298	15.9	58	13.6	356	15.5
85	11.0	32	17.4	117	12.2	333	17.7	105	24.7	438	19.0
10	1.3	5	2.7	15	1.6	35	1.9	14	3.3	49	2.1
5	0.6	2	1.1	7	0.7	15	0.8	8	1.9	23	1.0
3	0.4	—	—	3	0.3	10	0.5	2	0.5	12	0.5
2	0.3	2	1.1	4	0.4	7	0.3	4	1.0	11	0.5
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	2	—	7	—	—	—	7	—
777	—	184	—	961	—	1,886	—	425	—	2,311	—
775	100	184	100	959	100	1,879	100	425	100	2,304	100

Applying the usual detailed procedure of classifying technical education and training into 29 groups to these 292 persons the distribution is found as given in the table 12.8 below:

TABLE 12.8—Unemployed Persons According to Technical Education

Technical Education	Unemployed for the first time		Unemployed NOT for 1 time		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>Degrees :</i>						
0 Law	1	0.6	—	—	1	0.3
1 Medicine	—	—	2	1.4	2	0.7
2 Engineering	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 Teaching	—	—	1	0.7	1	0.3
4 Veterinary	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 Commerce	3	1.7	—	—	3	1.0
7 Audit & Accounts	1	0.6	—	—	1	0.3
8 Other Degrees	1	0.6	—	—	1	0.3
TOTAL	6	—	3	—	9	2.9
<i>Diplomas :</i>						
9 Engineering	7	4.0	3	3.4	10	3.4
10 Teaching	7	4.0	5	6.2	12	4.1

TABLE 12.8—(contd.)

Technical Education	Unemployed for the first time		Unemployed NOT for 1 time		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
11 Commerce	—	—	1	1.4	1	0.3
12 Health, Sanitation	4	2.3	4	2.7	8	2.7
13 Physical Instruction	—	—	—	—	—	—
14 Typewriting	77	44.6	23	20.7	100	34.3
15 Shorthand	7	4.0	2	2.1	9	3.1
16 Book-keeping	3	1.7	—	—	3	1.0
17 Arts and Crafts	1	0.6	1	1.4	2	0.7
18 Photography	2	1.2	—	—	2	0.7
19 Cine-Technical	—	—	—	—	—	—
20 Music	4	2.3	1	0.7	5	1.7
21 Others	31	17.9	5	4.8	36	12.3
TOTAL	143		45		188	64.3
Non-Diplomas:						
22 Welder	3	1.7	3	2.1	6	2.1
23 Fitter	—	—	2	2.1	2	0.7
24 Fitter	7	4.0	24	17.2	31	10.7
25 Carpenter	6	3.5	7	4.8	13	4.5
26 Blacksmith	—	—	2	4.4	2	0.7
27 Goldsmith	—	—	2	1.4	2	0.7
28 Mason	—	—	3	2.1	3	1.0
29 Others	8	4.7	28	22.7	36	12.4
GRAND TOTAL	173	100.0	119	100.0	292	100.0

12.9. It may be seen from the above table that nine persons or 2.9% are degree holders, 188 persons or 64.3% are diploma holders and 95 persons or 32.8% are technically trained personnel without either degrees or diplomas. Among the degree holders, two belonging to medicine and one to law are not really unemployed but seeking better jobs. Investigation revealed that the Lawyer wanted to leave legal profession and the Medical man to give up private practice preferring paid jobs in the public or industrial sector. The only person with teaching degree was unemployed due to illness and the only auditor is seeking a paid job. There is no unemployed degree holder in the Engineering, Veterinary and Agricultural groups. Hence all these technical degree holders are not really faced with real unemployment. However, commerce degree appears to be worse off and the small sample of three detected in the survey reveals the symptom of a deeper disease. The respondents belonging to this group were found to complain that in spite of their special qualifications they are not shown any preference in the recruitment of technical personnel by banks, commercial houses and the Accountant-General's Office. Among the 188 diploma holders, 100 persons are typists, 12 teachers, 10 engineers, 9 stenographers and 5 musicians.

12.10. Among the 95 non-degree, non-diploma, technically trained persons, the largest number of 31 is found among fitters. As for other groups the small numbers occurring in the

sample indicate low rates of unemployment among them. Most of the unemployed fitters are demobilised military personnel who have had vocational training during the war years. They complain of lack of suitable opportunities of employment.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

12.11. "The unemployed not for the first time", or veterans as briefly designated, have been subject to a historical investigation into their past career. Provision was made in the schedule to collect data regarding their previous employment, industrial group to which they belonged, the occupational status which they have held, the reason for leaving the job and the latest period of unemployment and the industry and occupation they seek. This section is concerned with their industrial classification on the basis of their latest job and the industry they seek. The percentage distribution among various industries is shown in Table 12.11 below:

TABLE 12.11.—Unemployed not for the first time—Percentage

Industry held	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Jobs held	Jobs sought	Jobs held	Jobs sought	Jobs held	Jobs sought
0 Agriculture, Fishing etc.	0.5	—	8.3	0.6	1.9	0.1
1 Mining and quarrying	0.7	0.1	0.6	—	0.7	0.1
2 Manufacturing, Processing, Textiles and Fibres.	8.5	6.0	6.4	12.8	8.1	7.3
3 Manufacturing, Leather, Chemical, Metal, Engineering.	24.2	23.8	17.8	16.8	23.1	22.5
4 Construction	2.4	1.5	2.6	—	2.4	1.2
5 Electricity, Water & Sanitary Service ..	1.8	0.5	1.3	—	1.8	0.4
6 Distributive Services: Trade, Banking, Insurance, Auction etc.	24.8	20.2	31.2	27.9	25.9	21.7
7 Transport, Storage & Communication	9.7	12.0	10.2	9.5	9.8	11.6
8 Public Services	15.6	17.6	14.0	16.8	15.3	17.3
9 Private Services	7.4	13.8	5.7	14.5	7.1	13.9
X Personal Services	4.4	4.2	1.3	1.1	3.8	3.6
Y Activities NOT adequately described	—	0.4	0.6	—	0.1	0.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

12.12. Among the twelve industrial categories shown above, six account for 90% of the cases. By far the most important is Distributive services in which 25.9% had been employed followed by "Manufacturing"—Leather, Chemical, Metal, Engineering etc., with 23.1%, Public Services with 15.3%, Transport, Storage and Communication with 9.8%, Manufacturing—Processing, Textiles and Fibres with 8.1% and Private Services with 7.1%. In short one-in-four had been in commerce, three-in-ten manufacture, 3 in 20 in Public Services and 1 in 10 in Transport and Communication. These figures do not imply the magnitude of unloading by the respective industrial sectors except perhaps in public services where emergence from war-time and controlled economy had led to considerable retrenchment; for Manufacture, Commerce and other sectors have not definitely shrunk, although some of them have shown signs of positive growth. The percentages of unemployed from these sectors are high because the original levels of employment were high.

12.13. With regard to the immigrants the previous employment relates to the urban or the rural as the case may be. That is why the percentage of unemployed person in Agriculture group is 8.3 for them against 0.5 for non-immigrants. The earlier inference that the immigrants have less opportunities of employment in Manufacture, and Public Services than in Commerce and Transport is confirmed by the figures in the table.

12.14. The pattern of distribution of the veterans among the twelve industrial groups with reference to their desire for future job is somewhat different from that of their latest jobs. The fact of having lost a job in an industry as well as the period and intensity of unemployed, may influence different individuals differently. Some of them would like to re-enter the same industry, others might not. How far individuals are sticking to or changing from their old industries cannot be studied separately, without making case studies. The data in table 12.11 reveal the overall changes. In four out of the 12 industrial groups the percentage of persons desiring to enter has increased. In Transport, Storage and Communication as against 9.8% of the persons having been employed, 11.6% desire to have jobs in it. In public services the percentage has risen from 15.3 to 17.3, in "activities not adequately described" from 0.1 to 0.3 and in private services the increase is significant from 7.1 to 13.9. In all the other eight industrial groups there has been a decrease in the percentage of people desiring jobs compared with the percentage who have held jobs.

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

12.15. An analysis of the data relating to occupations held and sought by the veterans on similar lines as in the preceding section is attempted here. The same twelve-fold classification is adopted with regard to occupations held and sought. The results are tabulated in table 12.15 below :

TABLE 12.15—Unemployed not for the first time According to Occupation held—Percentages

Occupation	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Jobs held	Jobs sought	Jobs held	Jobs sought	Jobs held	Jobs sought
0 Managerial	1.5	0.9	1.3	0.6	1.4	0.8
1 Professional	4.4	3.7	6.4	5.0	4.7	4.0
2 Subordinate Supervisory	19.0	27.7	11.5	25.1	17.8	27.2
3 Ministerial (Clerks)	13.5	15.1	15.9	17.3	13.9	15.5
4 Sales	12.2	5.0	17.8	12.3	13.2	6.4
5 Subordinate Technical	5.3	4.2	3.8	1.7	5.0	3.8
6 Subordinate Technical	35.8	35.2	30.6	31.3	34.9	34.4
7 Service	8.3	7.9	5.7	6.1	7.9	7.6
8 Cultivating owner	—	0.3	1.3	—	0.2	0.2
9 Cultivating Tenant	—	—	1.3	—	0.2	—
X Landless labour	—	—	3.8	0.6	0.7	0.1
Y Non-cultivating owner	—	—	0.6	—	0.1	—
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

12.16. Regarding the previous employment, nearly 80% of the unemployed veterans cluster in four out of the twelve occupational categories. The most important is subordinate technical accounting for 34.9%, followed by subordinate-supervisory with 17.8%, ministerial with 13.9% and sales with 13.2%. In other words, one-in-three of the unemployed persons has held a subordinate-technical post and two-in-eleven subordinate-supervisory and one-in-fourteen the ministerial. In the higher rungs, the Managerial group is represented by 1.4% and the Professional by 4.7%. As between non-immigrants and immigrants a distinctly higher percentage have belonged to the professional and sales groups. On the other hand the non-immigrants have significantly larger percentage in the subordinate supervisory, subordinate technical and service than the immigrants.

12.17. In the occupations desired by the veterans a sober outlook seems to be indicated. As against 14 out of 1,000 persons who had held Managerial posts only 8 seem to aspire for the same. As against 47 in 1,000 who had been in the professional groups, 40 desire it. In sales as against 13.2% it is but 6.4% who seek the same job. On the other hand 27.2% of the unemployed want subordinate-supervisory posts as against 17.8% who have held such jobs. With regard to the other categories there is not any significant variation in the percentages.

12.18. The greater attractiveness of the subordinate-supervisory posts, which has been seen to affect the unemployed veterans in general, exercises a greater pull over the immigrants than the non-immigrants. As against 11.5% of the immigrants who had belonged to this category 25.1% or more than two-fold desire to enter it. The corresponding percentages for non-immigrants are 19.0 and 27.7 which mean 1.5 fold increase. Against five non-immigrants who had been in the 'sales' occupation only two now choose it. This may be compared with two immigrants seeking 'sales' jobs against three who have had previous experience in it. With regard to other occupations there is a high degree of coincidence between the attitudes and desires of the non-immigrants and immigrants.

12.19. In the unemployed group veterans have enjoyed certain levels of income in their latest jobs. At the time of the enquiry they have given out what they would desire to get. The pattern of distribution according to their old salaries or earnings may be usefully compared with that of the salary desired. Looking forward to a higher pay may be the combined result of an optimistic frame of mind, an assessment of one's own inherent abilities with an undue measure of self-sympathy and a shorter spell of waiting. Conversely pessimism, unwarranted diffidence and longer spell of unemployment would tend to have a depressing effect on the salary expected. There is no simple method for measuring the incidence of these attitudes on each individual. It is however feasible to gain some idea of the total effect on the general mass of the unemployed. The percentage distribution of the unemployed according to their earnings in the previous jobs and the earnings desired is given in table 12.19 below for purposes of comparison.

TABLE 12.19—Salaries received and expected: Percentage Distribution of Cases

Earnings Rs.	Salaries Expected			Salaries in the latest job		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
1—24	4.1	3.9	4.1	12.5	14.6	13.0
25—49	40.1	29.0	38.0	36.6	28.6	35.1
50—74	37.1	42.5	38.1	23.0	27.5	23.9
Below Rs. 75	81.3	75.4	80.2	72.1	70.7	72.0
75—99	8.9	8.4	8.8	13.6	10.7	12.9
100—149	7.0	11.2	7.8	9.3	10.1	9.4
150—199	1.2	1.7	1.3	2.0	3.4	2.3
200—349	1.1	2.8	1.4	1.5	2.8	1.7
350—499	0.4	—	0.3	1.0	0.6	0.9
500—749	0.1	—	0.1	0.5	1.7	0.8
750—999	—	—	—	—	—	—
1000+	—	0.5	0.1	—	—	—
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

12.20. The most remarkable change is noticed in the lowest earnings group; whereas 13.0% have been in the earnings group "Rs. 1 to Rs. 24" in regard to their previous jobs it is only 4.1% of the cases who seem to be satisfied with this amount of earnings. Majority in this group could have moved up to a higher group of expectation and it is confirmed by the figures in the next two higher earnings groups. The percentage in "Rs. 25 to 49" group has risen from 35.1 to 38.0 and in "Rs. 50 to 74" group from 23.9 to 38.1. In all the earning groups from "Rs. 75 to 99" upward the percentages relating to the expected salaries are lower than the corresponding percentages relating to previously earned salary groups. On the whole a larger percentage has gravitated down to the lowest three earning groups with regard to expected salaries compared with earned salaries in the past, the corresponding figures being 80.2% and 72.0%. From this it is apparent that a gloomier outlook prevails in general among the persons "unemployed not for the first time". The fact that a lesser percentage of 4.1 would be content with earnings below Rs. 25 per mensem compared with 13.0% according to the latest job not seriously vitiate this conclusion because the sharp rise in the daily wages in recent years of the unskilled workers forming the bulk of this earning groups has led them to expect higher income than previously.

FRESHERS—JOBS DESIRED

12.21. No discussion of the problem of the jobs sought will be complete without an assessment of the position of the freshers. Turning first to the industrial classification, the usual twelve groups have been adopted in the enquiry about their choice. The relevant data are given in Table 12.21, below :

TABLE 12.21—Unemployed for the First Time According to Industry They Seek—Percentages

Industry they seek	NI	I	Total
0 Agriculture	0.2	—	0.2
1 Mining and Quarrying	—	—	—
2 Manufacture Processing (Textiles and Fibres)	8.5	6.3	8.0
3 Manufacture Leather, Chemicals, Metal Engineering	16.0	14.6	15.7
4 Construction	0.2	0.4	0.2
5 Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	0.4	0.4	0.4
6 Distributive Services—Trade, Banking, Insurance, Auction etc.	12.0	16.7	12.9
7 Transport, Storage and Communication	19.8	19.2	19.7
8 Public Services	29.0	31.4	29.5
9 Private Services	11.9	8.4	11.3
X Personal Services	0.8	1.7	1.0
Y Activities NOT adequately described	1.2	0.8	1.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

12.22. Nearly 80% of the unemployed freshers wish to enter one of the six out of the twelve groups of industries. Top priority is given to Public Services which account for 29.5% followed by Transport and Communication with 19.7%. "Manufacture—Leather, Chemicals, Metals, Engineering" 15.7%, commerce 12.9%, private services 11.3% and manufacture—"Processing, Textiles and Fibres" 8.0%. In short three out of ten seek public services, two out of ten transport and communication, together making up half the number. It is noteworthy that only one-in-hundred seeks personal services. As between non-immigrants and immigrants the former show a relatively greater preference for private services and manufactures, the latter showing a greater preference for Distributive, Public and Personal Services.

12.23. A similar analysis with regard to the choice of occupations reveals the position as shown in the table below :

TABLE 12.23—Unemployed for the First Time According to Occupation They Seek—Percentages

Occupation they seek	NI	I	Total
Managerial	0.1	—	0.1
Professional	2.5	6.3	3.2
Subordinate-Supervisory	28.4	21.0	27.1
Ministerial	22.3	30.1	23.6
Sales	1.6	3.3	1.9
Subordinate-Technical	2.7	3.8	2.9
Subordinate-Technical	36.1	30.5	35.1
Service	6.3	5.0	6.1
Cultivating owner	—	—	—
Cultivating Tenant	—	—	—
Landless Labour	—	—	—
Non-cultivating owner	—	—	—
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

12.24. By far the greatest importance seems to be attached to subordinate-technical comprising unskilled jobs accounting for 35.1% of the unemployed persons. Half the number of persons seek to get subordinate-supervisory and ministerial posts, the respective percentage being 27.1 and 23.6. Next in order of importance is 'service' accounting for 6.1% of the freshers followed by professional with 3.2%. It is noteworthy that only one-in-thousand aspires for a managerial post. As between the non-immigrants and immigrants the former seem to have a relatively greater preference for subordinate-supervisory, whereas the latter for Ministerial and professional. With regard to other categories the scale of preference seems to be more or less the same.

UNEMPLOYED—EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY SOUGHT

12.25. In the preceding sections the jobs sought by the veterans and freshers were shown separately according to distribution among the twelve industrial groups. It is necessary to work out a composite picture showing the preferences of the total unemployed persons which is the desideratum for policy formulation. In processing the data to this end advantage is taken to

work out a correlation between the educational classification and the industrial preferences of the unemployed. *Vide* Table 12.25.

TABLE 12.25 Unemployed—Industry They Seek

Industry they Seek	Education										Total
	Illite- rate	Literate	Middle School	Secondary	S.S.L.C.	Interme- diate	Gradua- tes in arts	Gradua- tes in Science	Post- Gradu- ates in Arts	Post- Gradu- ates in Science	
0 Agriculture	—	0.5	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.1
1 Mining & Quarrying ..	—	—	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.1
2 Manufacture Processing Textiles & Fibres.	11.5	13.0	8.2	4.9	1.2	—	36.4	—	—	—	7.6
3 Manufacture Chemicals, leather, engineering etc.	17.2	19.2	22.7	20.6	12.0	12.5	—	16.7	—	—	18.6
4 Construction	1.6	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.6
5 Electricity, gas, water, sanitary services.	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.2	—	—	8.3	—	—	0.4
6 Distributive Services-Trade	10.4	13.4	12.3	20.8	26.3	18.7	27.3	8.3	—	—	16.6
7 Transport & Communication	8.8	16.3	18.9	19.7	14.6	12.5	—	—	—	—	16.3
8 Public services	16.7	15.2	23.5	21.1	37.8	41.7	27.3	58.4	—	—	24.5
9 Private services	21.9	15.4	11.5	10.3	7.7	14.6	9.0	8.3	—	—	12.3
X Private services	7.8	4.7	1.2	0.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.1
Y Not adequately described	3.6	1.1	0.5	0.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.8
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12.26. The general distribution among industrial groups reveals that nearly one-fourth of the unemployed seek jobs in public services, another one-fourth in manufacturing industries (Code 2 and 3 together), one-sixth in distributive services, one-eighth in private services, one-fiftieth in personal services. It will be of interest to know the industries most preferred by the various educational categories. By far the largest percentage seeks jobs in public sector in five out of the eight educational categories. It is 23.5 among the middle school, 21.1 among the secondary, 37.8 among S.S.L.C., 41.7 among Intermediate, and 58.4 among Graduates in Science groups. Among the illiterates the first preference goes to private services with 21.9% and among literates it is manufacturing (Code 3) with 19.2% followed by almost equal preference for the three groups, Transport and Communication, public and private services. It is interesting to note that manufacturing (Code 3) ranks second in preference among the illiterate, middle school, secondary and graduates in science groups. It is peculiar that "Graduates in Arts" seem to have a higher preference for manufacturing (Code 2) than for public and distributive services as reflected by the corresponding percentages of 36.4 for the former and 27.3 each in the latter two groups. This is probably due to the attraction of higher salaries coupled with bonuses paid by manufacturers and naturally the unemployed graduates who are started on relatively low salaries in the commercial and public sectors are eager to get a place in the manufacturing groups. Alas! It may remain a pious wish, a consummation to be devoutly wished for, since manufacture needs not literary but technical personnel. Observation lends support to this view as it is well known in this part of the country that young graduates aspire and struggle more to get a footing, for example, in Buckingham and Carnatic or Harvey Mills than in the lower ranks of administrative services. The high percentage of 58.4 among the graduates in science desiring to get jobs in public services is an extremely ticklish situation. It is not known whether Government services need many scientists. It is symptomatic of the fact that science graduates do not conceive of adequate scientific pursuits where their collegiate training would find better utilisation.

UNEMPLOYED—EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION SOUGHT

12.27. An attempt to give a composite picture of the occupation sought by the total unemployed correlated to their general education is made in this section. *Vide* table 12.27. Among the unemployed nearly one-third seek jobs in subordinate technical (Code 6) consisting mostly of unskilled occupations and one-fourth in subordinate supervisory occupations, one-fifth ministerial group, one-sixteenth in services and one-in-twenty-five sales. It is of interest to note that by far the largest percentage in all educational groups below S.S.L.C., register their preference for subordinate-technical whereas all the educational categories from S.S.L.C., upward for ministerial services. It is of further interest to note that among all the educational categories below S.S.L.C., next to subordinate technical the most sought after is the subordinate-supervisory post which in their context means jobs like maistry and foreman. Another striking feature revealed by the data is that among the Graduates in Arts 9.1% covet managerial posts.

TABLE 12.27—Unemployed—General Education and Occupation they Seek.

Occupation they seek	General Education									Total
	Illite- rate	Literate	Middle School	Second- ary	S.S.L.C.	Inter- mediate	Grada- uates in Arts	Grada- uates in Science	Post- Grada- uates in Arts	
0 Managerial	—	—	0.5	0.3	0.7	—	9.1	—	—	0.4
1 Professional	0.5	1.6	2.8	3.7	5.9	6.2	22.7	21.4	12.5	3.5
2 Sub-supervisory ..	30.2	33.1	34.9	25.1	10.8	4.2	13.6	21.4	12.5	27.0
3 Ministerial	0.5	2.7	4.3	25.4	61.3	79.2	50.0	57.1	62.5	20.3
4 Sales	2.1	3.6	3.9	5.7	3.5	—	4.5	—	—	3.8
5 Sub-ordinate Technical	3.6	6.0	3.6	2.3	0.9	—	—	—	—	3.2
6 Sub-ordinate Technical	35.9	43.2	44.2	34.6	16.0	10.4	—	—	—	34.9
7 Service	27.1	9.6	5.6	2.9	0.9	—	—	—	—	6.7
8 Cultivating owner ..	—	—	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	12.5	0.1
9 Cultivating Tenant ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
X Landless Labour ..	—	0.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.04
Y Non-cultivating owner	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TOTAL PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT

12.28. The survey of the unemployed NOT for the first time was directed to discover not only their period of latest unemployment but also the total period and number of spells of unemployment. It has been discovered that these veterans had seen many jobs since the beginning of their career. The total period of unemployment has been classified into ten categories and the percentage distribution worked out are shown below:

TABLE 12.28—Percentage Distribution of the Unemployed according to Period of Total Unemployment

Total period of unemployment										NI	I	Total
Less than 1/4 year	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7.1	12.6	8.2	
1/4 to 1/2 year	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5.0	4.6	4.9	
1/2 to 1 year	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4.9	10.9	6.0	
1 to 2 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19.9	21.1	20.1	
2 to 3 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21.4	16.0	20.4	
3 to 4 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11.7	12.0	11.7	
4 to 5 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9.3	4.0	8.3	
5 to 6 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.7	6.8	6.7	
6 to 7 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4.7	4.0	4.6	
7 years and more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9.3	8.0	9.1	
TOTAL										100.0	100.0	100.0

12.29. The above table shows the total period of unemployment since 1940 or since the time the individuals had joined the labour force. It may be seen that 20.4% have had unemployment for a period between "two and three" years, another 20.1% between "one and two" years. The percentage of cases in the unemployment period of "three to four" years is 11.7. As the period of unemployment increases the percentage of cases declines, from 8.3% in the "four to five years" period to 4.6% in the "six to seven years" period. This trend is reversed in the "seven years and more" class interval in which the percentage is 9.1. In the total group 19.1% have experienced unemployment, for less than one year. These data do not show whether the longer periods of unemployment were continuous or punctuated by periods of employment.

SPELLS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

12.30. The query raised in the preceding paragraph is sought to be answered by finding out the spells of unemployment the veterans have experienced. Data relating to spells were collected for all these persons. Irrespective of the period of employment, percentage distribution of all the cases among three classes is worked out below:

TABLE 12.30—Spells of Unemployment—Percentage Distribution

Spells of unemployment	NI	I	Total
1 spell	67.4	61.6	66.3
2 spells	26.4	30.5	27.2
3 spells	6.2	7.9	6.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

12.31. This table reveals that nearly two-thirds of the cases have had only one spell of unemployment, 27.2% two spells and 6.5% three spells and above.

LATEST PERIOD OF WAITING

12.32. The total period of unemployment discussed in the preceding sections might have occurred continuously or in parts in all the years since 1940. The analysis of these data does not help to show the present predicament of the unemployed as to whether they have been waiting for a longer or a shorter period for employment at the time of investigation. To understand this position data relating to the latest period of waiting have been collected for the veterans and the first period of waiting for the freshers. The period of waiting has been classified into six class intervals. The percentage distribution of cases is shown below:

TABLE 12.32—Latest Period of Waiting—Percentage Distribution

Latest Period of Waiting	Veterans	Freshers	Total
Upto 6 months	22.7	7.3	14.5
7 to 12 months	24.5	23.0	23.7
13 to 18 months	5.5	3.0	4.1
19 to 30 months	14.4	24.7	19.9
31 to 36 months	11.0	17.6	14.5
37 months and above	21.9	24.4	23.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

12.33. As between the veterans and freshers the percentage of cases with the latest period of waiting "above six months and up to one year" is very nearly the same, being 24.5 and 23.0

respectively and also in the period of waiting "over three years", the corresponding percentages are 21.9 and 24.4. In all the other categories notable differences exist. The percentage of cases waiting up to 6 months is 22.7 for veterans against 7.3 for the freshers. Another noteworthy difference is seen in the waiting period of "19 to 30 months" the percentage is 14.4 for the former and 24.7 for the latter.

PERIOD OF WAITING AND GENERAL EDUCATION

12.34. In order to gain a composite picture of the period of waiting of both the categories of the unemployed, further analysis of the data has been undertaken. To make it less complex and unwieldy, the class intervals have been reduced to four. At the same time to gain more light, a correlation between general education and period of waiting has been introduced. It is on these lines the data have been processed in the table 12.34, below:

TABLE 12.34—Total Unemployed—Period of Waiting

General Education	Period of waiting				Total
	Up to 1 year	Above 1 & below 2 years	Above 2 & below 3 years	3 years & above	
0 Illiterate	42.2	16.4	16.3	25.1	100
1 Literate	37.1	19.6	13.6	29.7	100
2 Middle School	33.7	23.4	17.2	25.7	100
3 Secondary	40.7	25.3	17.4	16.6	100
4 S.S.L.C.	40.5	24.3	16.6	18.6	100
5 Intermediate	52.6	26.4	13.1	7.9	100
6 Graduates in Arts	66.7	—	25.0	8.3	100
7 Graduates in Science	62.5	—	25.0	12.5	100
8 Post-Graduates in Arts	55.6	22.2	22.2	—	100
9 Post-Graduates in Science	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	38.3	22.2	16.3	23.2	100

12.35. It may be seen from the table that 38.3% have waited up to one year, 22.2% for "above one-and-below two years", and 16.3% for "above 2 and below 3 years" and 23.2% for "3 years and above". Among the various educational categories the percentage of cases waiting for 3 years and above reveal certain significant differences; the percentage among the literates is higher at 29.7 than 25.1 among illiterates. Similarly between secondary school category and S.S.L.Cs, the percentage in the higher educational group is higher than in the lower. Again this similarity is seen between Intermediates and Graduates in Arts and Science. The common view is that the more highly educated, the shorter would be the period of waiting for securing jobs. But the figures contradict this general belief. The reason for this paradoxical situation will be apparent on a little reflection. Among these three pairs of educational categories the difference is not of a significant order. For example, between the illiterate and the literate there is hardly much to choose. However the literate seems to feel that he is a superior person and he is over-scrupulous in accepting a job. Similarly the S.S.L.C. compared with the non-S.S.L.C., the Intermediate compared with the S.S.L.Cs. and the Graduates in Arts compared with Intermediates and the Graduates in Science compared with Graduates in Arts. It is this tacit but lively sense of superiority complex which is responsible for treating certain jobs as *infra dig* on the part of the relatively higher educated, while the relatively less educated accept such jobs and cease to be in the ranks of the unemployed. In the shorter periods of waiting the operation of this psychological complex is not so evident. But in all problems of unemployment, the long term unemployed are the chronic cases. Disclosing as they do the real reasons lurking behind the problem, they more than the short term unemployed merit closer investigation.

SALARY EXPECTED

12.36. Besides their preference for industrial and occupational groups, the unemployed persons were enquired as to the salary they desired. With regard to the veterans the information furnished regarding this point was verified with the salaries they had previously drawn. As for the new entrants there is no such check but Investigators used their judgment in accepting the salary figures quoted. Majority of the latter evinced normal expectations about their earnings although occasionally some manifested strange notions. The salary expected was divided into twelve income groups and the percentage distribution of both groups of the unemployed worked out as shown below :

TABLE 12.36—Salary Expected—Percentage Distribution

Salary expected per mensem	Unemployed for the first time			Unemployed NOT for the first time		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
Rs. 1—24	5.0	3.8	4.8	4.1	3.9	4.1
25—49	39.2	30.3	37.6	40.1	29.0	38.0
50—74	39.8	38.6	39.6	37.1	42.5	38.1
75—99	9.5	15.1	10.5	8.9	8.4	8.8
100—149	5.4	9.2	6.1	7.0	11.2	7.8
150—199	0.8	1.3	0.9	1.2	1.7	1.3
200—349	0.3	1.7	0.5	1.1	2.8	1.4
350—499	—	—	—	0.4	—	0.3
500—749	—	—	—	0.1	—	0.1
750—999	—	—	—	—	—	—
1,000 and above	—	—	—	—	0.5	0.1

12.37. It is remarkable that three-fourths of the cases in each group look forward to salaries ranging from Rs. 25 to below Rs. 75. Splitting up this income range into two groups "Rs. 25 to Rs. 49" and "Rs. 50 to Rs. 74" the number of cases are evenly split up among both the unemployed groups. The percentage of cases expecting "Rs. 100 and above" is 7.5 among the new entrants and 11.0 among the veterans. The lowest category of the unemployed who seemed to be satisfied with less than Rs. 25 form 4.8% among the former and 4.1% among the latter.

* UNEMPLOYED—EDUCATION AND SALARY EXPECTED

12.38. Besides a classification of the unemployed according to salary expected a further line of investigation correlating general education and salary expected would prove to be specially instructive with regard to their aspirations. Relevant data are tabulated in table 12.38.

12.39. It is most remarkable that nearly 90% of the unemployed do not expect even Rs. 100 per month. Nearly 40% desire salaries ranging from Rs. 50 to 74 and another 37.8% between Rs. 25 and 49. Both illiterates and literates appear to be highly realistic in their expectations; 55.7% of the former and 54.3% of the latter are contented with salaries from Rs. 25 to 49. Even among persons with middle school education this salary group accounts for 48.7%. Both among the secondary and S.S.L.C. the largest percentage hopes for incomes between "Rs. 50 and 74". It is quite interesting to see that the percentage of Graduates in arts desirous of getting Rs. 75 to 99, Rs. 100 to 149 and Rs. 200 to 349 are the same, being 23.8. This divergence among the same educational group is perhaps attributable to the age difference and experience of the aspirants. If this argument is correct, young Graduates appear to be quite sober. Another interesting feature is the distinction that is manifested between Graduates in arts and science.

TABLE 12.38—Unemployed—Salary expected according to Education

	Salary Expected (In Rupees)												Total
	1—24	25—49	50—74	75—99	100—149	150—199	200—349	350—499	500—749	750—999	1000+	0.1	
General Education													
0 Illiterate	21.4	55.7	19.8	1.0	1.6	0.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
1 Literate	7.0	54.3	33.5	3.4	1.6	—	0.2	—	—	—	—	—	100
2 Middle School	3.6	48.7	39.9	4.7	2.4	0.4	0.3	—	—	—	—	—	100
3 Secondary	0.3	30.3	50.0	12.6	5.7	1.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
4 S.S.L.C.	—	6.8	46.7	24.9	17.6	2.1	1.7	—	—	—	0.2	—	100
5 Intermediate	—	6.1	28.6	22.4	32.7	4.1	2.0	4.1	—	—	—	—	100
6 Graduates in Arts	—	—	14.3	23.8	23.8	14.3	23.8	—	8.3	—	—	—	100
7 Graduates in Science	—	—	16.8	25.0	33.3	—	8.3	8.3	—	—	—	—	100
8 Post-Graduates in Arts	—	—	—	—	50.0	20.0	30.0	—	—	—	—	—	100
Post-Graduates in Science	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
TOTAL	4.4	37.8	39.0	9.8	6.8	1.1	0.9	0.1	0.1	—	0.1	—	100

While it is only 23.8% of Graduates in arts who expect salaries between Rs. 100 and 149 the percentage among Graduates in science is 33.3, a further evidence of the superiority consciousness of the latter.

REASONS FOR LEAVING THE LATEST JOB

12.40. With regard to the unemployed not for the first time the schedule provided for investigation into the reasons for loss of employment. Of the 961 persons in this group 872 or 90.7% gave answers which could be deemed reliable. An analysis of the data relating to these reasons is given below:

TABLE 12.40—Cause of Leaving—Unemployed not for the First Time

Cause of leaving	Number			Percentage		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
1. Dismissed	47	5	52	6.3	4.0	6.0
2. Retrenched	289	49	338	38.7	39.2	38.0
3. Establishment closed	110	19	129	14.7	15.2	14.8
4. Sickness	64	14	78	8.6	11.2	8.9
5. Resignation	67	16	83	9.0	12.8	9.5
6. For better prospects	16	1	17	2.2	0.8	1.9
7. Business loss	57	9	66	7.6	7.2	7.6
8. Retired	39	3	42	5.2	2.4	4.8
9. Others	58	9	67	7.7	7.2	7.7
TOTAL	747	125	872	100.0	100.0	100.0

12.41. By far the most important reason for loss of employment is retrenchment accounting for 38.8% of the reporting cases. Next comes closure of establishments accounting for 14.8% followed by resignation with 9.5%. As for the latter the respondents were plied with further questions as to the direct reason leading to their resignations. This was usually resented and answers were not trustworthy enough to be recorded. Sickness has caused unemployment to 8.9% of the cases and business loss to 7.6%. Next in order of importance is dismissal, which is responsible for 6% of the cases. It may be noted that only 1.9% have left their jobs looking out for better prospects.

CONCLUSIONS

12.42. To sum up, (i) in the economically significant population the number of unemployed persons is 2,311 or about 10% of whom 1,350 are unemployed for the first time and 961 unemployed not for the first time.

(ii) Among the unemployed 8.5% are illiterates, 20.0% are just literates, 23.1% are "S.S.L.Cs. and above" and all the rest are essentially in the middle school category.

(iii) Among the technically trained, there is hardly any significant unemployment among the Agricultural, Veterinary, Engineering, Medical and Law groups, but commerce, typing and shorthand groups are seen to have a high degree of unemployment. Among the technically trained persons the unemployment is not real since some of the categories are psychologically not properly tuned to accept the available jobs, though well-suited to them.

(iv) Classified into industrial categories, the largest percentage of the unemployed veterans, with 25.9, is seen in distributive series followed by "manufacturing" metal, engineering, chemical with 23.1, and public services with 15.3.

(v) In four out of the twelve industrial groups the percentage of persons desiring to enter has increased compared with the percentage distribution of the veterans according to their latest jobs. They are (i) Transport, storage and communication; (ii) Public services; (iii) Activities not adequately described; (iv) Private services.

(vi) Viewed from the standpoint of occupation, about one-third had been in subordinate technical posts, a little more than one-sixth in the subordinate supervisory posts, one-seventh in the ministerial posts and nearly another one-seventh in sales.

(vii) With regard to jobs desired, the unemployed veterans show a remarkably sober outlook, never hitching their wagon to the stars. Only with respect to subordinate supervisory posts a relatively greater demand is seen.

(viii) Among the unemployed freshers a high degree of preference is shown for six out of the twelve industrial groups; eight out of ten desire one or the other in the select six categories. The top priority is given to public services accounting for 29.5%, followed by transport and communication with 19.7%.

(ix) Taking all the unemployed together, one-fourth seek to enter public services, another one-fourth manufacturing industries, one-sixth distributive services, one-eighth private services and one-fiftieth personal services.

(x) Among the unemployed, 19.1% have been unemployed for less than one year, 20.4% for two to three years, 20.1% between one and two years and 11.7% between three to four years.

(xi) Among the veterans, two out of three have had only one spell of unemployment, one-in-four two spells and one-in-sixteen three spells and above.

(xii) With regard to the latest period of waiting hardly any difference exists between the freshers and the veterans. In the periods of waiting ranging from "6 months to one year" as well as "over 3 years", the percentages of cases are nearly the same. The longer period of waiting relates among both veterans and freshers alike to individuals who are extremely fastidious about the type of jobs and who are therefore likely to become incorrigible in their mental set up and chronically unemployed.

(xiii) Among the unemployed, 37.8% look forward to monthly salaries from Rs. 25 to Rs. 49, 40% from Rs. 50 to 74, on the whole, 90% of the unemployed do not seek salaries above Rs. 100. Graduates in science expect better salaries than the Graduates in arts.

(xiv) Among the reasons for leaving the latest job, retrenchment stands first with 38.8% of the reporting cases.

PART IV

FERTILITY AND FAMILY
PLANNING

CHAPTER XIII

INTRODUCTORY

ORIGIN OF THE ENQUIRY

THE PRESENT ENQUIRY into Fertility and Family Planning in Madras City owes its origin to a second thought, as it were, of the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission. Instructions to conduct this enquiry were received in 1955, nearly a year after the commencement of the Socio-Economic Survey of Madras City, the main survey in the series of Urbanization Surveys sponsored by the Research Programmes Committee, for which the present Research Unit was constituted in April, 1954. In his letter No. PC/RPC/5/9/54, dated the 7th February, 1955, the Member-Secretary, Research Programmes Committee suggested: "I am also asked to request Directors-in-charge of Socio-Economic Surveys of Cities to collect in the course of the enquiry, additional data on fertility and attitudes to family planning. A small schedule is attached which may be used for the purpose. In the case of surveys in which a part of the field work is already covered, information may be collected only for households remaining to be interviewed. The data when collected may be tabulated along with the rest of the material of the Survey".

SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

13.2. The scope of this subsidiary survey was indicated in the provisional schedule (*Vide* Appendix I) furnished by the Research Programmes Committee along with their suggestion to conduct this survey. According to this schedule, it was proposed to collect data relating to the age at marriage, consummation, as well as at the time of investigation of the women and their spouses (alive or dead), the marital age, the number of children born, dead and surviving, abortions and still-birth and the number of children desired.

COVERAGE

13.3. More than 2,500 households had already been surveyed for the main enquiry when this subsidiary survey was initiated. No attempt was made to go back to these households for collecting Fertility and Family Planning data. As the unit for investigation is a woman and not a household for this survey, one schedule was used for each woman-member of the household. Paying due regard to local sentiments and susceptibilities, the Economic Investigators were advised not to insist upon young women recently widowed furnishing the data for the fertility and family planning schedules. As the survey progressed, another group of women had also to be left out: this group comprised extremely old women, afflicted with too feeble a memory to correctly recollect and furnish the necessary data. These two unavoidable omissions together account for about 700 women; as the present survey covers 10,515 women, this omission of less than 700 young widows and old women works out to less than 7%. The total sample of 10,515 women belong to nearly 9,000 households representing fully all the sample households in 36 and partially in 7 more Corporation Divisions. Out of the 50 Corporation Divisions, this survey could not be conducted in seven due to its late start.

AGENCY FOR COLLECTION OF DATA

13.4. In view of the delicate nature of certain queries in the fertility and family planning schedule, particularly those relating to age at consummation, abortions, still-births and the number of children desired, the suitability of appointing a special team of women Investigators was examined. Obviously women could have succeeded in collecting the data with greater ease. But it would have certainly involved a double visit to each household by two sets of Investigators, one for collecting the data for the main and the other for the Fertility Survey. Experience had shown that households were annoyed with the visits of too many Investigators in recent years sent by various agencies like the National Sample Survey, Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission, All-India Radio, State Government Departments, Labour Bureau, etc. Employment of a fresh team of women Investigators for Fertility and Family Planning Survey, it was feared, might result in a double dose of annoyance, generating even resistance on the part of respondents. The proposal to appoint a separate team of women was therefore dropped and two more men Economic Investigators were appointed to strengthen the original team of eight and all the ten Economic

Investigators were instructed to complete the investigation for both the surveys in all the households during their visits simultaneously. This arrangement of course placed heavier responsibilities on our team of men Investigators. They generally managed with considerable tact and patience to collect the relevant information from the women concerned with the assistance of the husbands and other members, usually elderly women.

OBJECTIVES OF THE FERTILITY AND FAMILY PLANNING SURVEY

13.5. The objectives of this Survey of Fertility and Family Planning have been broadly indicated by the schedule supplied by the Research Programmes Committee. This is in essence a fact-finding survey with the following objectives :

- (i) to find out the most common age at which women get married and differences in age at marriage among the major communities in the city;
- (ii) to find out the most common age at which consummation takes place and the inter-communal differentials;
- (iii) to find out the time lag between the age at marriage and age at consummation;
- (iv) to study the age of mothers at the time of the birth of the first child;
- (v) to study the marital age of women of different communities;
- (vi) to find out the number of children born and its relation to ;
 - (a) the marital age of mothers
 - (b) the economic status of mothers
 - (c) the educational status of mothers
 - (d) the religion and community of mothers
 - (e) the income group of mothers and per capita income
 - (f) the occupation of mothers
 - (g) the industrial class of husbands
 - (h) the occupation of husbands.
- (vii) to find out the number of children dead in relation to the number of children born;
- (viii) to find out the number of children still-born and abortions in relation to the number of children born;
- (ix) to study the difference between the ages of spouses and find out the differential rates of fertility, if any, between the different classes of cohorts; and
- (x) to study the different ages at consummation and marital life to examine the fertility rate in different age periods of mothers.

13.6. While the above objectives indicate the scope of the present enquiry, the data collected will be so analysed as to institute comparisons between the non-immigrant and immigrant women in regard to fertility. On the basis of the above objectives, the problem of fertility and family planning is examined and the issues for study indicated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS OF FAMILY PLANNING

RECENT POPULATION TREND

THE 1951 CENSUS revealed that the 'mean decennial growth rate' in India was 10.4% in 1921—30, 12.7% in 1931—40 and 13.2% in 1941—50. History of advanced countries shows that 'an increase of population in the order of between 10 and 15% per decade is biologically natural'. This rate of growth of population in India has however been accompanied by a progressive diminution in the area of cultivated land *per capita* from 111 cents in 1921 to 104 cents in 1931, with a further drop to 94 cents in 1941, touching an unprecedented low figure of 84 cents in 1951. It is therefore being increasingly recognised that whatever be the magnitude of economic development, its results will be nullified by an excessive growth in numbers.

FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMME

14.2. It was the recognition of this fact that led to an allocation of Rs. 65 lakhs in the First Five Year Plan to the Ministry of Health for a family planning programme. In the Second Plan the allotment to this programme has been stepped up to Rs. 5 crores or 8 fold. Apart from the "provision of advice on methods of family planning in hospitals and health centres, field experiments on different methods of family planning for determining their suitability, acceptability and effectiveness in different sections of the population, and development of suitable procedures to educate people on family planning methods, the family planning programme has projects for the collection, from the representative sections of the population, of information on reproductive factors and on attitudes and motivations affecting the size of the family.... a study of the inter-relation between economic, social and population changes." The first Five Year Plan states that the information obtained by such studies will form the necessary background for the formulation of a national population policy and the development of appropriate measures for population planning will be based on factual information.

MULTIPLE FACETS OF THE PROBLEM

14.3. The present enquiry into fertility and family planning among the households in Madras city forms a part of the project for research in demographic trends. Leaving the necessary conjectural field of estimating fecundity rates alone, even the problem of fertility rates which could serve as a basis for scientific prediction of population growth bristles with difficulties. Fertility is believed to be influenced by a multiplicity of factors like rural-urban origin, race and community, age at marriage and consummation, education, marital, economic and employment status, disparity between the ages of cohorts, standard of living and marital life. Apart from biological causes, in modern societies psychological factors and economic aspirations exert a powerful pressure upon the size of families. In an enquiry of the present type, the effects of all these factors, wherever feasible, should be examined and assessed. Some of them like early marriage and marital life are presumed to be responsible for a higher and others like standard of living for a lower fertility rate. The individual effects of these factors may be more easily studied than the cumulative and combined effects of these multiple causes. For an appraisal of the effects of all the factors, certain circumstances like age at consummation and marital life will have to be kept common, lest conclusions should be invalid. This approach, which is alone correct, cannot be simple; it has of necessity to be complex, involving several correlation studies.

MIGRATORY STATUS

14.4. It is commonly believed that women in the rural sector have a higher rate of fertility than the women of urban areas. In the present enquiry a purposeful classification of women into those of rural and urban origin has been made. All the immigrant women, are treated as rural women although a small percentage have come from more urbanized areas. These data require suitable processing for instituting comparisons between immigrant and non-immigrant women with regard to fertility, keeping other variables like education and age constant.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

14.5. From observation and experience certain opinions have crystallised in regard to fertility rates of different religious communities. It is generally held that the Moslem community has a higher rate of fertility than the Hindu and the Christian higher than the Moslem. This hypothesis needs testing. With this object in view the schedule for the fertility and family planning survey has been designed to collect information about the religious denomination of the mothers. Even among the Hindus, certain distinctions are made between the advanced and the backward communities, and again between these two on the one hand and "the scheduled castes and tribes" on the other in respect of fertility rates. Necessary provision has been made to examine the differential rates, if any, among these three broad groups of the Hindu community.

AGE AT CONSUMMATION

14.6. How far fertility is influenced by the age of women at marriage should be the next line of enquiry. Is there any positive correlation between the age at marriage and the number of children born? A study of this question should consider age at consummation as well. In the Indian social context, the age at marriage and the age at consummation need not necessarily coincide, particularly in certain communities. An analysis of the age at consummation and the number of children born will be helpful in bringing to light the highly fertile age-period of women. To make this study comprehensive and scientific, data relating to marital life are also necessary. Thus the beginning and the end of marital life are the twin focal points about which factual information is required to draw any valid conclusions.

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

14.7. Considerable discussion has taken place as to whether educated women have a lower fertility than the uneducated. To settle this controversy as far as it is possible with the data available in this survey, separate classification of women into four educational groups will be made and necessary comparison effected to make a realistic assessment of the situation.

WIDOWHOOD AND SEPARATION

14.8. Two peculiar traits of Indian society are the still surviving custom of enforced widowhood and indissoluble sacramental marriages. The first trait operates in favour of reducing fertility rates. The second trait does not permit divorces to be effected, but an escape from unhappy, conjugal relations is not infrequently met with in the form of virtual separation of wives from husbands. In such cases fertility is affected. It is not however possible to separately assess the incidence on fertility from widowhood and separation. But some indirect inference can be drawn from the proportion of widows and separated women in the total sample surveyed. An attempt will be made to process the data with this end in view.

ECONOMIC STATUS

14.9. Another problem that calls for consideration in a study of this nature is whether unemployed women bear more children than the employed, other things remaining equal. This problem gains added significance in the present climate of opinion, demanding equal opportunities for education and employment to both men and women. Special tabulation is therefore necessary to examine this aspect.

FERTILITY AND AGE DISPARITY BETWEEN COHORTS

14.10. Still another interesting problem is the influence of the disparity of ages between the cohorts. In certain social strata, particularly the lower income groups, the difference between the ages of husbands and wives is pretty narrow. In other strata the difference is wider. However no hard and fast classification of the social strata on this basis is feasible. Nor is it desirable, because among the educated couples the difference tends to be narrower irrespective of class, community or income distinctions. In view of this complex situation, a simple classification of cohorts on the basis of age intervals may be adopted for comparing differences in fertility rates.

INCOME GROUPS

14.11. Income is supposed to exercise a very strong influence upon fertility. There are several schools of opinion who hold strongly that the rising trend of population would automatically get reversed if a rising curve of income is brought about; assuring to all the people fairly high levels of living. Instances from advanced Western countries of declining rates of population consequent upon rise in income are frequently cited to support this contention. To understand the situation in Madras city in regard to this relationship between income and fertility relevant data have to be collected and analysed. Income calls for a precise definition. Household income might be misleading whenever equal incomes are not accompanied by equal size of households. Yet household income has an indirect influence upon the age at marriage, education, marital life and on fertility. It is therefore a factor that cannot be ignored. Undoubtedly *per capita* income reflects more correctly the standard of living, the influence of which on fertility constitutes an important subject of study. Hence data should be collected for examining fertility rates in relation to household as well as *per capita* income.

STATISTICS RELATING TO CHILDREN

14.12. Besides an investigation into the above aspects of the complex problem of fertility, the present survey should also be designed to collect adequate data relating to the children born, children dead, still-born and abortions. These data would furnish the necessary background for a probe into the various aspects of fertility. From the statistics relating to children it is possible to find out the incidence of infant and child mortality. While they would bring into bold relief the magnitude of wastage in terms of human factor and health of mothers, they would also indicate the maximum potentialities of population growth. With the expansion of anti and post-natal services, increase in the number of midwives and doctors and the general spread of medical help, infant mortality, abortions and still-birth will considerably be reduced. A scientific forecast of population growth in perspective planning will have to take into account the gains in population arising therefrom. It will be necessary to process the collected data to provide factual information in this field.

ATTITUDES OF MOTHERS

14.13. The present survey has one more point of topical significance to study. Whether the mass of the Indian population will take kindly if not enthusiastically to the principle of family planning meets with two kinds of conflicting views. Although the attitude of women to child bearing is a delicate matter for investigation in a society which is not so enlightened nor marked by any progressive outlook, an earnest attempt should be made to study this question. A great deal of success of the family planning programme depends on the attitude of mothers to the number of children they would like to have. This attitude might change with economic development and changes in income, education and customs. But the results of the present survey would furnish the position as on the date of investigation which could serve as a 'bench-mark' study of the present day social attitudes to family size.

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL PROBLEM

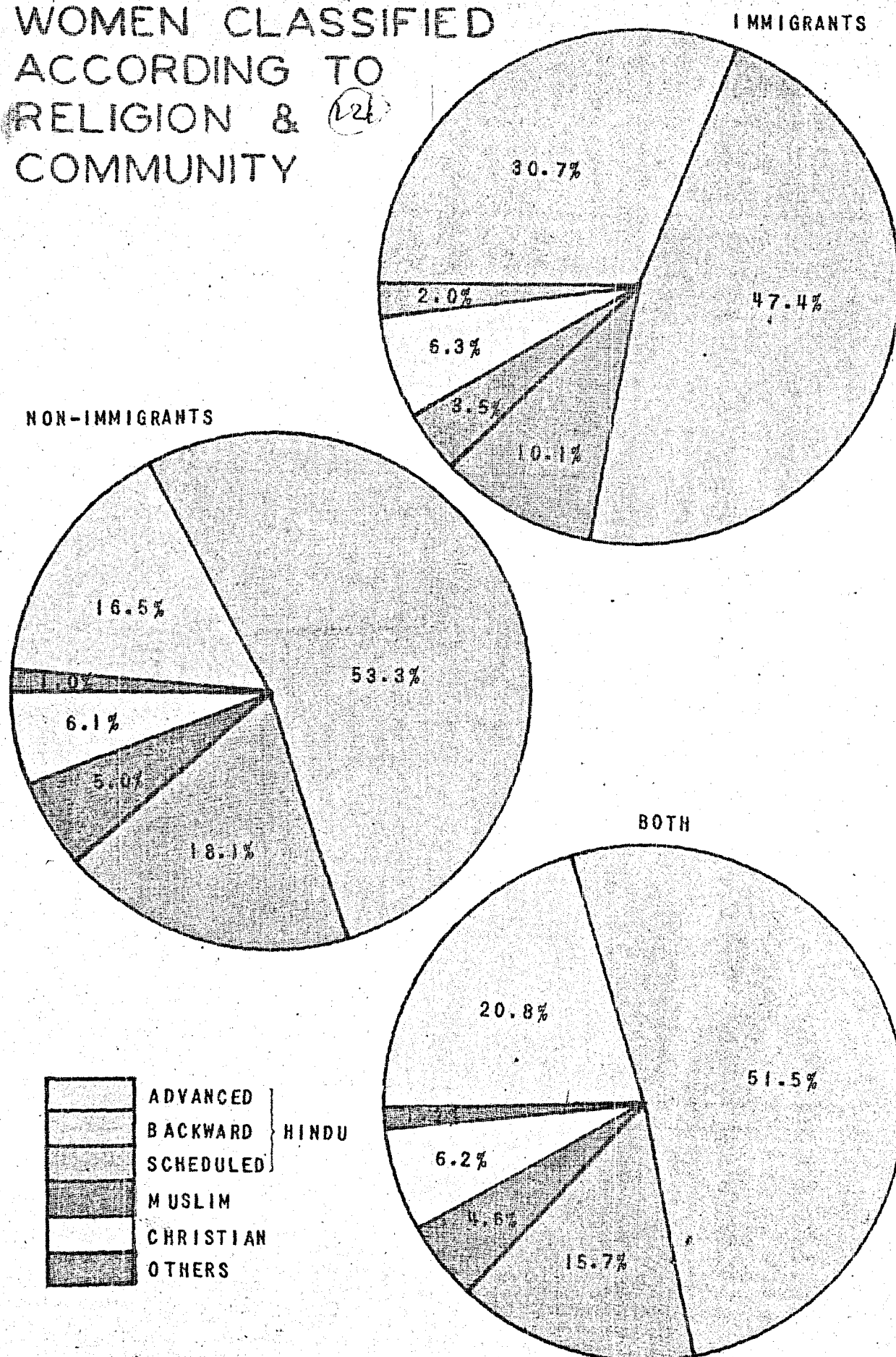
14.14. From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that numerous variables like age at marriage and consummation, religion and community, education and income group, economic and marital status, influence fertility rates. The problem of fertility has innumerable facets—social, educational, economic and cultural. A comprehensive and scientific analysis of the multitude of forces operating on fertility needs to be multi-dimensional. In a statistical analysis a multi-dimensional model is too difficult to construct. Hence in the analytical stage correlation studies will have to be made with two or three variables, appropriate to the nature and character of the issues involved.

ISSUES TO BE STUDIED

14.15. The purpose of the present survey is collection of relevant data and analyse them to draw such conclusions as would serve policy formulation and 'development of appropriate measures' for family planning. The conclusions arrived at would be concerned with the various

problems posed earlier. The main objectives of the present survey are to indicate (i) whether shifting the age at marriage or consummation will reduce fertility rate; if so, to what extent provided the age at consummation is shifted by, one, two or three years; (ii) whether the fertility rates vary with the different communities; (iii) whether different levels of education bring about differential fertility rates; this may be helpful in making projection studies of population paying due regard to the advance of literacy and education; (iv) whether rates of fertility differ between women of rural and urban origin; this aspect will serve to forecast population growth *vis-a-vis* urbanization trends in the country; (v) whether the rates of fertility vary with differences in income; conclusion derived from this part of the study will be serviceable in studying demographic trends in relation to the growth of national product under the aegis of the Five Year Plans; (vi) how far employed women differ from the unemployed in respect of fertility and (vii) whether the differential fertility rates are induced by disparities in the ages of cohorts; since with the advance of education and spread of modern ideas, the age disparity between the spouses is bound to be progressively reduced, the findings of this line of enquiry may be instructive in forecasting the population trend.

WOMEN CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RELIGION & COMMUNITY



CHAPTER XV

SAMPLE WOMEN—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ATTRIBUTES

INTRODUCTION

The present enquiry into fertility and family planning, as mentioned in Chapter XIII, is a supplementary survey initiated more than a year after the inauguration of the main Socio-Economic Survey of Madras City. During that interval more than 2,500 households had been investigated for the latter survey. The present survey covers 8,895 only, distributed in 43 out of the 50 Corporation Divisions of Madras city. In these households the survey was however able to secure a sample of 10,515 women. This chapter is devoted to a general study of the social and economic attributes of all the 10,515 women, constituting the sample of the present survey.

MIGRATORY STATUS

15.2. The special emphasis laid on migratory status in the main survey has proved to be of immense help in classifying women according to their origin—rural or urban. Considerable significance has been attached to a distinction between immigrants and non-immigrants in the main survey as it was chiefly concerned with the problems of urbanization. This distinction, of equally great value in the fertility and family planning study, has been maintained throughout the analysis of the data collected so as to highlight the differences in fertility rates, wherever significant. In the total sample of women, the number of non-immigrants is 7,370 or about 70% and immigrants 3,145 or 30%.

RELIGION AND COMMUNITY

15.3. Though constitutionally a secular State has been inaugurated, the social revolution necessary for eliminating the barriers between the various racial, religious and caste groups has hardly begun. Social customs pertaining to marriage, the desire for offsprings and other cognate institutions like widowhood and divorce vary with communities. The existence of such diversity in religious and social attitudes renders it necessary that the enquiry into fertility should pay due regard to them. To ignore them so long as these diversities are not likely to disappear within any reasonable length of time is to present a picture which would be far from realistic. It is thus that ample provision has been made for a classification of the mothers surveyed according to religious groups. As the Hindu community is so heterogeneous, ranging from the Animists to the most metaphysical groups, it has been divided into three sub-groups :—(i) Advanced, (ii) Backward and (iii) Scheduled Castes and Tribes. It is no doubt true that differences in customs and attitudes among the castes in each of the first two groups are in certain cases highly pronounced, but no attempt has been made to study the position caste by caste. For one thing such an analysis will be too elaborate, cumbersome and costly and not of such high validity, as the size of the sample belonging to each caste will get atomised and therefore grossly inadequate. However, the above three-fold sub-classification of the Hindu community is adopted as it will bring to light inter-communal differences and as it has also the sanction of the secular Constitution of ours. Apart from these three groups of Hindus, Moslems and Christians are placed in separate groups. In Madras city, Parsis, Buddhists and Jains occur, but in such small minorities that the survey has yielded too small a sample of each of these denominations. So all these communities together with Anglo-Indians are placed in the sixth group. In pursuance of this line of reasoning the sample population of women is classified into six groups, retaining throughout the distinction as to migratory trait.

TABLE 15.3—Women Classified according to Religion and Community

Religion and community	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Hindus Total (i + ii + iii)	6,477	87.9	2,779	88.2	9,256	88.0
i. Advanced	1,219	16.5	969	30.7	2,188	20.8
ii. Backward	23,925	53.3	1,491	47.4	5,416	51.5
iii. Scheduled	1,333	18.1	319	10.1	1,652	15.7
Moslems	371	5.0	109	3.5	480	4.6
Christians	450	6.1	198	6.3	648	6.2
Others*	72	1.0	59	2.0	131	1.2
TOTAL	7,370	100.0	3,145	100.0	10,515	100.0

*Includes Anglo-Indians, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis and others.

15.4. In the sample population, Hindus form 88%, Moslems 4.6%, Christians 6.2% and others 1.2%. Compared with the general census, the proportions of the main religious groups in the sample population of Madras city registers a deviation with regard to the Moslems, who get a less than their legitimate share of about 9% of the sample. This is mainly due to the existence of the Purdah system and the lower response ratio among Moslem women with regard to the present enquiry. Among the Hindus, the Backward Communities account for 51.5% of the total sample, the 'Advanced' community 20.8% and the 'Scheduled' 15.7%.

15.5. There is almost the same percentage of Hindus among non-immigrants and immigrants as also among Christians. The advanced community has 30.7% of the immigrant women against 16.5% among non-immigrants. This higher percentage of "advanced Hindu" immigrant women is attributable to the larger influx of the educated middle class population into Madras city in search of employment. On the whole the distribution of women among the six groups and between immigrants and non-immigrants may be said to be a fairly close approximation to the Universe.

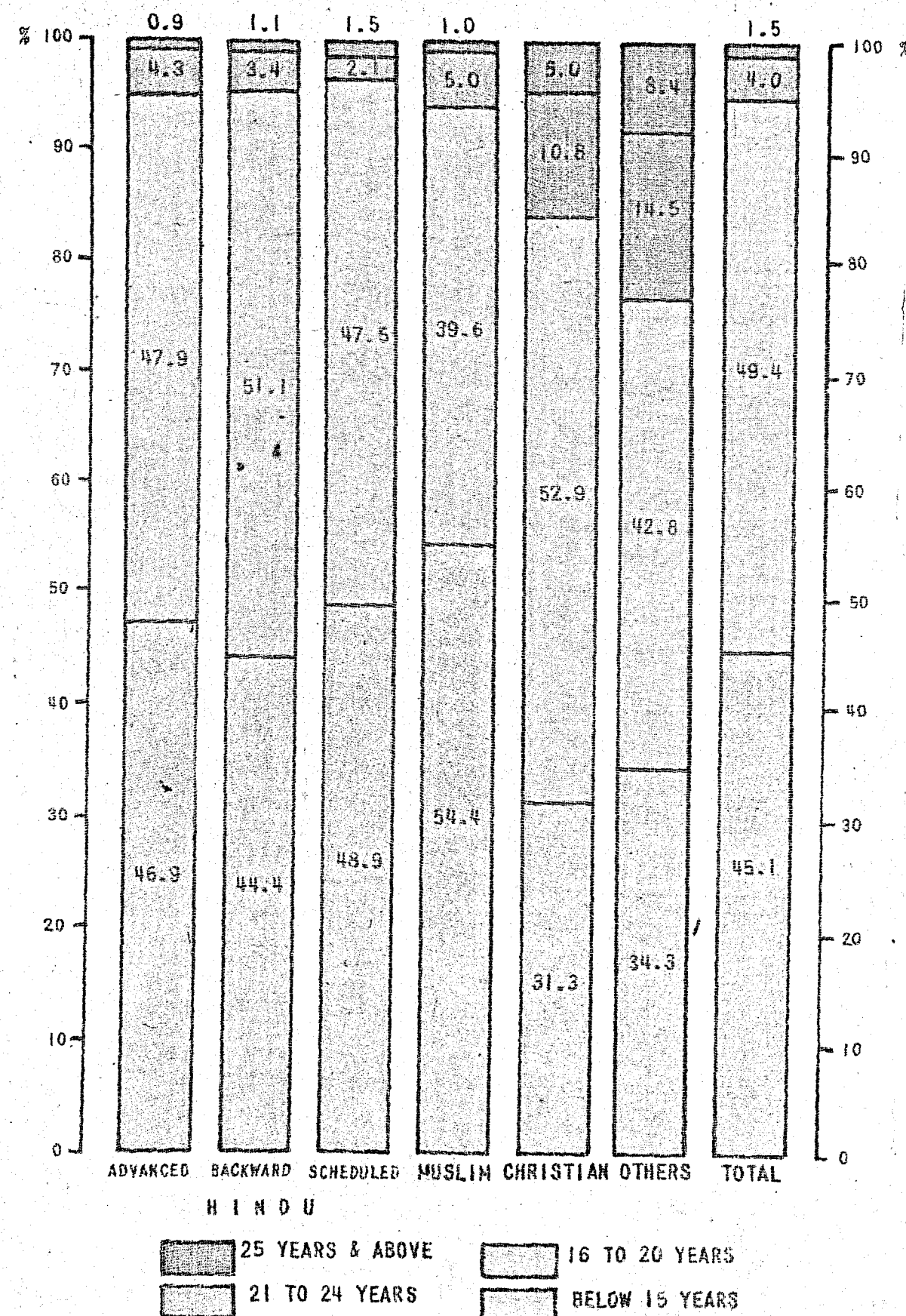
AGE STRUCTURE

15.6. The present survey relates to married women. The unmarried adults as well as children are excluded from its purview. Thanks to the fairly good observance of the Child Marriages Prevention Act, in this part of the country, very few children have occurred in the sample. An examination of the age structure of the sample population will have to recognise this fact of almost complete exclusion of unmarried girls and unmarried adult women. An attempt has been made to compare the distribution of the present sample population of women in various age groups with that of the female population as in the 1951 census. Percentage distribution of the sample of the present survey and the female population of the 1951 census in Madras city is shown below:—

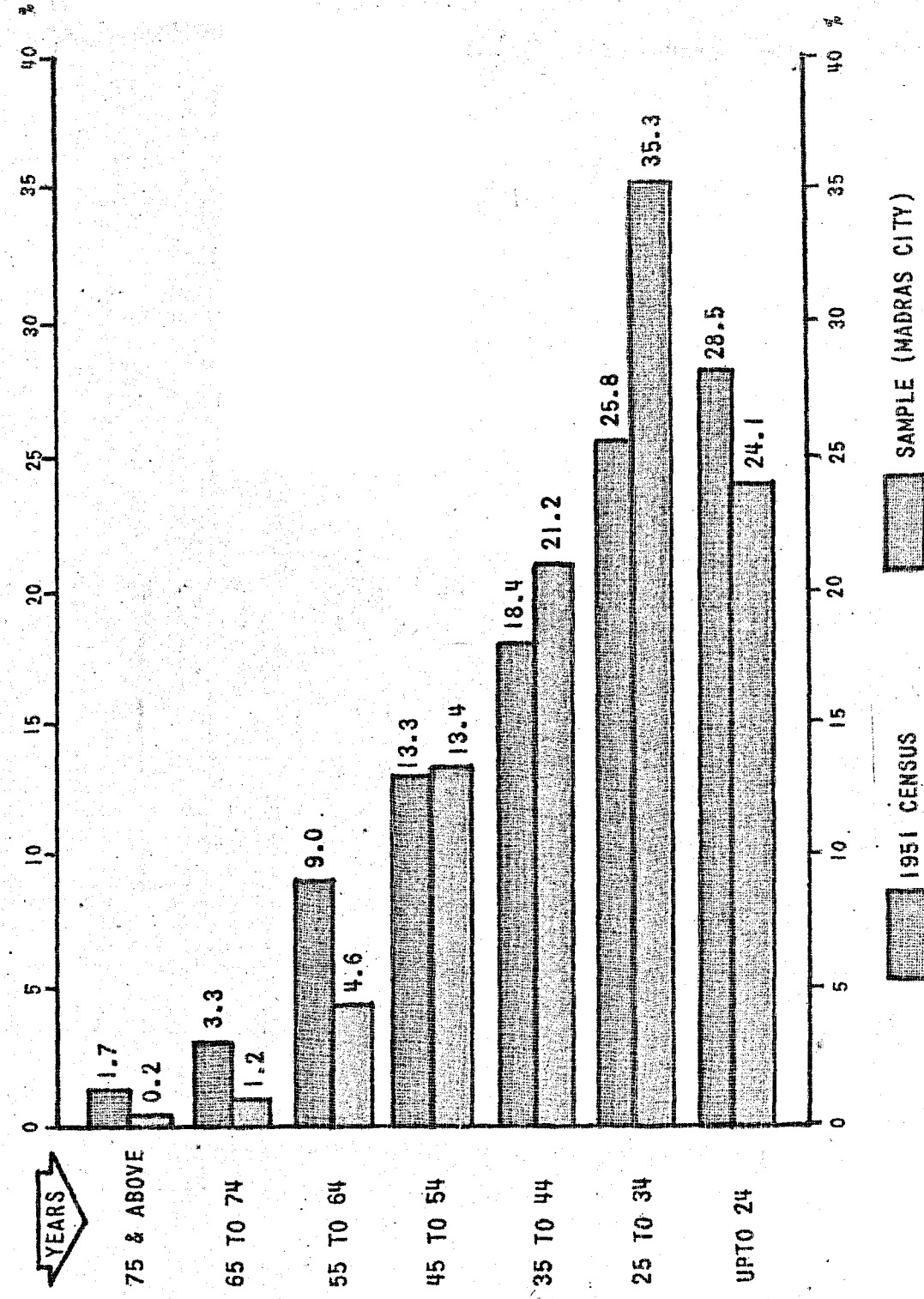
TABLE 15.6—Age Structure of Sample Population and the Female Population of Madras City as in 1951 Census

Age Group	PERCENTAGE	
	1951 Census Madras City Females	Sample Fertility & Family Planning Survey
Up to 24	28.5	24.1
25 to 34	25.8	35.3
35 to 44	18.4	21.2
45 to 54	13.3	13.4
55 to 64	9.0	4.6
65 to 74	3.3	1.2
75 & above	1.7	0.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

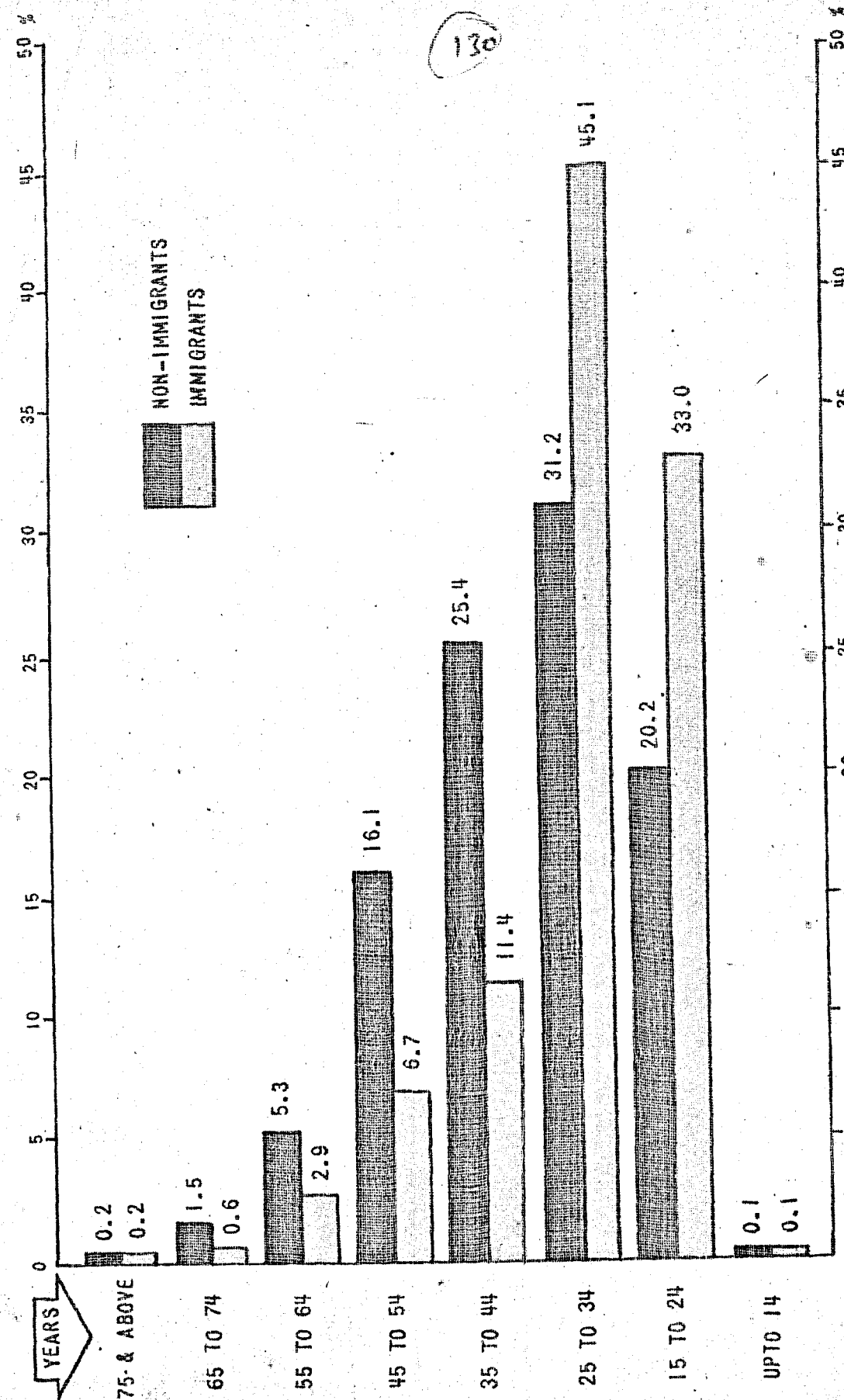
CLASSIFICATION OF MOTHERS COMMUNITIES & AGE GROUPS



AGE STRUCTURE: SAMPLE F.P.S. POPULATION COMPARED WITH 1951 CENSUS FEMALE POPULATION, MADRAS CITY



AGE STRUCTURE: IMMIGRANTS & NON-IMMIGRANTS IN THE F.P.S. SAMPLE



15.7. The percentages in the age group "up to 24 years" are 28.5 in the 1951 census and 24.1 in the sample. The lower percentage in the latter may be attributable to the omission of young widows as already stated. Naturally this has distorted the percentage of the next age group as well. In the third age group the disparity between the two figures is not so glaring. In the fourth, there is a noteworthy coincidence. For women of 55 years and above, comparison would not be valid as several old women have been left out, as explained earlier. Thus allowing for the omissions, the age structure of the women in the sample may in general be said to conform to that of 1951 census.

MIGRATORY TRAIT AND AGE STRUCTURE

15.8. A special tabulation has been made to study the differences in the age structure of immigrant and non-immigrant women occurring in the sample. As argued earlier, the immigrant women may be treated as identical with rural women. Relevant data for the comparison of the age structure of immigrant and non-immigrant women are tabulated below :—

TABLE 15.8—Percentage Distribution of Non-Immigrant and Immigrant Women according to age Groups.

Age Group—Years	Non-Immigrant	Immigrant
Up to 14	0.1	0.1
15 to 24	20.2	33.0
25 to 34	31.2	45.1
35 to 44	25.4	11.4
45 to 54	16.1	6.7
55 to 64	5.3	2.9
65 to 74	1.5	0.6
75 and above	0.2	0.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

15.9. In interpreting the data in the above table, it should not be overlooked that the immigrant population does not strictly reflect the age groups of rural female population, since old women aged 55 years and above, suffer from greater immobility than women of lower age groups. That is why the percentage of women "55 years old and above" (the last three age groups in the table) is 3.7 among immigrants against 7 among the non-immigrants. What is most striking is the percentage of women in the age group "15 to 24 years"; it is 33 for the immigrants against 20.2 for the non-immigrants. Defining young adults as those below 35 years, they represent 51.5% among non-immigrants against 78.2% among the immigrants.

MARITAL STATUS

15.10. In the main survey, marital status was classified under five heads, *Viz.*, (i) unmarried, (ii) married, (iii) widowed, (iv) separated and (v) divorced. In the present survey, the first category of unmarried does not occur for obvious reasons. The processing of the data has revealed that there is no case in the category of "divorced". This is a noteworthy finding as it reveals the almost utter absence of divorces in this part of the country. The Hindu sacramental marriage being irrevocable and indissoluble, divorces are ruled out among the Hindu women. Among the Moslems, divorce is easy enough by either of the parties saying thrice "talak"; but remarriage is also equally easy. The institution of remarriage should naturally reduce the number of widows not only among the Moslems but also among certain so called "backward" communities and "scheduled castes and tribes". As for the Indian Christians in Madras State, Roman Catholicism insists upon the indissoluble character of marriage and the non-Catholic denominations are highly influenced by the customs of the "advanced" Hindu communities. Hence the absence of divorced cases in the sample need not be viewed with suspicion or surprise. As a result, there are only three categories of marital status in the present survey (i) married.

(ii) widowed and (iii) separated. The percentage distribution of women in the sample according to marital and migratory status is shown below :—

TABLE 15.10—Percentage Distribution of Women According to Marital Status

Marital status	Total	%	N.I.	%	I	%
Married	9,093	86.5	6,206	84.3	2,887	91.8
Widowed	1,281	12.2	1,045	14.2	236	7.5
Separated	141	1.3	119	1.5	22	0.7
TOTAL	10,515	100.0	7,370	100.0	3,145	100.0
			(70.1%)		(29.9%)	

15.11. The percentage of married women is 86.5 in the sample, 84.3 among non-immigrants and 91.8 among immigrants. In respect of widows, the percentage is 12.2 for the sample, 14.2 for non-immigrants and 7.5 for immigrants. The percentage of separated women is 1.3 in the sample against 1.5 for non-immigrants and 0.7 for immigrants. The higher percentage of married women among immigrants is attributable to the earlier age at marriage in rural areas and the young wives accompanying their husbands to the city. This incidentally shows that there is not any considerable degree of disintegration of nuclear families in the process of immigration. The lower percentage of widows among the immigrants is mostly due to the few widowed mothers accompanying their adult sons who have come to the city in search of employment. Cases of widowed women coming to the city seeking employment for themselves are not quite significant. The percentage of separated women among immigrants is only half as much as among non-immigrants. While a number of separated women have immigrated with their children and other relatives, there are also a few cases of separation after immigration.

15.12. An attempt is also made to find out whether the proportion of widowed women varies in different communities. The percentage distribution of women classified according to community and marital status is shown below :—

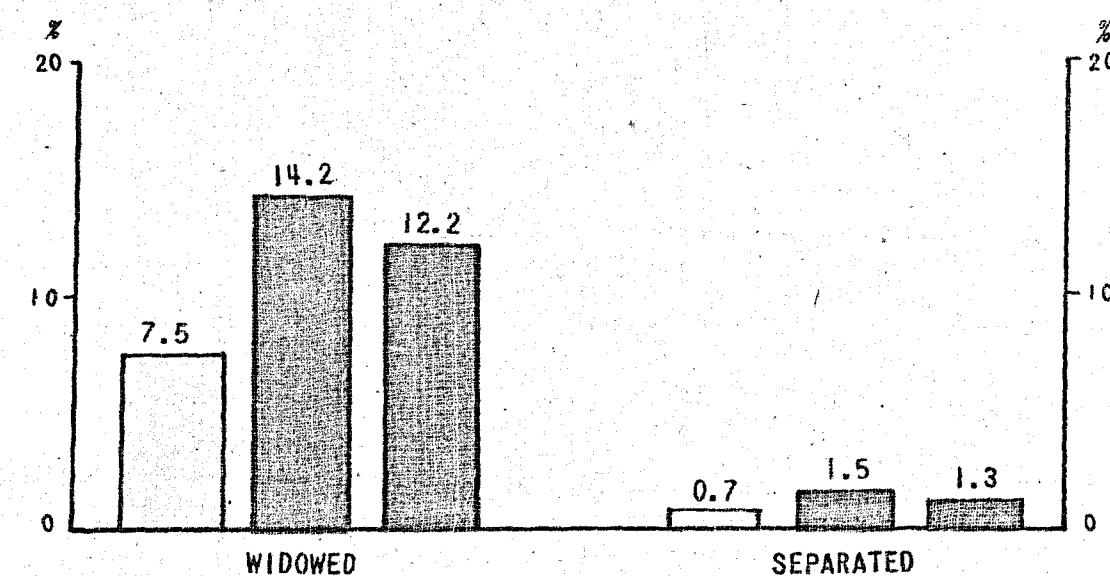
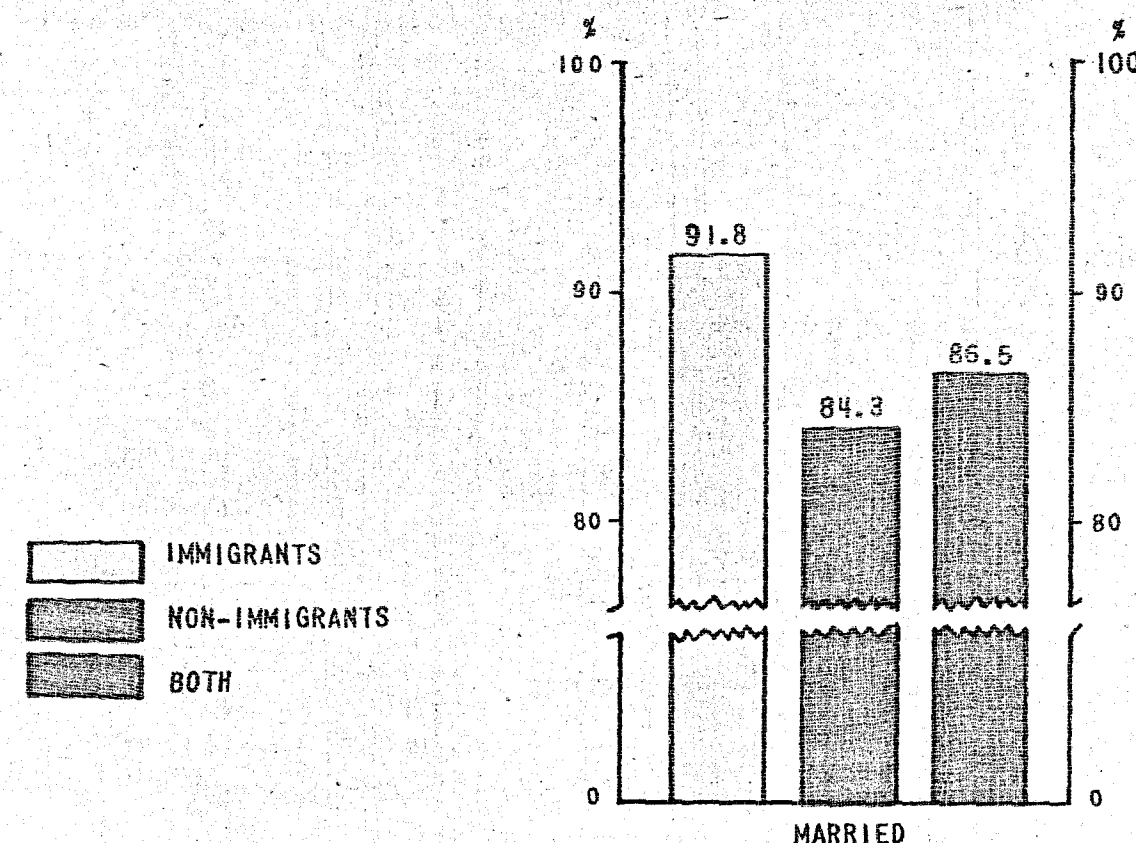
Community	Married	Widowed	Separated	Total
Hindu—Advanced	86.7	12.3	1.0	100
Backward	87.3	11.6	1.1	100
Scheduled	84.7	13.2	2.1	100
Muslims	86.7	11.5	1.8	100
Christians	82.7	15.6	1.7	100
Others	89.3	8.4	2.3	100
TOTAL	86.5	12.2	1.3	100

15.13. The percentage of widowed women varies from 15.6 among the Christians to 11.5, among the Muslims excluding the other communities with 8.4. It is noteworthy that the proportion of widowed women among the "scheduled castes and tribes" is higher than either in the advanced or backward Hindu community. Similarly there is relatively a large percentage of separated women in this group than in any other group excepting the 'other communities'. It is well known that widow remarriage is widely prevalent among the "scheduled castes and tribes". Yet the percentage of widowed women is higher according to the data. This situation is inexplicable and indicates the need for a special investigation into their sociological conditions as pertaining to this community in Madras city.

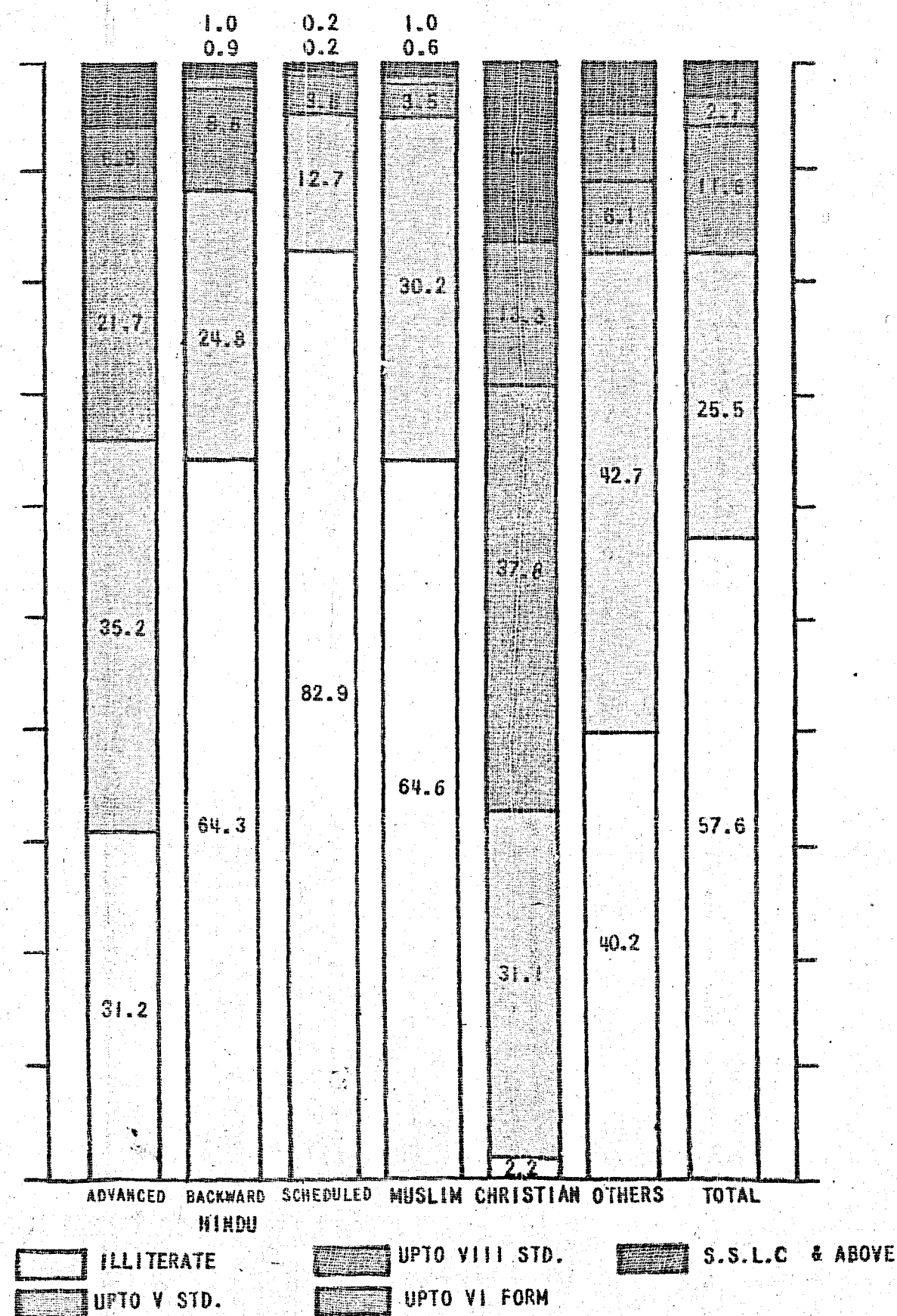
LEVELS OF EDUCATION

15.14. Education, no less than income, is said to exercise a pronounced influence on the desire to have children. For the present enquiry information about educational attainments and

DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS — PERCENTAGE



LEVELS OF EDUCATION: percentage distribution of women, communitywise



maternity is of great significance. For the present purpose women have been classified into eight educational categories: illiterate women are placed in one category. The educated women are classified into seven categories, namely, literate, middle school, high school, S.S.L.C., intermediate, graduates in arts and graduates in science. To the literate group belong women who have studied up to V standard or less. The middle school category includes women who have studied one or more years in the lower secondary school. The high school category similarly consists of all those who have studied one or more years in the high school, but have not passed S.S.L.C. The categories of S.S.L.C., Intermediate and Graduates consist respectively of those who have passed the relevant examination. Women with technical and professional education were not placed in a separate group as such cases were too few to afford an adequate sample. The percentage distribution of women, community-wise, distributed according to educational categories is shown in the table below:—

TABLE. NO. 15.14—Levels of Education : Percentage distribution of women, Community-wise

Level of education Code description	H1	H2	H3	M	C	Ot.	Total
0 Illiterate	31.2	64.3	82.9	64.8	2.2	40.2	57.6
1 Literate	35.2	24.7	12.7	30.2	31.1	42.7	25.5
2 Middle School	21.7	8.8	3.8	3.5	37.8	6.1	11.6
3 High School	5.9	0.9	0.2	0.6	13.3	6.1	2.7
4 S. S. L. C.	5.3	0.8	0.2	0.4	13.3	4.9	2.2
5 Intermediate	0.5	0.2		0.6	2.2		0.3
6 Graduates in Arts	0.2	—Negligible—					0.1
7 Graduates in Science		—Negligible—					
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

15.15. Of the total sample, 57.6% are illiterate women, 25.5% literate, 11.6% middle school, 2.7% high school, 2.2% S.S.L.C., 0.3% Intermediate and 0.1% Graduates. It is interesting to note that the sample has no graduate in science. In the whole sample there is only 1 graduate per 1,000 women. Even these graduates belong to the Hindu Advanced community. In educational attainments the Hindu Advanced community is better off than any other. But in respect of S.S.L.Cs., the Christian community ranks first as also in Intermediates. Literate women form only 16.8% in the scheduled castes and tribes, against 36% in both the Hindu Backward and Moslem, 69% in the Hindu Advanced and 97.8 in the Christian community.

15.16. It may be added that women's education is not the only factor that affects fertility rates. The educational attainments of the husbands may perhaps have an equally strong influence upon fertility rates. However husband's education could have only an indirect effect. On this assumption no separate correlation study between education of husbands and wives in respect of fertility has been attempted. The relation between education and fertility is studied in a subsequent chapter.

EDUCATION AND MIGRATORY STATUS

15.17. In analysing the data relating to education a further analysis of the data about the educational attainments of immigrant and non-immigrant women has been undertaken. It is

commonly believed that women in rural areas are less educated than women in urban areas. A comparative study of the position could be made with the data tabulated below:—

TABLE 15.17—Educational Levels of Women—Non-Immigrants and Immigrants

Educational class	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Illiterate	4,407	60.0	1,625	51.9	6,032	57.6
Literate	1,837	25.0	833	26.6	2,670	25.5
Middle School	779	10.6	438	14.0	1,217	11.6
High School	175	2.4	106	3.4	281	2.7
S.S.L.C.	127	1.7	101	3.2	228	2.2
Intermediate	18	0.2	14	0.4	32	0.3
Graduates in Arts	6	0.1	13	0.5	19	0.1
Graduates in Science	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not Reported	21	—	15	—	36	—
TOTAL	7,370	—	3,145	—	10,515	—
NET TOTAL	7,349	100.0	1,130	100.0	10,479	100.0

15.18. It may be seen from the above table that the percentage of illiterate women among the immigrants is 51.9 against 60.0 among the non-immigrants. In all levels of education, the immigrants are better placed than the non-immigrants. In the literate group the percentage is 26.6 for immigrants and 25.0 for non-immigrants. The corresponding percentages are 14.0 and 10.6 for the middle school, 3.4 and 2.4 for high school, 3.2 and 1.7 for S.S.L.C., 0.4 and 0.2 for Intermediate, 0.5 and 0.1 for graduates. These data are contrary to the general belief about lower levels of education of rural women. This is so because the position among immigrant women does not reflect the actual situation in the rural sector. As pointed out earlier, the immigrants into the city are the more venturesome lot among the rural population. The more educated the more venturesome. Naturally the educational structure of the immigrant women is a little upgraded.

ECONOMIC STATUS OF MOTHERS

15.19. The sample population of mothers may be classified into four groups on the basis of economic status: (1) employed; (2) unemployed; (3) retired and old; (4) students. From the fertility point of view, the third group of retired and old is not of great significance because this may include formerly employed and now super-annuated as well as women who have never had any gainful employment at any time. Relevant data regarding the economic status of the mothers are tabulated below:

TABLE 15.19—Economic Status of Mothers

Economic Status	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Employed	599	8.3	189	6.0	788	7.6
Unemployed	6,545	91.1	2,923	93.3	9,468	91.8
Retired and old	37	0.5	19	0.6	56	0.5
Students	2	0.1	2	0.1	4	0.1
Not Reported	187	—	12	—	199	—
TOTAL	7,370	—	3,145	—	10,515	—
NET TOTAL	7,183	100.0	3,133	100.0	10,316	100.0

15.20. The fourth group of student-mothers is very poorly represented in the table by four cases. Thus in the economic status classification of the mothers, the distinction between the unemployed and the employed mothers alone deserves consideration. It is noteworthy that nine out of ten women are not gainfully employed. This finding will be useful when the fertility of these two groups of mothers is examined in a later chapter.

OCCUPATION OF WOMEN

15.21. Even without a militant suffragette movement, Indian women have gained under the Constitution equality of rights and privileges. Its consequence is already being felt in the employment sector in certain categories. There is a growing tendency for married women to take to gainful employment and a career. A great deal is said about the subtle influence supposed to be exerted by types of occupation upon the capacity and the willingness to bear children. In an expanding economy, poised for providing more and more employment to women, a study of the occupational pattern is a preliminary to an investigation into its effects upon fertility.

15.22. It is well known that women in Madras city have not yet taken kindly to gainful occupations. One of the largest textile mills in India, located in Madras city, does not employ women. Women belonging to the lower strata are generally hard manual labourers working in the building and construction trade. Women belonging to the so-called respectable communities, even when suffering from gnawing poverty, are loath to do manual labour. At best, they would become petty trash of pan shopkeepers. Young educated women belonging to the middle classes are of late taking to teaching, typing and clerical posts. Most of the women are not gainfully employed. With this knowledge of Madras women folk, no attempt has been made to fit the sample women of this survey into the occupational classification evolved by the Indian Statistical Institute for men. A new nine-fold classification of women which could throw more light on the influence of occupation on the fertility of women, has been devised and adopted for tabulation of the data as shown below:—

TABLE 15.22—Occupational Classification of Women

Occupation	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Public Mental	42	0.6	18	0.6	60	0.6
Public Manual	23	0.3	7	0.2	30	0.3
Private Mental	32	0.4	17	0.5	49	0.5
Private Manual	443	6.2	115	3.7	558	5.3
Family Helpers	59	0.9	32	1.0	91	0.9
Household workers	6,694	91.0	2,922	93.6	9,616	91.9
Unemployed	23	0.3	6	0.2	29	0.3
Retired and old age	21	0.3	3	0.1	24	0.2
Students	2	—	2	0.2	4	—
Not Reported	31	—	23	—	54	—
TOTAL	7,370	—	3,145	—	10,515	—
NET TOTAL	7,339	100	3,122	100	10,461	100

15.23. It is noteworthy that 9 out of 10 women are not gainfully employed. They do not seek employment either. They seem to be satisfied with their position as household workers. The percentage of this group is 93.6 for immigrants against 91.0 for non-immigrants. In the above table women are classified into 9 groups: The first group called 'Public Mental' consists of those who are employed in the public sector doing mental work, e.g., Clerks, Doctors and

Teachers, the second group called 'Public Manual' includes those persons who are employed in the public sector doing manual work, like Conservancy staff of the Municipal Corporation, regular unskilled workers employed in making roads, buildings, sewages etc., the third and the fourth groups 'Private Mental' and 'Private Manual' represent the opposite numbers to groups one and two respectively, employed in the private sector. The fifth group consists of 'Family Helpers' in the accepted sense of the term who are helping the heads of households in their gainful employment but not receiving emoluments in cash. The sixth group consists of household workers already referred to in the beginning of this paragraph. 'Unemployed' constitute the seventh group. The eighth group 'Retired and old age' and the ninth 'Students' are self-explanatory. Apart from the household workers, by far the largest employment is seen in private manual group, 558 women or 5.3% belong to this group and are mostly employed as cooks and domestic servants. Clerical and other occupations in both the private and the public sector account for 1.1%. In short this analysis of the occupational pattern shows how few women are gainfully employed in the large sample of more than 10,000 women.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF HUSBANDS

15.24. With the poor statistical showing of women in employment, it becomes necessary to turn to the industrial and occupational classification of their husbands to gain some more knowledge of the mothers in the sample. With this object, data relating to the industrial classification of husbands collected on the same lines as in the main survey are utilised. Distribution of husbands according to the twelve-fold industrial classification is shown in the table below :—

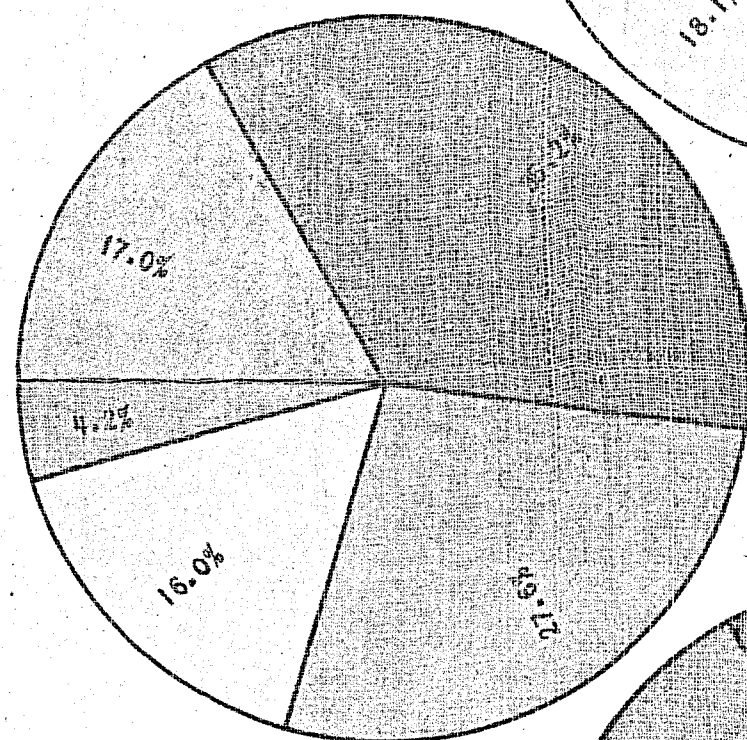
TABLE 15.24—Husbands: Industrial Classification

Industrial class—Code Description	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0 Agriculture & allied	118	2.2	36	1.3	154	1.9
1 Mining	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 Manufacturing	915	16.8	387	14.5	1,302	16.0
3 Manufacturing	876	16.0	312	11.7	1,188	14.6
4 Construction	150	2.8	96	3.6	246	3.0
5 Electricity, gas, water	68	1.2	23	0.9	91	1.1
6 Distribution	1,125	20.6	667	24.9	1,792	22.0
7 Transport	832	15.2	468	17.5	1,300	16.0
8 Public services	756	13.9	422	15.8	1,178	14.5
9 Private services	316	5.8	143	5.4	459	5.6
X Personal services	193	3.5	85	3.2	278	3.4
Y Services not fully described	110	2.0	32	1.2	142	1.7
Not Reported	1,911	—	474	—	2,385	—
TOTAL ..	7,370		3,145		10,515	
NET TOTAL ..	5,459	100	2,671	100	8,130	100

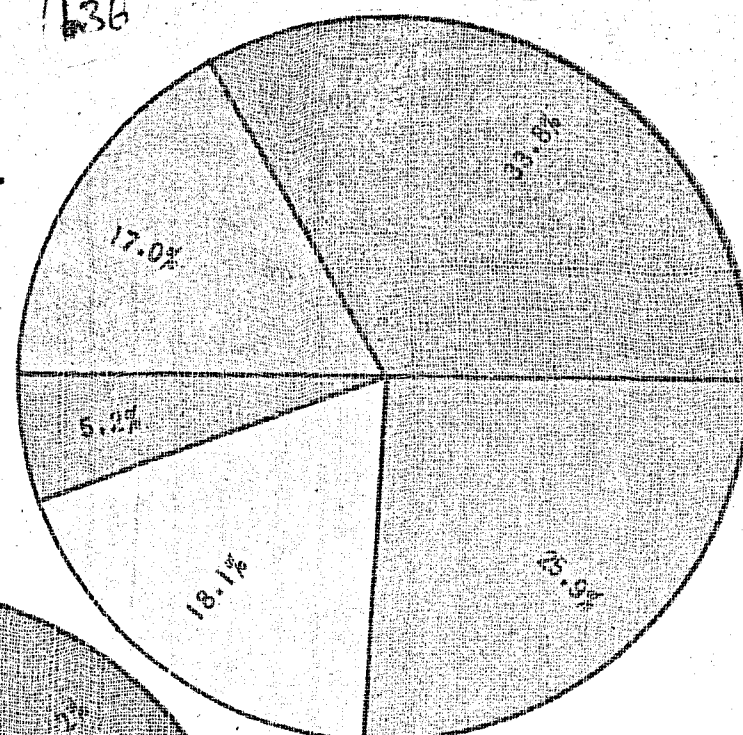
Of the total number of husbands, 30.6% are employed in manufacturing industries, 22% in distribution, 16% in transport, 14.5% in public services, 5.6% in private services, 3.4% in personal services and 3% in construction. Madras city being more a commercial than an industrial city, this pattern of distribution of the husbands among the various industries is fairly representative of the actual situation in the city. As between immigrants and non-immigrants, the former are in relatively larger numbers in distribution, transport and public services and in relatively smaller numbers in manufacture, private and personal services. Even this difference takes the same pattern as in the main survey.

WOMEN CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO HOUSEHOLD INCOME

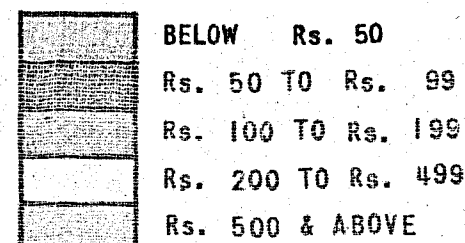
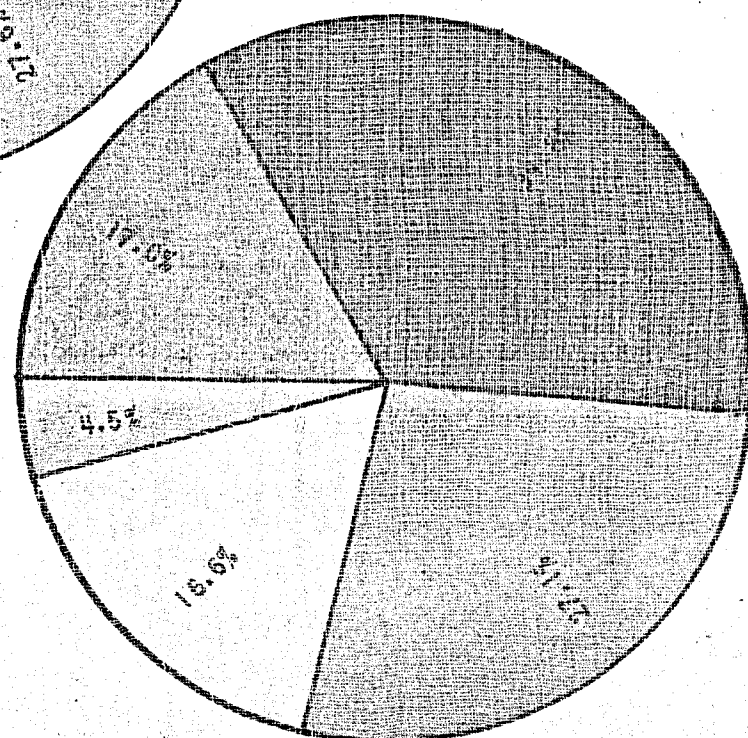
non-immigrants



immigrants



both



209

137

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF HUSBANDS

15.25. Data relating to occupational classification of husbands have been collected adhering to the original classification of eight occupations in the main survey. Distribution of husbands in these eight occupational classes is shown below :

TABLE 15-25—Husbands: Occupational Classification

Occupational classes—Code Description	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0 Managerial	140	2.6	76	2.8	216	2.7
1 Professional	291	5.3	176	6.6	467	5.7
2 Subordinate	672	12.3	337	12.6	1,009	12.4
3 Ministerial	654	11.9	443	16.6	1,097	13.5
4 Sales	687	12.6	402	15.1	1,089	13.4
5 Sub-Technical	771	14.1	319	11.9	1,090	13.4
6 Sub-Technical	2,024	37.0	841	31.5	2,865	35.2
7 Service	228	4.2	77	2.9	305	3.7
Not Reported	1,903		474		2,377	
TOTAL	7,370		3,145		10,515	
NET TOTAL	5,467	100	2,671	100	8,138	107

15.26. It may be seen from the above table that by far the largest number amounting to 35.2% of the husbands are in the subordinate technical group (Item 6) which mainly consists of unskilled workers. Next comes the ministerial group (Item 3) accounting for 13.5%, followed by 13.4% each in 'sales' group and subordinate technical group (Item 5) which consists primarily of the lower order of mechanics and craftsmen. The subordinate group (Item 2) comprising chiefly of Superintendents, Workshop Managers etc., accounts for 12.4%. The professional group has 5.7% and the managerial 2.7% of the total husbands. In the occupational classification it would appear that 2,377 husbands have not reported anything. Allowing for 1,281 widows and 141 separated women, 945 husbands have not stated precisely their occupation which shows that they are generally jack-of-all-trades moving from one occupation to another according to the available employment opportunities. On the whole the occupational distribution of the husbands shows that the sample women population is drawn from a variety of occupations closely approximating to the real position in the community.

INCOME GROUPS

15.27. As stated earlier, income is supposed to exert a considerable influence upon fertility of women. From their experience of conditions in advanced countries, demographic experts have come to believe in a negative correlation between income and fertility. Income could be studied from three different angles : household income will give the general economic condition; the income of the husband, the most important component of the income of the household, has a significance of its own; the income of the woman, whether earned or unearned will shed additional light on the economic situation of the household. With the object of studying the distribution of women according to income groups special provision was made in the schedule to collect data about income of (a) households; (b) husbands and (c) women.

15.28. The income of the household is classified into five groups (vide table 15.28). With regard to eight cases income data were not available. The distribution of the

sample women population according to this five-fold classification of income groups is tabulated below:—

TABLE 15-28—Income Group

Income groups	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Below Rs. 50	1,251	17.0	535	17.0	1,786	17.0
Rs. 50—99	2,592	35.2	1,062	33.8	3,654	34.8
Rs. 100—199	2,036	27.6	812	25.9	2,848	27.1
Rs. 200—499	1,176	16.0	567	18.1	1,743	16.6
Rs. 500 & above	312	4.2	164	5.2	476	4.5
Not Reported	3	—	5	—	8	—
TOTAL	7,370	—	3,145	—	10,515	—
NET TOTAL	7,367	100.0	3,140	100.0	10,507	100.0

15.29. It may be seen that there is no significant variation between the non-immigrant and immigrant women in their percentage distribution among these five income groups. The lowest income group, 'below Rs. 50' accounts for 17% of the cases. In the next higher income group from Rs. 50 to Rs. 99, nearly 1/3 of the women are found to occur. In the third income group Rs. 100—199 is found about 1/4 of the women. About one in six women is in the fourth income group, Rs. 200 to Rs. 499 and about one in twenty in the income group Rs. 500 and above.

HUSBANDS' INCOME

15.30. Data relating to husbands' income were available for 8,904 cases. The incomes of husbands are classified into twelve groups adhering to the same classification adopted in the main survey. The relevant data are tabulated below:

TABLE 15-30—Distribution of Husbands According to their Income

Income Group Rs.	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0	347	5.7	94	3.3	441	5.70
1—24	225	3.7	82	2.9	307	3.4
25—49	1,465	24.0	616	21.9	2,081	23.4
50—74	1,265	20.8	588	20.9	1,853	20.8
75—99	1,091	17.9	476	17.1	1,567	17.6
100—149	778	12.8	406	14.5	1,184	13.3
150—199	371	6.2	229	8.2	600	6.7
200—349	371	6.1	214	7.6	585	6.6
350—499	79	1.1	45	1.6	124	1.4
500—749	51	0.8	31	1.1	82	0.9
750—1000	16	0.3	9	0.3	25	0.3
1000+	37	0.6	18	0.6	55	0.6
Not Reported	1,274	—	337	—	1,611*	—
TOTAL	7,370	—	3,145	—	10,515	—
NET TOTAL	6,096	100.0	2,808	100.0	8,904	100.0

*Of this, 1,422 cases relate to widows and separated women.

15.31. In this classification too, there is hardly any substantial difference between the non-immigrants and immigrants in respect of their distribution among various income groups. Nearly 44% of the husbands belong to the two income groups Rs. 25—49 and Rs. 50 to Rs. 74. It is noteworthy that about 70% of the husbands are earning incomes below Rs. 100 per month. About one in 100 is earning Rs. 750 and above.

INCOME OF MOTHERS

15.32. Classification of women according to their own income follows the same pattern as that of men. With 90% of the women doing only household work, it is hardly a matter for surprise that 9 out of 10 women do not have any income of their own. One in twenty has an income below Rs. 25. About one in fifty has an income varying from Rs. 25 to Rs. 49. About one in hundred earns an income of Rs. 100 or more (*vide* Table below).

TABLE 15-32—Distribution of Mothers According to Their Income

Income Group Rs.	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0	6,460	90.3	2,907	92.7	9,547	91.0
1—24	421	5.7	140	4.5	561	5.3
25—49	143	1.9	33	1.1	176	1.7
50—74	62	0.8	17	0.5	79	0.8
75—99	31	0.4	6	0.2	37	0.4
100—149	26	0.4	16	0.5	42	0.4
150—199	8	0.1	9	0.3	17	0.2
200—349	12	0.2	6	0.2	18	0.2
350—499	3	—	1	—	4	—
500—749	4	—	1	—	5	—
750—999	2	—	—	—	2	—
1000+	1	—	1	—	2	—
Not Reported	17	—	8	—	25	—
TOTAL	7,370	—	3,145	—	10,515	—
NET TOTAL	7,353	100.0	3,137	100.0	10,490	100.0

CONCLUSIONS

15.33. To sum up, (i) the total sample for the Fertility and Family Planning Survey consists of 10,515 women of whom 7,370 are non-immigrants and 3,145 immigrants; (ii) classified according to communities, the sample is composed of 9,256 or 88% of Hindu women, 480 or 4.6% Moslem women, 648 or 6.2% Christian women and 131 or 1.2% other communities. Among the Hindu women, 2,188 or 20.8% of the total sample belong to the "Advanced", 5,416 or 51.5% to the "Backward" communities and 1,652 or 15.7% to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. In regard to age structure, 24.1% of the sample belong to the age group "up to 24 years", 35.3% to that of "25 to 34 years" 21.2% to that of "35 to 44 years", 13.4% to that of "45 to 54 years", 4.6% to that of "55 to 64 years", 1.2% to that of "65 to 74 years" and 0.2% to that of "75 years and above". As between non-immigrants and immigrants, the age structure reveals a marked difference. Women below 35 years form 51.5% among the former and 78.2% among the latter; (iii) according to marital status, the sample consists of 86.5% married, 12.2% widowed and 1.3% separated women. The percentage of widowed women is the highest among the Christians, being 15.6; followed by the scheduled castes and tribes with 13.2 and lowest among the Muslims with 11.5 and the backward

communities with 11.6%. It is not easy to find out the reasons for this disparity unless special investigation into the sociological conditions is undertaken; (iv) the survey reveals that 57.6% of the sample women are illiterate, one in four women are mere literates, 1 in 9 women have some middle school education and 1 in 40 some high school education. About 1 in 50 is an S.S.L.C. and 1 in 100 a graduate. The immigrants are relatively more literate and better educated than the non-immigrants; (v) in the sample population, 91.9% are household workers not seeking any gainful employment, 7.6% employed including about 1% of family helpers. Even among the employed, 6 out of 7 are unskilled manual workers. Only 1 in 100 women of the sample is employed in occupation characterised as "mental workers". Unemployed in the strict sense of the term applied to those who are seeking employment is as low as 3 in 1,000. The high percentage of household workers conceals a large mass of under-employment and hidden unemployment; (vi) regarding the industrial classification of husbands, data collected show that the sample of the present survey reflects truly the position in the universe to a great extent: Agriculture accounts for 1.9% of the husbands, manufacture 30.6%, distribution 22% and transport 16%; (vii) in the occupational classification of the husbands also, the survey reveals a distribution that is a close approximation to the real situation in the population of the city: "Managerial" group is represented by 2.7%, "professional" by 5.7%, "Subordinate" by 12.4%, ministerial, sales and subordinate technical each by 13.4%, unskilled workers by 35.2% and services by 3.7%; and (viii) the analysis of the data relating to the total income of the households reveals that 17% of the women in the sample belong to the income "below Rs. 50" per month, 34.8% to the income group "Rs. 50 to Rs. 99", 27.1% to that of "Rs. 100 to Rs. 199", 16.6% to that of "Rs. 200 to Rs. 499" and 4.5% to that of "Rs. 500 and above". Among the husbands of the sample women, 61.8% belong to the income group "Rs. 25 to Rs. 99" per month; among the sample women themselves the percentage earning between Rs. 25 and Rs. 99 is 2.9, those earning below Rs. 25 being 5.3.

CHAPTER XVI

MARITAL LIFE

The preceding chapter was concerned with an analysis and classification of the sample population of women according to certain definite attributes. It was intended to present the composition of the sample population at a point of time, namely, the time of investigation. In the present chapter an attempt is made to study the marital history of the sample women. The marital history begins with the date of marriage and ends with the date of investigation for married women and with the date of widowhood or separation for the rest. Wherever the date of marriage and the date of consummation do not coincide, for the purpose of the present enquiry the latter should be taken as marking the commencement of marital life. The institution of marriage in the context of Madras population manifests an infinite variety. Early and late marriages, simultaneous and deferred consummation and the disparity between the ages of the spouses are some of the factors contributing to this variety. Further the influence of migratory, economic and income status renders a study of marriage institutions and customs highly complex. A proper understanding of these aspects is necessary to serve as a background for the main enquiry into fertility rates. It is not, however, possible to indicate the aspects of all the variations in customs and institutions in their true proportions in statistical tables. A simple, yet realistic, portrayal of the effects of each individual variable alone can be attempted.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

16.2. Data relating to the age at marriage were collected in an elaborate fashion providing for fourteen age categories beginning from 'below and up to 12 years' and for every year subsequently up to 24 years, ending with the last age category of '25 years and above'. In the analysis of this detailed information an abstract tabulation compressing the fourteen age groups into five broader groups has been worked out as shown below:—

TABLE 16.2—Classification of Communities into Age Groups According to Age at Marriage—Percentage

Community	15 Years & below	16—20 years	21—24 years	25 years & above	Total
Hindu—Advanced	46.9	47.9	4.3	0.9	100
Hindu—Backward	44.4	51.1	3.4	1.1	100
Hindu—Scheduled	48.9	47.5	2.1	1.5	100
Moslems	54.4	39.6	5.0	1.0	100
Christians	31.3	52.9	10.9	5.0	100
Others	34.3	42.8	14.5	8.4	100
TOTAL	45.1	49.4	4.0	1.5	100

16.3. In the above statement women are classified according to communities as well as age intervals in which they got married. It may be seen that a little less than 50% of the women have been married between the years 16 and 20. About 45% before their 15th year, about 4% of women between 21 and 24 years and about one in seventy women in their 25th year or later.

16.4. Marriages at an early age, below 15 years, appear to be relatively most common in the Muslim community, the percentage of marriages in this youngest age group being 54.4 against 31.3 among Christians who record the lowest percentage of marriages in this age group. Next to Muslims come the "Scheduled Castes and Tribes" with 48.9%, followed by the "Advanced" Hindu communities with 46.9% and the "Backward" communities with 44.4%. Late marriages in their 25th year or later occur most in the Christian community where the percentage of cases is 5. It is 1.5 among the "Scheduled Castes and Tribes", compared with about 1 in the other communities.

16.5. To find out the comparative position between the immigrants and non-immigrants in regard to the age at marriage, collected data have been appropriately processed as shown below :

TABLE 16.5—Distribution of Women According to Age at Marriage—Percentage

Community	15 years and below		16-20 years		21-24 years		25 years and above	
	NI	I	NI	I	NI	I	NI	I
Hindu: Advanced	50.3	42.6	45.5	51.1	3.6	5.0	0.6	1.3
" Backward	45.2	42.5	50.6	52.2	3.1	4.1	1.1	1.2
" Scheduled	49.3	47.4	47.8	46.7	1.5	4.1	1.4	1.8
Moslems	56.3	47.7	38.5	43.1	3.8	9.2	1.4	—
Christians	33.8	25.8	53.1	52.5	9.8	13.1	3.3	8.6
Others	27.8	42.4	45.8	38.9	15.3	13.6	11.1	5.1
TOTAL	46.4	42.1	48.8	50.8	3.5	5.3	1.3	1.8

16.6. It is noteworthy that a relatively larger percentage of non-immigrants have got married "below 15 years" in all the communities except "others". The percentage of women married "below 15 years" is 50.3 in non-immigrant Hindu "Advanced" community against 42.6 for immigrants. The corresponding percentages are 45.2 and 42.5, for the Hindu "backward" communities, 49.3 and 47.4 for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, 56.3 and 47.7 for Moslems, 33.8 and 25.8 for Christians. It may be seen from the above table that the percentage of women marrying late, after completing 20 years is perceptibly higher among the immigrants than among non-immigrants. These data lead to a conclusion quite contrary to the *a priori* assumption that early marriages are more common among the rural than among urban population.

16.7. The age at consummation, signifying the *de facto* commencement of the marital life may manifest variation of three kinds :—(i) it may vary with communities according to their customs and tradition; (ii) it may vary with rural-urban origin and (iii) it may vary in respect of the time interval from the age of marriage in respect of individuals and communities. There is no uniform period of waiting between the date of marriage and date of consummation. The first type of variation is analysed in the table below :—

TABLE 16.7—Distribution of Women According to Age at Consummation—Percentage

Community	15 years & below	16-20 years	21-24 years	25 years & above
Hindu: Advanced	43.4	50.9	5.3	1.4
" Backward	43.6	51.7	3.4	1.3
" Scheduled	48.5	47.8	2.1	1.6
Moslems	54.4	39.6	5.0	1.0
Christians	31.0	53.2	10.8	5.0
Others	34.4	43.5	13.7	8.4
TOTAL	43.9	50.4	4.0	1.7

16.8. The percentage of cases who had their consummation before completing their fifteenth year varies from 54.4 among Moslems to 31.0 among Christians, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes registering 48.5 and the other two Hindu communities about 43.5 coming in between. Taking all communities together 50.4% have had their consummation between 16 and

20 years, 43.9% below 15 years, 4% between 21 and 24 years and 1.7% after 24 years. In the age group 21 to 24 years, cases of consummation vary from 10.8% among Christians to 2.1% among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. In late consummations, after 24 years, Christians again lead with 5%, the Moslems keeping up the rear with 1%. It may be noted that 94.3% of the women have had their consummation before they had completed their twentieth year.

CONSUMMATION AND MIGRATORY TRAIT

16.9. Whether the age at consummation is earlier or later among the immigrants than among the non-immigrants is a line of enquiry that should prove interesting and would shed additional light on the institution of marriage as between rural and urban areas. Relevant data regarding consummation age of women community-wise are tabulated below :—

TABLE 16.9—Percentage Comparison of the Ages at Consummation of the Non-Immigrant and Immigrant Women
Age at Consummation

Community	15 years and below		16-20 years		21-24 years		25 years and above	
	NI	I	NI	I	NI	I	NI	I
Hindu: Advanced	46.5	39.5	48.8	53.6	3.7	5.1	1.0	1.8
" Backward	44.4	41.5	51.2	53.1	3.1	4.1	1.3	1.3
" Scheduled	48.8	47.1	48.0	46.7	1.7	4.1	1.5	1.9
Moslems	56.3	47.7	38.5	43.1	3.8	9.2	1.4	—
Christians	33.3	25.8	53.6	52.5	9.8	13.1	3.3	8.6
Others	27.8	42.4	47.2	39.0	13.9	13.6	11.1	5.0
TOTAL	45.3	40.7	49.7	52.0	3.5	5.3	1.5	2.0

16.10. It is again remarkable that the percentage of women who had their consummation before their fifteenth year in each of the five important communities of the State is higher among non-immigrants than among immigrants. The respective percentages are 46.5 and 39.5 for the "Advanced" Hindu, 44.4 and 41.5 for the "Backward" Hindu, 48.8 and 47.1 for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, 56.3 and 47.7 for Moslems and 33.3 and 25.8 for Christians. Taking all the communities together the percentage of women occurring in the lowest group, below 15 years, is 45.3 for non-immigrants and 40.7 for the immigrants. The corresponding percentages for the next three age groups are 49.7, 3.5 and 1.5 for non-immigrants and 52.0, 5.3 and 2.0 for immigrants.

TIME-LAG BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND CONSUMMATION

16.11. In the Indian society, marriage customs are frequently characterised by a time lag between marriage and consummation. This may be ascribed to both social and economic reasons. It is not the purpose of the present enquiry to examine the psychological and social tension caused by this time-lag. From the fertility point of view this time-lag is a definite gain if reduction in the number of children is held out to be the final objective. Special tabulation has been undertaken to study this time-lag in respect of the various communities (*vide* Table, 16.11).

16.12 In table 16.11, the time-lag is divided into six groups. Cases, where marriage and consummation has taken place in the same year, are placed in the first group of "O" year. The next four groups relate to time-lag of 1, 2, 3 and 4 years respectively, the last group relates to cases where the time-lag between marriage and consummation is five years and above. Of the 10,515 sample women 9,614 or 91.4%, belong to the first group, marriage and consummation taking place in the same year; 306 cases occur in the second group with a time lag of

TABLE 16.11—Time-Lag Between Marriage and Consummation

Dif	Hindu—Advanced			Hindu—Backward			Hindu—Scheduled			Muslims			Christians			Others			Total		
	Nfs.	Is.	T	Nfs.	Is.	T	Nfs.	Is.	T	Nfs.	Is.	T	Nfs.	Is.	T	Nfs.	Is.	T	Nfs.	Is.	T
0	1,032	823	1,855	3,620	1,394	5,014	1,237	296	1,533	356	104	460	437	189	626	71	55	126	6,753	2,861	9,614
1	54	42	96	93	43	136	43	10	53	7	3	10	6	3	9	—	2	2	203	103	306
2	78	70	148	146	33	179	37	11	48	7	2	9	5	4	9	1	1	2	274	121	395
3	30	21	51	47	13	60	10	1	11	1	—	1	—	2	2	—	1	1	88	38	126
4	13	3	16	5	4	9	3	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	22	7	29
5	12	10	22	12	2	14	3	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	28	12	40
	1,219	969	2,188	3,925	1,491	5,416	1,333	319	1,652	371	109	480	450	198	648	72	59	131	7,368	3,142	10,510

Dif. Difference between age at Marriage and age at Consummation.

*Includes two interesting cases (Backward Hindu) of marriage at 18 and 21 with consummation at 13 and 15 years respectively.

@ Includes two more cases (Backward Hindu) of marriage at 18 and 19 years with consummation at 13 and 18 years respectively.

**Includes one case (Hindu Scheduled Caste and Tribes) of marriage at 17th year with consummation at 16th year.

@ Includes one case (Other community) of marriage at 24th year with consummation at 17th year.

one year, 395 in the third, 126 in the fourth, 29 in the fifth and 40 in the sixth group. There is hardly any difference between the immigrants and non-immigrants in the percentage of cases occurring in the first group. Eight in hundred of the women in the sample have had delayed consummation. The percentage of cases with time-lag of one year and more varies significantly between communities. It is 14.9 for the Hindu "Advanced", 7.4 for the Hindu "Backward", 7.2 for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, 4.1 for the Moslems and 3.4 for the Christians.

16.13. It is of interest to note that in the whole sample of 10,515 women there are six cases of consummation before legal marriage, two among the non-immigrant Hindu "Backward" community, one in non-immigrant "others", two in immigrant Hindu "Backward" community and one in immigrant Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The respondents in these cases have frankly expressed the facts.

AGE AT CONSUMMATION AND EDUCATION

16.14. It is a common belief that the age at consummation varies directly with education. In order to test the validity of this hypothesis, data relating to the age at consummation and education of mothers were specially processed, retaining also the two-fold classification of women according to rural or urban origin (*vide* Table 16.14 on page 218).

16.15. The sample population has 19 graduate women who would have become graduates either before or after marriage; they were, however, graduates at the time of investigation. Of these 19 women, 6 have been married between 16 and 20 years, 10 between 21 and 24 years and the other 3 after 24. From table 16.14, it may be seen that the percentage of women married in their 15th year or earlier is 48.1 in the illiterate group against 40.5 among the literate, 9.7 among the S.S.L.Cs. and none among the graduates. In the age between 16 and 20 years, it is 48 for the illiterate, 53.3 for the literate, 63.9 for the S.S.L.Cs. and 31.6 for the graduates. These data appear to confirm the hypothesis that the age at consummation in general varies with education. Even in the same educational group there is a little difference between non-immigrants and immigrants in respect of the age at consummation. A relatively larger percentage of non-immigrants have had their consummation somewhat earlier than the immigrants. One reason is that they have also been married at an earlier age than the latter. Both the early marriage and consummation in urban areas need an explanation. Is it because the urban women are more settled down in character and, therefore, stability of economic conditions, inducing earlier marriage and consummation?

MARITAL STATUS AND MARITAL AGE

16.16. Although marital age has been elaborately classified into twelve different groups (*vide* Appendix XIV) for purposes of analysis the age groups have been reduced to five broad categories namely 1 to 5 years, 6 to 9 years, 10 to 15 years, 16 to 20 years and 21 years and above. The relevant data are given in Table 16.16.

16.17. In the sample population percentage of women with marital life of 21 years and more is 29.7 compared with 17.3 in 1 to 5 years group, 15.8 in 6 to 9 years group, 24.3 in 10 to 15 years group and 12.9 in 16 to 20 years group. The percentage of women with a marital life of 16 years and above is 25.1 among the immigrants against 49.9 among the non-immigrants. This is easily explained by the fact that relatively lesser number of older women are found in the former group. There is some difference between widows and married women. Nearly 48% of the widows have had a marital life of 21 years and above compared with 27.2 among married women. The lower percentage among the latter in this group is explained by the fact that the marital life of women in the group "16 to 20" years is not yet completed. By the time they complete their marital life, a considerable proportion among them will get shifted to the group with marital life of 21 years and above and this will reduce the disparity in the percentages between the married and the widowed. Among separated women the percentage having a marital life of 21 years and above is significantly low at 15.6. Among the married women 60.3% have a marital life below 16 years, while among the widows the corresponding percentage is 36.3 and among the separated 72.7. The highest incidence of separation falls on the marital age group of 1 to 5 years period which accounts for 32.8% of the total. The general trend is for separation to decline with the elongation of marital life.

TABLE 16.14—Percentage Distribution of Mothers According to Education and Age at Consummation
 (See Appendix XIII (a) for details)

Age at Consummation	Illiterates			Literates			S.S.L.Cs.			Graduates			Total		
	NI			NI			NI			NI			NI		
	I	T		I	T		I	T		I	T		I	T	
15 years & below	48.6	46.9	48.1	42.4	36.7	40.5	9.2	10.5	9.7	—	—	—	45.4	40.8	44.0
16—20	47.8	48.5	48.0	51.9	56.0	53.3	63.0	53.9	63.9	50.0	31.6	23.1	49.7	52.1	50.5
21—24	2.3	3.3	2.6	4.5	6.0	4.9	17.6	19.3	18.4	50.0	52.6	53.8	3.5	5.3	4.0
25 years & above	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	5.2	11.3	8.0	—	15.8	23.1	1.4	1.8	1.5
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 16.16—Percentage Distribution of Women According to Marital Age and Marital Status

Age Group	Married			Widowed			Separated			Total		
	NI			NI			NI			NI		
	I	T		I	T		I	T		I	T	
1 to 5	15.9	21.9	17.7	11.0	12.7	12.7	25.0	32.8	28.8	15.7	21.0	17.3
6 to 9	14.3	22.8	17.0	7.9	8.1	8.1	30.0	18.0	18.0	13.4	21.7	15.8
10 to 15	21.8	33.7	25.6	14.9	15.5	15.5	10.0	21.9	21.9	21.0	32.2	24.3
16 to 20	14.2	8.8	12.5	15.3	15.3	15.3	—	11.7	11.7	14.4	9.3	12.9
21 & above	33.8	12.8	27.2	50.4	47.9	47.9	35.0	15.6	15.6	35.5	15.8	29.7
NET TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

MARITAL LIFE AND ECONOMIC STATUS

16.18. The question whether unemployed women in general have a longer marital life than the employed is frequently raised, with a subtle suggestion that gainful employment for women is not quite conducive to long marital life. To seek an answer to this question data collected have been appropriately processed and tabulated: (*vide* Table 16.18).

16.19. The number of cases in the employment status 'students' is so few that no percentage is worked out. To the category of 'retired and old age' hardly any significance could be attached for the present purpose. It is pertinent to make a comparison between the employed and the unemployed, non-immigrants and immigrants in regard to the marital life. The data reveal a high degree of coincidence rather than divergence, in marital life as between the employed and unemployed. The percentage of women having a marital life of 21 years or more is 30.2 among the employed against 29.0 among the unemployed. The corresponding percentages in the marital age group of 10 to 15 years coincide at 24.0. In the other marital age groups, the differences are not significant. Obviously the common belief does not derive any support from the above facts.

DISPARITY BETWEEN THE AGES OF SPOUSES

16.20. It is presumed that the smaller the disparity between the ages of the spouses, the higher will be the fertility rate. This issue will have to be examined in a later chapter. To serve as a background for such a study, data regarding the ages of spouses have been specially processed to show the disparity in the ages of the spouses. To simplify analysis the disparities in ages are grouped into five classes namely 0 to 4 years, 5 to 9 years, 10 to 14 years, 15 to 19 years and 20 years and above. A further cross tabulation with regard to four different age intervals in which consummation had taken place is also attempted as shown (*vide* Table 16.20).

16.21. The percentage distribution of women according to disparities in ages between the spouses is revealing. The percentage of women in the age-disparity group of 5 to 9 years is 41.7 compared with 24.7 in the group 10 to 14 years, 22.9 in the group 0 to 4 years, 7.2 in the group 15 to 19 years and 3.5 in the group 20 years and above. About 11 in 100 women of the sample population are younger than their husbands by more than 15 years and this age disparity is more pronounced among women who have had their consummation after their twenty-fourth year, in which group the number of women is 18 in 100 as against 10 in 100 among women who had their consummation before their twenty-first year and 13.6 in the group who had their consummation between their twenty-first and twenty-fourth years. From the table it is also apparent that two out of five women are younger than their husbands by five to nine years. It is of interest to note that in the whole sample there was hardly a single case of wife being older than the husband. It is noteworthy that the percentage of women in the age disparity group of 0 to 4 years is larger among non-immigrants than among immigrants, being 24.2 and 19.8 respectively. But in the age disparity group of 5 to 9 years the percentage of women among the immigrants is higher than that of the non-immigrants, the respective percentages being 45.7 and 39.8.

CONCLUSIONS

16.22. (i) The present survey reveals that nearly 50% of the women have been married between their 16th and 20th year and 44% in their 15th year or earlier. Late marriages have been much less in vogue as it is evident from the findings that only one in forty has married between 21st and 24th year and only one in seventy after the 24th year. Marriages at an early age in the "15th year or below" group is relatively more common in the Moslem community than in any other. Another interesting conclusion derived from the data is that marriages seem to occur at an earlier age in the city than in the mofussil parts in respect of all the communities. The percentage married in their "15th year or below" being 46.4 in the former against 42.1 in the latter areas.

(ii) About one-half of the women in the sample have had their consummation between their 16th and 20th year and about 44% in their "15th year or below". Relatively, the Moslem community shows consummation at the earlier age group of "15 years or below" than any other community. In the city, consummation too occurs earlier than in the rural sector: 45.3% of non-immigrant women have had their consummation in their "15th year or below" compared with 40.7% among the immigrants.

Age Group	Employed			Unemployed			Retired & old age			Total		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
1 to 5	9.8	20.6	13.4	12.6	21.9	15.5	24.3	10.5	19.6	12.5	21.7	15.3
6 to 9	9.2	17.5	11.2	13.6	21.0	15.9	—	5.3	1.8	13.2	20.7	15.4
10 to 15	21.7	31.2	24.0	20.9	30.8	24.0	8.1	10.5	8.9	20.9	30.7	23.9
16 to 20	21.7	14.3	19.9	14.9	8.4	12.9	13.5	21.0	16.1	15.5	8.9	13.5
21 & above	35.1	14.8	30.2	35.3	15.0	29.0	54.1	47.4	51.8	35.3	15.2	29.2
Not Reported	2.5	1.6	2.3	2.7	2.9	2.7	—	5.3	1.8	2.6	2.8	27.0
% OF GRAND TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 16-20—Difference Between the Ages of Spouses—Percentage Distribution of Mothers

Age*	0-4 Years			5-9 Years			10-14 Years			15-19 Years			20 Years			Total		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
12-15	24.6	19.3	1	37.9	45.5	40.0	24.6	24.8	25.6	8.8	7.3	8.4	2.8	3.1	2.9	100	100	100
16-20	22.8	19.2	21.7	42.6	46.6	43.8	23.9	24.6	24.6	5.9	6.8	6.2	3.8	3.5	3.7	100	100	100
21-24	34.2	25.7	30.9	33.9	44.9	38.2	13.2	17.3	17.3	6.3	7.8	6.9	5.5	8.4	6.7	100	100	100
25+	38.2	32.1	35.9	23.7	28.7	25.5	19.6	20.9	20.9	8.2	10.7	9.2	8.2	8.9	8.5	100	100	100
TOTAL	24.2	19.8	22.9	39.8	45.7	41.7	23.6	24.7	24.7	7.3	7.2	7.2	3.5	3.7	3.5	100	100	100

*Age at consummation.

(iii) Consummation has occurred in the same year of marriage for 91.4% of the women in the sample. There is a time-lag of one year or more in the case of 8% of the sample women. For one in twenty-four women, the time-lag between consummation and marriage is two years.

(iv) The age at marriage increases with levels of education. The percentage of women married in their "15th year or earlier" is 48.1 in the illiterate group against 40.5 among the literate and 9.7 among the S.S.L.Cs. and none among the graduates.

(v) In respect of marital life among the sample women, 17.3% are in 1 to 5 years group, 15.8% in 6 to 9 years group, 24.3% in 10 to 15 years group, 12.9% in 16 to 20 years group and 29.7% in the group of 21 years and more.

(vi) Economic status does not appear to exert any special influence upon marital life. Both employed and unemployed have more or less the same pattern of marital life according to age at consummation and age at the time of investigation.

(vii) A study of the disparity in ages between the spouses reveals that the modal group is "5 to 9 years" in which occur 41.7% cases of the sample. The next significant age disparity group is "10 to 14 years" with 24.7% of the cases occurring in it, followed by "0 to 4 years" group with 22.9% cases, "15 to 19 years" group with 7.2% cases and "20 years and above" group with 3.5% of the cases. About 11 in 100 women of the sample population are younger than their husbands by more than 15 years and this age disparity is more pronounced among women who have had their consummation after their 24th year.

CHAPTER XVII

MATERNITY AND CHILDREN

It is proposed to examine in this chapter the age at which maternity begins and the number of children born to the sample population of mothers whose general characteristics have been studied in the two preceding chapters. There are several issues to be studied in the field of maternity, e.g., whether it begins early or late, for educated women, whether the number of children born varies with communities, marital status, education, age at consummation and *per capita* income. The child-bearing period for different women may vary widely. It may commence early and end early or late, while it is also possible that it may commence late and end early or late. This is quite an important biological problem which could not find an answer from the study made here. At best the data collected in the present survey may indicate separately the influence of racial, educational and economic differences on the child-bearing period.

INTERVAL BETWEEN CONSUMMATION AND THE FIRST CHILD

17.2. At the outset it may be useful to consider whether the interval between consummation and the first child is influenced by the age at consummation. The number of cases in which consummation has taken place in the twelfth year or earlier is 28 out of 5,281 illiterate women, 15 out of 3,600 literate women, none either among 224 S.S.L.C. or 13 graduate women. The sample being so poor in this particular age group it has been excluded in the comparative study. For the purpose of the present analysis if the first child birth had occurred within three years of consummation it is treated as a case of early maternity; and the first child birth occurring after three years as late maternity. The issue to be examined is whether early consummation leads to early maternity. Percentage of cases registering early maternity according to educational groups is shown below :—

TABLE 17.2—Percentage of Cases in which the Interval Between Consummation and First Child is 3 years or less

Age at consummation	Illiterates	Literates	S.S.L.Cs.	Graduates
13	59.0	55.8	100	—
14	67.8	65.8	80	—
15	68.6	66.1	50	—
16	76.8	75.6	75	—
17	77.8	80.1	66	—
18	70.7	74.5	95	—
19	73.3	69.5	75	0
20	52.6	57.8	84	50
21	72.2	80.4	84	100
22	50.0	72.9	100	Nil
23	100.0	100.0	100	100
24	100.0	100.0	100	100
25+	—	—	—	100

17.3. It may be seen that in none of the educational groups is found any positive correlation between early consummation and early maternity, e.g., among the illiterate women only 59% of the cases in the consummation age group of 13 years has had early maternity. The corresponding percentages for consummation age group of 15 to 18 years is above 70%

whereas for the 19th year 73.3% and the 22nd year 50%. Similarly the percentage of early maternity among the other educational groups is so irregular that hardly any relationship could be established between age at consummation and early maternity. From the figures in the table above it may, however, be seen that in cases where consummation has taken place after 22nd year early maternity works out to cent per cent but these percentages are derived from extremely small samples of 128 out of 5,281 illiterate mothers, 134 out of 3,600 literate mothers, 42 out of 224 S.S.L.C. mothers and 7 out of 13 graduate mothers. Only in the case of S.S.L.Cs. the sample appears to be adequate enough to make this conclusion fairly valid.

17.4. Taking a general view of the interval between consummation and first child the proportion of cases of early and late maternity (ignoring the age at consummation) may be examined. The relevant data are processed and shown below :—

TABLE 17.4—Percentage Distribution of Mothers Classified According to Interval Between Consummation and Birth of First Child

Difference in years between age at consummation and age at birth of first child	Illiterates	Literates	S.S.L.Cs.	Graduates	Total
0	1.4	1.3	8.5	30.7	1.6
1	36.3	38.3	34.8	23.2	35.9
2	33.0	31.5	37.2	30.7	32.6
3	11.9	12.4	9.3	15.4	12.2
4	6.2	6.4	3.1	—	6.9
5+	11.2	10.1	7.1	—	10.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

17.5. The above statement shows that 1.6% of the sample women have given birth to their first child within one year after consummation. They are placed in the category "0". The percentage of cases rises sharply to 35.9 for the "interval group" of 'one year', slightly dropping to 32.6 in the next group of 'two years'. If our definition of early maternity is applied to the entire sample population, the percentage of such cases is as high as 70.1. In the three-year interval group the percentage of cases has fallen to 12.2 and in the four year interval group to 6.9. About 1 in 10 of the sample women has had an interval of 5 or more years between consummation and the birth of the first child. In the above table as the data relating to the graduate women refer only to 13 cases, their validity is limited to that extent.

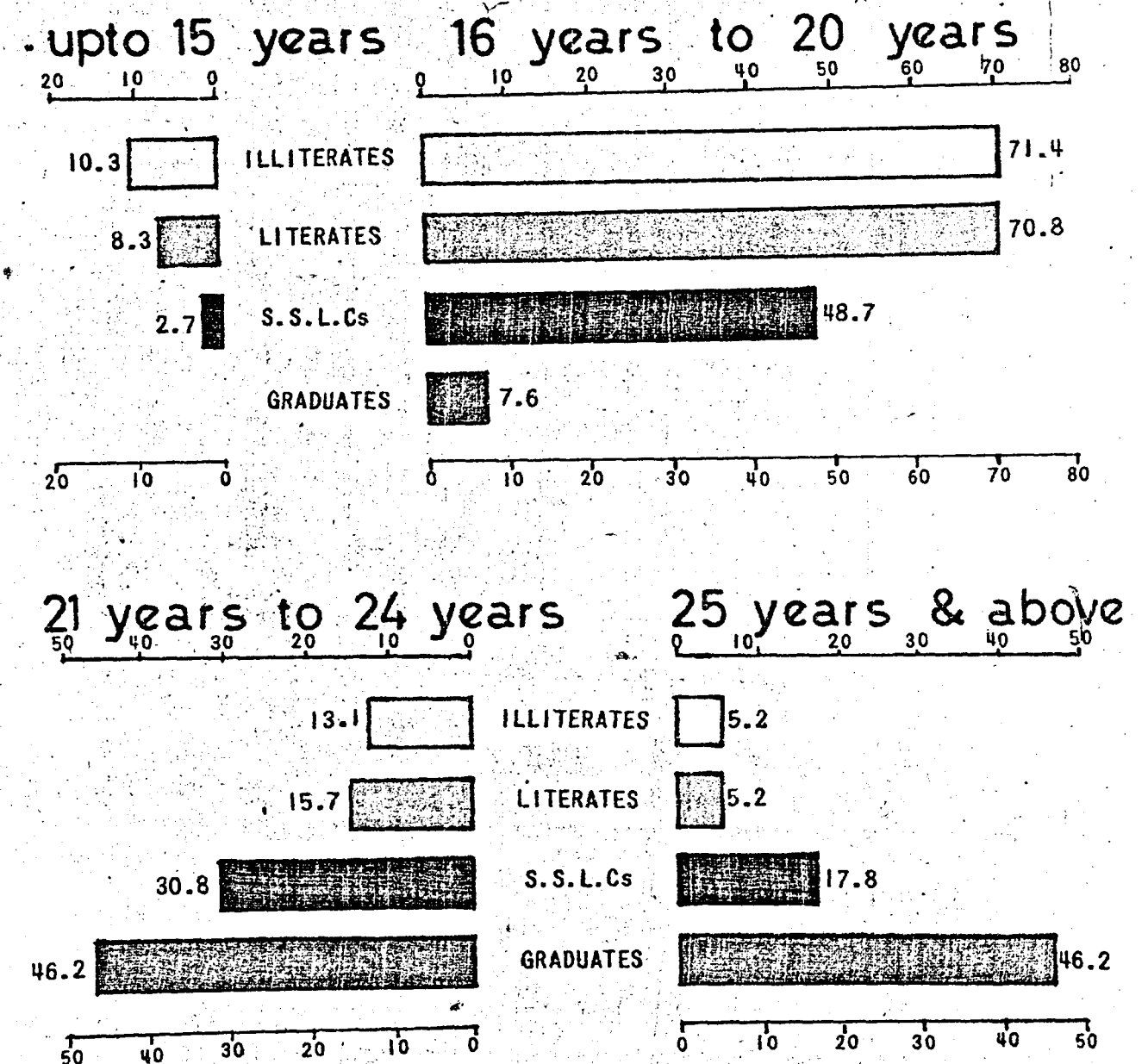
EDUCATION AND AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD

17.6. It is generally presumed that the more educated the women, later will be the age of first maternity. In order to examine its validity the age at which the first child is born is studied with reference to four broad age groups of mothers. The first group relates to women who had their first child in their fifteenth year or earlier. Other three higher age groups are 16 to 20 years, 21 to 24 years and 25 years and above respectively. Mothers are classified also according to the usual four educational groups. The relevant data are tabulated below :

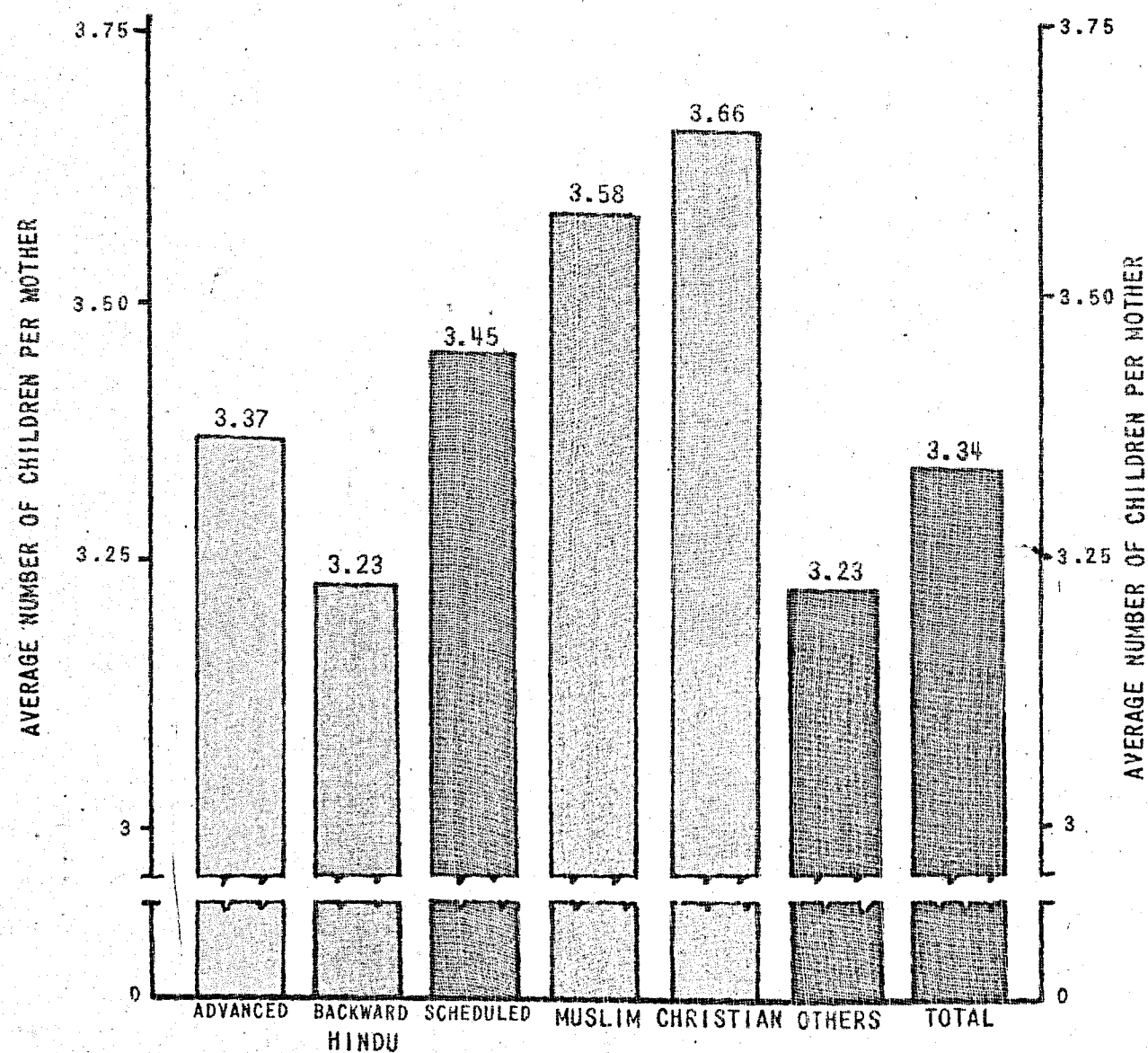
TABLE 17.6—Age at Birth of First Child and Education of Mothers

Age Group	Illiterates		Literates		S.S.L.Cs.		Graduates	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Upto 15 yrs. ..	542	10.3	298	8.3	6	2.7	—	—
16—20	3,765	71.4	2,551	70.8	109	48.7	1	7.6
21—24	690	13.1	564	15.7	69	30.8	6	46.2
25+	276	5.2	187	5.2	40	17.8	6	46.2
TOTAL	5,273	100	3,600	100	224	100	13	100

EDUCATION OF MOTHERS AND AGE AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD



MOTHERS AND CHILDREN BORN— COMMUNITY-WISE



17.7. It is apparent from the above table that the percentage of mothers giving birth to their first child in their fifteenth year or earlier (1 age group above) gradually declines from 10.3 among illiterate to 8.3 among literate and 2.7 among the S.S.L.C. women. In the second age group of 16 to 20 years also this declining trend is easily perceptible ranging from 71.4 for the illiterates to 7.6 for the graduates with 70.8 for literates and 48.7 for the S.S.L.Cs. occupying the intermediate stages. In the third age group of 21 to 24 years the percentage of women in the illiterate group is 13.1 and it rises to 15.7 among the literates, 30.8 among the S.S.L.Cs. and 46.2 among the graduates. This rising trend in percentage along with rising educational standards is equally pronounced in the next age group of 25 years and above.

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN—COMMUNITY-WISE

17.8. For the 10,515 sample women the number of children born is 35,137. In order to test the general impression that certain communities have higher rates of fertility than others, the data relating to mothers and children born have been subjected to a two-fold analysis. As the sub-sample of women occurring in each of the six broad community groups is fairly large and the age distribution in the various communal sub-samples is almost of the same pattern, an attempt is made to find out the average number of children per mother in each community. In view of the reasons stated the differences in the communal averages could be expected to indicate the differentials in the fertility rates of the different communities. The relevant data are tabulated below:

TABLE 17.8—Community-Wise Number of Mothers, Children and Average Number of Children per Mother

Community	Number of Mothers	Number of children	Average number of children per mother
Hindu: Advanced	2,188	7,377	3.37
Backward	5,416	17,537	3.23
Scheduled	1,652	5,700	3.45
Muslims	480	1,720	3.58
Christians	648	2,376	3.66
Others	131	424	3.23
TOTAL	10,515	35,137	3.34

17.9. It is apparent from the above table that the Christian community leads with 3.66 children per mother followed by the Muslims with 3.58, the scheduled castes and tribes with 3.45, the Hindu Advanced with 3.37 and the Hindu Backward and "others" each with 3.23.

AGE GROUP OF MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

17.10. Axiomatically it may be laid down that the number of children would directly vary with the age group of the mothers. But it cannot be stated dogmatically that fertility is equally distributed over the child-bearing period. In which part of this period does a woman get the largest number of children? Is there a difference in this respect with regard to different communities? To answer these questions, the available data were appropriately processed (Vide table below).

TABLE 17.10—Age Group of Mothers and Average Number of Children per Mother

Age Group	Hindu-Advanced	Hindu-Backward	Hindu-Scheduled	Muslims	Christians	Others	All Communities
Up to 14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15-24	1.25	1.29	1.37	1.65	1.57	0.96	1.33
25-34	3.13	3.26	3.36	3.82	3.34	3.10	3.28
35-44	4.49	4.47	4.86	4.89	4.72	4.95	4.60
45-54	4.76	4.37	4.90	4.80	4.43	4.05	4.56
55-64	4.37	4.48	4.98	5.23	5.83	4.71	4.70
65-74	4.24	4.26	4.93	6.75	4.80	4.00	4.50
75 and above	3.42	2.62	0.75	3.00	—	4.50	2.73
Not reported	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	3.37	3.23	3.45	3.58	3.66	3.23	3.34

17.11. In table 17.10, women belonging to various communities are classified into eight age groups. The number of mothers of each community occurring in each age group together with the children born to them were first tabulated before working out the average number of children for each mother in each age group as shown in the abstract statement. It is of interest to note that the communities—Muslims and Christians showing higher fertility rates—begin with higher average number of children than the other communities even in the age group "15 to 24 years". The higher start thus registered is maintained in successive age groups. This breakdown statement regarding the average number of children per mother in different age groups confirms the deduction from the first line of analysis that the rates of fertility among Muslims and Christians are higher.

MARITAL STATUS AND CHILDREN BORN

17.12. Of the sample population of 10,515 women the number of cases reporting birth of children is 10,491 of whom 7,353 are non-immigrants and 3,138 immigrants. The total number of children is 35,137 giving an average of 3.34 children per mother. The 7,353 non-immigrant mothers have 26,272 children the average number of children per mother being 3.57 and 3,138 immigrant mothers have 8,865 children with an average of 2.82 children per mother.

17.13. All these mothers reporting children have been classified according to marital status in order to find out the average number of children per mother in each category in the table below:

TABLE 17.13—*Mothers Classified According to Marital Status and their Children*

Category	Mothers	Children	Average Number of Children
Married	9,083	30,180	3.32
Widowed	1,270	4,660	3.66
Separated	138	297	2.15
TOTAL	10,491	35,137	3.34

17.14. There are 9,083 married mothers having 30,180 children, 1,270 widowed mothers with 4,660 children and 138 separated mothers with 297 children. The average number of children per mother varies from 3.66 among widows to 2.15 among the separated, with 3.32 for "married" mothers coming in between. The low average number of children for separated mothers is self-explanatory. As for the higher number of children for the widows it is attributable to (i) the overall older age group of the widows and (ii) longer completed marital life, whereas a high percentage of the married women is below 35 years and the marital life is bound to run several more years.

17.15. There is yet another way of looking at the data relating to mothers and children. That is to see whether there is any parity between the percentage of mothers in various categories and the percentage of their respective children to the total. *Vide* table below:

TABLE 17.15—*Percentage Distribution of Mothers and Children.*

Category	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Mothers	Children	Mothers	Children	Mothers	Children
Married ..	84.3	84.4	91.9	90.3	86.6	85.9
Widowed ..	14.1	14.6	7.4	9.2	12.1	13.3
Separated ..	1.6	1.0	0.7	0.5	1.3	0.8
TOTAL ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

17.16. The earlier analysis regarding the average number of children has already shown that there is not much of a parity. In the above table it is seen that the married women forming 86.6% have 85.9% of the total children, widowed mothers forming 12.1% have 13.3% of the total children; separated mothers forming 1.3% have 0.8% of the total children.

CHILDREN VIS-A-VIS AGE DISPARITY BETWEEN SPOUSES

17.17. Conflicting views are held as to the effects of age disparity between spouses on fertility rate. To appreciate the real position a great deal of processing of the data is necessary. At least three variables, age at consummation, age disparity and marital age will have to be kept constant to derive precise results. In the present analysis processing has been simplified by ignoring the third variable, namely, marital age. This may not vitiate the conclusions too much since the samples in each age disparity group is big enough to smooth out the individual differences in marital ages. In table 16.20 the percentage distribution of mothers in five different groups according to age disparity has been given. Keeping on to the same classification the percentage distribution of children born has been worked out. Both these percentages are shown in the table (Table 17.17) to make a comparative study of the position easier.

17.18. It is striking that the percentage of children in each sub-group is approximately the same as the percentage of mothers. Obviously age disparity between the spouses does not discourage fertility rate. There is not much truth in the common belief that spouses of the same age group will have higher fertility rate.

MORTALITY OF CHILDREN

17.19. The data relating to children need further amplification. The schedule provided for the collection of information regarding the number of children born, dead, surviving, as also the number of abortions and still-births. The number of 35,137 children born to the sample mothers does not include abortions and still-births which account for 875. This latter figure is rather an under-estimate since particulars relating to abortions and still-births were not fully and freely given by the respondents. It is estimated that the undisclosed cases may amount to half the number of the disclosed cases. Allowing for this the total number of abortions and still-births may be of the order of 1,300. This would mean that there is on the whole one still-born or abortion for every twenty-five live births. The number of conceptions as distinguished from 35,137 live-births will be about 36,400. The number of children dead is 9,050 out of 35,137 children born. About one in four children born is dead and this does not include the abortions and still-births.

17.20. This indicates the magnitude of lives lost, a significant percentage of which is due to infant mortality. If education and medical help are made available in a larger measure as envisaged in the Five Year Plans this loss could be averted. It would mean a success on the humanitarian front but spell a still higher tempo in the growth of population. In a long term Family Planning Programme the possibility of every conception leading to a live birth, a healthy baby, vigorous growth and long life should not be overlooked and adequate measures should be taken to reduce fertility rate.

CONCLUSIONS

(i) The present survey reveals that there is hardly any significant difference in the attainment of early maternity in respect of either education of the women or the age at which consummation has taken place. However, there is evidence enough to conclude that late consummation after 22 years is invariably accompanied by very early maternity.

(ii) In the sample, 35.9% of women have had their first child in the second year after marriage and 32.6% in the third year after their marriage. About one in 10 women has had her first child after five years or more.

(iii) According to the data, the age at first maternity varies directly with education. Even then nearly 64% of the women have had their first maternity between their 16th and 20th year.

(iv) Among the various communities, highest fertility rates are seen among the Christians and the Muslims. The average number of children per mother is 3.66 among Christians, 3.58 among Muslims, 3.45 for scheduled castes and tribes, 3.37 for the Advanced Hindu and 3.23 for the Backward Hindu and other communities. These communities with higher fertility rates begin to exhibit this trait from their early teenage.

(v) The average number of children per mother is 3.35 for the sample, 3.57 for non-immigrants and 2.82 for immigrant mothers.

(vi) The average number of children per mother is 3.66 among 'widows', 3.32 for 'married' women and 2.15 for the 'separated' women.

(vii) The age disparity between the spouses does not appear to discourage fertility rates. According to the data there is not much truth in the common belief that spouses with glaring disparity in their age will have less children.

(viii) The present survey shows that the sample of 10,515 women have had 35,137 live-births and 875 abortions and still-births. The latter figure is rather an underestimate. The number of children dead is 9,050. Approximately one in four children born is dead, even excluding the abortions and still-births.

TABLE 17.17—Differences between the Ages of Spouses

Age at Consummation	0—4 years			5—9 Years			10—14	
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I
12-15 M	24.6	19.3	23.1	37.9	45.5	40.0	25.9	24.8
C	23.0	20.5	22.4	36.5	44.0	38.3	28.8	25.3
16-20 M	22.8	19.2	21.7	42.6	46.6	43.8	24.9	23.9
C	20.6	19.6	20.5	46.0	44.7	45.6	24.5	24.4
21-24 M	34.2	25.7	30.9	33.9	44.9	38.2	20.1	13.2
C	36.3	34.3	35.6	34.2	38.7	35.7	21.3	16.8
25+..M	38.2	32.1	35.9	23.7	28.7	25.5	21.7	19.6
C	40.4	30.2	37.1	12.9	33.7	19.7	24.8	25.6
TOTAL M	24.2	19.8	22.9	39.8	45.7	41.7	25.2	23.6
C	22.4	20.6	21.9	40.7	44.1	41.5	26.6	24.6

And Percentage Distribution of Children

years	15—19 years			20 years			Total		
T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
25.6	8.8	7.3	8.4	2.8	3.1	2.9	100	100	100
28.0	9.2	7.8	8.8	2.5	2.4	2.5	100	100	100
24.6	5.9	6.8	6.2	3.8	3.5	3.7	100	100	100
24.5	5.7	7.7	6.2	3.0	3.6	3.2	100	100	100
17.3	6.3	7.8	6.9	5.5	8.4	6.7	100	100	100
19.8	5.0	5.1	5.1	3.2	5.1	3.8	100	100	100
20.9	8.2	10.7	9.2	8.2	8.9	8.5	100	100	100
25.0	10.1	7.0	9.1	11.8	3.5	9.1	100	100	100
24.7	7.3	7.2	7.2	3.5	3.7	3.5	100	100	100
26.1	7.5	7.6	7.6	2.8	3.1	2.9	100	100	100

CHAPTER XVIII

FERTILITY RATES

INTRODUCTION

Fertility rates may be viewed as the joint product of biological factors on the one hand and socio-economic factors on the other. The present survey has been confined to examine the influence of the latter among which economic status, education, *per capita* income, disparity in the ages between the spouses and rural-urban origin are the more significant. In the preceding chapters the sample population was studied with special reference to these factors. With the background information thus gained about the salient characteristics and composition of the sample population, the stage is set for an assessment of the specific influence of these diverse factors on fertility rates that constitutes the central problem of the present study.

18.2 The average number of children per mother according to communities, worked out in the preceding chapter, is the result of an effort of over-simplification to ascertain the influence of racial and communal characteristics upon fertility. Fertility is generally a function of marital age (duration of marital life). In working out the average number of children per mother the variation in marital life was ignored on the plea that the sub-samples of women occurring in the different communities were large enough to make inter-communal comparison fairly valid. Nor was the variation in respect of the age at consummation given its due weightage. Notwithstanding the scant attention paid to these two factors of marital life and age at consummation, the comparison of the average number of children per mother in the six broad communal groups has yielded certain results which could not be set aside as unreliable. The degree of reliability was, however, not very high as the procedure adopted to derive the averages erred on the side of over-simplification of the complex issues involved.

18.3 It is proposed in this chapter to introduce a larger measure of refinement in the assessment of the specific influence of each of these diverse factors on fertility rates. To this end, it is necessary whenever an attempt is made to determine the effects of a particular factor, to keep the effects of the other factors constant. The aid of the hypothetical mechanism of *ceteris paribus* has got to be sought. Although it is not feasible to keep all the factors, except the given one constant, it is possible to keep (1) "marital age" and (2) "consummation age" groups constant and then to proceed to assess the specific influence of the given factor, be it employment, economic status, education or *per capita* income. In the subsequent sections of this chapter, this procedure is uniformly adopted in which marital age has been divided into five groups as follows: (1) 1 to 5 years; (2) 6 to 9 years; (3) 10 to 15 years; (4) 16 to 20 years; (5) 21 years and above. Although the comprehensive tabulation has provided for as many as twelve marital age groups. Similarly the age at consummation is divided into four groups namely (1) Upto 15 years; (2) 16 to 20 years; (3) 21 to 24 years; (4) 25 years and above. Comprehensive tabulation has provided for 14 age groups.

ECONOMIC STATUS

18.4. In the four-fold classification of women according to Economic status it has already been noted that two of the four groups—'retired and old' and 'students' did not have adequate samples of women. Useful comparisons could be made only between the other two classes—'employed' and the 'unemployed'. It may be recalled that one in ten women of the sample has reported gainful employment. These women are first classified into the four broad consummation-age groups. The next step in the process of the data was to find out the respective number of children born to these four groups. Finally the average number of children per mother in

each marital group and in each economic status category was worked out. The result of this processing is given below :

Average Number of Children per Mother according to Economic Status and Marital Age Group

Age at consummation	Employed	Unemployed
Upto 15 years	2.4	2.8
16-20 years	2.1	2.3
21-24 years	1.5	1.7
25 and above	1.0	1.4

18.5 The results as shown in the above table are interesting. The average number of children per mother is 2.4 for the employed and 2.8 for the unemployed in the consummation age group 'up to 15 years'. The corresponding figures are 2.1 and 2.3 for the next consummation age group, '16 to 20 years'; 1.5 and 1.7 for the third consummation age group '21 to 24 years', 1.0 and 1.4 for the fourth consummation age group '25 years and above'. In this tabulation the marital age group has been ignored to avoid undue complexity in the analysis. Provided this omission is accepted as not significantly vitiating the conclusions, it is evident that the fertility rate for the unemployed women, in general identical with household workers, is uniformly higher than that of the employed women in all the consummation age groups.

EDUCATION

18.6 With the object of determining the influence of education on fertility rates, women were first classified according to marital-age groups and further sub-classified into four educational categories. Then a cross-classification of these women according to consummation age groups was made. Here too as in the preceding section the average number of children born per mother in each sub-group was worked out. The results of this processing are shown below:

TABLE 18.6—Age at Consummation, Marital Age, Education and Children Born per Mother

Age at consummation	Illiterates	Literates	S.S.L.Cs.	Graduates
<i>1-5 Marital Age Group</i>				
Upto 15 years	1.1	0.9	1.3	—
16-20	0.8	0.9	1.0	0.3
21-24	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.7
25+	0.7	1.1	1.6	0.5
<i>6-9 Marital Age Group</i>				
Upto 15 years	2.3	2.6	2.0	—
16-20	2.3	2.4	2.6	1.3
21-24	1.9	2.7	2.2	1.0
25+	1.3	2.1	2.2	—
<i>10-15 Marital Age Group</i>				
Upto 15 Years	3.3	3.4	3.3	—
16-20	3.3	3.4	2.7	—
21-24	2.6	3.0	3.9	2.0
25+	1.7	2.4	1.8	2.0

TABLE 18.6—Contd.

Age at Consummation	Illiterates	Literates	S.S.L.Cs	Graduate
<i>16-20 Marital Age Group</i>				
Upto 15 years	4.4	4.5	3.8	—
16-20	4.2	4.4	4.2	—
21-24	4.0	4.8	2.0	—
25+ 000	2.7	3.3	0	—
<i>21 And Above Marital Age Group</i>				
Upto 15 years	5.2	5.4	3.5	—
16-20	4.6	5.2	4.3	—
21-24	3.8	4.2	3.0	—
25+ 000	3.0	5.2	0	—

18.7 A scrutiny of the figures in this table indicates that the fertility rate among the literates are slightly higher than among the illiterates. The comparative position between the illiterates and the literates can be seen in columns (2) and (3) in which are recorded twenty pairs of figures representing the average number of children per mother for the illiterate and literate women respectively according to consummation age group and marital age group. Of these twenty pairs only one pair relating to the '1 to 5 years' marital age group and 'up to 15 years' consummation—age group indicates a higher fertility rate for the illiterates than for the literate women. All the other 19 pairs of figures register a higher fertility rate for the literate women.

18.8 A comparison of the fourth column relating to S.S.L.C. women with the column (3), relating to the literates does not lend itself to an equally easy inference. However, it may be seen that only in five out of the twenty pairs of figures S.S.L.C. women record a higher fertility rate than the literate women. As for the graduates the sample is so inadequate and the frequency in these twenty pairs so unevenly distributed that no valid inference can be made.

INCOME GROUP

18.9. As pointed out in Chapter XIV, the influence of income, reflecting standard of living, on fertility rates should be examined with reference to two types of income—the *per capita* and the household. Taking *per capita* income first for consideration all the sample women were classified into the usual marital age and consummation—age groups. Adopting the procedure outlined in the preceding sections the average number of children per mother in each sub-group was computed. The classification of mothers according to *per capita* income is made under five heads : (1) Up to Rs. 9; (2) Rs. 10 to 29; (3) Rs. 30 to 49; (4) Rs. 50 to 99 and (5) Rs. 100 and above. The results of this analysis are shown in the table below :

TABLE 18.9—Age at Consummation, Marital Age and Per Capita Income

Age at Consummation	Per Capita Income Rs.				
	0-9	10-29	30-49	50-99	100+
<i>1-5 Marital Age Group</i>					
Upto 15 years	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	1.3
16-20	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.7
21-24	1.6	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.5
25+ 000	1.0	0.7	1.4	1.1	1.5

TABLE 18.9—Contd.

Age at Consummation	Per Capita Income Rs.				
	0-9	10-29	30-49	50-99	100+
6-9 Marital Age Group					
Upto 15 years	2.8	2.4	2.1	2.0	2.1
16-20	2.9	2.4	1.9	1.6	1.8
21-24	3.5	2.5	1.8	1.9	1.5
25+000	1.5	1.9	1.6	2.0	2.0
10-15 Marital Age Group					
Upto 15 years	4.0	3.3	2.5	2.8	2.1
16-20	4.1	3.3	3.0	2.4	3.4
21-24	4.0	2.9	3.1	1.9	2.1
25+000	2.7	1.9	2.1	2.0	1.0
16-20 Marital Age Group					
Up to 15 years	5.5	4.3	3.6	3.3	3.0
16-20	5.2	4.3	3.5	3.4	3.1
21-24	5.1	4.2	2.9	5.2	2.5
25+000	4.5	2.8	1.7	0.0	—
21+ Marital Age Group					
Upto 15 years	5.9	5.3	4.8	5.2	4.2
16-20	5.5	5.0	4.6	4.3	3.9
21-24	3.6	4.9	3.6	2.8	—
25+000	4.0	4.0	4.3	—	0.0

18.10. The average number of children per mother in the five *per capita* income groups and according to marital age groups is shown in columns 2 to 6. A comparison between the two lowest income groups shown in columns 2 and 3 may first be taken up. A scrutiny of these two columns would show that in only two out of the twenty pairs the fertility rates for the income group "Rs. 10 to 29" is higher than that of the income group "up to Rs. 9". All the other pairs of figures emphasize the fact that the fertility rate is higher in the lowest income group than in the income group just above it. If a comparison is made between the two income groups 'Rs. 10 to 29' and 'Rs. 30 to 49', there are five pairs out of the twenty which register a higher fertility rate for the higher income group the other 15 pairs indicating a lower fertility. Proceeding to a comparison of the position between the two income groups 'Rs. 50 to 99' and 'Rs. 30 to 49' five pairs out of the twenty show a higher rate and two parity and the remaining thirteen pairs a lower fertility rate for the higher income group. Finally a comparison between the two highest income groups involving 17 pairs of figures reveals that eight pairs of figures record a higher fertility rate with regard to higher income group. It is apparent from these findings that the fertility rate tends to decline with rise in *per capita* income up to the income group 'Rs. 50 to 99', this bend appears to be halted as the *per capita* income rises to 'Rs. 100 and above'. No definite conclusion can be reached before examining the relationship between household income and fertility rate.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME

18.11. The sample women are classified into five groups according to household income, namely (1) 'Below Rs. 50'; (2) 'Rs. 50 to 99'; (3) 'Rs. 100 to 199'; (4) 'Rs. 200 to 499'; and (5) 'Rs. 500 and above'. This is followed by a sub-classification of the women into the

four usual marital age groups. With the object of avoiding the statement of figures from becoming unwieldy, the consummation age groups were reduced to two—(1) 'up to 17 years' and (2) 'above 17 years'. Data relating to the number of women and their respective children in each sub-group were tabulated and the average number of children per mother was worked out for each sub-category as shown in the statement below:

TABLE 18.11—Average Number of Children per Mother to Show the Relation Between Household Income and Fertility Rate

Marital Age Years	Income Groups										All Income Groups	
	I		II		III		IV		V			
	17—	17+	17—	17+	17—	17+	17—	17+	17—	17+	17—	17+
1—5	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.8
6—9	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.4	2.2
10—15	3.4	2.8	3.4	2.7	3.5	2.9	3.4	3.3	3.3	2.9	3.4	2.6
16—20	4.4	3.6	4.5	3.5	4.5	3.5	4.6	4.1	4.4	4.3	4.5	3.7
21+	4.7	3.5	5.1	3.9	5.3	4.6	5.5	4.7	5.5	4.3	5.2	4.2

18.12. From the figures in this statement an interesting inference can be drawn. In both the consummation age groups there is a tendency for fertility rate to decline as the household income increases; if the lowest income is left out. As between the lowest and immediately higher income groups the fertility rate is higher in the latter than in the former. This is perhaps due to the women of the lowest income group living below the poverty line and suffering from mal-nutrition and low vitality. A slight increase in the income as the next income group probably eliminates conditions of under nutrition resulting in higher fertility rate. This argument that additional income and additional nutrition exerts a subtle influence towards a higher fertility rate could be seen by a comparison of the position of women in the third and fourth income groups belonging to the marital age groups of '6 to 9 years', '16 to 20 years' and '21 years and above'. The trend of fertility rate seems to be definitely downward when women move from the fourth to the fifth or the highest income group in our classification.

DISPARITY BETWEEN THE AGES OF SPOUSES

18.13. In the earlier section it has been tentatively stated that the disparity in the age between the spouses has no perceptible effect on fertility. Towards a more refined assessment of the position the sample women were classified as usual into four consummation age groups, and further classified into five groups, according to the age disparity between the spouses, namely (1) 'upto 12 years', (2) '5 to 9 years', (3) '10 to 14 years', (4) '15 to 19 years' and (5) '20 years and above'. The average number of children born to each sub-group is also calculated. The relevant data are given below:

TABLE 18.13—Age Difference Between Spouses and Average Number of Children per Mother

Age at Consummation	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20+
Upto 15	3.9	3.8	4.3	4.2	3.4
16-20	2.9	3.3	3.2	3.2	2.7
21-24	2.4	1.9	2.3	1.5	1.2
15 and above	1.8	1.3	2.6	1.7	1.8

18.14. Although there is a gradual decline in the average number of children born as the age at consummation advances—a fact common to all classes of women—there is hardly any evidence of age disparity between the spouses influencing the fertility rate. It may be seen from the above table that the average number of children per woman in the first consummation age group is 3.9 for the first age-disparity group against 3.8 in the second, 4.3 in the third, 4.2 in the fourth and 3.4 in the fifth age-disparity groups.

AGE AT CONSUMMATION

18.15. Obviously the later the age at consummation, the lower will be the fertility rate. From the data collected it was proposed to quantitatively measure the differential rates in fertility arising from differences in age at consummation. In processing the data for this purpose a correlation with marital age would have been more instructive. A scrutiny of the processed data showed that the number of cases in each consummation age group was no doubt in several hundreds. But when they were further sub-divided into marital age groups for correlation purposes they were reduced in certain cases to a score and odd. With such small figures in certain boxes of the correlation table, no attempt to institute a comparison of the fertility rates of two different consummation age groups experiencing equal marital lives would yield results free from being vitiated by the small size of samples forming the basis for inference. However an attempt to correlate fertility rates with age at consummation appeared to be too good to be abandoned. Hence a rough and ready method was adopted to compute the total number of children born to mothers in each consummation age group and find out the average number of children per mother in each group. The processed data are given below:

TABLE 18.15—Average Number of Children per Mother According to Age at Consummation

Age at Consummation Years	Average Number of Children per Mother	
	Non-Immigrants	Immigrants
Upto 12	4.6	3.4
13	3.9	3.3
14	4.4	3.6
15	4.0	3.1
16	3.6	2.9
17	3.3	2.6
18	2.9	2.3
19	2.8	2.3
20	2.6	2.2
21	2.0	1.5
22	2.4	2.3
23	2.2	1.9
24	2.3	1.2
25 and above	1.8	1.6

18.16. It is most striking that the average number of children per mother registers a smooth downtrend as the age at consummation advances among the non-immigrants and immigrants like. Another significant feature disclosed by these figures is the lower order of fertility among the immigrant women compared with the non-immigrants. It is also noteworthy that the smooth downward trend in fertility rate beginning from the lowest consummation-age group and continuing upto the age group of "21 years" spurts up suddenly in the age group 22 both among non-immigrants and immigrants and climbs down thereafter gradually. Consequently there is a curious link between 21 and 22 years in the smooth descent of the curve. The reason for this abrupt rise in fertility rate after 21 cannot be easily explained.

18.17. From the figures in table 18.15 it is possible to estimate the rate of decline in fertility between two consecutive years of consummation. A comparison is made between two consummation age groups distinctly but not distantly apart. For non-immigrants the table would show that by postponing consummation from the 15th year (yielding on an average 4 children), to the 18th year (yielding on an average 2.9 children), the number of children

born may be reduced by about 25%. Similar action in regard to the immigrants is also capable of reducing the number of children by 25%. Applying this logic and arguing for a postponement of consummation from the 18th year to the 21st year, the average number of children per mother will be reduced from 2.9 to 2.0 among the non-immigrants and from 2.3 to 1.5 among the immigrants; this would mean a reduction of the number of children born by about 33%. But this conclusion is based on the assumption that all the women belonging to the various consummation age groups had the same marital life. A special survey of 500 to 1,000 women each of different consummation age groups having the same period of marital life will be necessary to check up whether the above assumption is justified and to draw more reliable conclusions. Although this tends to show a perceptible decline in fertility rates as the age of consummation is postponed, it is rather a statistical illusion because a considerable number of women with consummation after 20 have borne as many children in the first ten years of their marital life as girls in early teens within the same years of marital life. Hence mere postponement of consummation does not appear to reduce to a desirable extent the fertility of women. Obviously any serious effort to reduce fertility rates calls for an assiduous practice of family planning.

18.18. CONCLUSION

(i) The present survey reveals that the fertility rate of the household workers, not gainfully employed, is higher than that of the employed women in all the consummation-age groups.

(ii) Keeping age at consummation and marital age constant, the data lead to the conclusion that the fertility rate of the literate women is slightly higher than that of the illiterate women.

(iii) The fertility rate tends to decline with the rise in *per capita* income. This is marked by two interesting deviations.

(a) as the *per capita* income moves from "Rs. 50 to 99" group to "Rs. 100 and above", this declining trend appears to be halted and.

(b) as between the lowest and the immediately higher household income groups, the fertility rate is higher in the latter than in the former, which may be attributed to the fact that the women of the lowest income group, living far below the poverty line, suffer acutely from mal-nutrition and low vitality.

(iv) There is hardly any evidence of age disparity between the spouses influencing the fertility rate of women.

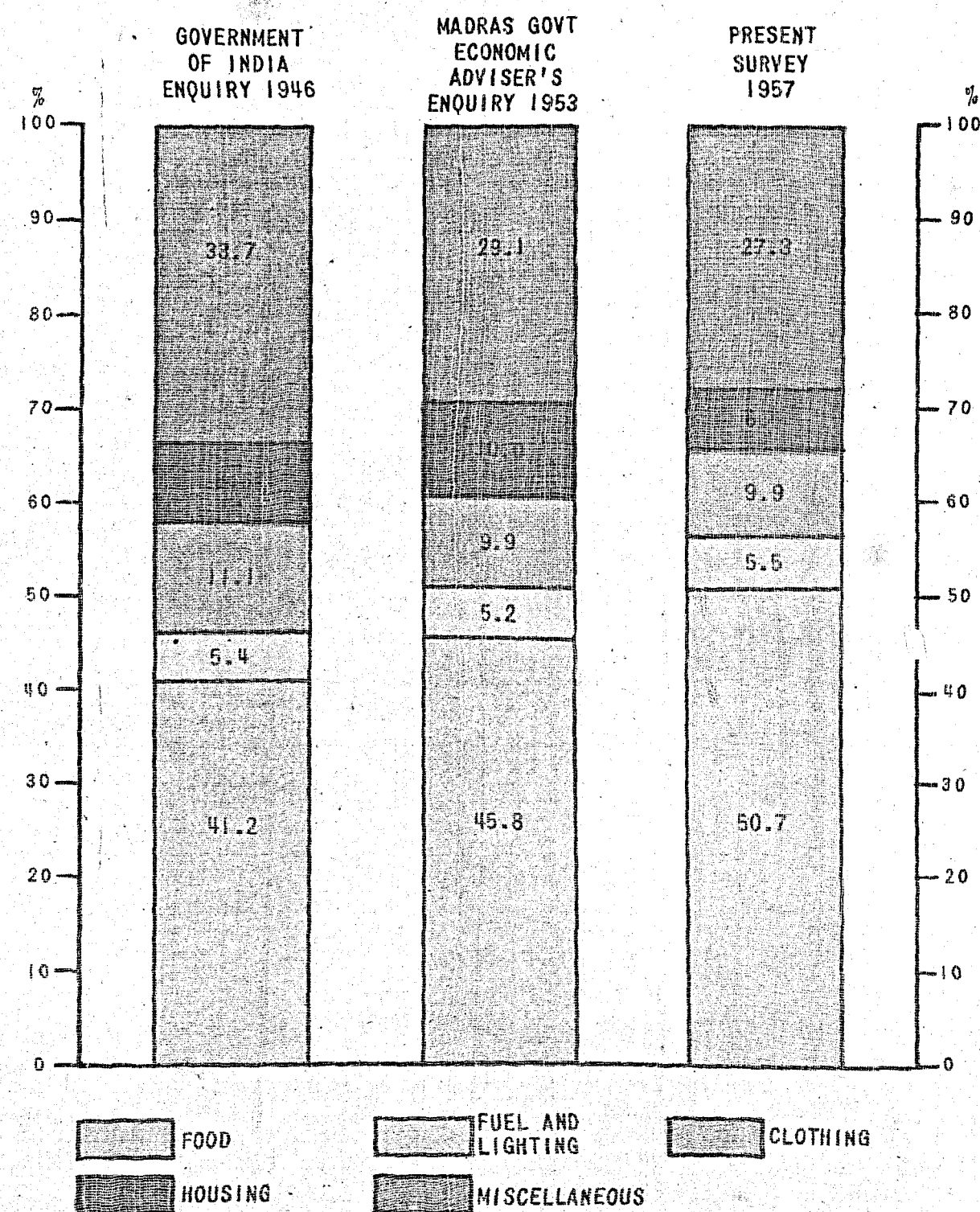
(v) The factual data of the present sample survey lead to the conclusion that the average number of children born to the immigrant women is less than that for the non-immigrants in respect of all consummation-age groups in Madras city.

(vi) From a study of the correlation between the age at consummation and the average number of children, the following conclusions emerge: If the age at consummation is postponed from the 15th to 18th year, it may reduce the number of children born by 25%. Again if a similar postponement is made from the 18th to the 21st year, it will lead to a reduction of 33% in the number of children born. But it is rather a statistical illusion.

PART V

SPECIAL STUDIES

FAMILY BUDGETS OF MIDDLE CLASSES



CHAPTER XIX

MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY BUDGET

IN laying down the procedure for conducting surveys of urbanization, the Research Programmes Committee desired that all Research Units should adopt a common basic questionnaire relating to immigration and unemployment, at the same time permitting them to study problems of local interest. An attempt is made to study three problems of regional significance relating to (1) the Middle Class Family Budget, (2) Slum Population and (3) Employment in Distributive Trade. For these three problems special surveys were undertaken and the last is merged with the Employment situation in the organised sector in Madras city which was studied at the instance of the Research Programmes Committee in 1954 as a special project by all the Units conducting Urban Surveys. This part of the Report is devoted to present the findings from these studies. (This chapter deals with the report on an investigation into the Middle Class Family Budgets.)

MIDDLE CLASS—DEFINED

19.2 A satisfactory specification of the middle class has always proved to be the most elusive problem. No definite conclusion has so far been reached as to whether the definition is to be based on income or industry or occupation; nor is it clear whether the feudal remnants still surviving and enjoying some measure of traditional prestige should alone be identified with the middle class. There is a partiality in certain quarters for including only white collar workers. A Technical Committee of the Central Statistical Organization was working on a draft scheme of Family Budget Survey of middle classes in urban areas of India in 1956. Its work was not completed and the definition of middle class was not finalised when the present scheme had to be initiated. It had, therefore, to work out the definition and the contents of the concept of middle class.

19.3 Two broad issues are involved in defining the concept of middle class, viz., (i) whether it could include persons belonging to all the 12 groups in the industrial and occupational classification and (ii) what should be the range of income that should denote the middle class status. In settling these two issues the most pertinent question to be answered first is the objective of a survey of family budgets. In the words of the draft scheme referred to above "the main object of the Middle Class Family Budget Survey in urban areas of India is to derive up-to-date weighting pattern for the construction of a series of consumer price index numbers for this class in the four big cities". If this were the objective industrial labour irrespective of the incomes earned could be excluded as it is covered by the consumer price index numbers relating to working classes. There is, however, a strong case for including persons in non-service occupations like traders and those working on own account as also the historic middle class more familiarly known as bourgeoisie. The well-to-do landholders, the rentiers and the stock-holders constitute the backbone of the historic middle class. The great depression and the World War II have brought about a socio-economic revolution in India as elsewhere. Yet the customs and manners, attitudes and habits regarding food, clothing, housing and travel, social ceremonies and enjoyment of leisure of the historic middle class exert a powerful influence upon the pattern and standard of living of all classes of the new rich.

19.4 The fallen-rich cling to their traditional ways of living, the demonstration effect of which has its impact on all families which have moved upward in the social hierarchy. Consequently the traditional identification of the middle class with certain castes and communities has lost most of its significance. There is an increasing evidence of the emergence of a common homogeneous pattern of living among all classes of persons belonging to the same income bracket—salaried as well as the rentier, smaller industrialists as well as retail merchants, landholders as well as stockholders. Among them all, forces of demonstration effect and imitation have generated a zeal for keeping up with Joneses, in short a novel casteism. The only common hall-mark is income. Hence the delimitation of the middle class is rendered simple as it would involve the lumping together of service and non-service classes, manual and mental workers except for the solitary exclusion of the industrial workers. (Even this exclusion is not the result of logic but of the historical accident of the existence of a separate earlier series of consumer prices index numbers for the latter).

19.5 The determination of the income range becomes then the central issue. It is impossible to conceive of the same income range for all the cities in India. In view of the glaring differences in the costs of living, particularly among the biggest cities, a suitable income range will have to be worked out for each metropolitan city which may be applied to the urban areas in the adjoining region. This has to be worked out from a close observation and intimate knowledge of the levels of living of the different income groups in the urban area. With such a background knowledge the income range specifying the middle class in Madras city is fixed between Rs. 75 and Rs. 750. This income range may be divided into two sub-groups "Rs. 75 to Rs. 350" and "Rs. 351 to Rs. 750" which could represent the 'lower' and the 'upper' middle classes. The struggle for maintaining standards is less severe for the latter than the former. Further, the lower middle class is numerically much larger than the upper. Again the latter are known to be less responsive to investigation into their family budgets than the former. In view of these reasons it was decided to confine the present survey to the lower middle class.

19.6 This survey of the family budgets happens to be a subsidiary item in the agenda of the Research Unit. Time, personnel and resources were extremely scarce for the subsidiary surveys. Naturally this situation called for a sample of population who would feel enthusiastic and cooperate to their utmost in the survey and furnish fairly reliable statistics of income and expenditure. The non-service classes are usually more reticent if not cynical towards investigations of this sort. Thus steering clear of various obstacles likely to crop up at the investigation stage it was finally decided to limit the survey to the members of the Non-Gazetted Officers' Association in Madras city. This process of narrowing down the Universe for drawing out the sample, it is believed, would not, however, unduly vitiate the conclusions because as already pointed out the frontiers between services and non-services, trade and industry, land and stock have been completely blurred out as a result of the socio-economic revolution mentioned earlier. This procedure is also supported by precedents. The enquiry into the budgets of middle class families undertaken by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India in 1945-46 was confined to Central Government Employees. Similar enquiries of the family budgets of middle class were undertaken by some States as well as the Gujarat Chamber of Commerce in Ahmedabad.

19.7 The Non-Gazetted Officers' Association of Madras city has on its rolls about 2,500 members of whom 608 happened to live in the five Corporation divisions of Chepauk, Triplicane, Tiruvateeswaranpet, Zambazaar and Minsahibpet. From a list of these members a sample of 152 families was drawn, the sampling fraction being one-in-four. A special questionnaire was drawn up (Appendix XV). At a meeting of the heads of the sample households the questionnaire and schedules were explained as also a special supplementary schedule (Appendix XVI) in which they were asked to enter the daily expenses on various items. The respondents were required to maintain their accounts of income and expenditure most scrupulously for one full month at the end of which consolidated figures from the special supplementary schedule were transferred to the main questionnaire with the assistance of the Economic Investigators of this Unit.)

SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

19.8 The questionnaire was designed to elicit information about all the expenses incurred on food, clothing, house rent, fuel and lighting and miscellaneous items. Provision was also made to record the expenditure incurred on durable consumer goods. In addition, it was decided to collect data relating to durable goods like cycle, typewriter and radio owned by the families. Special schedules were also incorporated in the main questionnaire for savings, debts, insurance etc. With regard to such of the goods likely to be brought seasonably as on the eve of Deepavali, Christmas and Pongal, special effort was made to work out the monthly average based on the expenses incurred in the previous twelve months. It is only with regard to these items estimated figures were given while the figures relating to the rest represent actual expenses incurred in one month. In analysing the data, the households have been classified into three income groups, viz., (i) up to Rs. 150; (ii) Rs. 151 to Rs. 300 and (iii) Rs. 301 and above. Of the 152 sample households 21 had for various reasons spent more than five days in a month outside Madras city. 13 proved to be single member households, and the schedules furnished by 15 more households had to be rejected for obvious incongruities. The following sections therefore, deal with the data contained in the balance of 103 household schedules.

HOUSEHOLDS—RELIGION

19.9 In the highest income group only advanced and backward Hindu communities are represented while in the lowest income group there is no household belonging to Christian community. Of the 103 households 84 or 81.6% belong to the Hindu-advanced, 10 or 9.7% Hindu-backward, 2 or 1.9% scheduled, three or 2.9% Muslim, four or 3.9% Christian households. A classification of households according to religion is given below:

TABLE 19.9—Religious Classification According to Income Groups

Religion and Community	I Income Group Rs. 1—150		II Income Group Rs. 151—300		III Income Group Rs. 301+		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hindu : Advanced	25	78.1	46	80.7	13	92.9	84	81.6
Backward	4	12.5	5	8.8	1	7.1	10	9.7
Scheduled	1	3.1	1	1.8	—	—	2	1.9
Muslim	2	6.2	1	1.7	—	—	3	2.9
Christian	—	—	4	7.0	—	—	4	3.9
TOTAL	32	100	57	100	14	100	103	100

DEGREE OF HOUSEHOLD

19.10 As in the main survey an attempt has been made to classify the households into five types depending upon the degree of relationship between the heads of households and other members. (Vide Table below):

TABLE 19.10—Degree of Households

Degree of Household	Rs. 1—150		Rs. 151—300		Rs. 301+		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I (Self, wife and children)	10	31.3	24	42.0	3	21.4	37	35.9
II (I+brothers, sisters, father or mother)	12	37.5	12	21.1	3	21.4	27	26.2
III (I and II + grand parents, grand children and in-laws)	6	18.7	12	21.1	6	42.9	24	23.3
IV (I, II, III + Other relations)	4	12.5	4	7.0	2	14.3	10	9.7
V (I, II, III, IV and non relations)	—	—	5	8.8	—	—	5	4.9
TOTAL	32	100	57	100	14	100	103	100

In the total sample, 35.9% belong to "first degree" (otherwise known as natural family) comprising head, wife and unmarried children. The percentage of households is 26.2 in the "second degree", 23.3 in the "third", 9.7 in the "fourth" and 4.9 in the "fifth" degree. As it could be expected the higher degree households are relatively more significant in the highest income group; the percentage in the 'third degree' households is 42.9 in the highest income group compared with 21.1% in the middle and 18.7% in the lowest income group.

NUMBER OF COUPLES

19.11 Data were analysed to find out the number of married couples in the various households. In the sample, nine households do not have couples, where mother and son or some other relations constituted the families. There are 87 single-couple households and 7

two-couple households. The percentage of the single-couple households varies inversely with income. The percentage of such households is 96.5 in the lowest, 92.3 in the middle and 84.6 in the highest income group.

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

19.12 In the sample of 103 households there is a population of 588 persons who are classified into adults and non-adults, sex-wise, in the table below :

TABLE 19.12—Total Population—Men, Women, Boys and Girls

Categories	Upto	Rs. 150	Rs. 151—300		Rs. 301 +		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	47	26.1	86	28.4	39	37.2	172	28.2
Women	61	33.9	103	34.0	35	33.3	199	33.2
Boys	31	17.2	61	20.1	17	16.2	109	19.0
Girls	41	22.8	53	17.5	14	13.3	108	19.6
TOTAL	180	100.0	303	100.0	105	100.0	588	100.0
Adults	108	60.0	189	62.4	74	70.5	371	61.4
Non-adults	72	40.0	114	37.6	31	29.5	217	38.6
Males	102	43.3	147	48.5	56	53.4	281	47.2
Females	78	56.7	156	51.5	49	46.6	307	52.8

Of the total population 47.2% are males and 52.8% females. The sample population consists of 28.2% men, 33.2% women, 19.0% boys and 19.6% girls, the adults forming 61.4% and the non-adults 38.6%.

AGE STRUCTURE

19.13. A broad classification of the sample population into (i) children "below 15", (ii) Adults "between 15 and up to 55" and (iii) old "above 55" has been made. *Vide* table 19.13 (b). In the total population children form 36.9%, adults (from 15 up to 55), identical with economically active population, 56.3%, and the old 6.8%. The sex ratio is almost equal among children; among adults women are slightly in excess of men and this excess is more pronounced among the old. For a more detailed classification of population according to age groups see table 19.13 (a).

MARITAL STATUS

19.14. Classified according to marital status the data reveal that in the total population 54.4% are unmarried, 35.4% married, 10.0% widowed and 0.2% separated. There is a significant difference between males and females in regard to marital status. The percentage of un-married is 61.9 for males against 47.6 for females. The percentages for married are 36.3 and 34.5 respectively and for the widowed 1.8 and 17.6. *Vide* table 19.14.

EDUCATION

19.15. An analysis of the data relating to the sample with reference to education in the usual nine categories is shown in Table 19.15. The percentage of illiterate is 12.8 among males and 24.4 among females. In the total sample population 18.9% are illiterate, 25.5% literate, 16.5% middle school, 7.0% high school, 24.8% S.S.I.C., 4.6% Intermediate and 2.7% Graduates and above.

ECONOMIC STATUS

19.16 In the sample population 157 or 26.9% are earners (self-supporting persons) five or 0.5% earning dependents and 426 or 72.6% non-earning dependents. The percentage of earners varies directly with income of households; it is 53.6 in the high, 46.3 in the middle and 43.6 in the low income group. Another striking feature is the absence of earning dependents in the high income group. The ratio between male and female earners works out to 6 : 1 for the sample. *Vide* table 19.16.

TABLE 19.13—(a) Middle Class Families—Age Structure

Age Group	I Income Group Rs. 1-150			II Income Group Rs. 151-300			III Income Group Rs. 301 + ..			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-5	6	15	21	24	26	50	2	5	7	32	46	78
5-14	25	26	51	37	27	64	15	9	24	77	62	139
15-24	14	13	27	23	31	54	17	13	30	54	57	111
25-34	12	14	26	31	31	62	10	5	15	53	50	103
35-44	13	9	22	15	20	35	2	9	11	30	38	68
45-54	4	10	14	12	7	19	10	6	16	26	23	49
55-64	—	11	11	1	11	12	—	2	2	1	24	25
65-74	4	2	6	2	3	5	—	—	—	6	5	11
75+	—	2	2	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	2	4
TOTAL	78	102	180	147	156	303	56	49	105	281	307	588

TABLE 19.13—(b) Age Structure

Age Group	I Income Group Rs. 1—150			II Income Group Rs. 151—300			III Income Group Rs. 301 + ...			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0—14 No. ..	31	41	72	61	53	114	17	14	31	109	108	217
% ..	39.8	40.2	38.9	41.5	34.0	37.6	30.4	28.6	29.5	38.8	35.2	36.9
15—55 No. ..	43	46	89	81	89	170	39	33	72	163	168	331
% ..	55.1	45.0	49.5	55.0	57.1	56.2	69.6	67.3	68.6	58.0	54.8	56.3
Above 55 No. ..	4	15	19	5	14	19	—	2	2	9	31	40
% ..	5.1	14.8	10.5	3.5	8.9	6.2	—	4.1	1.9	3.2	10.0	6.8
Total No. ..	78	102	180	147	156	303	56	49	105	281	307	588
% ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 19.14—Marital Status

Marital Status	I Income Group Rs. 1—150			II Income Group Rs. 151—300			III Income Group Rs. 301 + ...			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Unmarried No. ..	46	48	94	89	73	162	39	25	64	174	146	320
% ..	59.0	47.1	52.2	60.5	46.8	53.5	69.6	51.0	61.0	61.9	47.6	54.4
Married No. ..	29	31	60	56	59	115	17	16	33	102	106	208
% ..	37.2	30.4	33.3	38.1	37.8	39.9	30.4	32.7	31.4	36.3	34.5	35.4
Widowed No. ..	3	23	26	2	23	25	—	8	8	5	54	59
% ..	3.8	22.5	14.5	1.4	14.8	8.3	—	16.3	7.6	1.8	17.6	10.0
Separated No. ..	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
% ..	—	—	—	—	0.6	0.3	—	—	—	—	0.3	0.2
Total No. ..	78	102	180	147	156	303	56	49	105	281	307	588
% ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 19.15—Education

Education	I Income Group Rs. 1—150			II Income Group Rs. 151—300			III Income Group Rs. 301 + ...			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Illiterate ..	8	32	40	24	36	60	4	7	11	36	75	111
% ..	10.3	31.4	22.2	16.3	23.1	19.8	7.1	14.3	10.5	12.8	24.4	18.9
Literate ..	20	40	60	28	40	68	7	15	22	55	95	150
% ..	25.6	39.2	33.3	19.0	25.6	22.5	12.5	30.6	20.9	19.6	30.9	25.5
Middle School ..	10	17	27	12	41	53	5	12	17	27	70	97
% ..	12.8	16.7	15.0	8.2	26.3	17.5	8.9	24.5	16.2	9.6	22.8	16.5
High School ..	5	8	13	9	12	21	4	3	7	18	23	41
% ..	6.4	7.8	7.2	6.1	7.7	6.9	7.1	6.1	6.7	6.4	7.5	7.0
S.S.L.C. ..	29	2	31	54	26	80	25	10	35	108	38	146
% ..	37.2	2.0	17.2	36.7	16.7	26.4	44.6	20.4	33.3	38.4	12.4	24.8
Intermediate ..	5	3	8	14	—	14	4	1	5	23	4	27
% ..	6.4	2.9	4.5	9.5	—	4.6	7.1	2.0	4.8	8.2	1.3	4.6
Graduates in Arts ..	1	—	1	5	—	5	5	1	6	11	1	12
% ..	1.3	—	0.6	3.4	—	1.7	8.9	2.0	5.7	3.9	0.3	2.0
Graduates in Science ..	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	—	2	3	—	3
% ..	—	—	—	0.7	—	0.3	3.6	—	1.9	1.0	—	0.5
Post Graduates in Arts ..	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
% ..	—	—	—	—	0.6	0.3	—	—	—	—	0.3	0.2
Total No. ..	78	102	180	147	156	303	56	49	105	281	307	588
% ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 19.16—Economic Status

Economic Status	I Income Group Rs. 1—150			II Income Group Rs. 151—300			III Income Group Rs. 301 + ..			TOTAL		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Earners	24 43.6	—	34 18.9	68 46.3	17 10.9	85 28.1	30 53.6	8 16.3	38 63.8	132 47.0	25 8.1	157 26.9
Earning Dependents	1 1.3	—	1 0.6	3 2.0	1 0.6	4 1.3	—	—	—	4 1.4	1 0.3	5 0.5
Non-Earning Dependents	43 55.1	102 100.0	145 80.5	76 51.7	138 88.5	214 70.6	26 46.4	41 83.7	67 36.2	145 51.6	281 91.5	426 72.6
Total	78 100.0	102 100.0	180 100.0	147 100.0	156 100.0	303 100.0	56 100.0	49 100.0	105 100.0	281 100.0	307 100.0	588 100.0

EARNERS

19.17 A classification of the households according to the number of earners in each shows that 62.1% of the households have one earner each, 26.2% two earners, 9.7% three earners and 2.9% four earners each. In the low income group the percentage of one earner households is 93.8 compared with 57.9 in the middle and 7.1 in the high income group. It is of interest to note that in the high income group one-in-three households has three and one-in-five has four earners each; in the low income group there is no household with more than two earners and in the middle income group none with more than three; even the percentage of households with three earners in the middle income group is but 7.0, in other words one-in-fourteen. The number of dependents (including earning and non-earning) per earner is 4.3 in the low, 2.6 in the middle, 1.8 in the high income groups and 2.7 in the sample.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

19.18 There are 102 persons in the population who are recipients of income, earned or unearned. Further analysis of the data pertaining to them reveals that 157 or 96.9% are employees; one person is self-employed, three are pensioners and one is an unearned income recipient. Among the employees 132 are men and 25 women. The self-employed and the pensioners are men, and the only unearned income recipient is a woman.

NATURE OF OCCUPATION

19.19 As the present survey relates mainly to the families of the non-gazetted employees of Madras Government, it would be natural that casual employees would be insignificant in number. The survey shows that only two out of the 162 earners are casually employed. As between public and private sectors 132 belong to the former and 30 to the latter.

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

19.20 An attempt has been made to classify the earners according to the occupational classification adopted in the main survey. The percentage distribution as worked out is given below :

TABLE 19.20—Individuals : Percentages

Employment Status	Males	Females	Total
Occupational Classification			
Professional	—	3.8	0.6
Sub-Supervisory	23.5	—	19.8
Ministerial	64.7	50.0	62.3
Sales	0.7	—	0.6
Sub-Technical	2.2	—	1.9
Sub-Technical	8.1	30.8	11.7
Service	0.7	11.5	2.5
Non-cultivating owner	—	3.8	0.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

It may be seen that 62.3% are in the ministerial group, 19.8% in subordinate supervisory, 13.6% in both the subordinate technical groups and 2.5% in service group. Half the number of women are in the ministerial group.

INCOME

19.21. The total income enjoyed by 103 sample households work out to Rs. 22,516 yielding an average income of Rs. 218.60 naye Paise per household per month. In the high

income group there are 14 households with an aggregate income of Rs. 6,113 the average per household being Rs. 436.64 nP. In the middle income group 57 households have an income of Rs. 12,336 the average per household being Rs. 216.42 nP. In the low income group 32 households have an income of Rs. 4,067 the average per household being Rs. 127.09. Of the total income Rs. 21,614 or 96% is earned; the average earned income per household is Rs. 209.83 nP. The corresponding figures are Rs. 431.14 nP for the high income group, Rs. 204.18 nP for the middle and Rs. 123.13 nP for the low income group. The unearned income of the sample households is Rs. 902, or 4.0% yielding an average income of Rs. 8.75 nP per household. The average unearned income is Rs. 3.96 for the low, Rs. 12.24 for the middle and Rs. 5.50 for the high income group households.

AVERAGE SIZE OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

19.22 The average size of a household in the sample works out to 5.7 persons. It is 5.6 in the low, 5.3 in the middle and 7.5 in the high income groups. The composition and size of an average household for the three income groups and the sample are shown below:

TABLE 19.22—Composition and size of an Average Household

Income Group	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Low	1.3	1.9	1.0	1.4	5.6
Middle	1.5	1.7	1.1	1.0	5.3
High	2.8	2.5	1.2	1.0	7.5
All Groups	1.5	1.9	1.1	1.1	5.7

ADULT EQUIVALENT

19.23 It would be useful to work out the adult equivalent in an average household. The Enquiry into the Family Budgets of the Middle Class Employees of the Central Government (1946) used the following formula: an adult male of 15 years and above is reckoned as one; an adult female 0.8 and children of both sexes below 15 years as 0.6 consumption unit. Applying this scale the average family in the sample consists of 4.4 consumption units. The corresponding figures are 4.3 for the low, 4.1 for the middle and 6.1 for the high income groups. The total number of consumption units is 457.8 for the sample composed of 136.4 in the low, 235.8 in the middle and 85.6 in the high income group.

EXPENDITURE

19.24 The total gross expenditure incurred by all the 103 sample households is Rs. 28,149.75 which gives an average gross expenditure of Rs. 273.29 per household and Rs. 47.87 per capita. This gross expenditure includes insurance premium payment of Rs. 372, Provident Fund contribution of Rs. 780, Chit Fund subscription of Rs. 330, savings bank deposit of Rs. 76 and other minor savings of Rs. 74 and durable consumer goods of Rs. 231.75 (*vide infra*) making up in the aggregate Rs. 1,863.75. Deducting these savings and investments on durable goods, the net expenditure of the sample families on consumption goods and services works out to Rs. 26,286 giving an average expenditure of Rs. 255.20 per household and Rs. 44.70 per capita. The average expenditure per consumption unit amounts to Rs. 57.39. The analysis in the following sections is with reference to the net or "consumption" expenditure as defined here.

19.25 The number and percentage of surplus and deficit budgets in the three income groups is shown below:

TABLE 19.25—Surplus and Deficit Budgets

Categories	Income Groups							
	Rs. 1 to 150		Rs. 151—300		Rs. 301+		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Surplus Budgets ..	3	9.3	11	19.3	9	64.2	23	22.3
Balanced Budget ..	1	3.2	—	—	—	—	1	1.0
Deficit Budgets ..	28	87.5	46	80.7	5	35.8	79	76.7
TOTAL ..	32	100	57	100	14	100	103	100

In the sample of 103 budgets, 79 or 76.7% are deficit budgets, 23 or 22.3% are surplus budgets and one a balanced budget. The percentage of deficit budgets diminishes with increase in income. It is 87.5% in the low, 90.7% in the middle, 35.8% in the high income group. The percentage of surplus budgets is 9.3 in the low, 19.3 in the middle and 64.2 in the high income groups.

19.26. Deficits vary from less than 10% to over 100%. The surplus accrues upto 25% in a few cases. The frequency distribution of the deficit and surplus budgets according to the magnitude of deficit or surplus is given below:

TABLE 19.26—Distribution of Deficit and Surplus Budgets

Magnitude	Deficit Budgets	Surplus Budgets
Upto 10%	7	11
11—25%	19	12
26—50%	25	—
51—75%	13	—
76—100%	8	—
Above 100%	7	—
TOTAL	79	23

Balanced Budget : 1

Out of the 79 deficit budgets seven record deficit upto 10%, 19 "between 11 and 25%", 25 "between 26 and 50%", 13 "between 51 and 75%", 8 "between 76 and 100%" and seven above 100%. In the last fifteen cases where the deficit is excessive ranging beyond 75% the reasons were investigated. The data reveal that they are due to child-birth, heavy medical bill, death, expenditure in the low income group on beverages and refreshments of the order of Rs. 40, meat, fish and eggs of the order of Rs. 35. It is most noteworthy that in several cases expenditure on food alone amounts to the earned income. For example in one family of 6 members with an income of Rs. 107, expenditure on food amounted to Rs. 105. In another household of five adults and one child with an income of Rs. 143, expenditure on food was Rs. 160 of which spices and condiments cost Rs. 25 and coffee powder Rs. 18. Of the twenty-three surplus budgets eleven show a surplus upto 10% and twelve between 11 and 25%.

RATIO OF EXPENDITURE TO INCOME

19.27 Compared with the average income of Rs. 218.60 per household, the net expenditure incurred is Rs. 255.20 per household. The ratio between income and net expenditure works out to 1 : 1.17. Compared with the gross expenditure of Rs. 273.29 the ratio between income and expenditure works out to 1 : 1.25.

CLASSIFICATION OF EXPENDITURE

19.28. The total expenditure has been broadly classified into five groups: (i) food; (ii) fuel and lighting; (iii) clothing; (iv) house rent and (v) miscellaneous. The distribution of the total expenditure per household is shown below:

TABLE 19.28—Classification of Expenditure per Household

Group	No. of items included	Total Expenditure	Average per household	Percentage to total
		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	
1. Food	64	13,316.22	129.28	50.65
2. Fuel & lighting	8	1,452.57	14.10	5.53
3. Clothing	5	2,605.19	25.29	9.92
4. House-rent	1	1,727.68	16.77	6.57
5. Miscellaneous	91	7,184.42	69.75	27.33
TOTAL	169	26,286.08	255.20	100.00

The expenditure on food is the largest single item accounting for Rs. 129.28 or 50.65% per household, the second largest item is on the miscellaneous group accounting for Rs. 69.75 or 27.33% which includes the expenditure on education, recreation, cultural, social and ceremonial items etc., expenditure on clothing comes next amounting to Rs. 25.29 or 9.92% followed by expenditure on house rent amounting to Rs. 16.77 or 6.57% and lastly fuel and lighting accounting for an expenditure of Rs. 14.10 or 5.53%.

EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

19.29 The expenditure on food has been divided into ten sub-groups. As already seen the total expenditure on food group is Rs. 129.28. An attempt is made to find out the percentage expenditure on these ten sub-groups. The largest item of expenditure is cereals being Rs. 35.55 or 27.50%, the next largest item is milk and milk products accounting for an expenditure of Rs. 32.11 or 24.83%, the third largest item is beverages and refreshments including tea-leaves and coffee powder, biscuits, sweets, savories, liquid coffee and tea and beverages bought accounting for Rs. 14.69 or 11.37%, oils and cooking fats comes next with Rs. 10.88 or 8.41% followed by vegetables with Rs. 10.25 or 7.92%, Pulses with Rs. 7.61 or 5.88%, spices with Rs. 6.11 or 4.73%, sugar with Rs. 6.04 or 4.68%, fruits with Rs. 3.15 or 2.44% and meat, fish and eggs Rs. 2.89 or 2.24%.

FUEL AND LIGHTING

19.30 Expenditure on fuel and lighting has been divided into two sub-groups. Of the average expenditure of Rs. 14.10 on this group per household Rs. 10.92 or 77.5% is spent on fire-wood, charcoal, dung cakes and matches and Rs. 3.18 or 22.5% on kerosene, electricity and others.

CLOTHING

19.31 The expenditure on clothing group has been divided into five groups. Of the total average expenditure of Rs. 25.39 (i) clothing for men account for Rs. 5.62 or 22.2%; (ii) clothing for women for Rs. 13.05 or 51.6%; (iii) clothing for children for Rs. 2.78 or 11%; (iv) woollen clothing for Rs. 0.81 or 3.2% and (v) footwear for Rs. 3.02 or 12.0%.

HOUSE RENT

19.32 Expenditure on house rent is Rs. 16.77. This does not include the municipal rates or the ground rent. It may be noted that four out of the 103 households live in their own houses who have not shown any expenditure under this head.

MISCELLANEOUS

19.33 Expenditure on miscellaneous group has been divided into eleven sub-groups. The most important sub-group is education which accounts for an average expenditure of Rs. 13.99 or 20.1%. Next comes services which includes expenditure on laundry, domestic servants, priest, lawyer, barber, sweeper, cobbler, tailor, carpenter, blacksmith, mason and others. The expenditure on this group is Rs. 12.96 or 18.6%. Third comes medicine accounting for an expenditure of Rs. 8.83 or 12.7%. Fourth is conveyance accounting for an expenditure of Rs. 7.71 or 11.1%. Fifth in the order of importance is the sub-group cultural and social which includes expenditure on newspapers, journals, books for general reading, club subscription, postage, entertainment of friends and visitors. The expenditure on this item is Rs. 5.75 or 8.2%. The sixth sub-group is toilet requisites accounting for Rs. 4.35 or 6.2%. The seventh sub-group relates to amusements and sports with an average expenditure of Rs. 3.75 or 5.4%. Eighth comes ceremonials which includes expenditure on birth, marriage, death etc. Expenditure on this group is Rs. 3.25 or 4.7%. Ninth sub-group is labelled "transfers" covering expenditure on remittances and charities. The expenditure incurred is Rs. 2.54 or 3.6%. The tenth sub-group relates to taxes and rates including radio-licence, professional tax, income tax etc. The average expenditure on this sub-group is Rs. 2.51 or 3.6%. The eleventh sub-group "pan and tobacco" accounts for an expenditure of Rs. 2.38 or 3.4%. The twelfth group consists of umbrella, washing soap etc., accounting for Rs. 1.71 or 2.5%.

LEVELS OF LIVING

19.34 The consumption pattern presented in the preceding sections indicates the general standard of living of the lower middle class represented by the sample. In the above study detailed investigation into the purchase of durable consumer goods like utensils and furniture could not be undertaken in view of the fact that the period of investigation was limited to one month. As noted earlier the expenditure on durable consumer goods has not been very considerable being only Rs. 231.75. How far this figure would be representative of the annual budget it is not possible to determine accurately. However, with a view to gaining a better knowledge of the conditions of living of the households surveyed, provision was made in the schedule for making an inventory of the more significant durable goods. Most of them such as clocks, watches, typewriters, bicycles, harmonium and stay-brite vessels are not usually bought annually. The purpose of collecting the data relating to their number and value is to find out the extra comforts the households enjoy by virtue of their possession over and above the satisfaction of the basic wants.

19.35 A two-fold analysis of the data collected has been made to bring out the significance and place of the durable consumer goods in the standards of living attained by the lower middle class who form the subject matter of the present study. In order to assess the comforts enjoyed by this community, a tentative schedule of durable consumer goods was prepared on the basis of a scrutiny of all the schedules consisting of the following: Mosquito net, stay-brite utensils, harmonium, gramophone, radio, musical instruments, bicycle, tricycle, typewriter, sewing machine, clocks, watches, electric fans, heaters, kettles etc., cameras and other photographic goods. It may be noted that the sample households did not own motor cycles or automobiles. The aggregate money value of each article in this schedule was worked out and its percentage to the aggregate monthly income of the sample households determined (Vide table 19.35).

TABLE 19.35—Percentage of Consumer Goods

Consumer goods	Percentage to aggregate monthly income of the sample households
1. Mosquito net	1.8
2. Stay-Brite	20.5
3. Harmonium	0.7
4. Gramophone	0.2
5. Radio	11.9
6. Musical instruments	3.4
7. Bicycles	17.4
8. Tricycles, children cars etc.	0.5
9. Typewriters	0.9
10. Sewing Machines	1.6
11. Clocks	7.7
12. Watches	28.1
13. Electric fans	3.3
14. Electric heater, kettle etc.	0.4
15. Cameras and Photographic goods	5.1
TOTAL	103.5

19.36 By far the most important consumer goods seem to be 'watches', the value of which amounts to 28.1% of the aggregate monthly income of the sample households. Next in order of importance is 'staybrite utensils' with a value amounting to 20.5%. The third important group consists of 'bicycles' with 17.4% followed by radios with 11.9%, clocks including time-pieces with 7.7%, cameras and photographic goods with 5.1%, 'musical instruments' with 3.4%, 'electric fans' with 3.3%, 'sewing machine' with 1.6%, 'typewriters' with 0.9%, 'harmonium' with 0.7%, 'tricycles and children's pedal cars' with 0.5%, 'electric heater and kettle' with 0.4% and 'gramophone' with 0.2%.

LEVELS OF LIVING SCORE

19.37 Apart from studying the amounts of expenditure on various consumption goods and services and correlating them to monthly or annual income for determining the consumption pattern, recent investigations into the levels of living in U.S.A., and Canada have adopted a system of assigning scores for the possession of significant durable consumer goods. For instance in a Saskatchewan levels of living study, ownership of an automobile a T.V. set and refrigerator is given two points, central heating, a cine camera one point and so on. These articles could well serve to indicate the levels of living attained in the context of American standards of living. Adapting this system to the Indian economy with particular reference to the lower middle class which form the subject matter of the present survey, the list of articles that could be drawn up will be more or less the same tentative schedule given in the preceding section.

Adopting that schedule of articles as the basis for this type of study each article has been given its score as shown below :

TABLE 19.37—Levels of Living Score.*

Woollen clothes	1
Mosquito net	1
Stay-brite	1
Harmoniums	2
Gramophones	3
Radios	3
Other musical instruments	2
Bicycles or Motor cycles	2
Tricycles	1
Typewriters	2
Sewing machines	2
Clocks	2
Watches	2
Electric fans	2
Electric heater, kettle	1
Cameras etc.	2
TOTAL	30

*Woollen clothes from an extra item here.

19.38 The total score works out to 30. An analysis of the data relating to the ownership of the above list of articles has yielded the following results :

TABLE 19.38—Level of Living Score

Score	Number of Households	Score	Number of Households
1	11	13	2
2	7	14	1
3	21	15	1
4	8	16	—
5	12	17	—
6	7	18	1
7	5	19	—
8	5	20	—
9	5	21—30	Nil
10	4	Nil	10
11	2		
12	1		
		TOTAL	103

Frequency Distribution

Score	Number of Households
Nil	10
1-5	59
6-10	26
11-15	7
16-20	1
TOTAL	103

19.39 It is remarkable that 10 households score zero in this list; 59 households score 1 to 5 points, 26 households between 6 and 10 points, 7 households between 11 and 15 points and only 1 household between 16 and 20. The highest number of points scored is only 18. If the above tentative list could be viewed as a fairly reliable indicator of the levels of living, the test clearly shows that most of the households in the community studied hardly possess an adequate number of these articles coveted by them to conform to the conventional standards of living.

INDEBTEDNESS

19.40 In the questionnaire for the enquiry into family budgets, a special schedule was provided for the collection of data relating to indebtedness of the households. The debts of the lower middle class households under survey may be traced to five sources (1) the private money lender, (2) banks and nidhis, (3) the cooperative credit society, (4) friends and relations and (5) insurance corporation and provident fund. Loans taken from the fourth category in the above list are generally in the form of "hand loans" for short periods. The data relating to debts are analysed as shown below:

Lending Agencies	Total amount for the sample households Rs.	Average per household Rs.	Percentage to total
1. Money lenders	22,214	215.80	33.4
2. Banks and Nidhis	10,550	102.40	15.9
3. Cooperative Credit Society	16,937	164.40	25.4
4. Friends and relatives	12,746	123.70	19.2
5. Insurance and Provident Fund	4,052	39.30	6.1
TOTAL	66,499	645.60	100.0

19.41 The total amount of debts contracted by the sample 103 households is Rs. 66,499 which works out to an average of Rs. 645.60 per household. Of the 5 sources from which loans are taken, money lenders appear to be the most important, the loans granted by them being Rs. 22,314 or 33.4% of the total loans. The average per household from this source is Rs. 215.80. Next in order of importance is the Cooperative Credit Society accounting for Rs. 16,937 or 25.4%, the average per household being Rs. 164.40. The third important source consists of "friends and relations" accounting for Rs. 12,746 or 19.2%, the average debt per household being Rs. 123.70. The fourth in importance is "the banks and nidhis" accounting for an aggregate loan of Rs. 10,550 or 15.9% the average debt per household being Rs. 102.4. Lastly loans from insurance corporation and provident fund amount to Rs. 4,052, the average per household being Rs. 39.30.

19.42 The data reveal that 15 out of the sample of 103 households have no debts. Several households have raised loans from more than one source: the number of indebted households is 88 of which 32 have tapped only one source, 25 two sources, 22 three sources, 8 four sources and 1 all the five sources.

19.43 Of the 88 indebted households, 61 have borrowed from friends and relations, 40 from cooperative credit societies, 38 from money lenders, 34 from banks and nidhis, one from insurance corporation and 11 from provident fund account.

ASSIGNMENT OF WEIGHTS

19.44 On the basis of the data thus collected and analysed, the percentage expenditure for various items and groups has been worked out. The total number of items for which data relating to expenditure have been collected is 169. On the basis of the percentage, weights have been assigned to the major groups and individual items in each group. A comparison of the weights assigned from the results of the present survey with similar weights derived from the enquiry into family budgets of middle class employees of the Central Government (1946) and the Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras (1953) the enquiry into the family budgets of the working classes, Madras city, (1936) is made in the table below:

TABLE 19.44—Weights Assigned to Major Groups of Expenditure

Major Group	Government of India Enquiry, 1946				Middle class enquiry Madras 1953	Economic Survey of Madras Middle Class Enquiry 1957	Working Classes Madras 1946
	Calcutta	Bombay	Delhi	Madras			
Food	39.1	39.0	38.0	41.2	45.8	50.7	58.2
Fuel and lighting	3.8	4.6	4.8	5.4	5.2	5.5	8.4
Clothing	7.7	8.2	9.0	11.1	9.9	9.9	6.1
Furniture & household requisites	1.8	1.5	2.6	1.9	1.8	*	—
Housing	10.3	8.7	7.4	8.6	10.0	6.6	14.6
Miscellaneous	37.3	38.0	38.2	31.8	27.3	27.3	12.7
ALL GROUPS	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Expenditure on durable consumer goods, (i.e. furniture has been excluded from the net expenditure adopted for working out percentages (See 19.24 above).

19.45 It may be seen from the above table that expenditure on food which was higher in Madras city than in Calcutta, Bombay or Delhi in 1946 has risen from 41.2% in 1946 to 45.8% in 1953 and further upto 50.7 in 1957 according to the present survey. This steady and sharp rise in the past ten years is attributable to the recent uptrend in the prices of foodgrains, milk, oils and cooking fats and in some other most significant items in the food group. It is interesting to note that the percentage expenditure on fuel and lighting is almost the same in 1946 and 1957. Again there is a remarkable coincidence in the percentages of expenditure for 1953 and 1957 on clothing as well as the miscellaneous group. The percentage expenditure on housing is less in 1957 than in 1946 or 1953. In the present enquiry data on expenditure have been so analysed as to exclude the expenditure on furniture and household requisites designated as durable consumer goods from net expenditure. As seen earlier in paragraphs 19.24, expenditure on this group works out to about 1% of the average household income. The supplement to this chapter contains a detailed account of the weights assigned for the 169 items covered in the present family budget enquiry.

SUPPLEMENT

Detailed account of the weights assigned for the 169 items of expenditure covered in the Present Family Budget Enquiry.

Serial No.	Item	Total expenditure for 103 households	Percentages
		(Rs. nP.)	
	<i>Cereals</i>		
1	Rice	3,418.41	25.67
2	Wheat	183.28	1.41
3	Wheat flour	31.56	0.24
4	Millet	15.39	0.12
5	Other cereals	8.34	0.06
	Total Cereals	3,661.98	27.50
	Average expenditure per household	35.55	
	<i>Pulses</i>		
6	Bengal Gram	95.14	0.71
7	Green Gram	86.66	0.65
8	Black Gram	197.20	1.48
9	Dhal	234.45	1.76
10	Appalam	139.57	1.05
11	Other pulses	31.22	0.23
	Total Pulses	784.24	5.88
	Average expenditure per household	7.61	
	<i>Oils</i>		
12	Gingely oil—(Viss)	647.53	4.86
13	Cocoonut oil	196.77	1.48
14	Groundnut oil	199.80	1.50
15	Other oils	13.47	0.10
16	Vanaspathi (Lb)	62.84	0.47
	Total Oils	1,120.41	8.41
	Average expenditure per household	10.88	
	<i>Milk and Milk Products</i>		
17	Cow's milk (M.M.)	1,127.20	8.46
18	Buffalo's milk (M.M.)	1,155.66	8.88
19	Ghee (Viss)	341.25	2.56
20	Curd (M.M.)	265.00	1.99
21	Butter (Viss)	220.90	1.66
22	Canned Milk	14.20	0.11
23	Milk food for babies	183.06	1.37
	Total Milk	3,307.27	24.83
	Average expenditure per household	32.11	

Serial No.	Item	Total expenditure for 103 households	Percentages
		(Rs. nP.)	
	<i>Vegetables</i>		
24	Potato (Viss)	137.13	1.03
25	Onion (Viss)	75.43	0.57
26	Root vegetables	109.62	0.82
27	Green chillies	43.17	0.32
28	Cabbage and greens	154.27	1.16
29	Tinned vegetables including pickles	21.23	0.16
30	Cocoonuts	148.03	1.11
31	Leaves—Plantain & Dry	81.71	0.61
32	Other vegetables	284.97	2.14
	Total Vegetables	1,055.56	7.92
	Average expenditure per household	10.25	
	<i>Fruits</i>		
33	Bananas	85.80	0.64
34	Oranges	73.21	0.55
35	Mangoes	135.86	1.02
36	Other fruits including tinned fruits	30.03	0.23
	Total Fruits	324.90	2.44
	Average expenditure per household	3.15	
	<i>Meat, Fish and Eggs</i>		
37	Mutton (Seers)	144.83	1.09
38	Poultry (Units)	2.00	0.02
39	Fish (lb)	75.59	0.57
40	Eggs (Number)	70.29	0.53
41	Others	4.50	0.03
	Total Meat, Fish & Eggs	297.21	2.24
	Average expenditure per household	2.89	
	<i>Sugar</i>		
42	Sugar (Viss)	537.50	4.04
43	Jaggery—Cane (Viss)	75.00	0.56
44	Jaggery—Palmyra (Viss)	3.47	0.03
45	Others	6.23	0.05
	Total Sugar	622.20	4.68
	Average expenditure per household	6.04	

Serial No.	Item	Total expenditure for 103 households	Percentages
<i>Spices</i>		(Rs. nP.)	
46	Common Salt (M.M.)	21.66	0.16
47	Tamarind (Viss)	139.44	1.05
48	Turmeric (Viss)	32.79	0.25
49	Black Pepper (Viss)	63.59	0.48
50	Dry chillies (Viss)	157.68	1.18
51	Coriander	56.69	0.43
52	Mustard	31.56	0.24
53	Ginger	17.46	0.13
54	Asafoetida (Palams)	61.62	0.46
55	Others	47.06	0.35
Total Spices		629.55	4.73
Average expenditure per household		6.11	
<i>Beverages and Refreshments</i>			
56	Tea leaf	36.12	0.27
57	Tea (cups)	56.70	0.43
58	Coffee (Lb)	648.79	4.87
59	Coffee (cups)	276.31	2.07
60	Other beverages	113.74	0.85
61	Biscuits	76.55	0.57
62	Sweets	90.72	0.68
63	Savouries	165.81	1.25
64	Others	48.16	0.36
Total Refreshments		1,512.90	11.37
Average expenditure per household		14.69	
Total expenditure on Food		13,316.22	50.65
Average total expenditure on food per household		129.28	
<i>Fuel and Lighting</i>			
1	Firewood (Gundus)	551.53	37.97
2	Charcoal (Gundus)	510.38	35.13
3	Dung cakes (Number)	38.08	2.62
4	Matches (Box)	25.21	1.74
5	Kerosene (Bottles)	111.80	7.70

Serial No.	Item	Total expenditure for 103 households	Percentages
		(Rs. nP.)	
6	Petrol (Gallons)	—	—
7	Electricity (Units)	207.63	14.29
8	Others	7.94	0.55
Total Fuel and Lighting		1,452.57	5.53
Average expenditure per household		14.10	
<i>Clothing</i>			
1	Men	578.82	22.22
2	Women	1,344.72	51.61
3	Children	285.34	10.95
4	Woollen clothing	84.26	0.81
5	Footwear	312.05	11.98
Total clothing and footwear		2,605.19	9.92
Average expenditure per household		25.29	
1	Rent	1,727.68	6.57
Total House Rent		1,727.68	
Average per household		16.77	
<i>Taxes</i>			
1	Land Revenues	100.74	1.40
2	Taxes for house	68.42	0.95
3	Rent for Residential house	—	—
4	Income tax	2.06	0.03
5	Others	41.42	0.58
Total Taxes		212.64	2.96
<i>Commercial Taxes</i>			
6	Municipal Rates	0.36	0.01
7	Radio license	15.00	0.21
8	Bicycle license	—	—
9	Motor cycle tax	—	—
10	Motor tax	—	—
11	Water tax	—	—
12	Professional tax	23.78	0.33
13	Cattle tax	—	—
14	Other local taxes	6.66	0.10
Total commercial taxes		45.80	0.65
Average per household		22.51	

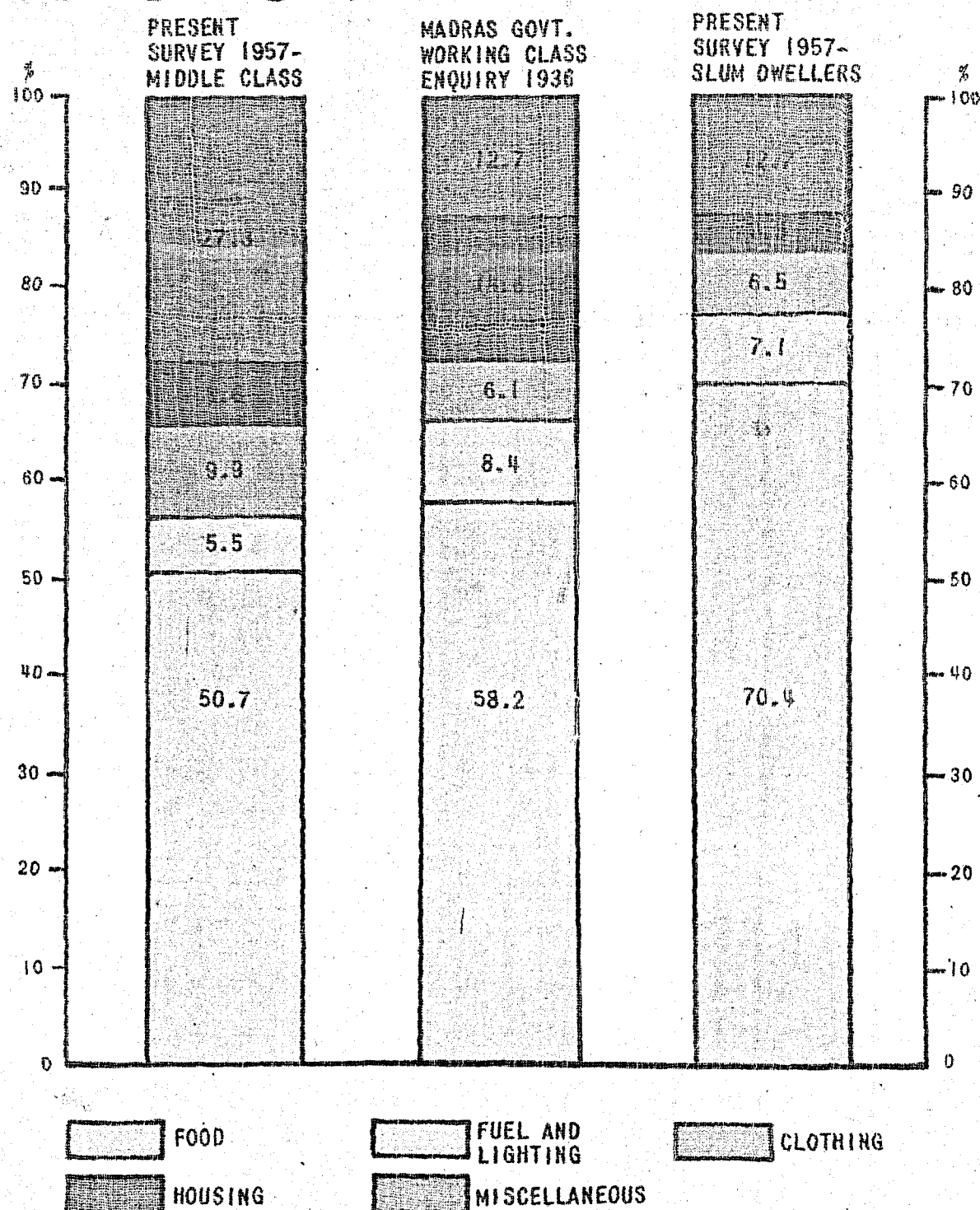
Serial No.	Items	Total expenditure for 103 households	Percentages
<i>Expenditure on Education</i>		(Rs. nP.)	
15	School and College Books	311.22	4.33
16	Fountain Pens	64.76	0.90
17	Ordinary Pens & Pencils	30.32	0.42
18	Ink	35.03	0.50
19	Note Books & Papers	140.70	1.96
20	School and College fees	737.20	10.25
21	Tuition charges	77.25	1.07
22	Others	44.69	0.62
Total expenditure on Education		1,441.17	20.15
Average per household		13.99	
<i>Medicine</i>			
23	Doctor	535.82	7.45
24	Nurse & Mid-wife	13.50	0.20
25	Medicine-Allopathy	177.43	2.47
26	Medicine-Homeopathy	6.25	0.10
27	Medicine-Ayurvedic	58.27	0.81
28	Medicine—Unani	1.37	0.02
29	Others—Tonics	116.81	1.62
Total Medicine		909.45	12.70
Average per household		8.83	
<i>Toilets</i>			
30	Soap	141.15	1.96
31	Snow, Cream & Powder	109.11	1.52
32	Oil	40.33	0.56
33	Comb, brushes, mirror	30.64	0.51
34	Shaving requisites	43.16	0.60
35	Tooth Paste	55.53	0.77
36	Others	22.13	0.31
Total Toilets		448.05	6.17
Average per household		4.35	

Serial No.	Items	Total expenditure for 103 households	Percentages
<i>Secondary Goods</i>		(Rs. nP.)	
		24.21	0.34
37	Umbrella	128.90	1.80
38	Washing soap	9.51	0.13
39	Washing soda	13.97	0.20
40	Others		
Total Secondary Goods		170.59	2.47
Average per household		1.71	
<i>Pan and Tobacco</i>			
		88.61	1.23
41	Betel leaf	65.96	0.92
42	Areca nut	5.40	0.08
43	Beedas	57.80	0.80
44	Cigarettes	1.95	0.03
45	Cigar	6.77	0.10
46	Snuff	6.93	0.10
47	Chewing	5.74	0.08
48	Beedi	6.06	0.08
49	Others		
Total Pan and Tobacco		245.22	3.4
Average per household		2.38	
<i>Services</i>			
		175.00	2.43
50	Lawyers	82.61	1.15
51	Priest	179.17	2.49
52	Domestic servant	44.75	0.62
53	Domestic cook	20.00	0.28
54	Gardeners		
55	Driver	122.53	1.70
56	Barber	326.57	4.54
57	Washerman	63.05	0.88
58	Sweeper	27.89	0.39
59	Cobbler	196.59	2.73
60	Tailor	5.50	0.08
61	Carpenter	4.12	0.06
62	Blacksmith		

Serial No.	Items	Total expenditure for 103 households	Percentages
		(Rs. nP.)	
63	House Repairer	45.82	0.64
64	Other services	41.45	0.58
	Total Services	1,335.05	18.6
	Average per household	12.96	
	<i>Cultural and Social</i>		
65	Club subscription	84.87	1.18
66	Purchase of books	44.76	0.62
67	Purchase of journals & periodicals	71.84	1.00
68	Newspapers	164.08	2.28
69	Postage	102.59	1.43
70	Entertainments of friends & visitors in clubs and restaurants	114.44	1.59
71	Others—Picnics etc.	10.10	0.14
	Total Cultural & Social	592.68	8.2
	Average per household	5.75	
	<i>Ceremonials</i>		
72	Births	44.64	0.65
73	Marriage	126.10	1.75
74	Deaths	30.33	0.42
75	Others	131.54	1.83
	Total ceremonials	334.61	4.7
	Average per household	3.25	
	<i>Amusements and Sports</i>		
76	Cinema	262.21	3.65
77	Theatre	12.51	0.17
78	Toys	53.72	0.75
79	Festivals & Fairs	42.95	0.59
80	Sports and games	2.59	0.04
81	Others	12.77	0.18
	Total Amusements and Sports	386.75	5.4
	Average per household	3.75	

Serial Number	Items	Total expenditure for 103 households	Percentages
		Rs. nP.	
	<i>Transfers</i>		
82	Charity	67.56	0.94
83	Remittances	194.53	2.70
	Total expenditure on Transfers	261.91	3.6
	Average per household	2.54	
	<i>Conveyance</i>		
84	Railway	149.95	2.09
85	Bus	488.51	6.80
86	Car	49.61	0.70
87	Auto-rickshaw	25.80	0.36
88	Rickshaw	64.57	0.90
89	Horse cab	0.50	—
90	Bullock cart	0.75	0.01
91	Others	14.81	0.21
	Total Conveyance	794.50	11.07
	Average per household	7.71	
	<i>Total Miscellaneous Group</i>	7,184.42	27.3
	Average per household	69.75	

FAMILY BUDGETS OF SLUM DWELLERS COMPARED WITH WORKING CLASSES & MIDDLE CLASSES IN MADRAS CITY



CHAPTER XX SURVEY OF SLUMS

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ACCORDING TO THE latest official statistics, there are 306 slums in which live nearly 300,000 persons forming about one-fifth of the population of the city. The Madras Corporation has laid down certain criteria for declaring certain localities as slums, among which lack of drinking water supply, sanitary facilities, underground drainage, street lighting and the predominance of thatched huts are the most significant. There are several areas in the heart of the city to which, although these criteria do not apply and the inhabitants live in pucca structures, they are found to live in no less if not worse congestion, squalor and dirt. In these areas the per capita floor space sometimes works out to be less than in the slums, one lavatory and a shabby enclosure passing for a bath room serving the needs of more than a dozen or fifteen; nor do the inhabitants of these areas get even that much of sunlight and fresh air as the slum dwellers. Yet the denizens of these brick and mortar dwellings in heavily congested streets are viewed as far superior to slum dwellers. Due to a false sense of social prestige, they themselves do not admit the depth of squalor and their plight is thus not brought to the lime light neither by social reformers nor recognised fully by the Corporation authorities. The existence of such "blackholes" in these so-called respectable residential segments of the city deserve greater attention than given now in any comprehensive system of town-planning. The scale of dirt and disease, squalor and congestion tacitly endured by the population living in these areas with a fatalism characteristic of the Orient calls for a special survey. In view of the absence of specially collected data relating to them the present chapter is devoted to a study of the "approved" slums with a stress on the living conditions of the slum dwellers.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SLUMS

20.2. All the 306 slums declared as such are not uniformly distributed over the 50 Corporation Divisions. The number of slums varies from one in several divisions to 21 in Division 5 (Korukkupet). There are more than 10 slums in 11 Divisions. The total area under slums is estimated at 18,985 grounds or about 1,000 acres. The area of slums varies from less than 10 grounds to more than 100 grounds. A frequency distribution of the slums according to area is given below:

TABLE 20.2.—Distribution of Slums According to Area

Area of slum in Grounds	Number of slums
Upto 10	37
11 to 25	96
26 to 50	62
51 to 100	62
101 and above	49
All classes	306

TYPE OF DWELLINGS

20.3. The dwellings in these slums are of various types depending upon their terrain and the age as well as the prosperity and employment of the inhabitants. There are mud-walled thatched huts with a pretence of a doorway measuring 3' x 2', mud-walls in some cases are surmounted by scrap tins or old broken tiles. There are also huts with brick and mortar walls and tiled roof or terrace. One common feature about them all is that the floor space of each dwelling is less than 400 square feet. The type of flooring varies from raw, unsmoothed ground to brick and cement surface. Some of the occupants of mud-floor tenements keep the

floor well cow-dunged and fairly clean whereas some others albeit lucky to have brick floor space keep it untidy and dirty. Even in the lowliest of the mud huts the visitor sometimes comes across pictures of Gods and Goddesses or cinema stars of either sex beautifully mounted and framed. Some of the mud huts have two doorways leading into two separate rooms partitioned by a mud wall of not more than two feet high, the rest of the space being covered with tattered gunny cloth, providing whatever privacy that is deemed to be necessary for family life. In October and November when the north east monsoon is in full blast these mud huts frequently are flooded with knee-deep water. In the sunny months, fortunately many in Madras city, the slum dwellers happily sleep rather outside than inside the hut.

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

20.4. The household appurtenances in most of these dwellings are conspicuously small in number, flimsy in character and cheapest in value. They consist of two or three mudpots, a couple of tin cans serving as eating vessels, one or two old mats, a few bottles and a few more cigarette tins containing salt, condiments, kumkum, gingelly oil etc. Very few tenements have boxes, tin or steel trunks the need for which is happily not felt because of the few clothes owned. In a very small proportion of the houses a few fowls—hens and chicken and ducks—or a lamb share the accommodation with the owners. Although the slum dwellers do not seem to be particularly fond of poultry farming or keeping income-yielding goats or cows, the slums generally have rather a large canine population.

THREE CLASSES OF SLUMS

20.5. The Corporation of Madras has classified the slums into three groups on the basis of the preponderant type of dwellings in them. The first group of 15 slums have mainly pucca tenements, the second numbering 159 have mostly thatched huts and the third group of 132 have both thatched and pucca tenements.

POPULATION

20.6. The population of the slums varies widely from less than 250 to more than 5,000. Of the 306 slums, 46 have a population of less than 250 persons, 172 varying from 251 to 1,000 persons, 76 from 1,001 to 2,500 persons, 11 from 2,501 to 5,000 persons and one over 5,000 persons.

HOUSEHOLDS

20.7. The number of households in the slums varies according to their size, location and relative age. There are 29 slums with households up to 50, 79 with 51 to 100 households, 91 with 101 to 200 households, 43 with 201 to 300 households, 48 with 301 to 500 households and 15 with 501 and above. The total number of households is 58,459 according to official statistics.

PURPOSIVE SELECTION OF SLUMS

20.8. In view of the significant proportion of the slum dwelling population in the city and the several projects undertaken and proposed by the Madras Corporation and the City Improvement Trust for their rehabilitation, a special study of the slum dwellers was considered to be a proper subject of regional importance to be carried out alongside the main Urbanization Survey. It should be added that the 13,000 and odd sample households covered by the latter includes slum dwellers too according to their occurrence in the original sample. The present special study relates to 300 sample households selected from the households in the following six slums, viz., (i) Austin Nagar in Teynampet Division; (ii) Slaterpuram in Mylapore-North Division; (iii) Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar in Thousand Lights Division; (iv) Arundathiapuram in Perambur Barracks Division; (v) Kareem Mohideen Cheri in Napier Park Division and (vi) Goodpet Pallam in Kosapet Division. It should be made clear even at the outset that these slums were selected purposively in order to represent the most important occupations of the population living in slums. Although broadly true, it would not be correct to imagine that these slums are the sink of the lowest classes of population and the meanest categories of occupations.

VARIETY OF OCCUPATIONS

20.9. In these slums dwell not only unskilled labourers, conservancy workers and scheduled castes but also lorry drivers earning Rs. 150 or so per mensem, mechanics in engineering firms, book-binders, compositors, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, plumbers, beedi workers, tin-can manufacturers and even lower division clerks in Government services. Some of them have been forced to choose their abodes in slums for want of any kind of accommodation in the respectable quarters and some, on account of their caste affiliation, continue to live beside their relatives. Among the multitude of occupations that could be listed from the slum population, the most important are hard manual labour like wood cutting, casual labour at Buckingham canal wharves, beedi makers, cobblers, domestic servants and cooks, office peons, gardeners and watchmen, workers in the road making and construction trades. Whatever be their occupation, living in close proximity in slums has generally moulded their ways of living and stereotyped to a large extent their levels of living in which striking variations hardly exist. It is, therefore, possible to study their standard of living from any kind of sample even if it did not pay due regard to their occupations.

SIX REPRESENTATIVE OCCUPATIONS

20.10. However in the present survey the above mentioned six slums have been so selected that the sample may include the most important occupations seen among slum dwellers: Austin Nagar is noted for the preponderance of domestic servants; Slaterpuram for woodcutters and hard manual workers at the Buckingham Canal wharves; Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar for workers in building and construction industry; Arundathiapuram for cobblers specialising in shoe-making; Kareem Mohideen Cheri for mechanics and low grade labour in engineering firms and Goodpet Pallam for beedi makers, mostly Muslims.

SAMPLING FRACTION

20.11. The selection of households in the six slums was based on the principle of random sampling selecting 50 households in each slum for detailed investigation. This uniform size of sample, viz., 50 households, was decided upon so that the work load of the Investigators could be equalised allotting one slum to each. Consequently the sampling fraction varies from slum to slum according to the total number of households in them as may be seen from the table below:

TABLE 20.11.—Sample Households and Sampling Fraction

Name of the Slum	Total No. of households	Sample Households	Sampling Fraction	N1	I
1. Austin Nagar	402	50	1/8	49	1
2. Slaterpuram	311	50	1/6	48	2
3. Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	256	50	1/5	50	—
4. Arundathiapuram	512	50	1/10	50	—
5. Kareem Mohideen Cheri	309	50	1/6	49	1
6. Goodpet Pallam	266	0	1/8	44	6
All Slums	1,400	300	1/7	290	10

The total number of households varies from 256 in Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar to 512 in Arundathiapuram and the sampling fraction varies from about 1/5 in Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar and Goodpet Pallam to 1/10 in Arundathiapuram. For all the six slums together the sampling fraction works out to 1/7. For the entire number of about 60,000 households living in the 306 slums, the sampling fraction works out to 1 in 200.

20.12. A special questionnaire (*vide* Appendix XVII) was prepared for conducting this survey to collect information relating mainly to population, age structure, sex composition, marital, economic and employment status, industrial and occupational classification, income and consumption expenditure.

PROBLEM OF THE IMMIGRANTS

20.13. Of the 300 sample households, 290 have claimed to be non-immigrants and only ten immigrants. In the past two years wherever improvement of the slums had been undertaken by the Corporation or the City Improvement Trust it was found that the area covered by the slums was too inadequate for the large population living in them. The fundamental idea of the slum improvement schemes, according to Union Government, was not to exceed a residential density of 20 to 25 families per gross acre. In Madras city this density was raised as from 25 to 30 families per acre. Even then "in majority of cases only about 40% of the families could be resettled in the same area and the remaining 60% had to be provided with accommodation elsewhere". As there was no vacant land nearby to be acquired at reasonable price the excess population had to be shifted to a distance of two or three miles from their original abode. Generally the slum dwellers were reluctant to move out. Much reliance therefore, could not be placed on this information given by the heads of households because at the time of the survey the slum dwellers were seized with a panic that they would be forcibly evicted from the slum if they were known to be recent immigrants.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

20.14. The total population of the sample households is 1,620 which works out to an average size of 5.4 persons per household. Data relating to the total population and the average size of households are tabulated below:

TABLE 20.14.—*The Population and Average Size of Household*

Name of slum	Total Population	Average size of the household
1. Austin Nagar	305	6.1
2. Slaterpuram	243	4.8
3. Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	273	5.5
4. Arundathiapuram	273	5.5
5. Karim Mohideen Cheri	250	5.0
6. Goodpet Pallam	276	5.5
TOTAL	1,620	5.4

AGE STRUCTURE

20.15. Data relating to the age of the population have been analysed on the basis of six age groups as shown in Table 20.15. In the sample population of 1,620, the number of children up to 14 is 646 or 39.9%. There are 282 persons or 17.4% in the next age group of "15 to 24 years", 271 persons or 16.7% in "25 to 34 years", 335 persons or 20.7% in "35 to 54 years" and 60 persons or 3.7% in "55 and 64 years", 26 persons or 1.6% in "65 and above".

TABLE 20.15.—*Age Composition*

Name of Slum	Upto 14 Yrs.	15—24 Yrs.	25—34 Yrs.	35—54 Yrs.	55—64 Yrs.	65 Yrs. +....	Total
1. Austin Nagar	121	62	40	64	11	7	305
2. Slaterpuram	93	46	37	58	8	1	243
3. Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	108	38	53	51	15	8	273
4. Arundathiapuram	107	45	31	70	14	6	273
5. Kareem Mohideen Cheri	98	50	59	38	4	1	250
6. Goodpet Pallam	119	40	52	54	8	3	276
All	646	282	271	335	60	26	1,620
Percentage	39.9	17.4	16.7	20.7	3.7	1.6	100

SEX COMPOSITION

20.16. The sex composition of the sample population reveals that in two of the six slums there is an excess of female over male population. However, for the total sample male population is in excess of females, the sex ratio being 940. The relevant data are tabulated below:

TABLE 20.16.—*Sex Composition*

Slum	Males	Females	Total
1. Austin Nagar	149	156	305
2. Slaterpuram	141	102	243
3. Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	139	134	273
4. Arundathiapuram	133	140	273
5. Kareem Mohideen Cheri	125	125	250
6. Goodpet Pallam	148	128	276
TOTAL	835	785	1,620
Sex Ratio	1,000	940	

MARITAL STATUS

20.17. In the sample population 847 or 52.3% are unmarried, 651 or 40.2% married, 112 or 6.9% widowed, 2 or 0.1% divorced and 8 or 0.5% separated. The relevant data are tabulated in table 20.17.

TABLE 20.17.—*Marital Status*

Name of Slum	Not married	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated	Total
1. Austin Nagar	166	115	19	—	5	305
2. Slaterpuram	123	98	21	—	1	243
3. Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	132	122	16	2	1	273
4. Arundathiapuram	145	103	24	—	1	273
5. Kareem Mohideen Cheri	133	99	18	—	—	250
6. Goodpet Pallam	118	114	14	—	—	276
TOTAL	847	651	112	2	8	1,620
Percentage	52.3	40.2	6.9	0.1	0.5	100

EDUCATION

20.18. In analysing the data relating to education of the sample population six categories were evolved, from illiterates to Intermediate, as no person with graduate or superior qualification was seen in the sample. The processed data are shown below:

TABLE 20.18.—*Education*

Slum	Illiterates	Primary	Middle	Secondary	S.S.L.C.	Intermediate	Graduates	Total
1. Austin Nagar	35.7	39.7	22.0	1.3	1.3	—	—	100
2. Slaterpuram	75.7	21.8	2.1	0.4	—	—	—	100
3. Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	70.0	23.8	5.1	1.1	—	—	—	100
4. Arundathiapuram	56.4	28.2	11.8	2.2	0.7	0.7	—	100
5. Kareem Mohideen Cheri	39.2	39.2	18.0	1.6	1.6	0.4	—	100
6. Goodpet Pallam	76.1	22.1	1.4	0.4	—	—	—	100
TOTAL	58.4	29.3	10.3	1.2	0.6	0.2	—	100

Of the sample population 58.4% are illiterates, 29.3% with primary school, 10.3% with middle school, 1.2% with Secondary school education. The percentage having S.S.L.C. qualification is 0.6 and Intermediate 0.2. The percentage of illiteracy varies from 35.7 in slum (1) to 76.1 in slum (6). In three slums there is no case of S.S.L.C. in the sample and in four slums no case of Intermediate.

ECONOMIC STATUS

20.19. Data relating to economic status are classified into the usual three classes. In the sample population, there are 430 earners of whom 409 are men and 21 women.

TABLE 20.19.—*Economic Status—Percentage Proportion of Earners & Non-Earning Dependents*

Slum	Earners	Earning dependants	Non-earning dependants	Total
(1) Austin Nagar	24.3	0.6	75.1	100.0
(2) Slaterpuram	32.5	2.1	65.4	100.0
(3) Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	27.1	1.8	71.1	100.0
(4) Arundathiapuram	28.2	0.7	71.1	100.0
(5) Kareem Mohideen Cheri	24.0	2.8	73.2	100.0
(6) Goodpet Pallam	23.9	1.8	74.3	100.0
TOTAL	26.5	1.6	71.9	100.0

Of the total sample population, 430 or 26.5% are earners, 26 or 1.6% are earning dependants and 1,164 or 71.9% are non-earning dependants. The percentage of earners varies from 23.9 in Goodpet Pallam to 32.5 in Slaterpuram. The percentage of earning dependants varies from 0.6 in Austin Nagar to 2.8 in Kareem Mohideen Cheri. The percentage of non-earning dependants is the least in Slaterpuram being 65.4 and highest in Austin Nagar being 75.1.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

20.20. Data relating to employment status of the sample population on the same lines as in the main survey were collected for the sample of slum dwellers. They are processed as shown below:

TABLE 20.20.—*Employment Status*

Employment Status	Austin Nagar	Slaterpuram	Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	Arundathiapuram	Kareem Mohideen Cheri	Goodpet Pallam	Total	Percentage
Employer	—	0	—	—	0	2	2	0.1
Employee	73	17	72	5	42	51	260	16.1
Self-employed	2	67	7	74	25	18	193	11.9
Family helper	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.1
Household worker	83	65	72	81	68	61	430	26.5
Children and students	118	84	108	103	103	134	650	40.1
Old age and sick	14	8	11	9	1	8	51	3.1
Unearned income	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unemployed NOT for the first time	8	1	—	—	7	—	16	1.0
Remittance holders	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	0.1
Unemployed for first time	6	1	2	1	4	2	16	1.0
TOTAL	305	243	273	273	250	276	1,620	100.0

Of the sample populations, nearly 70% are not seekers of gainful employment since 40.1% are children and students, 26.5% household workers, 3.1% old age and sick. The remaining population has to be reckoned as the economically active comprising both the employed and the unemployed. In this section of the population about 2 in 30 are unemployed, 1 a fresh entrant and the other a veteran, having seen employment previously but currently unemployed. Of the sample population 16.1% are employees, 11.9% self-employed persons, 0.1% family helpers and 0.1% employer. It may be noted that 3 in 1,000 are one of three—an employer, a family helper and a remittance holder.

20.21. The number of self-employed persons is relatively big in Slaterpuram and in Arundathiapuram because in the former most of them are wood-cutters and canal porters and in the latter shoe-makers.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

20.22. In analysing the data relating to industrial classification of the sample population the usual twelve-fold distinction has been adopted. The percentage distribution of the employed population is shown in table 20.22, below. The most important industrial group is manufacture II comprising leather, chemicals, beedi, metal and engineering, accounting for 119 or 26.3% of the 456 employed persons. Next in the order of importance is "transport" with 77 persons or 16.9% followed by 50 persons or 11.0% in electricity, gas etc., 41 or 9.0% in personal services, 38 or 8.3% in construction, 31 or 6.8% in general services. The high percentage of 89.9% in manufacture II at Arundathiapuram is due to the predominance of cobblers engaged in the manufacture of leather goods. The high percentage of 36.8 in transport, storage etc., in Slaterpuram is due to workers engaged in loading and unloading the boats at the Buckingham canal wharf. The high percentage of 31.6 in personal services in Austin Nagar is due to the largest number being employed as domestic servants, cooks, gardeners and car drivers. The relatively high percentage of 33.8 in manufacture II in Goodpet Pallam is due to the majority of the population being engaged in beedi-making.

TABLE 20.22.—Industrial Classification

Industry	Austin Nagar	Slaterpuram	Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	Arundathiapuram	Kareem Mohideen Cheri	Goodpet Pallam	Total
0 Agriculture	—	—	5.1	—	—	—	0.9
1 Mining	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 Manufacture I	—	1.2	8.9	—	—	7.1	2.9
3 Manufacture II	2.6	2.4	—	89.9	31.3	33.8	26.3
4 Construction	3.9	15.5	24.0	—	—	4.2	8.3
5 Electricity, gas	7.9	1.2	5.1	1.3	3.0	5.6	3.9
6 Distributive	9.2	14.3	7.6	—	16.4	19.7	11.0
7 Transport, Storage etc. ..	21.1	36.8	15.2	—	13.4	12.7	16.9
8 Service-General	13.2	1.2	13.9	2.5	8.9	1.4	6.8
9 Service-Commercial	2.6	13.1	6.3	1.3	20.1	4.2	7.9
X Service-Personal	31.6	1.2	5.1	2.5	5.9	8.5	9.0
Y Activities NOT adequately described	7.9	13.1	8.8	2.5	—	2.8	6.1
TOTAL ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

20.23. In analysing the data relating to occupations too the usual twelve-fold classification is adopted. The percentage distribution of the employed persons is given in table 20.23,

below. Of the 456 employed persons, 51.7% are in the service occupation and 28.1% are in subordinate group. Next comes subordinate technical with 6.8%, followed by sales with 4.8%, subordinate technical I with 3.5%, professional with 2.2%, ministerial with 1.8% and managerial 0.9%. There are 10 cases in the professional group of whom 5 are teachers, 3 medicine-men and 2 astrologers.

TABLE 20.23.—Occupational Classification—Percentage

Occupation	Austin Nagar	Slaterpuram	Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	Arundathiapuram	Kareem Mohideen Cheri	Goodpet Pallam	Total
0 Managerial	1.3	3.6	—	—	—	—	0.9
1 Professional	1.3	3.6	3.8	—	1.5	2.8	2.2
2 Subordinate	25.0	1.2	73.4	—	7.5	1.4	28.1
3 Ministerial	—	1.2	—	3.8	5.9	—	1.8
4 Sales	4.0	5.9	6.3	1.3	4.5	7.0	4.8
5 Subordinate Technical I ..	17.1	—	1.3	—	—	50.8	3.5
6 Subordinate Technical II ..	5.3	5.9	6.3	—	25.4	19.7	6.8
7 Service	44.4	78.6	8.9	94.9	55.2	18.3	51.7
8 Cultivating owner	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9 Cultivating tenant	1.3	—	—	—	—	—	0.2
X Cultivating Landless	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Y Non-cultivating Landowner	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

INCOME GROUPS

20.24. In analysing the data relating to income, a threefold classification has been adopted, namely (1) up to Rs. 50; (2) Rs. 51 to Rs. 100 and (3) Rs. 101 and above. (Vide table 20.24 below) :

TABLE 20.24

Slum	Upto Rs. 50	Rs. 51—100	Rs. 101 +	Total
(1) Austin Nagar	11	28	10	49
(2) Slaterpuram	37	12	1	50
(3) Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar ..	5	34	11	50
(4) Arundathiapuram	5	35	10	50
(5) Kareem Mohideen Cheri	22	18	10	50
(6) Goodpet Pallam	24	21	5	50
TOTAL ..	104	148	47	299
			No Income	1
				30

Of the 300 households, only one was not deriving any income at the time of the investigation, but living on past savings and running into debts. The number of households is 104 or 35% in the low income, 148 or 49% in the middle income and 47 or 16% in the high income group. With its unskilled workers the percentage in Slaterpuram in the low income group works out to 75. Among the shoe-makers of Arundathiapuram 70% belong to the middle group. In Goodpet Pallam 90% of the households earn less than Rs. 100 and in Slaterpuram 98%.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

20.25. The total income and expenditure of the sample households and the average income and expenditure per household are shown below :—

TABLE 20.25.—Income and Expenditure

(In Rupees and naye Paise)

Name of the Slum	Total monthly income	Average income per household	Total monthly Expenditure	Average Expenditure per household
(1) Austin Nagar	4,093.00	81.86	4,073.00	81.46
(2) Slaterpuram	2,362.00	47.24	2,217.12	44.34
(3) Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	4,087.00	81.74	4,049.47	80.98
(4) Arundathiapuram	4,411.00	88.22	4,223.50	84.47
(5) Kareem Mohideen Cheri	4,021.00	80.42	4,394.57	87.89
(6) Goodpet Pallam	2,826.00	56.52	2,746.82	54.94
For 300 households in all the slums	21,800.00	72.66	21,704.48	72.35

20.26. The total income of the sample households is Rs. 21,800.00 yielding an average income of Rs. 72.66. The average income per household varies from Rs. 47.24 in Slaterpuram to Rs. 88.22 in Arundathiapuram, the other slums recording incomes between these two extremes. It is Rs. 81.86 at Austin Nagar, Rs. 56.52 in Goodpet Pallam, Rs. 80.42 in Kareem Mohideen Cheri, and Rs. 81.74 in Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar. The low average income per household in Slaterpuram is due to the predominance of unskilled workers like wood-cutters and porters at the Barbers Bridge Wharf of the Buckingham Canal. The relatively high average income per household at Arundathiapuram may be attributed to the preponderance of skilled workers like cobblers.

20.27. The total monthly expenditure of the sample households is Rs. 21,704.48 yielding an average expenditure per household of Rs. 72.35. The latter varies from Rs. 44.34 at Slaterpuram to Rs. 87.89 at Kareem Mohideen Cheri. It is Rs. 54.94 at Goodpet Pallam, Rs. 80.98 at Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar, Rs. 81.46 at Austin Nagar and Rs. 84.47 at Arundathiapuram. The low expenditure at Slaterpuram is the result of the low income earned, as the households surveyed have hardly any credit or goods to pledge to raise loans. On the other hand the households at Kareem Mohideen Cheri earning more are also seen to be spending more. This Cheri being very close to more than half-a-dozen biggest cinema theatres in the city the population is perhaps faced with irresistible attraction to spend in excess of their income.

DEFICIT AND SURPLUS BUDGETS

20.28. An analysis of the data relating to income and expenditure of households has been made to find out the surplus and deficit budgets. *Vide* table 20.28.

TABLE 20.28.—Surplus and Deficit Budgets

Slum	Surplus Budget	%	Deficit Budget	%
1. Austin Nagar	20	40	30	60
2. Slaterpuram	29	58	21	42
3. Meenambal Sivaraj Nagar	27	54	23	46
4. Arundathiapuram	28	56	22	44
5. Kareem Mohideen Cheri	8	16	42	84
6. Goodpet Pallam	33	66	17	34
TOTAL	145	48.3	155	51.6

Of the 300 family budgets, 145 or 48.3% reveal surplus and 155 or 51.7% deficit budgets. The percentage of deficit budgets varies from slum to slum. It is the highest in Kareem Mohideen Cheri, where 42 budgets or 84% are deficit. It is lowest at Goodpet Pallam where 17 out of 50 or 34% of the budgets are deficit.

EXPENDITURE

20.29. Data relating to expenditure were confined to consumer goods with the object of finally assigning weights to broad groups as well as to various significant items of expenditure. The total expenditure of the 300 sample households is Rs. 21,704.48 giving an average expenditure per household of Rs. 72.35. Expenditure (i) on food, (ii) fuel and lighting, (iii) clothing, (iv) housing, and (v) miscellaneous is tabulated below :—

TABLE 20.29.—Total Expenditure

(In Rupees and naye Paise)

Groups	Total Expenditure	Average Expenditure per household	Percentage to Total
(i) Food	15,274.30	50.91	70.4
(ii) Fuel and lighting	1,548.03	5.16	7.1
(iii) Clothing	1,406.45	4.68	6.5
(iv) Housing	726.30	2.43	3.3
(v) Miscellaneous	2,749.20	9.17	12.7
TOTAL	21,704.48	72.35	100.0

The largest item of expenditure is on food accounting for 70.4%, followed by expenditure on miscellaneous with 12.7%, fuel and lighting with 7.1%, clothing with 6.5% and housing with 3.3%.

EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

20.30. The food group is divided into 13 sub-groups including a group representing expenditure on cooked food like rice, idli, and appam bought from eating shops and vendors, accounting for 5.6% of the expenditure on this group. The most important sub-group is (i) Rice accounting for 49.9% followed by (ii) vegetables and chillies 10.9%; (iii) fish 6.3%; (iv) tea 5.9%; (v) oils 5.1%; (vi) condiments 4.7%; (vii) meat 4.2%; (viii) jaggery 3.2%; (ix) coffee 2.5%; (x) ragi 0.9%; (xi) eggs 0.6%; and (xii) soda 0.1%.

FUEL AND LIGHTING

20.31. Expenditure on fuel and lighting is divided into three sub-groups. The first is fire-wood which accounts for 76.8% of the expenditure on this group followed by kerosene 19.1% and matches 4.1%.

CLOTHING

20.32. Expenditure on clothes is divided into four sub-groups, and the proportionate expenditure has been worked out. The most important sub-group is expenditure on women's clothing accounting for 41.6%. Next comes expenditure on men's clothing with 27.3%, followed by expenditure on boy's clothes with 16.3% and that on girl's clothing 14.8%.

HOUSE RENT

20.33. House rent is divided into two sub-groups. The first is rent paid for tenements which forms 99.5%. The second sub-group is "land rent" accounting for 0.5%. Among the slum dwellers, a small proportion are in the habit of constructing their huts at their own cost paying only nominal sum as land rent to the landholder.

MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE

20.34. Expenditure on miscellaneous group is divided into eleven sub-groups. The percentage on each out of the total expenditure on this major group has been computed and given in the order of their importance. For (i) Beedi it is 18.6%; (ii) Cinema 16.0%; (iii) Pansupari 15.2%; (iv) Barber 9.1%; (v) Cigarette 8.7%; (vi) Soap 8.5%; (vii) Dhobi 7.3%; (viii) Medicine 5.5%; (ix) Chewing tobacco 3.6%; (x) Religion 3.3%; and (xi) Snuff 1.3%. It is noteworthy that 47.3% of expenditure on this major group is spent on Pansupari and tobacco and 16.4% on barber and dhobi services.

20.35. It may be instructive to institute a comparison between the consumption patterns of the middle class (*vide* Chapter XVIII) and the slum dwellers studied in this chapter. The relevant statistics are tabulated below:—

TABLE 20.35

S. No.	Major Groups	Expenditure per Household Rs.		Percentage to Total	
		Middle class	Slum dwellers	Middle Class	Slum dwellers
(1)	(2)	(3)*	(4)**	(5)***	(6)
(1)	Food	129.28	121.96	50.9	50.7
(2)	Fuel and lighting	14.10	13.30	5.16	5.5
(3)	Clothing	25.29	23.86	4.68	9.9
(4)	Housing	16.77	15.82	2.43	6.6
(5)	Miscellaneous	69.75	65.80	9.16	27.3
	TOTAL	255.00	240.75	72.35	100.0

*Average size 5.7 persons (Actual)

**Average size 5.4 persons (Adjusted)

***Average size 5.4 persons (Actual)

The percentage expenditure per household on food is 50.7 for middle class against 70.4 for slum dwellers, on fuel and lighting it is 5.5 for the former and 7.1 for the latter. On clothing it is 9.9 and 6.5, on housing 6.6 and 3.3 and on miscellaneous 27.3 and 12.7 respectively. These figures are revealing. They clearly show how the slum dwellers spend a high percentage of their total expenditure on food and relatively higher percentage on fuel and lighting, leaving naturally relatively lower percentages for clothing, housing and miscellaneous. With regard to clothing the percentage for the slum dwellers is but two-thirds of that for the middle class and for housing and miscellaneous it is only half as much.

20.36. A study of the actual expenses incurred by the households of these two classes on the major groups highlights the great disparity in their consumption standards. The average size of the household is 5.7 for the middle class sample and 5.4 for the sample of slum dwellers. Making due adjustments of expenditure of the middle class households if its size were reduced to 5.4 persons per household to be on a par with the average size of the slum dwellers household, the figures of expenditure would be as those in column 4. Expenditure on food group is Rs. 121.96 for the middle class household which is about 2.4 fold of the expenditure of the slum household. On fuel and lighting too it is equally high at 2.6 fold. On clothing it is five-fold. It is more than six-fold on housing and more than seven fold on miscellaneous. These figures indeed show the wide gulf that separates the slum dwellers from the middle class in respect of their levels of living. When it is known that even the middle class surveyed is not able to maintain a reasonable standard of living the plight of the slum dwellers becomes all the more deplorable.

ASSIGNMENT OF WEIGHTS

20.37. A supplement showing the expenditure per household and *per capita* on the five major groups and all the sub-groups together with their respective weights (in percentages) is given in the following pages.

Expenditure per Household and per Capita on the Five Major Groups and all the Sub-Groups Together with Their Respective Weights in Percentages

Group	Per household	Per capita	Percentages
	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	
Food	50.91	9.43	70.4
Fuel and lighting	5.16	0.96	7.1
Clothing	4.68	0.87	6.5
Housing	2.43	0.45	3.3
Miscellaneous	9.17	1.69	12.7
TOTAL	72.35	13.40	100.0
<i>Sub-Groups :</i>			
Rice	25.38	4.70	49.9
Ragi	0.47	0.09	0.9
Vegetables & Chillies	5.58	1.03	11.0
Oils	2.58	0.48	5.1
Fish	3.20	0.59	6.3
Eggs	0.32	0.06	0.6
Meat	2.14	0.40	4.2
Tea	3.03	0.56	5.9
Coffee	1.27	0.24	2.5
Soda	0.07	0.01	0.1
Jaggery	1.64	0.30	3.2
Condiments	2.40	0.45	4.7
Eatables	2.83	0.52	5.6
TOTAL	50.91	9.43	100.0
TOTAL Food Group			70.4

Sub-Group	Per house- hold	Per capita	Percent- ages
<i>Fuel and lighting :</i>	Rs. nP	Rs. nP.	
Firewood	3.97	0.74	76.8
Kerosene	0.98	0.18	19.1
Matches	0.21	0.04	4.1
TOTAL	5.16	0.96	100.0
TOTAL Fuel & lighting Group			7.1
<i>Rent-Housing Group :</i>			
House Rent	2.42	0.45	99.5
Land Rent	0.01	—	0.5
TOTAL	2.43	0.45	100.0
TOTAL Housing Group			3.3
<i>Clothing :</i>			
Men	1.28	0.24	27.3
Women	1.95	0.36	41.6
Boys	0.76	0.14	16.3
Girls	0.69	0.13	14.8
TOTAL	4.68	0.87	100.0
TOTAL Clothing Group			6.5
<i>Miscellaneous :</i>			
Pan supari	1.39	0.26	15.2
Tobacco	0.33	0.06	3.6
Snuff	0.12	0.02	1.3
Beedi	1.70	0.31	18.6
Cigarette	0.80	0.15	8.7
Dhobi	0.67	0.12	7.3
Soap	0.78	0.14	8.5
Barber	0.84	0.16	9.1
Cinema	1.47	0.27	16.0
Medical	0.50	0.09	5.5
Religious	0.30	0.06	3.3
Transport	0.27	0.05	2.9
TOTAL	9.17	1.69	100.0
TOTAL Miscellaneous Group			12.7
GRAND TOTAL			100.0

CHAPTER XXI

SURVEY OF EMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN MADRAS CITY

THE EMPLOYMENT situation in Madras has been studied by this Research Unit by means of two special projects. The first is concerned with the Organised Sector undertaken at the instance of the Research Programmes Committee and the second with employment in the distributive trade, a sector which is generally less organised if not unorganised but truly less surveyed and investigated. In the present chapter Section I is devoted to the former and Section II to the latter.

SECTION I

EMPLOYMENT IN THE ORGANISED SECTOR

ORIGIN OF THE SURVEY

21.2. At the meeting of the persons in charge of City Surveys held on the 1st and 2nd June, 1954, it was suggested that "as the first step in the (Urbanization) enquiry, the employment situation as revealed by the data from the organised sector, large scale industries, transport, docks, Government services etc., should be collected and a brief report on the same may be made to the Planning Commission at the end of six months". The scope of this study of employment situation was defined at the meeting of the Guides of City Surveys sponsored by the Research Programmes Committee held on the 12th October, 1954 as follows: "Data about the employment position which was to be collected in the course of City Surveys were with reference to the organised sector. The study of small scale establishments and unorganised sector in general would need a separate enquiry". In short, a survey of the employment situation was visualised with the following terms of reference:

(1) Collection of statistics of employment in the organised sector: (a) Large scale industrial establishments; (b) The transport industries, Railway, Tram and Bus Services; and (c) Harbour and Dockyards.

(2) Collection of statistics of employment in the Government Departments of (a) Madras; (b) Andhra; (c) India; and (d) Madras Corporation; and

(3) Collection of statistics of employment in educational institutions: (a) University; (b) Colleges; (c) High Schools; and (d) Elementary schools

LARGE SCALE INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS

21.3. In the collection of the data for the organised sector no attempt was made to collect *de novo* statistics from the occupiers of factories, since relevant statistics had been available with the Chief Inspector of Factories. The Factories Act, 1934 and the Madras Non-Power Factories Act, 1947 apply to all industrial establishments employing not less than 10 workers listed in the schedules appended to both the Acts. From the office of the Chief Inspector of Factories, statistics relating to large scale establishments was collected for three years 1952, 1953 and 1954 showing employment situation as on the 1st January of each year. The data available at this office covered only such factories which had reported and the number which had not reported in 1954 was 382. To collect employment data from the non-reporting factories, a special effort was made by means of mailed questionnaires. Ten units replied that they were not within the purview of the Factories Act. About 40 mailed questionnaires were returned as the addressees were not found. Later it was found out that several of them had been closed. As the response was not quite satisfactory, the mailed questionnaire was followed up by direct investigation. Replies were received from 55 units and the Investigator secured the data for 28 more units. On the whole out of the 382 non-reporting factories, statistics relating to 83 factories were collected by this direct approach. For the rest, it was not considered profitable to pursue investigation and wait indefinitely as these units, which had evaded even the Factory Inspectors in respect of submission of statutory returns should obviously be hard cases.

21.4. The final picture of employment in the organised sector is derived by merging the statistics directly collected with the figures culled out from the reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories. The number of reporting and non-reporting factories in the three years covered is shown below :

TABLE 21.4—List of Industrial Establishments—Reporting and Non-Reporting

Year	Industrial Establishments		
	Total	Reporting	Non-Reporting
1952	1,146	809	337
1953	1,054	746	308
1954	1,146	847	299

21.5. An abstract of the data collected is shown in table 21.5. It shows the trend of employment in 12 categories of organised industries. The total number has declined from the peak level of 60,002 in 1952 to 52,497 in 1953, slightly recovering to 57,852 in 1954. The decline of about 1,000 workers in 2 years has been steady in textiles which even now account for over 25% of the total employment. Compared with 1952, the decline of employment in food and beverages, chemicals and oil, metal works, hotels and restaurants and transport group is perceptible and in tobacco rather slight. Employment in "fuel and gas" and "engineering" has been almost the same. Increase in employment in "recreation" group is nearly 100% and it is slight in "paper and printing" and miscellaneous groups. The first 6 groups of industries in 1954 may be arranged in their order of magnitude of employment as follows: (1) Textiles, (2) Transport, (3) Paper and Printing, (4) Engineering, (5) Fuel and Gas, (6) Hotels and Restaurants (leaving out the miscellaneous group).

TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES

21.6. Madras, being a collection of contiguous townships is a city of long distances, the business town and the suburban areas sprawling over an area of about 50 square miles. Naturally transport assumes a major significance. Madras city is served by a variety of means of transport ranging from the electric railway to the man-drawn rickshaw. Greater Madras is served by about 33 miles of railway, a little more than half of which is electrified. In both the electrified and non-electrified systems, there are 19 stations. In the electric railway, there is a train almost every 10 minutes in either direction.

TRAMWAY

21.7. Until its closure in April 1953, the Madras Electric Tramways Ltd., the oldest tramway in the East which had been incorporated in 1892 and had commenced operation in 1895, with its track of 16.25 miles and 103 single deck cars, carried on an average 125,000 passengers per day. This system has been closed for ever leaving its great share of passenger traffic to the bus service. The urban bus transport is at present a Madras State Government monopoly. Since the stoppage of tram cars, the fleet strength of the Madras State Government Bus Service has been considerably increased to cope with the increased traffic demand.

REGISTERED VEHICLES—[Office of the Deputy Commissioner of Police (Traffic)]

21.8. The number of registered vehicles plying in Madras could be estimated from the data collected from the Office of the Deputy Commissioner of Police (Traffic) vide table No. 21.8.

TABLE 21. 5—Madras City Employment Statistics—Industrial Establishments

Industry	1954				1953				1952			
	No. of factories		Number of persons employed	Percent- age	No. of factories		Number of persons employed	Percent- age	Number of factories		Number of persons employed	Percent- age
	R	NR			R	NR			R	NR		
1. Food & Beverages ..	46	26	1,259	2.18	40	32	1,150	2.19	57	21	2,169	3.61
2. Tobacco	35	11	1,736	3.00	31	14	1,824	3.47	32	41	1,800	3.00
3. Textiles	13	9	14,735	25.47	22	19	15,138	28.84	32	27	15,714	26.16
4. Paper and Printing ..	146	42	7,956	13.75	142	35	7,754	14.77	124	38	7,505	12.50
5. Chemicals and Oils ..	26	6	807	1.39	24	8	1,573	3.00	26	7	1,444	2.40
6. Fuel and Gas	13	1	4,816	8.32	12	1	4,154	7.91	13	—	4,823	8.03
7. Metal Works	69	23	2,359	4.08	75	31	2,327	4.43	86	24	3,257	5.42
8. Hotels and Restaurants	198	71	4,703	8.13	163	61	4,688	8.93	213	102	5,102	8.49
9. Recreation	8	2	1,167	2.02	8	2	1,336	2.55	4	2	595	0.99
10. Engineering	89	27	5,050	8.73	70	30	4,151	7.91	75	14	5,038	8.39
11. Transport	45	14	8,301	14.35	37	11	4,326	8.24	39	8	8,611	14.34
12. Miscellaneous	159	67	4,963	8.58	122	64	4,076	7.76	108	53	4,004	6.67
TOTAL	847	299	57,852	100.00	746	308	52,497	100.00	809	337	60,062	100.00
	1,146				1,054				1,146			

Men	58,901
Women	755
Children	406

Men	51,657
Women	562
Children	278

Men	56,833
Women	735
Children	284

TABLE 21. 8—Vehicles Paying Tax

No.	Description of the vehicle	Number
(1)	Buses	557
(2)	Car Privates	8,008
(3)	Taxis	296
(4)	Auto-rickshaws	139
(5)	Cycle rickshaws	1,000
(6)	Hand-pulled rickshaws	3,750
(7)	Single bullock carts	375
(8)	Jutkas (Pony drawn carts)	369

The above figures indicate approximately the number of vehicles; some vehicles registered in this office might have gone out of the city and some registered elsewhere would have come into the city. (After the introduction of small taxis since 1955, their total number has reached 1,000 in 1957 which are in addition to the licenced vehicles).

LICENCED VEHICLES—CORPORATION OF MADRAS *

21.9. To gain a better knowledge of the position in the transport sector, statistics of vehicles licensed by the Corporation of Madras were also collected. Some of them already occur in the table above but data relating to other significant means of transport are tabulated below :

TABLE 21. 9—Certain Types of Vehicles Licenced by Madras Corporation

No.	Type of vehicles	Number
(1)	Four-wheeled vehicles with springs	6
(2)	Two-wheeled	535
(3)	Bicycles	43,269
(4)	Rickshaws	6,265

In this table, item (1) obviously relates to Victorias and horse drawn phaetons. The bicycles are mostly not for hire. The number of rickshaws here is nearly 1,500 more than the combined strength of the hand-pulled and cycle rickshaws in the previous table. This discrepancy is due to the large number of unregistered rickshaws in use.

EMPLOYMENT IN TRANSPORT SECTOR—1951 CENSUS

21.10. Another set of data that could well serve as a background to the present survey of employment position in the transport sector, collected from the 1951 Census Handbook for Madras District (i.e. city) is given below :

TABLE 21.10—Employment in Transport Sector as in 1951 Census

Group code Number	Occupational Group	TOTAL	No. employed	
			Males	Females
7.0	Rickshaw Pullers	1,399	1,399	—
7.1	Bullock cart-drivers	3,765	3,765	—
	Cooly Porters	8,795	8,684	111
	Motor-Drivers	1,085	1,085	—
	Taxi-Drivers	875	875	—

TABLE 21.10—Contd.

Group code Number	Occupational Group	Total	No. employed	
			Males	Females
	Tram-Drivers	105	105	—
	Lorry-Drivers	705	705	—
	Bus Conductors	845	845	—
7.2	Boat men	2,906	2,906	—
	Harbour coolies	2,565	2,279	286
	Port employees	1,436	1,357	79
	Steamer employees	614	614	—
	Air Transport employees	156	139	17
	Civil Aviation officials	195	195	—
7.41	Railway Engine-Drivers	181	181	—
	Railway Guards	360	360	—
	Railway employees	868	815	53
7.42	Railway porters	7,251	7,172	79
TOTAL ..		34,106	33,481	625

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN TRANSPORT SECTOR

21.11. In the present survey, an attempt was made to collect employment data from (1) the Railway and (2) the Madras State Government Bus Service, the Tramway having been once for all wound up.

MADRAS STATE GOVERNMENT BUS SERVICE

21.12. The urban bus transport is at present the monopoly of the Madras State Government Transport which has a fleet of more than 400 buses on the road. There are about 27 private bus operators in Madras city with a total fleet strength of 152 buses plying between Madras city and a number of mofussil towns. They may also carry a small section of the suburban passengers travelling within the city. The employees of these private operators live in the city as well as the mofussil termini. It was not easy to collect data relating to the number of persons not only employed in them but also living within city limits. Thus the statistics of employment in urban transport virtually relates to the persons employed in the Madras Government Transport. The total number employed is 2,026 of whom 822 are drivers, 780 conductors, 125 time-keepers, 127 checking Inspectors and 172 cleaners.

HARBOUR AND DOCK-YARD

21.13. Madras Port Trust has six departments—Revenue, Accounts, Medical, Traffic, Marine and Engineering and a Dock-Labour Board. An Investigator was deputed to collect the employment data from the Port Trust Office. The statement 21.13, shows the number of persons employed in different categories in the various departments. The total number employed in the Harbour and Dock-Yard is 4,676 of whom 30 are employed in Revenue, 111 in Accounts, 56 in Medical, 1,377 in Traffic, 296 in Marine, 1,740 in Engineering Department and 1,066 by the Dock-Labour Board.

21.14. The statement also shows the classification of workers according to occupation. It will be seen that the group "Mazdoors", or coolies, is the largest with 1,812 persons followed by 1,341 classified as "technical", earning below Rs. 200 per mensem, 602 "others" consisting of miscellaneous workers not included in the other categories, 533 Lower Division Clerks and 196 Sweepers, Lascars, etc.

TABLE 21. 13—Employment Statistics (Madras Port Trust) for the Year 1954-1955

Designation	Revenue Dept.	Accounts Dept.	Medical Dept.	Traffic Dept.	Marine Dept.	Engineering Dept.	Dock-Labour Board Dec. 1954	Total
1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Class I	1	1	Nil	1	1	3	Nil	7
Class II	1	2	1	4	5	6	Nil	19
Superintendents	2	4	Nil	3	1	3	Nil	13
Technical—Above Rs. 200	Nil	Nil	1	7	1	4	Nil	13
Technical—Below Rs. 200	1	Nil	41	425	117	655	102	1,341
Upper Division Clerks	4	10	1	17	2	14	Nil	48
Lower Division Clerks	7	68	5	402	9	42	Nil	533
Stenographer	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
Typist	2	1	Nil	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	5
Draftsman	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	12	Nil	12
Attenders	2	1	3	2	Nil	5	Nil	13
Peons	9	15	Nil	14	8	15	Nil	61
Sweepers, Lascars, etc.	Nil	Nil	Nil	9	146	41	Nil	196
Mazdoors i.e. coolies	Nil	Nil	Nil	57	Nil	791	964	1,812
Others	1	9	4	433	6	149	Nil	602
TOTAL	30	111	56	1,377	296	1,740	1,066	4,676

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21.15. Among the dock-yard labourers, there are three classes; 'A' category represents permanent regularly employed workers, 'B' category semi-permanent getting full wages on employed days and only a retainer on a minimum number of days in the absence of employment and "casual labourers" employed whenever there is work for them. 'A' category enjoys the allowances and concessions usually granted to the regular employees in the other cadres while 'B' category does not. The casual labourers have their names registered and the policy is to provide them with work before calling in unregistered free workers from outside. The device of registering casual labourers and keeping them in reserve has been evolved to prevent abuses by foremen and mistries in the matter of recruitment.

GOVERNMENT SERVICES

21.16. For the present survey the term 'Government Services' has been defined to cover all Union, State and Local Government administrative offices excluding the rail and motor transport systems, owned and managed by the public bodies as they have been placed in the transport sector. Madras city has more than 200 Government offices belonging to the Central, Madras and Andhra State Governments, in addition to the Corporation of Madras and several foreign Government Consular offices. For obvious reasons, even at the outset, it was decided to exclude offices of foreign Governments located in Madras city. The Heads of all the other offices were requested to furnish employment data relating to actual employment according to various categories. The questionnaire was mailed but here too it had to be followed up by personal investigation. Despite reminders and personal visits, some offices did not furnish the data. The number of offices addressed and the number responded are tabulated below:

Classification of offices	Government			Railway	Total
	Madras	Andhra	Central		
(1) Number addressed	58	22	78	68	226
(2) Number responded	51	22	71	46	190
(3) Number not responded	7	—	7	22	36

21.17. The total number of Central, Madras and Andhra State Government offices including Railways is 226. The employment in Railway offices relates to administrative and technical staff only since statistics relating to transport operational staff like engine drivers and guards were not available. The number of persons employed in the Government offices excluding Railways and Madras Government Transport is 18,477. The Railway accounts for 12,898 and the Madras Government Transport for 2,833. A statement of the total number of persons employed in these offices, classified into 14 categories is shown in the table 21.17. In the first three categories of Madras, Andhra States and the Central Government, the number of inferior services consisting of attenders, peons, sweepers, lascars and others is 7,816. The next largest category is the group of 3,110 Lower Division Clerks, followed by the group of 2,624 Upper Division Clerks. The number of persons drawing salaries above Rs. 200 is 1,816. There are 214 Stenographers and 578 Typists.

RAILWAY OFFICES

21.18. The Southern Railway has its headquarters in Madras. Its administrative office and the associated offices numbering 46 account for an employment of 12,898 excluding the non-reporting 22 offices. The larger institutions like the Chief Administrative office, Perambur Carriage Works, the Financial Adviser's Office etc. of the Railway have furnished the data. The non-reporting offices are the comparatively smaller ones.

MADRAS CORPORATION

21.19. The Corporation of Madras is a giant Municipal organization with an annual revenue of about Rs. 250 lakhs. The Commissioner of the Corporation was approached for the employment statistics. At his suggestion, an Investigator was deputed to collect the necessary data. The employees of the Corporation of Madras, classified into six categories are shown in the table 21.19. Employees borne on revenue and capital account (The Corporation has a heavy capital programme of development) in the fifteen departments of the Corporation are abstracted:

TABLE 21.17—Madras City—Employment Statistics—Public Sector

Total in Each Category											Total No. of employees				
Cl. I	Cl. II	Supdt.	Tech. above Rs. 200	Tech. below Rs. 200	U.D.C.	L.D.C.	Steno	Typists	Drafts-men	Attenders		Peons	Sweepers, Lascars	Others	
A. GOVERNMENT OFFICES															
77	254	438	72	380	1,221	1,389	123	(1) MADRAS STATE		268	1,266	87	4,336		
								405	133						
26	89	197	1	56	734	458	45	(2) ANDHRA STATE		67	380	2	109		
								137	45						
52	220	195	195	1,678	669	1,263	46	(3) UNION GOVERNMENT		36	648	180	437		
								36	27						
155	563	830	268	2,114	2,624	3,110	214	TOTAL		371	2,294	269	4,882		
								578	205						
B. TRANSPORT															
40	133	299	184	5,311	686	2,048	86	(4) RAILWAYS ADMINISTRATIVE		13	553	2,150	1,151		
								115	129						
2	11	14	1	2,565	42	100	2	(5) MADRAS STATE GOVERNMENT BUS SERVICE		17	35	Nil	32		
								10	2						
42	144	313	185	7,876	728	2,148	88	TOTAL		30	588	2,150	1,183		
								125	131						
197	707	1,143	453	9,990	3,352	5,258	302	GRAND TOTAL		401	2,882	2,419	6,065		
								703	336						
															34,208

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TABLE 21.19—Employment Statistics 1954-1955—Corporation of Madras

Name of the Department	Officers	Asst. Officers	Superior Establish-ment		Establish-ment other than superior	Labour	Total
			Above Rs. 100	On Rs. 100 & below.			
1. General Department	2	3	18	53	98	32	206
2. Revenue Department	1	6	71	289	163	21	551
3. Central Accounts Department	1	1	13	53	12	—	80
4. Education Department	—	—	3	48	94	10	155
5. Secondary Schools	—	—	31	82	5	8	126
6. Elementary Schools	—	—	—	—	2,626	—	2,626
7. Engineering Department	1	6	101	119	74	2,976	3,277
8. Health Department	2	14	202	1,007	792	4,503	6,520
9. Workshop	—	—	4	7	2	399	412
10. Remunerative Enterprises	—	—	3	23	26	137	189
11. Land Development	—	—	6	1	—	6	13
12. Electrical Department	1	2	28	94	13	344	482
13. Water Supply	1	2	59	45	16	657	780
14. Drainage	2	4	58	126	55	2,087	2,332
15. Town Planning	—	2	13	22	4	21	62
TOTAL	11	40	610	1,969	3,980	11,201	17,811

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TABLE 21.19-A—Employees of the Madras Corporation

Name of the Department	Employees and the account on which borne		
	Revenue	Capital	Total
1. General	206	—	206
2. Revenue	551	—	551
3. Central Accounts	80	4	84
4. Education	155	—	155
5. Secondary Schools	126	—	126
6. Elementary Schools	2,626	—	2,626
7. Engineering	3,277	444	3,721
8. Health	6,520	—	6,520
9. Workshop	412	—	412
10. Remunerative Enterprises	189	—	189

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TABLE 21.19-A—contd.

Name of the Department	Employees and the account on which borne		
	Revenue	Capital	Total
11. Land Development	13	—	13
12. Electrical	482	24	506
13. Water Supply	780	184	964
14. Drainage	2,332	42	2,374
15. Town Planning	62	18	80
TOTAL	17,811	716	18,527

21.20. Of the total number of 18,527 employees of the Madras Corporation, 661 persons are earning above Rs. 100. The largest category of the employees is the group "labour" consisting of 11,201 persons. Next largest category consists of elementary school teachers showing a strength of 2,626. Among the various departments, the Health Department has the largest number of 6,520 employees.

21.21. Including the Railways and the Madras Government Transport, the Government offices of Central and State Government employ about 34,208. With an estimated addition of 4,000 persons for the non-reporting offices, the total number employed in the public sector is about 38,000 or 3% of the total population. Although this percentage appears to be high, this estimate of nearly 38,000 compares favourably with the 1951 census count of 17,569 State Government employees (prior to the formation of the Andhra State) and 15,272 Union Government employees making up in the aggregate 32,841. To the above 38,000 employed in the Central and State Government Services must be added 18,527 employees of the Madras Corporation to arrive at the total number employed in the public sector; it works out to 56,527 or about 56,500.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

21.22. At the commencement of this employment situation survey, prior to the receipt of the instructions confining this survey to the organised sector only, it was proposed to extend the coverage as much as possible. With this object, mailed questionnaires were addressed to educational institutions, banks, commercial houses, hotels and restaurants, jewellery merchants, etc. There was a slight response from the various associations of merchants and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and the Madras Chamber of Commerce (European) offered their cooperation. This effort was however, suspended after the Research Programmes Committee's direction to concentrate now on organised sector only. As for the educational institutions, they cut across the public and private sectors. In Madras city there are many Government Colleges and Schools (including Corporation) in addition to a large number of private aided institutions. An attempt was made to collect the employment data from all the institutions in the city—the University of Madras, 24 colleges, 67 high schools and 453 elementary schools. The response to the mailed questionnaire and direct investigation by the Investigators wherever necessary helped to secure data from all the institutions except 29 elementary schools. The data collected from 520 institutions are given below :

TABLE 21.22—Educational Institutions (1954)

Institutions	Number	Employees		Total
		Men	Women	
University of Madras	1	356	—	356
Men's Colleges	19	2,190	236	2,426
Women's Colleges	5			
High Schools for Boys	47	1,967	539	2,506
High Schools for Girls	20			

TABLE 21.22—contd.

Institutions	Number	Employees		Total
		Men	Women	
Elementary Schools :				
Government	6	1,654	756	2,410
Private	175*			
Corporation:				
Ordinary schools	193	1,312	1,314	2,626
Slum schools	50			
TOTAL	520	7,479	2,845	10,324

*Total Number of private schools is 204.

21.24. The data relating to employment in the industrial, public and educational sectors Colleges and High Schools account for nearly 25% each of this total, elementary schools the balance of 50%.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE SECTORS COVERED

21.24. The data relating to employment in the industrial, public and educational sectors collected in this survey are tabulated in the table 21.24, below :

TABLE 21.24.—Employment in Various Sectors

Institutions	Number of Units		Number of employees
	Total	Covered	
1. Large scale industrial establishments	1,146	847	57,852
2. Transport industries:			
(i) Railways	—	—	—
(ii) Madras Government Transport	1	1	2,833
(iii) Harbour and Dock-yard	1	1	4,676
TOTAL	2	2	7,509
3. Government Offices:			
(i) Madras State	58	53	10,449
(ii) Andhra State	22	22	2,346
(iii) Central Government	78	71	5,682
(iv) Southern Railway (Administrative)	68	46	12,898
(v) Corporation of Madras	1	1	18,527
TOTAL	227	193	49,902
4. Educational Institutions:			
(i) University of Madras	1	1	356
(ii) College (Men's & Womens')	24	24	2,426
(iii) High schools (47 Boys' and 20 Girls')	67	67	2,506
(iv) Elementary Schools	453	424	5,036
TOTAL	545	516	10,324
GRAND TOTAL	1,920	1,558	1,25,587

ESTIMATES FOR THE NON-REPORTING UNITS : INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

21.25. From the table it may be seen that the number employed in the sectors covered is 1,38,392. Out of a target of 1,920 units consisting of factories, offices and schools, 1,558 have been covered in this survey. Among the industrial establishments, 299 units have not responded to the mailed questionnaire nor to the personal visit of the Investigators. A scrutiny of the non-reporting units reveals that it contains among others 71 hotels and restaurants, 42 paper printing establishments, 26 food and beverages, 27 engineering, 14 transport and 23 metal works. It is understood that some of them have been wound up and some have suspended their activities. It is assumed that 50 have not been in operation. Assuming an average of 15 workers per unit for the remaining 249 units, the number employed in them is estimated at 3,735 or approximately 3,700.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS

21.26. In the Public sector, the non-reporting offices of the Government of Madras are : (1) Chief Engineer (Public Health)—Public Works Department; (2) Director of Industries and Commerce; (3) Director of Medical Services; (4) Commissioner of Police; and (5) Office of the Public Service Commission. In the above 5 offices, 3 and 4 are highly significant in respect of employment due to the army of nurses, attenders and ayahs in the former and the police force in the latter. The number of persons employed in all these offices has been estimated at 7,000. Seven Central Government offices and 22 offices of the Railways have not furnished the returns. Employment in these two categories of offices is estimated at 2,500 and 2,000 persons respectively. The 29 elementary schools, which have not reported, may be employing about 150 persons.

21.27 The estimate for the non-reporting institutions, offices and schools is tabulated below:

Institutions	Number	Estimated No. of persons employed
Industrial establishments	299	3,700
Madras Government Offices	5	7,000
Central Government Offices	7	2,500
Southern Railway Offices	22	2,000
Elementary schools	29	150
TOTAL	362	15,350

FINAL PICTURE OF EMPLOYMENT

21.28. Adding the above estimate relating to non-reporting units, to the employment figures worked out for all the reporting institutions, the employment position in the sectors covered by this survey is shown below :

Descriptions of Institutions	Employment		Total
	No. in reporting units	Estimated No. in non-reporting units	
1. Large-scale industrial establishments	57,852	3,700	61,552
2. Transport industries:			
(i) Railways	—	2,000	2,000
(ii) Madras Government Transport	2,833	—	2,833
(iii) Harbour and Dock Yard	4,676	—	4,676
TOTAL	7,509	2,000	9,509

TABLE—contd.

Descriptions of Institutions	Employment		Total
	No. in reporting units	Estimated No. in non-reporting units	
3. Government Offices:			
(i) Madras State	10,449	7,000	17,449
(ii) Andhra State	2,346	—	2,346
(iii) Central	5,682	2,500	8,182
(iv) Railways	12,898	—	12,898
(v) Corporation	18,527	—	18,527
TOTAL	49,902	9,500	59,402
4. Educational Institutions:			
(i) University of Madras	356	—	356
(ii) Colleges	2,426	—	2,426
(iii) High Schools	2,506	—	2,506
(iv) Elementary Schools	5,036	150	5,186
TOTAL	10,324	150	10,474
GRAND TOTAL	1,25,587	15,350	1,40,937

21.29. It may be seen from the above table that the total number employed in the Organised sector and Public sector including Education is about 1,41,000 persons of whom about 61,600 or 43.7% are employed in the Large Scale Industrial Establishments, about 9,500 or 6.7% in Railway and Bus Transport, about 59,400 or 42.2% in Government Services including Railway (Administrative) and about 10,500 or 7.4% in Educational Services including University, Secondary and Primary education. Since the persons included in this estimate are regularly employed and paid customary living wages, they belong to the category of "Self-supporting" persons. In the 1951 census the total number in this category in Madras city (belonging both to the organised and the unorganised sectors) was 3,88,684 persons of whom 6,046 belonged to agricultural classes, 92,100 to Production (other than agriculture), 86,451 to Commerce, 34,107 to Transport and 1,69,980 to "other services and miscellaneous sources". The present survey reveals that about 1,41,000 persons are employed in the organised industrial and transport sector and public sector including education, against 3,88,690 self-supporting persons in 1951 census.

SECTION II

EMPLOYMENT IN DISTRIBUTIVE TRADE

21.30. The review of the industrial and occupational pattern in Madras city through the decades since 1871 in Chapter II has brought out one significant characteristic of the city. The percentage of population depending on manufacture has remained fairly constant in the past thirty years. From 32.6% in 1891 it rose to a peak of 42.3% in 1901 declining later to 27.2%, in 1911. As has already been explained, the decline in the population depending upon industry after the turn of the century is chiefly due to the decay of the handicrafts and the traditional arts. Since 1921 the percentage seems to have stabilised itself around 25; it was 25.7 in 1921, 23.5 in 1931 and 23.4 in 1951. (Data of the 1951 census have not been analysed for industrial classification). The trend of industrial employment since 1951 analysed in the preceding part of this chapter also confirms this view.

21.31. This situation is likely to continue in the foreseeable future as well because of two reasons. Firstly the Second Five Year Plan has no industrial project that would be located within the city limits. The Integral Coach Factory represents perhaps the swan song of the industrial development of the city. No doubt the vast schemes of expansion of the Madras port have been initiated. But they do not belong to the industrial sector in the real sense. Secondly in view of the huge costs of urban sites and difficulties of getting adequate water and industrial amenities private enterprise would hardly venture to establish their factories within the city. Consequently the future of Madras city lies not in industrial development but in the expansion of commerce. The statistics of the occupational pattern in the census years lend support to this prognostication. The percentage of population depending upon trade was 19.6 in 1921, which declined to 15.6 in the great depression year of 1931, however, registering a sharp rise to 24.4 in 1951. Thus the predominantly commercial character of the city is fairly well established. But in the preceding part of this chapter presenting the employment situation in the organised sector derived from official and recorded data the commercial sector had to be a conspicuous omission. Although the

TABLE 21.33

Functional Classifi

Categories	I Zone		II Zone	
	No. of shops	No. of employees	No. of shops	No. of employees
1. Petty shop and pan shop (Corner shops)	661	856	1,638	1,852
2. General Stores	197	351	503	1,370
3. Food and drinks	683	1,257	1,588	3,667
4. Milk products	112	189	117	253
5. Appalam and vadam	11	14	14	25
6. Vegetables, cocoanut, fruits, etc.	105	145	420	1,177
7. Eggs, meat and fowls	30	39	52	66
8. Hotels, Restaurants & Cafes	553	2,205	1,089	5,500
9. Firewood and charcoal (fuels)	268	544	421	928
10. Kerosene and petrol	18	31	25	51
11. Medical stores	133	238	204	617
12. Utensils and household articles	87	214	311	1,057
13. Tobacco—snuff, bidi etc.,	121	345	228	808
14. Books and Printing	274	1,210	442	2,314
15. Repairs and servicing	643	2,060	571	1,708
16. Jewellery and decorations	314	678	856	2,474
17. Services—Personal—saloons, laundries etc.	1,094	2,083	1,998	4,111
18. Dress & Apparel (includes umbrellas)	181	653	686	3,265
19. Footwear & leather goods, mats, etc.	47	116	96	502
20. Small Industries	206	716	499	1,801
21. Used articles: Paper, bottles and gunnies	42	54	146	426
22. Miscellaneous articles	357	813	1,010	3,944
TOTAL	6,137	14,811	12,919	37,919

Shop Assistants Act was passed in 1947 and implemented soon after, statistics relating to employment in the commercial sector have not been fully consolidated and made available in the form of reports. Thus it became necessary to conduct a census survey of shops for completing the picture of the employment situation in the city.

PROCEDURE ADOPTED

21.32. The Investigators of the present Research Unit were provided with a specially drawn schedule consisting of 125 categories of shops and directed to collect data relating to the number of shops as well as the number of employees in each. Madras city has more than 3,000 streets with a total mileage exceeding 550. The ten Investigators of the Unit were allotted 300 miles each for conducting this investigation. Without prejudice to the progress of the main investigation they covered 5 miles a day for this shop survey and completed it in two months in October-November 1956. The large mass of data collected was later analysed, the results of which are given in the succeeding paragraphs.

CLASSIFICATION OF SHOPS

21.33. The elaborate list of more than 130 types of shops was classified into 22 categories. Their occurrence in the four zones of the city is shown in the statement 21.33. The total number of shops enumerated in this survey is 29,873. The largest category comprising saloons and laundry is 5,284 or 17.7%. The second category is the pan shop including the petty shop found in large numbers scattered all over the city. The most important articles sold in them are betel, cigarettes and beedies, aerated waters, bananas, lozenges and cheap knick-knacks. This category accounts for 4,022 or 13.5%. The third important category consists of food and drinks shop—numbering 3,874 or 13.0% followed by hotels, restaurants and cafes with 2,653 or 8.9%, repairs and servicing with 1,859 or 6.2%, jewellery and decorations with 1,548 or 5.2%, small industries with 1,286 or 4.3%, firewood and charcoal with 1,205 or 4.0%, dress and apparel with 1,154 or 3.9%. The number of vegetables, cocoanuts and fruits shop is 749 or 2.5% which does not however include kutchra vendors of vegetables on pavements.

Statement of Shops

III Zone		IV Zone		Total		Percentage to Total	
No. of shops	No. of employees	No. of shops	No. of employees	No. of shops	No. of employees	No. of shops	No. of employees
1,091	1,111	632	718	4,022	4,537	13.5	6.0
216	353	102	248	1,023	2,322	3.4	3.1
1,102	1,577	501	1,119	3,874	7,620	13.0	10.2
48	57	19	40	296	539	1.0	0.7
2	16	4	5	31	60	0.1	0.1
140	143	84	106	749	1,571	2.5	2.1
86	98	21	30	189	233	0.6	0.3
648	2,361	363	1,320	2,653	11,386	8.9	15.2
322	607	194	578	1,205	2,657	4.0	3.5
29	63	23	67	95	212	0.3	0.3
91	148	56	111	484	1,114	1.6	1.5
90	322	35	103	523	1,696	1.8	2.3
41	109	5	6	395	1,268	1.3	1.7
122	388	58	288	896	4,200	3.0	5.6
499	1,177	146	349	1,859	5,294	6.2	7.1
297	644	81	191	1,548	3,987	5.2	5.3
1,469	2,374	723	1,481	5,284	10,049	17.7	13.4
228	472	59	214	1,154	4,604	3.9	6.1
35	72	9	31	187	721	0.6	1.0
483	1,517	98	374	1,286	4,411	4.3	5.9
74	86	14	22	276	588	0.9	0.8
361	767	116	289	1,844	5,813	6.2	7.8
7,474	14,462	3,343	7,690	29,873	74,882	100.0	100.0

21.34. The total number of persons employed in the shops covered by this survey is 74,882. In respect of employment the order of significance is different. The most important category is the hotel group employing 11,386 persons or 15.2%. Next comes the group "saloons and laundries", employing 10,049 or 13.4% followed by food and drink shops employing 7,620 or 10.2%, dress and apparel shops 4,604 or 6.1%, small industries 4,411 or 5.9%, books and printing 4,200 or 5.6%, jewellery and decorations 3,987 or 5.3%, firewood and charcoal 2,657 or 3.5%, general stores 2,322 or 3.1% and the other categories excepting the miscellaneous group employ less than 3%.

SHOPS AND HOUSEHOLDS

21.35. One of the objects of the present survey is to find out the dispersal of shops in the various divisions and not exactly the shopping facilities. With this end in view, the number of shops in each division, irrespective of their categories have been correlated to the number of households in them (Vide Table 21.35, below). The number of households per shop varies from 1.6 in Park Town to 24.4 in Personal km. Details relating to the other divisions are given in the table below :

TABLE 21.35—Average Number of Households per Shop in Each Division

Division No.	Division Name	No. of households	No. of shops	Average No. of households per shop
28	Park Town	2,757	1,693	1.6
14	Kothawal Chavadi	3,088	1,432	2.2
15	Sowcarpet	3,455	1,141	3.0
25	Vepery	2,872	665	4.3
13	Kachaleeswarar	2,963	642	4.6
39	Tiruvateeswaranpet	5,422	1,108	4.9
7	Basin Bridge	2,577	515	5.0
26	Periamet	5,813	1,074	5.4
41	Triplicane	3,181	536	5.9
40	Chepauk	4,629	710	6.5
12	Harbour	3,097	457	6.8
45	Mylapore South	4,678	672	7.0
42	Jam Bazaar	5,004	671	7.5
22	Kilpauk	3,308	443	7.5
11	Muthialpet	5,096	675	7.5
38	Pudupakkam	5,398	664	8.1
29	Napier Park	3,163	383	8.3
10	Ammen Koil	4,464	513	8.7
37	Royapettah	4,388	465	9.4

TABLE 21.35—Contd.

1	2	3	4	5
19	Perambur Barracks	5,960	629	9.5
27	Edapalayam	4,112	431	9.5
9	Seven Wells	5,840	593	9.8
30	Chintadripet	5,008	508	9.9
50	Adyar	5,342	540	9.9
47	T' Nagar South	6,468	644	10.0
31	Komaleeswaranpet	5,226	511	10.2
43	Mirsaibpet	7,777	755	10.3
16	Trevelyan Basin	6,106	584	10.5
20	Sembium	6,850	641	10.7
32	Egmore	3,011	276	10.9
5	Korrukupet	7,572	686	11.0
8	Peddunaickenpet	5,919	533	11.1
36	T' Nagar North	3,768	324	11.6
4	Sanjeevaroyanpet	11,112	909	12.2
34	Thousand Lights	6,608	543	12.2
33	Nungambakkam	5,011	404	12.4
44	Mylapore North	7,113	568	12.5
17	Choolai	9,940	745	13.3
6	Vyasarpadi	4,869	351	13.9
18	Pulianthope	8,172	584	14.0
21	Ayanavaram	6,200	436	14.2
3	Singarathottam	8,304	580	14.3
48	Saidapet	7,017	474	14.8
2	Royapuram	3,883	253	15.3
35	Kodambakkam	7,380	479	15.4
46	Teynampet	5,851	351	16.7
49	Guindy	3,221	155	20.6
1	New Washermanpet	7,092	331	21.4
24	Kosapet	8,591	394	21.8
23	Purasawalkam	4,907	210	24.4

SHOPS AND STREETS

21.36. In a sprawling city like Madras consisting of several townships, shops dealing in necessities and utility goods like cereals, firewood, vegetables, kerosene, ordinary clothes, drugs and medicines are necessarily widely distributed. But owing to historic causes and purposeful town planning some areas have grown or being developed into great shopping centres of the city.

even a casual visitor to the city could locate these centres in Sowcarpet, Broadway, Vepery and Jambhazari. In these areas residential houses do not exist or are fast disappearing. In the present shop survey an attempt is made to statistically locate these areas. For this purpose the average number of shops per street in each division has been worked out. There are mile-long streets as well as lanes less than a furlong, all defined as streets in the Corporation records. Despite this wide disparity the mean worked out per street might reveal in a general way the shopping centres. The relevant data are given in table 21.36 below :

TABLE 21.36—Average Number of Shops Per Street—Divisionwise

Div. No.	Names of Division	Number of Shops	Number of Streets	Average No. of shops per street
1	New Washermanpet	331	67	4.9
2	Royapuram	253	44	5.7
3	Singarathottam	580	59	9.8
4	Sanjeevarayanpet	909	107	8.5
5	Korrukupet	686	74	9.3
6	Vyasarpady	351	77	4.6
7	Basin Bridge	515	64	8.0
8	Peddunaickenpet	533	44	12.1
9	Seven Wells	593	46	12.9
10	Ammen Koil	513	50	10.3
11	Muthialpet	675	32	21.1
12	Harbour	457	52	8.8
13	Kachaleswarar	642	27	23.8
14	Kothawalchavadi	1,432	26	55.1
15	Sowcarpet	1,141	29	39.3
16	Trevelyan Basin	584	48	12.2
17	Choolai	745	73	10.2
18	Pulianthope	584	101	5.8
19	Perambur Barracks	629	55	11.4
20	Sembium	641	82	7.8
21	Ayanavaram	436	86	5.1
22	Kilpauk	443	58	7.6
23	Purasawalkam	201	48	4.2
24	Kosapet	394	53	7.4
25	Vepery	666	34	19.6
26	Periamet	1,074	69	15.6
27	Edapalayam	431	35	12.3
28	Park Town	1,693	45	37.6
29	Napie Park	383	38	10.1

TABLE 21.36—Contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
30	Chintadripet	508	40	12.7
31	Komaleeswaranpet	511	52	9.8
32	Egmore	276	37	7.5
33	Thousand Lights	543	98	5.5
34	Nungambakkam	404	59	6.8
35	Kodambakkam	479	121	4.0
36	'T' Nagar North	324	91	3.6
37	Royapettah	465	56	8.3
38	Pudupakkam	664	46	14.4
39	Thiruvoteeswaranpet	1,108	65	17.0
40	Chepauk	710	41	17.3
41	Triplicane	536	54	9.9
42	Jam Bazaar	671	51	13.2
43	Mirsaibpet	755	88	8.6
44	Mylapore—North	568	62	9.2
45	Mylapore—South	672	68	9.9
46	Teynampet	351	67	5.2
47	'T' Nagar South	644	117	5.5
48	Saidapet	474	96	4.9
49	Guindy	155	47	3.3
50	Adayar	540	90	6.0

21.37. A glance at the table will show that the most important division in respect of shops per street is Kothawalchavadi having 55 shops per street; everyone knows that it is the chief wholesale and retail shopping centre for cereals, pulses, vegetables, fruits and spices. The next important division is Sowcarpet with 39.3 shops per street; it is literally a congeries of shops dealing in jewellery, gold and silver, drugs, kirana, hardware, electrical and various other types of durable consumer goods. Next in order is Park Town with 37.6 shops per street/adjacent to and vying with Sowcarpet in both retail and wholesale trade. The division of Kachaleswarar follows with 23.8 shops per street which is famous for constructional materials, sanitary ware and other goods. It is rather interesting to find that all these four divisions which seem to constitute the heart of the business area of the city are nestling close to one another with Muthialpet on the northern fringe having 21 shops per street. The city seems to have a second business centre located in Vepery and in Periamet with nearly 20 and 16 shops respectively per street. Of less significance is Jam Bazaar with 13.2 shops per street.

SIZE OF SHOPS

21.38. From the economic standpoint the most appropriate criterion for judging the size of a shop is undoubtedly its working capital. But the present survey is designed to study employment. Data relating to the number of persons employed have therefore been collected and on that basis shops classified into ten categories ranging from 1 to 10 and more. The relevant data are shown in table 21.38. It may be seen from this table that 43.3% of the shops are manned by single individuals. Most of them are pan and petty shops, the owners of which occur in the category of self-employed persons. The percentage declines to 29.5 for shops employing two

TABLE 21. 38—Shops Classified According to Number of Persons Employed

Number of employees (Size of the shops)	Number—Zone-wise				TOTAL	Percentage—Zone-wise				TOTAL
	I	II	III	IV		I	II	III	IV	
1	2,615	4,644	4,249	1,430	12,938	42.9	36.1	56.4	43.3	43.3
2	2,155	3,772	1,939	958	8,824	35.0	29.1	26.2	28.4	29.5
3	671	1,669	579	513	3,432	10.9	12.9	7.8	15.2	11.5
4	252	928	311	207	1,698	4.1	7.2	4.2	6.1	5.7
5	127	524	117	72	840	2.1	4.0	1.6	2.1	2.8
6	83	493	95	58	729	1.4	3.8	1.3	1.7	2.4
7	37	113	35	17	202	0.6	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.7
8	42	246	51	33	372	0.7	1.9	0.7	1.0	1.3
9	19	39	9	2	69	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
10+	136	491	89	53	769	2.2	3.8	1.2	1.6	2.6
TOTAL SHOPS	6,137	12,919	7,474	3,343	29,873	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

persons, 11.5 employing three persons and 5.7 employing four persons. Although the percentage goes on declining as the number of persons employed increases the trend is reversed with regard to the category of shops employing 10 or more persons. Among the four zones into which the city has been divided for purposes of analysis in the earlier sections of the report, the second zone covering North Madras which is really the Down Town area of this great city has relatively a larger percentage of 3.8 in the category of shops employing ten or more persons compared with 2.2 in the first, 1.2 in the third and 1.6 in the fourth zone, clearly indicating that big business is concentrated there.

21.39. The figures in this survey have been collected with as much diligence and honesty of purpose as possible. This item of work entailed a great deal of physical strain besides the usual mental alertness required for economic surveys. Several difficulties were encountered. For example, a few shops were closed on the date of enumeration and the Investigators had to ascertain whether they were closed because of weekly holidays or permanently, the business having been wound up. In the case of temporary closure Investigators secured the necessary information from the neighbouring shops. On the whole it may be stated that the statistics relating to shops and employment represent approximately the true situation.

SEA-BORNE TRADE OF MADRAS CITY

21.40. Enquiries into the commercial sector are seldom undertaken. The history of Madras city clearly shows the significance of commercial expansion. To appreciate this point in its right perspective data relating to export and import trade for the years 1940-1941 and 1955-1956 have been collected from the Customs House. Although they relate only to sea-borne trade they bring out vividly the significance of the commercial sector of Madras city.

IMPORTS

An abstract statement of the value of imports broadly divided into 18 categories are given in the table 21.41. The total value of imports has risen from Rs. 13.45 crores in 1940-1941 to Rs. 72.81 crores in 1955-1956 or 5.4 fold. Among the various categories, the value of vehicles has increased 21 fold, instruments, apparatus and appliances 10 fold, building and engineering materials 12.8 fold, machinery and mill-stores 15 fold.

TABLE 21.41—Madras Port—Imports

Categories	1940-41 Rs.	1955-56 Rs.	% increase in 1955-56 Base 40-41
1. Building and Engineering materials	7,43,897	95,55,037	1,284.5
2. Chemical and chemical preparations	69,66,888	1,77,76,028	255.2
3. Coal and coke	11,391	—	Nil
4. Drugs and Medicines	27,31,396	62,53,096	228.9
5. Dyeing and Tanning substances	48,22,239	1,75,72,303	364.4
6. Fruits and Vegetables	3,36,278	11,50,648	342.2
7. Instruments, apparatus and appliances and parts	44,20,366	4,49,21,069	1,016.2
8. Liquor	40,77,847	34,84,520	167.7
9. Machinery and Millwork	1,19,17,828	18,44,09,320	1,547.3
10. Metals and Ores	3,69,323	8,76,41,029	23,730.2
11. Oils	2,13,55,533	6,54,36,853	306.4
12. Paper and stationery	61,89,248	3,02,41,361	488.8
13. Plastic materials and manufactures	—	9,09,396	9,093.6

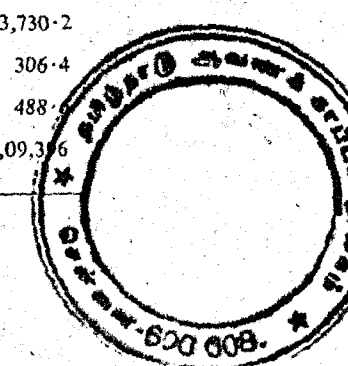


TABLE 21.41—*Madras Port—Imports*

Categories	1940-41 Rs.	1955-56 Rs.	% increase in 1955-56 Base 40-41
14. Printing and Lithographing machinery & material (excluding paper).	2,85,645	40,08,119	1,403.2
15. Provision and Oilman stores including fish, fruits and vegetables canned or bottled.	36,74,649	2,65,75,660	723.7
16. Textiles	2,08,20,718	7,31,35,002	351.1
17. Vehicles	42,70,311	9,24,27,690	2,164.4
18. All other Articles	4,35,44,538	6,25,74,173	143.7
TOTAL ..	13,45,38,095	72,80,71,295	541.2

EXPORTS

21.42. Data relating to the value of exports in the two reference years are tabulated in table 21.42, below. The total value of exports has increased from Rs. 14.23 crores to Rs. 62.03 crores or 4.3 fold in this period. The most significant expansion is seen among oils registering 27.6 fold increase, mica nearly 12 fold, provisions nearly 10 fold, textiles 4.7 fold, vegetables and fruits 3.2 fold, tobacco 2.5 fold and skins and hides 1.3 fold. These figures indicate the notable growth in the volume of foreign trade passing through Madras Harbour. It is a clear indication of the growing commercial character of the city. In spite of this remarkable phenomenon statistics relating to the commercial sector are extremely meagre. The present shop survey is a very feeble attempt to explore a vast and virgin field. Compared with the industrial and transport sectors in which statistics have been collected for administrative and regulatory reasons, commercial sector retains still the features of a cinderella. The recent Shop Assistants Act touches only the fringe of the problem of statistics. It is necessary to secure statistics relating not only to the number of persons employed and the hours of work but also employment status and earnings of the persons. Further, a comprehensive investigation into the size of the commercial firms in respect of capital, organization, working conditions etc., appear to be an urgent necessity.

TABLE 21.42—*Madras Port—Exports*

Categories	Value		% increase in 55-56 Base year 1940-41
	1940-1941	1955-1956	
1. Skins & Hides	6,15,66,955	8,32,39,262	135.20
2. Seeds	1,28,26,509	3,91,108	3.05
3. Tobacco	1,09,83,167	2,74,54,415	249.95
4. Textiles	4,47,34,208	21,30,46,730	476.27
5. Vegetables and Fruits	13,35,600	42,82,577	320.65
6. Mica	13,50,684	1,61,84,623	1,198.25
7. Oils	35,31,031	9,75,37,279	2,762.29
8. Provisions	7,18,937	70,45,647	980.01
9. All other Articles	52,59,406	17,12,02,239	3,255.16
TOTAL ..	14,23,06,497	62,03,83,880	435.95

PART VI

PROBLEMS RESTATED

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CHAPTER XXII

PROBLEMS RESTATED

THE VAST MASS OF DATA pressed into service in the preceding 21 chapters cover a wide range of problems pertaining to the process of Urbanization experienced by Madras city in recent years. A wide terrain has been traversed and the journey's end is within ken; it is not only convenient but also proper to pause to have a look-back and with the hind-sight thus gained take stock of the present and peer into the future.

PHENOMENAL GROWTH OF POPULATION

22.2 Since the first census of 1871, the history of the growth of Madras city presents two distinct phases. The first phase of fifty years has been a rather tardy growth of population from 3,93,920 in 1871 to 5,26,911 in 1921, or an increase of 33.8% at an average rate of 2/3% per annum. The second phase of thirty years has witnessed a rapid growth reaching 14,16,056 in 1951, at an average rate of 5.6% per annum. Within this second phase are discernible two sub-phases of which the earlier between 1921 and 1941 has recorded an annual increase of 3.4%. The latter has seen an unprecedented rise of 6.0% per annum compared with 1.3% for the total population of the country in the same decennium 1941-51. If the latter is taken as the natural rate of increase which would err on the high than the low side in respect of urban areas, the rate of increase due to other reasons works out to 4.7% per annum. In the context of Madras city these other reasons boil down to (i) extension of the city limits in 1946 incorporating Saidapet Municipality and 15 village Panchayats in the belt area accounting for a population of about one lakh and (ii) immigration. In absolute numbers increase in population of Madras city due to immigration is approximately 3,14,000 in the decennium ending 1951. To describe this increase picturesquely as larger than the combined total population of Tiruchirapalli and Tirunelveli Municipalities is to underline its magnitude and baffling proportions.

HOUSES AND POPULATION

22.3. Against an increase of 88,914 in population or 168% in the second phase, the number of residential houses has increased from 64,621 in 1921 to 1,09,993 houses in 1951 or an increase of about 70%. When it is realised that even in this increase in the number of dwellings a considerable percentage consists of huts and hovels unfit for decent human habitation, the terrific congestion that should have resulted may not be hard to visualize. If all this increase in population has been merely floating in character seeking temporary accommodation in the city for a few days or even a few weeks, the impact of this avalanche might perhaps be tided over by short-period adjustments and discomforts but majority of this immigrant population has come for permanent stay. To provide this enormous population with some sort of roof over their heads and minimum supply of water and sanitary conveniences is indeed a herculean task for the civic authorities.

PERMANENT CHARACTER OF IMMIGRATION

22.4 The problem gets aggravated beyond description when the bulk of the immigrants have come with the set purpose of seeking their means of livelihood in the city. The present survey has revealed beyond doubt that the character of the present immigration is not seasonal as it used to be prior to world war I when famines and drought drove hordes of stricken villagers into the city. It is but an insignificant percentage of the sample immigrants who have expressed a desire to leave the city whereas all the rest are determined to stick to the city. The lament over the migratory character of the urban population is therefore out of place but a fresh lament seems to be in order over the real and mounting difficulties of providing suitable and adequately remunerative employment to the vast swarms of immigrants.

IMMIGRANTS CLASSIFIED

22.5 The study of the immigration problem in the foregoing chapter discloses certain significant traits of the immigrants relating to their equipment and qualifications. On this basis immigrants can be grouped into two broad sections. The first consists of two groups in whose migration hardly figures any consideration of employment: (i) the rich and the well-to-do forming

a small minority of 3.8% have come to the city to enjoy its amenities and educational facilities. (ii) Dependents comprising parents, children, spouses and other relations form 66.5% who may be described as the passive group who have willy nilly moved out of their original habitat to the city to be under the protective wings of the bread winners. Both these groups constituting 70% do not generally clamour for employment nor do they live under conditions of destitution. In respect of the provision of employment they constitute the least irksome sort among the immigrants.

22.6 It is the remaining 30% of the total immigrant population, who have come to the city lured by better employment opportunities or ejected from their original habitat by the push factors like unemployment, insolvency, social tension and family differences, that constitutes the second section. They are the hard core of the immigrant population for whom provision of proper employment becomes a social concern. They are also the economically significant among the immigrants. Their qualifications and equipment differ widely as also their rates of absorption. Of this section of the immigrants, the first group consisting of highly qualified technical personnel forming 11.0% find employment more easily than the rest and their placement does not offer any serious problem. The second group too comprising technicians of the lower cadre without either a degree or diploma forming about 4% get employed fairly quickly. The next group of persons with high general education consisting of graduates and S.S.L.Cs., are absorbed less quickly; most of them secure employment within a year of their arrival. The illiterate and the mere literates may be clubbed together to form a single group, as their employment opportunities hardly differ. Forming nearly 63%, their employment presents a complex problem. The illiterates blissfully devoid of any pretension readily take to any employment that is available and eke out their living, doing mainly casual, unskilled work. But the literates, cultivating a fastidious choice of occupations but not possessing adequate qualification, find themselves in an unenviable position of really willing to be employed but afraid to do the jobs calling for manual work. While they wait longer they get more and more pinched and gradually shed out their taboos and aversions and accept jobs of all kinds. A small section among them cling to false notions of dignity and status. They are particularly those educated upto or above middle school. They seek jobs like attenders and cycle messengers and very few enjoy the luck of getting them.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ATTITUDES OF THE HARD CORE

22.7 It is apparent from the above conclusions that the hard core of the unemployed immigrants consists partly of educated and mostly of the illiterate and literate groups. As for the educated, the survey reveals that they stand on a different level of culture and intelligence. Their culture forbids them from hanging on to the city beyond a reasonable period waiting for employment. If they happen to be guests they do not want to encumber their hosts, related or otherwise, for an unduly long period by prolonged stay. If they set up their own homes, their stay in search of employment could only last as long as their nucleus of savings with which they start their career in the city is not spent. They also belong to a class whose intelligence forbids them from an adventure in the city in search of employment without a proper assessment of the prospects thereof. Thus one of two things could happen to this group; either they secure jobs fairly quickly after their arrival or they make their exit soon after their resources dry up.

LIFE AND WORK IN NATIVE PLACE

22.8. In contrast to the above group are the social and cultural attitudes of the illiterate and the so-called literate group. Chiefly drawn from the lowest social strata and income groups their levels of living used to be deplorably low in their original habitat. They are accustomed to thatched huts, insanitary surroundings, grossly insufficient employment and pitifully meagre earnings. Seasonal employment apart, they used to suffer from 20 to 25 days of unemployment per month, earning even in the few employed days but a rupee or less per day. Although most of them migrate to the city with a genuine desire for better and fuller employment, frequently chronic debt, violent social clash, spirit of adventure or romantic episodes, induce them to forsake their original habitat and wend their way to the city.

REACTION TO URBAN LIFE

22.9 Whatever be the cause of their migration to the city, they are in a position to secure a few more days of employment in a month and higher wages per day, and equally bad huts and

insanitary surroundings to live in. Under-employment and semi-starvation, if there be any in the city, are no new experience to them. Nor is there any disintegration of families since they come with their nucleus families intact. They are people who have learnt to live and suffer together whether it is in the ancestral rural villages or the new slums in the city. For the few social and religious festivities they would have enjoyed back in their home villages now denied, they have new counter-attractions in the city. More important is their psychological pleasure of living in a more democratic society. Not only do they enjoy the incognito in the urban environs where no sinister shadow of the past dogs them but they are no longer pestered by social taboos. In respect of social adjustments and assimilation, they are certainly much better off than the upper strata, thanks to their less fastidious tastes and more gregarious habits. On account of these reasons once they reach and relish the exotic pleasures of the city, they loath to leave it for better or worse. The issue facing them is not unemployment but under-employment. Unless they are fully employed their earnings would be too meagre to afford them minimum standards of living. Thus the problem of fuller employment of this group of immigrants constitutes the crux of the general problem of urbanization.

ORIGINAL HABITAT

22.10 The results of the survey show that 25% of the immigrants have come from the surrounding Chingleput district and another 25% from the adjacent districts of North and South Arcot, Chittoor and Nellore of whom three-fourths are of rural origin. Proximity has thus played an overwhelmingly significant role in the process of immigration and rural folks have featured prominently. Those who have come from other States do not create any problem of employment. Those who have come from the more distant districts in the State like Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Malabar (Pre-reorganization) belong to resourceful and enterprising communities. Generally they are in a happier position of getting suitable jobs or taking to petty trade and street hawking. Like the Jats of the Punjab, the Malayalis and the Nadars of the South are an energetic race, prepared to work the hard way up, sometimes climbing to enviable heights of prosperity. They do not seem to offer any serious problem in regard to employment. Thus the really aggravating factor in the sphere of employment stems from the large multitudes of illiterate and unskilled rural folk, thronging to the city from the districts in close proximity to the city.

REGULATION OF IMMIGRATION—A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE

22.11 Experts in the West are divided into two opposing schools regarding the methods of regulating the tidal influx of population into metropolitan centres from the contiguous rural areas. One school holds that in democratic societies no rigid control can be imposed upon immigration. It would be tantamount to a negation of freedom of movement which is an inalienable birth right. The other school agrees with this fundamental right, but nevertheless questions the wisdom of a *laissez-faire* policy that brings about a deterioration in the total well-being of the community. The ignorant masses do not know the prospects awaiting their migration into the city. Gullible as most of them are, they are misled by the success of a few and the glowing description of the city by many. Is it not the duty of the State to enlighten the ignorant and instruct the gullible? Arguing this way, the latter school upholds the principle of some measure of regulation and control over immigration at least in the already over-grown cities as not only desirable but also necessary. The present situation of Madras city warrants the application of this principle.

STAGNATION IN THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

22.11-A. An arbitrary and sudden enforcement of a principle of this import may be ruled out. An essential pre-requisite for this purpose is a sound knowledge of the demand for and supply of labour, particularly of the hard core type in Madras city. As has already been explained it is not the high grade managerial and scientific personnel, the highly educated and the technically skilled who are fairly fully employed but the unskilled labour that needs regulation. A tentative estimate of their prospects of employment needs a critical assessment of the potentialities of growth in the various sectors of the urban economy. The trend of employment as analysed in the preceding chapters tends to indicate that a stagnation has already set in in the industrial sector. The percentage of population depending on "manufacture" has almost established itself around 25% since 1921. There is hardly any reason to look forward to a sudden increase in demand for labour in the organised industries. The Integral

Coach Factory represents perhaps the swan-song of the industrial development of the city. The Second Five Year Plan has no large industrial project to be located within the city limits. Nor is the third or the fourth Plan likely to have any for the simple reason that the urban area has become too congested and too costly for the opening of any factory. Private enterprise would hardly rush in where the public sector fears to enter. The only exception seems to be the film industry that has waxed great during the reference period and bids fair to wax still further. There may be industrial projects in the belt area outside the city but that does not affect this prognosis about stagnation in the urban industrial sector. The saturation point is well-nigh reached in this sphere except to a limited extent in the engineering workshops and repair shops of medium and small size.

EXPANSION IN COMMERCIAL SECTOR

22.12 The commercial sector in the urban economy is likely to expand as a direct function of the growth of industries and increase in agricultural production in the up-country as also the general improvement in national product. A larger volume of foreign trade will therefore be canalised through Madras city and its major port. Internal trade, of which Madras will be an important hub, will also expand commensurately. Growth of the commercial sector will lead to growth of transport. A greater demand for unskilled labour will arise in the business centres of the city, harbour and railways. It is estimated that a hundred per cent increase in labour of this kind is likely to be the outer limit.

EMPLOYMENT POTENTIAL IN THE PORT AND TRANSPORT

22.13 Although vast expansion schemes of the Madras Harbour are already underway, the Dock Yards are expected to be provided with more mechanical equipment and the demand for labour may be less than proportionate to the increase in the harbour facilities and the volume of trade. With regard to one significant type of employment of rickshaw pulling now employing more than 7,000 (including unauthorised and unlicensed), the prospect is bleak in view of the phased programme of the Government to abolish man-pulled rickshaws. In future years it needs no prophet to foresee that cycle-rickshaws will also disappear under the impact of equally cheap but infinitely more comfortable 'Baby' taxis and much quicker auto-rickshaws.

IN THE BUILDING TRADE

22.14 The building trade is at present employing a significant number of unskilled labour, as the arrears of the war-time are being cleared and the major building programme of the First and the Second Five Year Plans are being executed. With the mounting prices of cement, iron and steel and timber which show no signs of abatement in the near future, the constructional activity in the city would rather taper than grow. Viewed against this background the employment potential in the building industry appears to be not very rosy.

A SCHEME FOR REGULATED IMMIGRATION

22.15 The present survey has helped to indicate only the stagnant as well as dynamic sectors of the urban economy. Covering as it did the households, it could not throw further light on the problem of the employment opportunities of tomorrow. If a special survey for this purpose is conducted covering all the employing agencies in the urban economy, a fairly reliable estimate of the employment position and potential could be worked out. Adopting it as a working basis, a programme for regulation and control of immigration of unskilled labour can be initiated. A system of licensing all the labourers within the city capable of doing only this kind of work should first be instituted, followed by an enactment that employers in both public and private sectors should employ none but the licensed workers. There is scarcely any novelty in this procedure as a similar one, already adopted for Dock Yard labour, has been working quite satisfactorily. This will be an extension of a practice that has crossed the experimental stage. This system of licensing and its enforcement for the present would automatically shut out crowds indiscriminately pouring in and swamping the labour market, unsettling the employment and the wages of the resident labour. Because the fresh immigrants would not be granted licences and they would not get therefore any employment, this state of affairs will get, and if necessary may be given, wide and quick publicity. The next part of the

scheme needs to be taken only when the dynamism of the urban economy demands more labour of this class. In that event, which may come to pass a few years hence, a system of restricted immigration of required number of labourers may be permitted and licensed.

REASONS FOR THE GROWTH OF SLUMS

22.16 The infinite capacity to hope and wait, starve and stick to the city of this hard core of the immigrant population, the unrestricted influx enjoying freely unlimited rights to squat on any patch of ground in the heart of the city, pavements and the fringes or to squeeze into multi-family ramshackle structures in sad disrepair and the compelling necessity imposed by miserably scanty earnings—all these have led to the mushroom growth of the worst slums. That the slum life is rampant in the city is blatantly clear from the official statistics which admit the existence of more than 300 slums. Besides these slums with thatched huts or shacks with mud floor huddled together in an ugly insanitary mess, the city has several hundred more exactly fitting in with the definition of slums as "areas, planned primarily for residential use where deteriorated, over-crowded insanitary or unsafe structures jeopardise public welfare: They connote the worst structural and sanitary conditions and the most degraded occupancy, usually by the lowest income groups". These are the old built-in areas of the city where buildings have become so drab, unclean and structurally unsound that the better sort of inhabitants have deserted them and the impecunious immigrants have rushed in. Multi-family structures with a solitary tap trickling for a few hours in the morning and evening and a toilette in the court or near the entrance are the prominent feature of these slums in disguise.

PROJECT FOR SLUM CLEARANCE

22.17 Whether the slums are officially declared or in disguise they are the plague spots of unsewered or ill-sewered streets with heaps of garbage and rubbish and the denizens, suffering from low standards of health, delinquency, dependancy and industrial inefficiency. It is a myopic view of public affairs that has tolerated their spread and continuance. Even as early as 1934 the Tenement House Commissioner of New York city estimated that the cost of maintaining sanitation, police, fire and health protection was three times greater than the tax revenue derived from the slum districts. At present in Madras city, a six crore rupees project for slum clearance has been drawn up to be implemented in the period of the Second and the Third Five Year Plans. This target of capital outlay is based on a modest investment of Rs. 1,000 per household for 60,000 households comprising a population of three lakhs found to be living in the three hundred and odd slums according to an official comprehensive count. With the prices of building materials ever on the rise, how far his meagre sum of Rs. 1,000 could provide decent habitation for an average family of five appears to be indeed a stiff problem for the engineers and town planners. This problem is bound to be further aggravated by the fact that the sites of nearly 200 slums are privately owned for which some sort of fair compensation for acquisition will be due. Even if this titanic project could be implemented according to time-schedule the interest liability on the aggregate capital outlay at a reasonable rate of 5% per annum would work out to Rupees thirty lakhs a year. This obviously does not take into account any provision for capital amortization. Above all, whether all the six crores of rupees would be available quickly enough to implement the programme involves a study in projection into the nebulous spheres of national finance.

ENDLESS BATTLE WITH THE SLUM PROBLEM

22.18 Assuming that all these obstacles are overcome, the problem of the disguised slums would yet remain. Further complication is in store when the question of providing tenements for more than 50,000 pavement dwellers, who constitute a running sore of the city beautiful, presses to the fore and commands the serious attention of the civic authorities. Slum clearance and rehabilitation of the slum dwellers appear to occupy top priority in national economic planning if what the Prime Minister in his characteristic fashion has stated represents the policy of the Government of India. So recent as November 29, 1957 addressing a public meeting at Nagpur, the Prime Minister has stated "I am so much against the slums that I once remarked in Kanpur that all the slums should be burnt so that new labour colonies may spring up in their places". All these noble projects, it may be noted, are chiefly inspired by a emotional and aesthetic revolt against their ugliness and the degradation they inflict rather than by the civic and economic burdens they create. Assuming again that by super-human enterprise

and energetic organization, the problems of the declared and the disguised slums and the pavement dwellers are solved it would mean only the solving of the present ills of the city. With the gates of the city literally open to spates of further immigration of unskilled rural labour, no sooner had the present slums been cleared than new slums would spring up. The attack on the slum problem would be like the battle with the fabled Mayil Ravana, the more you "slash", the more they sprout.

SLUMS AND IMMIGRATION—INTER LINKED PROBLEMS

22.19 This probability, no figment of a biased imagination, confirms the necessity and the logic for introducing a system of licensing unskilled labour, followed up with a scheme for regulated immigration. Because even if all these measures for housing are implemented and carried out successfully mere provision of decent tenements to live in will not solve the problem of this ever growing section of the urban population. The tap root of the problem of slums is the poverty and the under-employment of the denizens thereof. The ultimate solution of the slums rests upon provision of adequate employment at reasonable wages to this depressed section of the population. No scheme of full employment and fair wages could be effectively enforced on a durable basis so long as the more impecunious and the hungry from rural areas are freely permitted to immigrate and in the ensuing scramble for the available employment depress the wages and reduce the share of work to the older residents. In the context of Madras city and its employment potentialities as estimated earlier, this argument could not be said to be tainted by the work-fund fallacy. The dynamism of the urban economy will be under vigilant observation in the proposed scheme of restricted immigration and if the city is in need of more labourers, the scheme will have a built-in mechanism for letting them in. It is only unauthorised immigration that upsets the equilibrium in the urban labour market. Hence both the solution of the slum problem and provision of maximum employment to the immigrants of the hard core variety are closely interlinked, both demanding the institution of licensing of unskilled labour and the system of regulated immigration.

RURAL POVERTY, THE ULTIMATE CAUSE OF URBAN SLUMS

22.20 Regulation of immigration at the urban end, it may be admitted, is but a partial remedy of the major problem of rural-urban migration. The gates of the city may be closed and barred but if the rural economy is in a sorry or troubled state, generating more and more push factors, no scheme of regulation however efficiently designed and rigidly enforced, can withstand the stress and strain of the consequent impact. The overall remedy for rural-urban immigration or sudden urbanization with its train of evils lies in organised and strenuous efforts to make rural life better and prosperous. The Community Development, National Extension Scheme, the encouragement of Small Scale and Village industries, the establishment of Small Scale Industrial Estates in a dispersed fashion, the stepping up of the tempo of rural electrification—all these projects constitute a multi-pronged attack on rural poverty and distress and are designed to promote rural employment, income and prosperity. It is on the measure of their success, that the ultimate solution of the most gnawing of the problems of urbanization, that is immigration, hinges.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF MIGRATION : DISINTEGRATION OF FAMILIES

22.21 Much of the preceding study of what would happen to the existing slum dwellers if still more swarms of propertyless proletariat are permitted to pour in is based on the findings of the present survey. The social and the economic effects of the unparalleled immigration of the past 17 years have been examined in detail in the relevant chapters. It is appropriate that a brief account of the general conclusions finds a place here. The social effects of immigration may be viewed from two standpoints—disintegration of families and sex ratio. The common belief that a great deal of disintegration of families is caused by immigration is not supported by the facts emerging from this survey. That nearly 66% of the immigrants are in a state of dependancy is a fairly clear indication of the migration of unbroken nucleus families. It is only one-in-six of the economically significant immigrations who have reported to have members of the family in their original habitat. Among these family members, it may be noted that a large percentage are not members of the natural families. Another criterion by which disintegration of families could be tested lies in the number of visits to native place. The present survey shows that one-out-of-five economically significant immigrants visits his place once in six months or

less, and 53% have not visited their native place for more than two years. Further the survey reveals that the immigrants are found to have their parents with them more than the non-immigrants. The average size of immigrant household is 4.9 in the sample, indicating the preponderance of normal families of husband and wife with three children. These facts lead to the conclusion that distintegration of families is not so pronounced as it is usually imagined.

SEX RATIO

22.22 In respect of sex ratio the situation as revealed by this survey is most satisfactory; it works out to 963 (number of women per 1,000 males) for the immigrants compared with 949 for non-immigrants, and 952 for the sample population. The sex ratio among adults is 944 and among children (below 15 years) 965. This compares very favourably with 860 for the urban population in India according to 1951 census. Another notable feature from the social angle is that the immigrants have come generally in family units. Spared of pangs of separation and disintegration of natural families, they have found urban life quite congenial. It is in this character of migration in family units and the subsequent city life turning out to be less miserable than previously lies the menace of an ever growing immigration. The main thesis that immigration should be regulated gains further strength from this social aspect of immigration as well.

AGE STRUCTURE

22.23 The process of immigration has brought about a distortion in the age structure of the immigrant population in the city. There has been relatively a larger influx of the young adults above 15 and below 35 years in both the sexes who form 57.8% of the immigrant population. Among the females it is a little more pronounced, the percentage being 62. The socio-economic effects of this distortion can be readily seen. The rural sector is being deprived of population in the prime or on the right side of life, not to mention the unhealthy effects on rural society of the denudation of the more venturesome and enterprising elements that constitute mostly the immigrant population.

THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

22.24 The broad conclusion emerging from the present survey is that the immigrant population is economically better off in the city, compared with the prior conditions in the original habitat. The percentage of earners among the economically significant immigrants has risen from 54.1 in the native place to 89.2 in the city. There has also been an upward shift in regard to employment status as signified by an increase in the employer group from 1.1% in the native place to 3.9% in the city. The industrial pattern of the employed immigrant population has improved considerably by a sharp reduction in the percentage engaged in agriculture and a welcome increase in manufacture, trade and transport. As for occupational pattern the post-immigration change reveals two significant traits. There is some improvement in the percentage employed in the higher occupational categories like managerial, professional and subordinate-supervisory. The percentage in the subordinate technical and service categories has sharply increased from 27.2 to 45.6 signifying the heavy concentration of the majority of the immigrants in the lowest occupational categories, chiefly unskilled labour and confirming the earlier conclusion of the preponderance of the hard core of the immigrant population in the inferior grades, marked by casual and precarious character of employment.

IMPACT ON NON-IMMIGRATIONS

22.25 How far the earlier residents of the city have been affected by the vast influx of population in the past 17 years has been studied in detail in the relevant chapters. The more significant conclusions merit a brief reference. The immigrants in general are relatively better employed, earning higher incomes. The immigrants have a relatively larger percentage of technically and educationally qualified persons than the non-immigrants. Consequently relatively larger numbers among them have been able to secure the better types of jobs. In respect of the inferior jobs too, relatively more immigrants have been employed because they are more eager, more needy, less fastidious and less fettered by traditional values and more willing to accept all types of jobs. Among the non-immigrants a false sense of social prestige exerts a

hampering influence on their alacrity to accept certain types of job. Cribbed and cabined by outmoded notions, the lower middle class of the non-immigrants find it soothing to enter self-employed occupations like running petty shops. However the upper middle classes owing to longer association with industrial and business establishments in the city enjoy a vantage position in manoeuvring to secure white-collared jobs for themselves, their children and dependents. In brief, the immigrants are more successful competitors against the non-immigrants in respect of jobs both at the top and at the bottom rungs of the occupational ladder. At the top they generally wrest the jobs by virtue of their qualifications and at the bottom by virtue of their adjustability and flexibility of mind which finds no job *infra dig*.

INDUSTRIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

22.26 A considerable measure of mobility of employed persons from one industry to another is recognised to be a characteristic of advanced economies. How far this characteristic obtains in the economy of Madras city would prove to be an interesting line of enquiry. The relevant findings of the present survey may be grouped under two heads, concerned with immigrant and the total sample population respectively. In the case of immigrants the shift from agricultural to non-agricultural occupation is significant. Against roughly 1 in 30 employed in agriculture in the original habitat, it is only 1 in 70 according to the industrial classification after their arrival in the city. It is also noticed that the percentage employed in manufacture—of course small scale and village industries in the original habitat—is 14.2, whereas the corresponding percentage of the immigrant population in the city has risen to 24.6. Similarly percentage employed in transport, storage and communication has risen from 6.8 to 17.3. On the other hand, the industrial pattern of the employed persons in the whole sample has registered hardly any major change as between the first job and the present job within the period of reference from 1940—1957. In respect of occupational mobility changes are still less significant. The findings of the present survey indicate a high degree of occupational immobility among the urban employed. This could not have been otherwise in the context of Madras city which has hardly experienced any notable growth of industrial establishments since 1940.

UNEMPLOYMENT

22.27 The central issue of the process of urbanization is undoubtedly employment. Whether it is the pull or the push factor that has given the impetus for immigration from the original habitat, the primary objective is employment. The position of the immigrants with regard to employment in the city has already been examined. It is now necessary to gain an overall picture of the problem of unemployment in Madras city as revealed by the survey. An assessment of the magnitude of unemployment may be viewed from more than one angle. (i) The percentage of unemployed is but 3.2% of the total population. Indeed if this were the percentage, it is far from significant in a country where unemployment is known to occur in massive proportions. (ii) The magnitude of unemployment would be better appreciated if the percentage of unemployed is worked out with reference to the economically significant population defined for the purpose of this survey as the sample population MINUS all children below 15 years and all those persons who were neither seeking employment nor having any income. Computed this way the percentage of unemployed is seen to be 10. This percentage cannot however be described to reflect the true situation to the extent that the concept of the economically significant population brings within its scope unearned income recipients, remittance holders, pensioners and persons beyond 55 years but excludes the entire population recorded as household workers. (iii) A more conventional way would be to deduct from the total population all the children below fifteen years as well as the old above fifty-five and work out the proportion of the unemployed with reference to the net total who constitute the real economically active population. Although the survey reveals that persons of both sexes beyond fifty-five in considerable numbers seek employment and many are employed, the exclusion of the superannuated group is in conformity with the Government policy. According to this method of calculation the unemployed form 5.8% of the economically active population meaning by that term the population between 15 and 55 years.

22.28. Even with regard to this volume of unemployment some proportion must be attributed to frictional unemployment as is evident from the existence of unemployed veterans again seeking employment.

22.29 Allowing 0.8% for this frictional unemployment which would not involve unduly long spells, the percentage of population whose demand for employment is active and insistent would be approximately 5% of the economically active population. The question of solving this magnitude of unemployment is indeed a matter of primary concern and responsibility of the State for ensuring a state of equilibrium and normalcy in the urban economy. In grappling with this problem a knowledge of the character and composition of this hard core of the unemployed is an essential prerequisite. In the course of the present survey special attention was focussed on this aspect. It has been found that the opportunities of employment are not lacking for unskilled labour, masons, carpenters and artisans who constitute the bulk of this 5%. What essentially leads to the actual unemployment in respect of them is ignorance about the places where labour is really in demand. It is observed to be the custom of these labourers either to congregate in certain thoroughfares in the early hours of the morning, looking out for employers to come round to them to pick and choose according to their requirements or go about from street to street hawking their labour. Both these efforts are not always crowned with success. Frequently it is found that masons and building-assistants are required in one part of the city, say Perambur, when the same type of labour goes without employment in some other part of the city like Triplicane after having waited from 6 A.M. to 11 A.M. in their usual rendezvous. Government policy should aim at opening half-a-dozen or ten centres where the labourers could report every morning to an Employment Guide and these centres should be connected by telephone and provided with minimum transport facilities to carry the labour where work is available. This scheme combined with the system of licensing of urban labour and regulated immigration will go a long way in tackling the hard core of unemployment.

22.30 Another point of no mean significance that would well abate the alarms about unemployment is that it is not more than of this order notwithstanding the tidal waves of immigration experienced by the city in the decennium ending 1951. Thus it may be concluded that the city is not at present afflicted with an immoderate degree of unemployment.

22.31 Nor could the future be said to hold any undue intensification of unemployment. This is for two reasons. Firstly the giant Neyveli project already initiated will shift the industrial centre of gravity of South Arcot District and its environs. The exploitation of the lignite mines and generation of thermal electricity are expected to develop the magnetite ores of Salem district. Obviously the industrial sector of the South would get shifted to the south and south west. Secondly the high water-tables of South Arcot and Chingleput districts are well known, the tapping of which, long overdue, is bound to take place before the end of the Second Five Year Plan under the National Extension Scheme or at least in the next five year plan period. This is no wishful thinking because for one thing all the major water resources of the State have been harnessed and for another, the revised targets of food production would compel the early utilization of the rich underground waters in these districts, enjoying the double advantage of fairly good soil and easy accessibility to the metropolitan market. When these twin developments get into stride, the excess population of these adjoining districts which have so long served as major reservoirs of population inundating time and again this great city will be drained into the rising industrial districts of Salem and South Arcot. The future growth of Madras city does not lie therefore, in further industrialization. This does not, however, spell stagnation. As indicated earlier, its potentialities of growing into a larger commercial city are there. No less are those of its growing into a greater official city. The rapid growth of the public sector under the vigorous implementation of the socialistic pattern, the ever widening governmental social functions for the attainment of the welfare state, the elimination of the District Boards with the consequent need for an apex State organisation for the proper co-ordination of the numerous smaller fry replacing them, the meteoric rise of the city as a cultural centre of the south—these are the germs in the organism of the city indicating a promise of growth.

22.32 All that has been said above relates to the growth of urban population as a result of immigration and its economic repercussions on employment and housing. Even if all immigration is absolutely banned, the natural increase of population at the rate of 1.3% per annum is bound to produce complications in the employment sector if the avenues of employments that might ensue calls for a study of the demographic trends. The Fertility and Family Planning Survey conducted as a part of this urbanization project has led to certain conclusions, a brief outline of which may be germane to assess the potentialities of the natural increase.

FERTILITY

22.33 The sample survey of 10,515 married women reveals that 44% had been married in their fifteenth year or earlier and 50% between 16 and 20 years. The age at consummation also has followed the same age pattern. First maternity has occurred between the 16th and the 20th year for 64% of the sample women. The average number of children born is 3.7 per mother which, be it noted, does not relate to complete marital lives of all the sample women. In the marital age group of 21 years and above, the average number of children per mother varies from 5.9 in the lowest income group to 4.2 in the higher income groups. The age at consummation no doubt gets postponed by a few years in respect of educated women but that hardly affects the fertility rates nor does the disparity between the ages of the spouses. Although the processed data relating to fertility of women with their consummation in different age periods tend to show a perceptible decline in fertility rates as the age of consummation is postponed, it is rather a statistical illusion because a considerable number of women with consummation after 20 have borne as many children in the first ten years of their marital life as girls in early teens within the same years of marital life. This particular finding gains support also from the conclusions reached from a census conducted by the Registrar-General in 1952 to 1954:—"The pattern of fertility of Indian women is distinctive. It is low in the age group '15 to 19 years' rising sharply in the next age group '20 to 24' years and again a slight rise in '25 to 29' years, gradually declining from 29 years onwards". Hence mere postponement of consummation does not appear to reduce to a desirable extent fertility of women. Obviously any serious effort to reduce fertility rates calls for an assiduous practice of family planning. Without such a scheme broadly based to cover the ignorant and the educated, the younger and the older, the poor and the rich, families are likely to get a spate of unwanted children raising the fertility rate to an undesirable extent with its consequences on society in regard to employment, income and living standards.

INCOME AND LEVELS OF LIVING

22.34 An integral part of the Urbanization Survey is concerned with the incomes and levels of living of not only the immigrants but also of the entire urban population. The present survey has shown that the average monthly income per household is Rs. 161.82 for the sample, Rs. 156.94 for the non-immigrants and Rs. 178.53 for the immigrants; the average *per capita* income for the corresponding groups are Rs. 29.91, Rs. 27.04, and Rs. 43.96. From these figures it is apparent that the immigrants are better off than the non-immigrants. More pertinent for a consideration of the employment and earning potentialities in the urban economy is the amount of earned income as distinguished from unearned income accruing from properties within and outside the city. The average *per capita* earned income of the sample population works out to only Rs. 23.45 per month. This would mean that an individual is left with about 80 paise per day for his food, clothing, housing and transport not to mention the educational, cultural and recreational wants. When it is realised that this meagre sum is the result of averaging out and that a vast number would fall below the average, the paltry *per capita* earnings of the multitude of the population could be fairly comprehended. The statement in an earlier section about the problem of unemployment being not of immoderate size and not beyond solution, provided rational and concerted efforts are taken, applies only to employment of some sort at any going wage. But the question of a reasonable or living wage appears still to be a fairly distant objective.

FAMILY BUDGET SURVEYS

22.35 For a statistical assessment of the problem of poverty that is apparent from the foregoing consideration, two surveys on family budgets of the middle class (defined as families having incomes ranging from Rs. 75 to 750 per mensem) and the slum dwellers respectively were undertaken by this Research Unit, not without diffidence in view of the directives of the Research Programmes Committee placing them outside the purview of Urbanization Surveys. These two surveys had, therefore, to be undertaken without requesting for either more personnel or more time. Consequently the sample households had to be restricted to small sizes, 103 for the middle class and 300 for the slum dwellers.

MIDDLE CLASS

22.36 As for the family budgets of the middle class, even at the outset it may be pointed out that all the sample households were drawn from State Government employees as the

cooperation of the Non-Gazetted Officers' Association was readily available. As the findings of this sample survey, therefore, relate to heads of households with assured earned income ranging from Rs. 75 to Rs. 750 per mensem, they are bound to present a more optimistic picture than if middle class families with more precarious incomes in due proportions had also been covered. The results of the survey indicate that 76.7% of the families have deficit, 22.3% surplus and 1% balanced budgets; the average income is Rs. 218.60 per month and the gross expenditure Rs. 273.29, and the net expenditure Rs. 255.20, excluding savings, insurance, provident fund contribution and outlay on durable consumer goods. The average size of the household is 5.7 yielding an average *per capita* income of Rs. 38.35. The consumption pattern reveals that the percentage of expenditure is 50.7 on food, 5.5 on fuel and lighting, 6.6 on housing, 9.9 on clothing, and 27.3 on miscellaneous items. This may be compared with the findings of a similar survey by the Bombay branch of the Indian Statistical Institute in Bombay city in 1956 showing an expenditure of 48.1% on food, 4.5% on fuel, 8.4% on housing and electricity, 5.8% on clothing and 33.2% on miscellaneous items.

SLUM DWELLERS

22.37 The sample of households drawn from the population of six selected slums is 300 or roughly one-in-two hundred out of about 60,000 households in the city. This survey reveals that the average number of persons per household is 5.4, the percentage of deficit budgets 51.7, the average income per household Rs. 72.66, the average *per capita* income Rs. 13.46 and the average expenditure per household Rs. 72.35. The percentage of deficit budgets varies from 34 to 84 in the various slums. The pattern of consumption indicates that 70.4% of the expenditure is on food, 7.1% on fuel and lighting, 3.3% on housing, 6.5% on clothing and 12.7% on miscellaneous items.

22.38 From these surveys it may be seen that the average *per capita* earned income is Rs. 38.35 for the middle class family, Rs. 13.46 for the poor class and Rs. 23.45 for the entire population. From an analysis of the incomes of the 13,288 households covered by the major survey 37.4% are found to derive incomes less than Rs. 75 per month which is an index of the massive poverty that exists in Madras. If the first phase of urban economic planning is devoted to the attainment of full employment, without a second phase immediately following up to lift the incomes of individuals to enable them to enjoy the minimum standards of living, the problem of Urbanization could not be said to have been solved in a real sense. This could be done in two ways. One is obviously to raise the existing rates of wages and salaries which is more easily said than done. In the present context of spiralling of prices and wages it would be least desirable. The other is to provide remunerative partial and home employment to the vast army of household workers most of whom for reasons of sentiment and false prestige have declared themselves to be not seeking employment although their disguised unemployment is patent, their poverty pathetic and their eagerness to earn supplementary income for the household acute. The major survey has recorded 18,432 or 25.6% of the sample population as household workers. The majority of them are in the lower income groups, whose needs for supplementary income are most pressing. Provision of suitable employment to these household workers is an urgent necessity which could well be handled by the Social Welfare Board through the State Women's Welfare Department. This appears to be more practicable and will be fruitful not only in raising the incomes of the lower income groups but also in better employment of the idle man power, essentially feminine, and attaining the goal of Full Employment.

22.39 The foregoing discussion of the problems of Urbanization has been legitimately confined to the city proper. Without at least a brief reference to the demographic and industrial upsurge that is growing in momentum in the environs of the city in the reference period, the present study cannot be deemed to be complete. With the introduction of electric trains, Madras city has literally grown southward for nearly twenty miles up to the terminal station of Tambaram. This stretch is studded with 16 stations, each catering to a colony daily growing in size and mainly depending upon the city for employment. This kind of ribbon development is also seen westward for 14 miles up to Avadi with 9 suburban stations and northward for six miles up to Tiruvortiyur with five more suburban stations. The number of electric trains exceeds 120 per day in either direction. The number of suburban trains westward and northward is more than 20. Another noteworthy feature is the location of the new automobile, cycle, fertilizer and other large industrial establishments and the Industrial Estates besides Wimco,

Metal Box Company, National Carbon and Tractor assembling units in the north, tanning factories at Chromepet, quarries at Pallavaram, the Airport at Meenambakkam and the scores of brick factories and lime kilns towards the west of the city. These developments in the belt area have made it buzzing with more building activities, criss-cross transport and suction to immigrant population from all directions. Apparently this process of growth in regard to factories and residential areas is haphazard and not properly regulated. Unless timely action is taken even from now there is a threat of these outer fringes proliferating all the problems akin to those within the city which had been the subject matter of the present survey.

CONCLUSIONS.

22.40. The salient findings and the major conclusions emerging from the present survey may be summed up thus :—

(i) Madras city has recorded an unprecedented increase of 5,34,571 or 60% in population between 1941 and 1951 of which more than 3,00,000 are due to immigration, the rest being accounted for by natural increase and extension of city limits.

(ii) Since 1921, against an increase of 168% in population the percentage increase of houses is only 70 which has resulted in an unhealthy house congestion and mushroom growth of slums numbering 306 at the time of investigation.

(iii) The immigrant population of recent years are no longer floating in character. They have become a stable population of the city with hardly any desire to leave.

(iv) Among the immigrants the rich and the well-to-do, attracted to the city by educational and cultural amenities, do not present any problem. Nearly two-thirds are dependents and family members, accompanying the breadwinners. Nearly 30% of the immigrant population have come to the city seeking employment ejected by push factors or lured by pull factors like presence of better employment opportunities. The old adage "if you are in adversity, wend your way to the nearest city" applies almost to all the immigrants who are young and venturesome, illiterate as well as educated.

(v) There are two types of immigrants. The first, consisting of educated and drawn from the upper social strata, get employment quickly enough thanks to their qualifications, general and technical or they leave the city soon enough if their efforts do not succeed. The second consists of the ignorant, illiterate, mainly unskilled and mostly drawn from the neighbouring districts, fully substantiating Ravenstein's Law of Migration that short distance migration is much more common than long-distance movements. Quite often they come with high hopes and find them shattered. Yet they cling to the city living as much in poverty, squalor and the insanitary mess of a slum as in their original habitat. They get work for a few days and live on the earnings thereof. They are reluctant to go back because their native villages have nothing less bleak to offer. The absence of social taboos and apartheid in the city is like a psychological tonic, nourishing them with a growing desire to stick to the city, come what may. It is this section of the immigrant population who form the hard core, who are in urgent need of employment, security of income and sanitary dwelling place.

(vi) The costly programme of slum clearance with a projected capital outlay of nearly six crores of rupees, even if it is implemented, would not eradicate the problem of the slums. The more they are cleared, more are they likely to spring up like the fabled heads of "Mayilravana". The problem of the disguised slums in the older built-in areas of the city where conditions of living are in many respects worse than those in the slums—so declared by the authorities—has scarcely received the attention it deserves. Further stands in the queue the problem of the pavement dwellers. The problem of the denizens of the slums—open and disguised—will well nigh become incorrigible unless a well-designed scheme of licensing of the existing population of unskilled and semiskilled workers and regulated immigration is introduced without any further dilly-dallying, because the problem of immigration and the proliferation of slums are inter-twined in a vicious spiral.

(vii) Madras city appears to have crossed the meridian of industrial growth. New industrial establishments are least likely to be located within the city. Its potentialities of growth lie mainly on the lines of a commercial and official city. The prospects therefore, of further employment opportunities unfolding themselves are limited in the extreme. This underlines the need for a system of regulated immigration.

(viii) The repercussions of such a policy would not prove to be very grim either. For, in the next five to ten years the completion of the Neiveli Lignite Project and the exploitation of the iron ores of Salem will usher in such an industrial revolution in the south and south-west that the surplus population of the upcountry including the districts adjacent will be pulled away from Madras city which may have to rest on the laurels already won. So far as its industrial glory is concerned, the poetic frenzy of Rudyard Kipling which described Madras as a "withered beldame" may still come true.

To return to the present, the problem of unemployment is not of such alarming proportions as commonly imagined. No doubt one-in-thirty of the total population is unemployed, which even when adjusted to the economically active, gets inflated to only one in sixteen. Even this unemployed core consists, in the main, of low grade labour for whom employment opportunities are not lacking but only a well designed and systematic deployment to different centres in the city in response to the oscillations of employment through time as well as space.

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ECONOMIC SURVEY OF MADRAS

PLANNING COMMISSION, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DIRECTOR:
DR. R. BALAKRISHNA, M.A., PH. D. (LOND.),
Professor and Head of the Department of Economics

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
 University Buildings,
 Madras-5.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR :
K.S. SONACHALAM, M.A.

CONFIDENTIAL

O. SAMPLE SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLDS.

Name of Investigator.....

Record of calls:

No.	Date	Time and Duration
(1)		
(2)		
(3)		
(4)		
(5)		

Name of Supervisor.....

Date of Scrutiny.....

Number of points for clarification.....

Date of spot checking.....

Date of verification.....

Date on which remitted for
 Tabulation.....

1. NAME AND ADDRESS.

1.1 Name of Head of Household

1.2 Occupation (Own)..... Father's.....

1.3 Address

1.4 Income (Monthly)

1.5 Total Income (Monthly) of the Household

S	N
---	---

Item	No.	Name	Local Name #1.7
1.6 Division			
1.8 Street			
1.9 Door			1.10 Exclusive use Shared /

2. LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL:—Head of Household

2.1 Mother Tongue.

2.2 Religion

2.3 Community

3. HOUSING

Type of House ¹ 3.1	Owned (O) Rented (R) Mortgage (M) Hire Purchase (H) 3.2	Number of living rooms 3.3	Ventilation (Good, Bad or Indifferent) 3.4	Electrified or not 3.5	Rent or Rental value p. m. 3.6	General Remarks ² 3.7
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¹(1) Garden house; (2) New type colony house; (3) Storeyed house; (4) Old type house (tiled or terraced); 5. Old type house-thatched; (6) Hutments (non-thatched); (7) Thatched huts.
Mark only the number to specify type.

²(1) Pleasant; (2) Good; (3) Comfortable; (4) Fair; (5) Uncomfortable; (6) Bad.

Write only the code number.

4. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION : NATURAL/JOINT.

No. 4.1	Name of Member 4.2	Relationship to Head ¹ 4.3	Sex 4.4	Age at last birthday 4.5	Marital Status ² 4.6	Economic Status ³ 4.7	Employment Status ⁴ 4.8	With (+) or away from the family 4.9
	Members of Family ⁵							
	Lodgers ⁶							
	Servants ⁷							

¹ Wife, Son, Daughter, Grandson, Mother-in-law, Brother, Lodger, Servant etc.

² M : Married, W : Widowed, D : Divorced, S : Separated, N. M : Not married.

³ E : Earner, ED : Earning dependent, ND : Non-earning dependent.

⁴ Employer E : Employee, W : Independent worker I.

⁵ Arrange the members of the family in the following order : With, partly away and completely away from the family.

⁶ Arrange lodgers (Paying guests) in the order of relations and non-relations.

⁷ Include only those having lodging and boarding with the family.

5. MIGRATORY STATUS :

Inhabitants of the city for generations (Head of Household)	3 and over 5.1	Two 5.2	One 5.3
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6. IMMIGRANTS

As in 4.1 6.0	Date of migration-First and subsequent 6.1	Period of domicile 6.2	Place and district from which migrated ¹ 6.3	Causes for migration and reasons for selecting this city 6.4
------------------	---	---------------------------	--	---

¹ If the place is a village mark V. If it is a town according to census classification mark T.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION		REASONS FOR SELECTING THIS CITY	
Cause	Code No.	Cause	Code No.
Transfer	1	Insufficient employment (Non-Agricultural)	12
Through Marriage	2	Disgust with employment at home	13
For Study	3	Lack of civic amenities, entertainment etc.	14
Education of children	4	Family difference	15
Unemployment at home	5	Social and class tension	16
For better employment	6	Refugee	17
As dependent	7	Others	18
New Business	8	Accompanying Spouse	19
Insufficient Income	9	Parents	20
Insufficient land to cultivate	10	Children	21
Agricultural insolvency	11	Masters	22
		Other e.g., Transfer; Medical Aid	10

7. LITERACY AND EDUCATION : (For Members above five years of age)

As in 4.1 7.0	Sex 7.1	Age 7.2	Languages known ¹		Education and Training		
			Language 7.3	Speak S Read R Write W 7.4	General ² 7.5	Studying (S) Employed (E) Unemployed(U) Retired (R) Household Work (HW) 7.6	Technical including training ³ 7.7

¹ Add 'M' after mother tongue.

² for illiterate; Upto VI Form, write the standard or form completed e.g. III Std. or V Form ; S.S.L.C., Matric, Camb, Senior, Inter., Degree (Specify).

³ Technical and professional diplomas and degrees : e.g. Typewriting, Book-keeping etc. Training as Welder Foreman, Carpenter, Blacksmith etc., with years of experience after training.

8. PREVIOUS AND PRESENT OCCUPATION AND DURATION OF EACH—RECORD OF EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

(Persons in employment as well as persons who have had some employment or other since 1940)

As in 4.1	Sex	Age	Industry-cum-Occupation in 1940	Present Occupation			Previous Occupation			Total period of unemployment since 1940	Total period of unemployment since 1940	Period of first Waiting in City		
				Occupation			II		III					
				Industry-cum-occupation	Duration; from and up to		Industry-cum-Occupation	Duration; from and up to	Industry-cum-Occupation	Duration; from and up to				
	8.1	8.2	8.3	8.4	8.5	8.6	8.7	8.8	8.9	8.10	8.11	8.12	8.13	8.14

9. EARNINGS IN THE PAST AND PRESENT OCCUPATIONS (Persons in employment as well as persons who have had some employment or other since 1940)

9. EARNINGS IN THE PAST AND PRESENT OCCUPATION (Persons in employment as well as persons who have had some employment or other since 1940)

[illegible]

10. EMPLOYMENT

(All persons, adults and non-adults, in employment)

[illegible]

11. UNEMPLOYMENT

(All persons, adults and non-adults, seeking employment)

As in 4.1	Sex	Age	Duration of unemployment		Reason for present unemployment*	Total unemployment			Job held last		Job sought		Educational Qualification	Nature of Training desired
			First	Present		Duration	Spells	Nature	Salary	Nature	Salary			
11.0	11.1	11.2	11.3	11.4	11.5	11.6	11.7	11.8	11.9	11.10	11.11	11.12	11.13	

*Retired (Rd.); Retrenched (Rtd.); Unable to work due to old age (O.A.); Physical defect (P.); Mental defect (M.); Chronic Illness (Cl.); No need to work (N.N.); Not inclined to work (N.I.W.); Unearned income (U.I.); No suitable job available (NA); Real Property in city (Rt); Land (L.); Securities (SG); Remittances (Rem.); Living in debt (D).

12. EARNINGS PER MONTH

[illegible]

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13. CASUAL EMPLOYMENT

As in 4.1	Industry- cum- Occupation	No. of days of employment		No. of days of unemployment		Slack period ¹		Brisk period ²		Daily earnings		Annual earnings	Major causes of unemployment
		Last month	Last 12 months	Last month	Last 12 Months	Months	Cause ³	Months	Cause	Low	Peak		
13.0	13.1	13.2	13.3	13.4	13.5	13.6	13.7	13.8	13.9	13.10	13.11	13.12	13.13

¹Less than 7 days of employment.

2More than 20 days of employment.

³³Strike (St.); Lockout (LK); Seasonal (S); Others (Specify).

*Cook, Charwoman, Car Driver, Gardener, Server Ayah, Others Specify).

L12PC-43

16. VISITS, IN ANY, TO NATIVE PLACE

[illegible]

17. PROPERTY AND OTHER ASSETS

If the head of household or any other member of the household owned before migration or has acquired new titles to property after immigration to Madras city, data regarding both may be collected as per schedule below.

Categories	IN CITY				OUTSIDE CITY				PURCHASE AND SALE OF PROPERTY					
	Title ¹	Date of acquiring title	Locality	Present value ²	Title	Date of acquiring title	Place and District	Present value	Year	Value	Place where the property was owned	How acquired ³	Reasons for sale ⁴	
17.1	17.2	17.3	17.4	17.5	17.6	17.7	17.8	17.9	17.10	17.11	17.12	17.13	17.14	
<i>Before Migration</i>														
1) AGRICULTURAL LAND:														
(i) Wet														
(ii) Dry														
(iii) Garden														
2 HOUSE														
3 OTHERS														
Total														
<i>After Migration</i>														
1 AGRICULTURAL LAND:														
(i) Wet														
(ii) Dry														
(iii) Garden														
2 HOUSE														
3 OTHERS														
Total														

1 I nherited (I); Purhased (P); Mortgaged (M); Hire-purchase (H).

2 For mortgage, the value entered in the mortgage deed and for hire-purchase, the actual payment so far made. Rs. 2,280

the actual payment so far made. c.g.

Rs. 8,000
Cg.
payment agreed upon
3(i) Out of savings made before arrival in Madras city

3(i) Out of savings made before arrival in Madras city.
(ii) Out of savings made after arrival in Madras city.

(ii) Out of savings made after arrival in Madras city.
(iii) Out of sale proceeds of property owned in native village.
(iv) Others (specify).

- (i) Sold to clear debts contracted before immigrating to Madras city.
- (ii) Sold to clear debts contracted after immigrating to Madras city.
- (iii) Marriage.
- (iv) Ill-health.
- (v) Education.
- (vi) Others (specify).

18. REMITTANCES

As in 4.1 18.0	Remittance from outside			Remittance to others outside		
	Relation- ship of Sender 18.1	Amount per annum 18.2	Interval and Purpose 18.3	Relationship of Recipient 18.4	Amount per annum 18.5	Interval and Purpose 18.6

19. TRANSPORT TO WORKING PLACE

As in 4.1 19.0	Working Place			
	Address 19.1	Distance from residence 19.2	Mode of conveyance To and fro 19.3	Cost of transport per day 19.4

20. DESIRE TO LEAVE MADRAS CITY—CAUSES

20.1	Insufficient income and high cost of living
20.2	Lack of adequate employment
20.3	Housing difficulties
20.4	Lack of social contacts and amenities
20.5	To attend to family business in native place
20.6	Old age and ill-health
20.7	Others

21. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

Items	Code*
21.1 Schools	
21.2 Recreation facilities.	
21.3 Shopping.	
21.4 Knowledge of Local Language.	

SIGNATURE OF RESPONDENT.

INVESTIGATOR

SUPERVISOR

*A. Good, B. Indifferent, C. Bad.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

The staff of the research unit for the economic Survey of Madras City.

Name and Designation	Date of joining	Date on which relieved
<i>Deputy Director</i>		
(1) Sri K. S. Sonachalam	15-4-1954	16-1-1958
<i>Supervisors :</i>		
(2) Kumari M. Gajalakshmi	15-4-1954	18-1-1956
(3) Kumari V. K. Savithri	19-4-1954	16-1-1958
(4) Kumari T. Meenakshi	2-9-1954	30-9-1954
(5) Sri U. Aiyasami	20-10-1954	26-4-1955
(6) Kumari M. N. Kanthimathi	19-1-1956	20-6-1956
(7) Kumari P. Kamala Devi	22-11-1956	16-1-1958
<i>Research Assistants :</i>		
(8) Sri T. P. Subramoniam	2-3-1955	18-1-1956
(9) Kumari M. Gajalakshmi	19-1-1956	31-12-1957
<i>Tabulators :</i>		
(10) Sri P. Soundararajan	15-4-1954	1-3-1955
(11) Kumari P. Kamala Devi	15-4-1954	21-11-1956
(12) Kumari M. N. Kanthimathi	21-10-1954	18-1-1956
(13) Sri R. Sankararamalingam	2-4-1956	16-1-1957
(14) Sri P. Velayutham	22-11-1956	30-4-1957
<i>Investigators :</i>		
(15) Sri U. Aiyasami	15-4-1954	19-10-1954
(16) Sri P. Soundararajan	2-3-1955	31-12-1957
(17) Sri M. Dharmavinayakam	15-4-1954	31-12-1957
(18) Sri P. Kumaraswami	19-4-1954	30-9-1957
(19) Sri K.S.K. Panicker	21-4-1954	30-4-1957
(20) Sri T. P. Subramoniam	21-4-1954	1-3-1955
(21) Sri M. D. Gopalakrishnan	2-9-1954	31-12-1957
(22) Sri V. Muraleedharan	2-9-1954	31-12-1957
(23) Sri K. Gandhi	2-9-1954	30-9-1957
(24) Sri R. Srinivasan	25-4-1955	30-9-1957
(25) Mr. John Thoompukal	1-7-1955	30-9-1957
(26) Sri R. Sankararamalingam	2-7-1955	1-4-1956
(27) Sri P. Velayutham	2-4-1956	21-11-1956
(28) Sri D. Natarajan	29-11-1956	19-2-1957
(29) Sri P. Velayutham	1-5-1957	31-12-1957

APPENDIX I—contd.

Name and Designation	Date of joining	Date on which relieved
10) Mr. Edwin Samuel	19-4-1954	16-1-1958
1) Sri C. B. Mohanakrishnan	19-4-1954	17-6-1955
2) Sri V. Bakthavatsalam	2-7-1955	16-1-1958

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APPENDIX II-A.

APPENDIX I TO D. O. No. PC/RPC/5/9/54, DATED 4TH JUNE, 1954 FROM THE MEMBER-SECRETARY, RESEARCH PROGRAMMES COMMITTEE, PLANNING COMMISSION, NEW DELHI ADDRESSED TO PROF. R. BALAKRISHNA, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, MADRAS.

Our main objective is to study "Problems of Rapid Urbanization".

1. As a first step, we may study the main features of urbanization, such as :—

- (i) growth in urban area
- (ii) increase in population
- (iii) increase in commercial and industrial establishments

Source : Municipal registers and records of Shop and Establishment Assistants Act.

- (iv) easily identifiable increase in employments :—
organised industries, Government employment department-wise.
- (v) schools etc., bazars.

2. From a sample of unorganised industrial and commercial sector, New Employment opportunities :

their nature and extent—social characteristics, if any—Secondary and tertiary. Some of its main characteristics : Capital, Labour force, Production—increasing or declining.

3. Study of factors which promote or hamper development : transport, power, water supply, housing, banking and trade facilities, social amenities.

4. Nature and extent of migration (see note on the reverse).

5. Side light on strength and weakness of rural economy.

6. Urban unemployment

Two major schedules :

- Household (for 4 and 5 and part of 3)
- Establishments (1, 2 and 3).

7. Special Problems :

Slums—congestion

Refugees

Municipal administration.

APPENDIX II-B.

D. O. LETTER No. PC/RPC/37-53/C, DATED THE 11/12TH FEBRUARY, 1955 FROM THE MEMBER-SECRETARY, RESEARCH PROGRAMMES COMMITTEE, PLANNING COMMISSION, NEW DELHI ADDRESSED TO THE DIRECTOR, ECONOMIC SURVEY OF MADRAS.

Dear Dr. Balakrishna,

I am in receipt of your letter No. ESM. 11/55, dated 10th February 1955.

If in your judgment you think that the second stage survey of Industrial and Trading establishments would not serve much useful purpose, it can certainly be dropped. If you would like to refer this matter to the Research Programmes Committee, I would be glad to do so, but I think that your judgment in this regard should be depended upon.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. L. DANTWALA.

Dr. R. Balakrishna,
Director,
Economic Survey of Madras,
University Buildings,
Chepauk,
Madras.

APPENDIX III

Serial No.	Name of Division	Division Number	Sample House	
			Target	No. actually investigated
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>Zone I</i>				
1	Royapettah	37	223	223
2	Pudupakkam	38	274	274
3	Tiruvoteeswaranpet	39	274	275
4	Chepauk	40	235	234
5	Triplicane	41	160	160
6	Zam Bazaar	42	251	251
7	Mirsahibpet	43	389	389
8	Mylapore North	44	355	355
9	Mylapore South	45	240	239
TOTAL—Zone I ..		9	2,401	2,400
<i>Zone II</i>				
10	Choolai	17	502	500
11	Pulianthope	18	414	414
12	Perambur Barracks	19	300	300
13	Ayanavaram	21	314	301
14	Kilpauk	22	168	159
15	Purasawalkam	23	247	248
16	Kosapet	24	434	429
17	Vepery	25	145	140
18	Periamet	26	293	293
19	Napier Park	29	160	160
20	Chintadripet	30	253	253
21	Komaleeswaranpet	31	264	264
22	Egmore	32	153	153
23	Thousand Lights	33	333	333
TOTAL—Zone II ..		14	3,980	3,947
<i>Zone III</i>				
24	New Washermanpet	1	356	356
25	Royapuram	2	198	198
26	Singarathottam	3	420	407

APPENDIX III—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Division	Division Number	Sample Households	
			Target	No. actually investigated
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>Zone III—contd.</i>				
27	Sanjeeviroyanpet	4	561	552
28	Korrukupet	5	382	382
29	Vyasarpady	6	247	247
30	Basin Bridge	7	130	130
31	Peddunaickenpet	8	298	298
32	Seven Wells	9	295	286
33	Ammen Koil	10	225	219
34	Muthialpet	11	258	257
35	Harbour	12	156	97
36	Kachaleeswarar	13	150	150
37	Kothawal Bazaar	14	156	112
38	Sowcarpet	15	175	90
39	Trevelyan Basin	16	308	304
40	Sembium	20	347	347
41	Edapalayam	27	206	175
42	Park Town	28	140	139
TOTAL—Zone III ..		19	5,008	4,776
<i>Zone IV</i>				
43	Nungambakkam	34	254	254
44	Kodambakkam	35	370	370
45	T'Nagar North	36	190	187
46	Teynampet	46	295	271
47	T'Nagar South	47	324	326
48	Saidapet	48	352	353
49	Guindy	49	262	162
50	Adyar	50	270	272
TOTAL—Zone IV ..		8	2,217	2,195
Grand Total ..		50	13,606	13,288

APPENDIX IV

RESPONSE FACTOR

With the object of studying certain aspects of the mechanics of the sample survey, special provision was made for the collection of data relating to the number of visits by the Economic Investigators to each household, the total amount of time taken for interview and filling up the schedules, the nature of response and ability of the respondents. These data are analysed below :

Number of Visits :

The number of visits paid are shown separately for immigrants and non-immigrants in the table below :

NUMBER OF VISITS BY THE ECONOMIC INVESTIGATORS

Number of visits by EIs.	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1	4,839	47.1	1,351	45.0	6,190	46.6
2	3,738	36.3	1,105	36.8	4,843	36.3
3	1,294	12.6	416	13.8	1,710	12.9
4	291	2.8	85	2.8	376	2.8
5	109	1.1	41	1.4	150	1.1
6	4	0.03	4	0.1	8	0.1
7	5	0.04	—	—	5	0.04
8	3	0.02	2	0.1	5	0.04
9	—	—	—	—	—	—
10 & above	1	0.01	—	—	1	0.02
TOTAL ..	10,284	100.00	3,004	100.0	13,288	100.00

It may be seen that of 13,288 households 6,190 or 46.6% have been surveyed in a single visit; 4,843 or 36.4% required two visits; 1,710 or 12.9% three visits; the remaining 545 or 4.1% required more than three visits. There is hardly any noteworthy difference in this respect between the non-immigrants and immigrants.

Time Taken

2. Time required for investigating household varied from less than 1/2 an hour to more than 3 hours depending on a complex of factors like, size, education, response and ability.

Time taken has been classified into six class intervals for the purpose of analysis as shown below :—

TIME TAKEN FOR INVESTIGATION

Time Taken	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Upto 30 mts.	1,497	14.6	391	13.0	1,888	14.2
31—60	7,642	74.3	2,201	73.3	9,843	74.1
61—90	1,042	10.1	365	12.2	1,407	10.6
91—120	91	0.9	42	1.2	133	1.0
121—180	11	0.1	5	0.1	16	0.1
181*	1	*Neg.	—	*Neg.	1	*Neg.
TOTAL	10,284	100.0	3,004	100.0	13,288	100.0

*Negligible : Only one case.

3. By far the largest number 9,843 households forming 74.1% have required between 31 and 60 minutes; 1,888 or 14.2% needed only about half-an-hour; 1,407 or 10.6% between one and one-and-a-half hours; 133 or 1% between 1½ and 2 hours, 17 or 0.1% more than 2 hours. It must be noted that the time recorded relates to actual interrogation and completing the questionnaire, exclusive of the invariably longer time spent in locating the household, contacting the head and its necessary fixing up an engagement.

RESPONSE AND ABILITY

4. The success of a survey depends as much on good response and ability as on scientific design of the sample and proper orientation of the Investigators. While the latter is to a large measure within the control of the investigating agency the former is determined by extraneous circumstances beyond its control; except to the extent to which the arts of persuasion on the part of the Investigators succeed in improving the quality. The circumstances governing response and ability are essentially attitudes, education playing but a minor role. In the present analysis the degrees of response as well as ability are classified respectively into three categories, good, medium and poor. The relevant data are shown below :—

RESPONSE AND ABILITY

Response	Ability	Non-Immigrants		Immigrants		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Good	Good	947	9.2	439	14.6	1,386	10.4
Good	Medium	1,016	9.9	341	11.3	1,357	10.2
Good	Poor	122	1.2	40	1.4	162	1.2
Medium	Good	748	7.3	319	10.6	1,067	8.0
Medium	Medium	4,673	45.4	1,261	42.0	5,934	44.7
Medium	Poor	1,854	18.0	458	15.3	2,312	17.4
Poor	Good	80	0.8	22	0.7	102	0.8
Poor	Medium	300	2.9	54	1.8	354	2.7
Poor	Poor	544	5.3	70	2.3	614	4.6
TOTAL		10,284	100.0	3,004	100.0	13,288	100.0

		Number	Percentage
Response	Good	2,905	21.8
	Medium	9,313	70.1
	Poor	1,070	8.1
Ability	Good	2,555	19.2
	Medium	7,645	57.6
	Poor	3,088	23.2

5. Of the sample, 2,905 or 21.8% households have shown 'good' response in the sense that they fully cooperated with the Investigators replying to the questions fully, frankly and willingly. The response was 'poor' with regard to 1,070 or 8.1% households and 'medium' with regard to 9,313 or 70.1% households. From the above table it may be seen that 2,555 or 19.2% showed good ability in the sense of a correct understanding of the questions. Ability was 'poor' in the case of 3,088 households and 'medium' in 7,645 households. It is remarkable that 5,934 households or 44.7% belong to the category of 'medium' response and 'medium' ability. In the case of 'medium' response and 'good' ability, the first zone lead with 25%.

APPENDIX
Madras City—
Census

Class	Description	Number	Percentage
I PROFESSIONAL AND GOVERNMENT SERVICE :			
Government Service		11,079	7.9
Professional		9,118	6.4
II Domestic		17,854	12.7
III Commercial			20.1
IV Agriculture		3,627	2.7
V Industry			20.9
VI Indefinite and Non-productive		41,251	29.3
TOTAL ..		1,40,651	100.0

V
Occupational Classification
of 1871

Order	Description	Number	Percentage
1	Government Service	6,318	4.5
2	Military	4,761	3.4
3	Learned Professions	1,092	0.7
4	Minor Professions	8,026	5.7
5	Personal Services	17,854	12.7
6	Traders	18,579	13.2
7	Conveyors	9,667	6.9
8	Cultivators	3,627	2.7
9	Dress	10,183	7.2
10	Food	7,808	5.6
11	Metals	3,588	2.6
12	Construction	5,584	3.9
13	Books	1,353	0.9
14	Household goods	786	0.6
15	Combustibles	174	0.1
16	Labourers	31,950	22.7
17	Property	2,411	1.7
18	Unproductive	6,484	4.6
19	Others	406	0.3
TOTAL ..		1,40,651	100.0

APPENDIX
Madras City —
Census

Class	Description	Number	Percentage
I Professional :			
Government Service		10,060	2.5
Learned Profession		9,040	2.2
II Domestic		15,272	3.8
III Commercial		19,437	4.7
IV Agricultural		9,330	2.3
V Industrial		48,183	11.9
VI Indefinite and Non-productive		2,94,526	72.6
TOTAL		4,05,848	100.0

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V—contd.
Occupational Classification
of 1881

Order	Description	Number	Percentage
1	Public Administration	6,401	1.6
2	Defence	3,659	0.9
3	Learned Professions or in Literature Art, and Science	9,040	2.2
4	Domestic	2	—
5	Persons engaged in entertaining and performing personal services for men.	15,270	3.8
6	Persons who buy or sell, keep or lend money, houses, goods	7,377	1.8
7	Persons engaged in conveyance of men, animals, goods and messages ..	12,060	2.8
8	Agricultural	4,321	1.9
9	Provision and care of animals	5,009	1.2
10	Persons engaged in art and mechanic production	8,355	2.1
11	Textiles and dress	14,867	3.7
12	Food and Drinks	13,130	3.2
13	Leather, skins, grease etc. & animal products	308	0.1
14	Working and dealing in vegetable products	2,147	0.5
15	Mines and minerals	9,376	2.3
16	Labourers and others (branch of labour undefined)	24,832	6.1
17	Persons of rank and property not returned under any office or occupation.	297	0.1
18	Persons of no specified occupation	2,69,399	66.4
TOTAL		4,05,848	100.0

APPENDIX
Madras City—
Census

Class	Description	Number	Percentage
A	Government	29,079	6.45
B	Pasture and Agriculture	17,754	3.94
C	Personal services	43,588	9.66
D	Preparation and Supply of Material Substances	1,47,196	32.63
E	Commerce, Transport and Storage	57,456	12.74
F	Professions	45,834	10.16
G	Indefinite occupations	1,10,166	24.42
TOTAL ..		4,51,073	100.00

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V—contd.
Occupational Classification
of 1891

Order	Description	Number	Percentage
1	Administration	22,460	4.98
2	Defence	6,577	1.46
3	Foreign and Feudal service	36	0.01
4	Provision and care of cattle	446	0.32
5	Agriculture	16,308	3.62
6	Personal, household and sanitary services	43,588	9.66
7	Food and drink	45,713	10.13
8	Light, fuel and forage	4,821	1.07
9	Building	10,683	2.37
10	Vehicles and vessels	1,450	0.32
11	Supplementary requirements	16,523	3.66
12	Textile fabrics and dress	30,269	6.71
13	Metals and precious stones	18,349	4.07
14	Glass, pottery and stone ware	1,375	0.30
15	Wood, cane, leaves etc.	12,343	2.74
16	Drugs, gums, dyes etc.	1,807	0.40
17	Leather, horns, bones and grease	3,863	0.86
18	Commerce	25,220	5.59
19	Transport and Storage	32,236	7.15
20	Learned and artistic	45,489	10.08
21	Sport and Amusements	345	0.08
22	Indefinite	85,597	18.97
23	Independent of work	24,569	5.45
TOTAL ..		4,51,073	100.00

APPENDIX
Madras City—
Census

Class	Description	Number	Percentage
A	Government	—	6.0
B	Pasture and Agriculture	—	3.6
C	Personal Services	—	12.6
D	Preparation and Supply of Material Substances	—	42.3
E	Commerce, Transport, Storage	—	17.9
F	Professions	—	8.6
G	Unskilled labour—Non-agricultural	—	3.4
H	Means of Subsistence—Independent of Occupation	—	5.6
8 Classes		—	100.0

V—contd.
Occupational Classification
of 1901

Order	Description	Number	Percentage
1	Administration	—	4.8
2	Defence	—	1.2
3	Service of Native and Foreign States	—	—
4	Provision and care of animals	—	0.4
5	Agriculture	—	3.2
6	Personal, household and Sanitary Services	—	12.6
7	Food, drink and stimulants	—	14.2
8	Light, firings and forage	—	0.9
9	Buildings	—	3.0
10	Vehicles and Vessels	—	0.8
11	Supplementary requirements	—	4.7
12	Textile fabrics and dress	—	8.5
13	Metals and Precious stones	—	5.0
14	Glass, earthen and Stone ware	—	0.3
15	Wood, cane and leaves	—	2.8
16	Drugs, gums, dyes etc.	—	0.6
17	Leather	—	1.5
18	Commerce	—	5.7
19	Transport and Storage	—	12.2
20	Learned and artistic professions	—	8.5
21	Sport	—	0.1
22	Earthen and general labour	—	2.7
23	Indefinite and disreputable occupations	—	0.7
24	Independent	—	5.6
24 Orders		—	100.0

APPENDIX
Madras City —
Census

Class	Description	Number	Percentage
A	Primary Industries	30,994	5.9
C	Government Service	32,724	6.2
C	Professions and Liberal Arts	35,460	6.7
B & D	Personal Services	38,673	7.4
B	Industry	1,43,126	27.2
B	Trade and Transport (Commercial)	1,52,301	29.0
C & D	Indefinite occupations	92,497	17.6
TOTAL		5,25,775	100.0

V—contd.

Occupational Classification.
of 1911.

Sub-Class Order	Description	Number	Percentage
I 1	Agriculture	24,805	4.7
2	Provision and care of animals	5,911	1.1
3	Extraction of minerals	278	0.1
VII 45	Public administration }	30,307	5.8
VI 44	Police		
VI 42 & 43	Defence	2,417	0.5
VIII 46 to 50	Religion, Law, Medicine, Instruction Letters, Arts, and Sciences	35,460	6.7
B. III 19	Sweepers, Scavengers, etc.	4,045	0.8
D. X 52	Domestic Servants	34,628	6.6
III 12	Food industries	21,043	4.0
III 17	Heat, light, electricity and motive power	1,051	0.2
III 15	Building	13,017	2.5
16	Vehicles and Vessels	1,039	0.2
18	Supplementary requirements (<i>Vide</i> 1891)	30,096	5.7
13	Dress and toilet	23,027	4.4
6	Textiles	27,589	5.2
9	Metals	9,517	1.8
10	Ceramics	1,463	0.3
8	Wood	12,515	2.4
14	Furniture	541	0.1
11	Chemicals (Drugs, gums etc.)	1,300	0.2
7	Leather—materials from animal kingdom	878	0.2
V 24 to 41	Trade, Banking, selling, dealing, etc.	91,694	17.4
V 20 to 23	Transport	60,607	11.5
D X 53	Insufficiently described occupation	65,311	12.4
C IX 51	Persons living on their income other than non-agricultural property	19,855	3.8
D XII 54	Inmates of Jails, Asylums, Hospitals etc.	1,992	0.4
D XIII 55	Beggars, Prostitutes	5,339	1.0
Total		5,25,775	100.0

APPENDIX

Madras City
Census

Class & Sub-class	Description	Number	Percentage
Class A :	Production of raw materials	28,061	5.32
Sub-class I	Exploitation of animals and Vegetables	28,016	5.32
Sub-class II	Exploitation of minerals	45	—
Class B :	Preparation and Supply of materials	2,98,163	56.56
Sub-class III	Industries	1,35,692	25.72
Sub-class IV	Transport	59,145	11.22
Sub-class V	Trade	1,03,326	19.06
Class C :	Public Administration & Liberal Arts	65,346	12.40
Sub-class VI	Public Force	8,867	1.60
„ VII	Public Administration	19,197	3.64
„ VIII	Professional and Liberal Arts	37,282	7.07
Class D :	Miscellaneous & Undefined	1,35,341	25.68
Sub-class IX	Living on own income	19,845	3.76
„ X	Domestic Servants	30,293	5.74
„ XI	Insufficiently described	84,953	16.12
Total ..		5,26,911	100.00

V—contd.

Occupational Classification.
of 1921.

Order	Description	Number	Percentage
1.a, 1.b, 1.c,	Agriculture and Forestry	21,084	4.01
1.d, 1.e & 2	Livestock and animals, Fishing etc.	6,932	1.32
3	Mines	32	—
4	Rocks hard	13	—
5	Salt etc.	—	—
6	Textiles	24,875	4.73
7	Hides and Skins	1,072	0.20
8	Wood	11,503	2.18
9	Metals	8,817	1.68
10	Ceramics	1,783	0.34
11	Chemicals	1,336	0.25
12	Food	10,619	2.02
13	Dress and Toilet	18,499	3.51
14	Furniture	1,376	0.26
15	Buildings	15,299	2.90
16	Vessels and Vehicles	905	0.18
17	Power, Gas, Electricity	1,970	0.37
18	Miscellaneous-Undefined	37,638	7.14
19	Air	—	—
20	Water	11,438	2.17
21	Road	25,990	4.93
22	Rail	15,103	2.86
23	Post-Office, Telegram, Telephone	6,614	1.25
24—40	Classes of Trade	1,03,326	19.62
41-42	Defence	2,513	0.47
43	Air	—	—
44	Police	6,354	1.21
45	Public Administration	19,197	3.64
46	Religion	4,893	0.93
47	Law	4,671	0.88
48	Medicine	7,507	1.43
49	Instruction	8,881	1.69
50	Letters, Arts and Sciences	11,330	2.15
51	Own Income	19,845	3.76
52	Domestic Servants	30,293	5.75
53	Not well defined occupation	78,313	14.86
54	Jails, Asylums	1,509	0.28
55	Beggars	5,105	0.97
56	Other classes	276	0.05
Total ..		5,26,911	100.00

APPENDIX
Madras City
Census

Class	Description	Number	Percentage
1	Primary Industries	13,404	6.0
2	Mining and Quarrying	44	—
3	Industries	52,670	23.5
4	Transport and Communication	22,202	9.8
5	Commerce	34,858	15.6
6	Public Service	11,978	5.3
7	Liberal Arts	13,268	5.9
8	Miscellaneous	76,400	33.9
Total ..		2,24,824	100.00

V—contd.

Occupational Classification.
of 1931.

Order	Description	Number	Percentage
1	Agriculture	9,167	4.08
2	Provision and care of animals	4,237	1.89
3	Mining	2	—
4	Quarrying	42	0.20
5	Food industries (11)	7,711	3.43
6	Textiles (5, 12)	16,948	7.54
7	Leather Industries (6)	180	0.08
8	Wood (7)	4,943	2.20
9	Metals (8)	2,472	1.10
10	Ceramics (9)	388	0.17
11	Chemical products (10)	226	0.10
12	Furniture (13)	240	0.11
13	Building	4,818	2.14
14	Construction of means of transport (15)	399	0.18
15	Production and transmission of physical fare (16) (power)	1,120	0.50
16	Miscellaneous undefined Industries (17)	13,225	5.88
17	Transport by water (19)	4,238	1.89
18	Transport by road (20)	11,296	5.02
19	Transport by rail (21)	5,456	2.43
20	Post, Telegraph & Telephone services (22)	1,212	0.54
21	Banking, exchange, insurance (23)	1,974	0.88
22	Trade in Food Stuffs	15,002	6.67
23	Trade in Fuel	868	0.39
24	Textile, Leather goods	2,953	1.31
25	Other trades	14,061	6.25
26	Army (40)	1,076	0.48
27	Navy (41)	5	—
28	Police (43)	2,628	1.17
29	Public Administration	8,269	3.68
30	Religion (45)	1,531	0.68
31	Law (46)	1,428	0.64
32	Medicine (47)	2,921	1.30
33	Education (48)	4,712	2.10
34	Letters, Arts & Sciences (49)	2,676	1.19
35	Domestic Service (51)	17,072	7.59
36	No definite occupation (52)	51,628	22.96
37	Own income (50)	5,316	2.36
38	Beggars (53)	2,371	1.05
39	Jails, Asylums (54)	—	—
40	Non-productive (55)	13	—
Total ..		2,24,824	100.0

APPENDIX

Madras City-1951—
Source : 1951 Census Hand

Sub-Divin.	Description	Number	Percentage
I	Agriculture	27,641	6.99
I—A	Provision and Care of Animals	6,897	1.75
II	Mining and Quarrying	55	0.01
III	Industries	92,650	23.44
IV	Transport, Storage and Communication	41,586	10.52

V—contd.

Occupational Classification.
Book for Madras City.

Sub-Divin.	Description	Number	Percentage
L.CI.	Cultivation of own land	5,724	1.45
L.CII.	Cultivation of unowned land	2,031	0.53
L.CIII.	Cultivating Labourers	12,767	0.70
L.CIV.	Non-cultivating owners	16,172	4.09
0.3	Plantation Industries	96	0.22
0.4	Forestry and collection of forest produce	791	
0.1	Stock raising	2,511	0.64
0.2	Rearing of Small animals and insects	12	—
0.5	Hunting	3	—
0.6	Fishing	4,371	1.11
1.1	Coal mining	1	—
1.3	Metal mining except iron ore	24	0.01
1.5	Stone quarrying and extraction of clay and sand	30	0.01
2.0—2.5	Food industries, including oil, sugar, tobacco	13,930	3.52
2.6—2.8	Textiles, weaving apparels, textiles otherwise unclassified	23,817	6.03
2.9	Leather products and foot wear	1,894	0.48
4.6	Wood	6,500	1.64
3.0—3.2	Metals	4,343	1.10
4.4	Non-metallic products (Ceramic)	1,205	0.30
3.6—3.8	Chemical products	1,140	0.29
4.7	Furniture	194	0.05
4.2, 4.3, 5.0, 5.1, 5.4, 5.6, 5.7, & 5.3	Building Industries	4,426	1.13
3.3, 5.3 & 5.3	Construction of means of Transport and Communication	14,127	3.58
4.1	Production of power, gas, and electricity	2,345	0.59
3.4, 3.5, 4.0, 4.8, 4.9	Miscellaneous and undefined industries	18,279	4.74
7.2	Transport by water	7,521	1.90
7.1	Transport by road	16,176	4.09
7.4	Transport by rail	8,660	2.19
7.3	Transport by air	351	0.09
7.5	Storage and warehousing	—	—
7.6—7.9	Posts, Telephone & Telegraph	7,479	1.89

APPENDIX
Madras City-1951—
Source: 1951 Census Hand

Sub-Divin.	Description	Number	percentage
V	Commerce	96,598	24.44
VI	Public Services	43,489	11.0
VII	Liberal Arts	33,182	8.41
VIII	Miscellaneous	53,138	13.44
GRAND TOTAL ..		3,95,236	100.00

*Number of active workers and dependents.

V—contd.

Occupational Classification—contd.

Book for Madras city.

Sub-Divin.	Description	Number	Percentage
7.0	Transport and communication otherwise unclassified	1,399	0.35
6.7, 6.8	Insurance and Bank	8,307	2.10
6.1, 6.4, 9.4	Foodstuffs including Hotels and Cafes	31,087	7.86
6.2	Fuel including petrol	3,280	0.83
6.3	Textiles and leather goods	9,123	2.32
6.0, 6.5, 6.6	Other trades	44,801	11.34
8.3	Army, Navy, Air Force	—	—
8.4	Police	3,576	0.90
8.5	Village Officers	346	0.09
8.6	Municipalities and Local Boards	6,024	1.52
8.7	State Government	17,569	4.45
8.8	Union Government	15,272	3.86
8.9	Non-Indian Governments	702	0.18
9.8	Religion	1,472	0.37
9.6	Legal and Business	6,025	1.52
8.1	Medical and Health	7,225	1.83
8.2	Education and Research	9,810	2.48
9.7	Arts, Letters and Journalism Recreation (5,410)	8,650	2.19
9.1	Domestic Service	15,019	3.80
9.2 & 9.3	Barbers and Launderers	9,844	2.49
9.0	Services otherwise unclassified	20,047	5.07
	Non-working owners of non-agricultural property	1,538	0.39
	Investments and Remittances	3,281	0.83
	Jails and Asylums	1,507	0.38
	Beggars	1,585	0.40
	Other non-productive occupation	317	0.08
GRAND TOTAL ..		3,95,236	100.00

APPENDIX VI

(Households Classified according to number of persons from 1 to 11—Percentages)

Size of Household	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			Total		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
1—3 Small :															
1	0.7	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.5	1.1	0.9	1.6	1.1	0.6	2.2	1.0	0.8	1.5	1.0
2	6.5	10.3	7.4	7.8	9.5	8.2	7.9	9.8	8.3	7.4	8.3	7.6	7.5	9.5	8.0
3	11.8	15.1	12.5	13.5	17.2	14.2	12.7	18.6	14.0	13.7	13.9	13.8	12.9	16.6	13.8
4—6 Medium :															
4	16.2	16.3	16.2	16.8	19.9	17.4	17.2	20.8	18.0	16.5	20.3	17.5	16.8	19.6	17.4
5	16.2	20.2	17.1	17.5	20.9	18.2	18.4	18.2	18.4	17.8	17.7	17.8	17.7	19.2	18.0
6	14.9	14.5	14.8	14.7	12.9	14.3	14.8	13.8	14.6	14.9	12.2	14.2	14.8	13.4	14.5
7—9 Large :															
7	11.5	8.2	10.8	10.2	7.8	9.7	10.8	6.5	9.9	9.2	9.6	9.3	10.5	7.8	9.9
8	8.6	5.4	7.9	7.2	4.6	6.7	6.1	4.9	5.9	6.5	7.1	6.7	6.9	5.4	6.6
9	5.3	4.1	5.0	4.5	2.4	4.2	4.5	2.9	4.1	5.6	3.5	5.1	4.8	3.1	4.4
10 & above : Very Large :															
10	2.8	2.1	2.7	3.0	1.5	2.6	2.8	1.3	2.5	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.9	1.7	2.5
11	5.5	3.2	4.9	3.8	1.8	3.4	3.9	1.6	3.3	5.1	2.8	4.5	4.4	2.2	3.9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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APPENDIX VII Number of Households with unemployed Persons Zonewise

No. of unemployed persons	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			Total		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
Per Household :															
1	290	64	354	456	97	553	473	87	560	155	49	204	1,374	297	1,671
2	52	9	61	69	12	81	62	12	74	23	6	29	206	39	245
3	9	2	11	13	—	13	8	—	8	3	—	3	33	2	35
4	—	—	—	4	1	5	1	1	2	1	—	1	6	2	8
5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6+	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
0	1,514	459	1,974	2,582	712	3,294	3,147	955	4,102	1,421	537	1,958	8,664	2,664	11,328
(a) Total Households ..	1,865	535	2,400	3,125	822	3,947	3,691	1,055	4,746	1,603	592	2,195	10,284	3,004	13,288
(b) Households unem- ployed persons ..	351	76	426	543	110	653	544	100	644	182	55	237	1,620	340	1,960
% of (b) to (a) ..	18.8	14.0	17.8	17.3	13.4	16.5	14.7	9.5	13.6	11.4	9.2	10.7	15.8	11.3	14

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APPENDIX VIII

Households Classified According to 11 Income groups

[illegible]

APPENDIX IX

Remittances Outward—Number of Households Remitting Classified and Percentage of Reported Cases

[illegible]

APPENDIX X
Percentage Distribution of Households Receiving Remittances

Remittances Received	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			Total		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
Upto 9 ..	9.0	2.5	6.9	5.9	9.4	6.7	22.2	13.9	19.8	10.0	4.7	7.8	11.7	7.3	10.3
10—24 ..	24.4	15.0	21.5	36.2	25.0	33.6	43.4	19.4	36.5	25.0	20.9	23.3	33.0	19.8	29.0
25—49 ..	27.8	17.5	24.6	36.2	25.0	33.6	21.1	30.5	23.8	21.7	18.6	20.4	27.5	22.5	26.0
50—99 ..	22.2	25.0	23.1	11.8	21.9	14.2	12.2	16.7	13.5	20.0	27.9	23.3	16.1	23.2	18.3
100—249 ..	12.2	30.0	17.7	6.9	15.6	9.0	1.1	16.7	5.6	13.3	20.9	16.5	7.9	21.2	12.0
250—499 ..	2.2	5.0	3.1	2.0	3.1	2.2	—	2.8	0.8	5.0	4.7	4.9	2.0	4.0	2.6
500—999 ..	2.2	5.0	3.1	1.0	—	0.7	—	—	—	5.0	2.3	3.8	1.8	2.0	1.8
1000+ ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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APPENDIX XI
Classification of Types of Houses.

Type of Houses	Zone I			Zone II			Zone III			Zone IV			Total		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
Garden House ..	14	5	19	14	3	17	—	—	—	21	2	23	49	10	59
New Type Colony ..	19	11	33	37	16	53	11	2	13	41	20	61	108	49	157
Storeyed House ..	132	320	452	66	473	539	102	774	876	58	163	221	358	1,730	2,088
Old Type House ..	369	943	1,312	384	1,793	2,177	466	2,510	2,976	350	654	1,004	1,569	5,900	7,469
Hutments ..	56	108	164	100	162	262	178	216	394	237	131	368	571	617	1,188
Thatched Huts ..	221	198	419	474	425	899	350	132	482	372	146	518	1,417	901	2,318
N.R. ..	—	4	4	—	—	—	5	—	5	—	—	—	5	4	9
Total ..	811	1,589	2,400	1,075	2,872	3,947	1,112	3,634	4,746	1,079	1,116	2,195	4,077	9,211	13,288

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APPENDIX

Distribution of Economically Active Popu-

Technical Education	Non-Immigrants					
	M		F		T	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 Law	44	1.9	1	0.4	45	1.3
1 Medicine	49	2.2	8	3.4	57	2.3
2 Engineering	16	0.7	—	—	16	0.6
3 Teaching	34	1.5	9	3.8	43	1.7
4 Veterinary	8	0.4	—	—	8	0.3
5 Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 Commerce	16	0.7	—	—	16	0.6
7 Audit & Accounts	21	0.9	1	0.4	22	0.9
8 Others	7	0.3	—	—	7	0.3
DIPLOMAS:						
9 Engineering	88	3.9	—	—	88	3.5
10 Teaching	109	4.8	125	52.8	234	9.4
11 Commerce	5	0.2	—	—	5	0.2
12 Health & Sanitation	23	1.0	17	7.2	40	1.6
13 Physical Instruction	3	0.1	—	—	3	0.1
14 Typing	356	15.7	27	11.4	383	15.3
15 Shorthand	80	3.5	14	5.9	94	3.8
16 Book-keeping	27	1.2	—	—	27	1.1
17 Arts and Crafts	38	1.7	4	1.7	42	1.8
18 Photography	13	0.6	—	—	13	0.5
19 Cine Technican	4	0.2	—	—	4	0.2
20 Music	26	1.2	5	2.1	31	1.2
21 Others	168	7.4	14	5.9	182	7.3
22 Welder	31	1.4	1	0.4	32	1.3
23 Tinker	26	1.2	—	—	26	1.0
24 Fitter	247	10.9	1	0.4	248	9.9
25 Carpenter	249	11.0	1	0.4	250	10.0
26 Blacksmith	51	2.3	—	—	51	2.0
27 Goldsmith	128	5.7	1	0.4	129	5.2
28 Mason	109	4.8	1	0.4	110	4.4
29 Others	285	12.6	7	3.0	292	11.7
TOTAL	2,261	100	237	100	2,498	100

XII

lation according to Technical Education

Immigrants						Total (NI+I)					
M		F		T		M		F		T	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
27	3.3	—	—	27	3.0	71	2.3	1	0.3	72	2.1
13	1.6	4	4.0	17	1.9	62	2.0	12	3.6	74	2.2
18	2.2	—	—	18	2.0	34	1.1	—	—	34	1.0
22	2.7	7	7.0	29	3.2	56	1.8	16	4.7	72	2.1
—	—	—	—	—	—	8	0.3	—	—	8	0.2
4	0.5	—	—	4	0.4	4	0.1	—	—	4	0.1
10	1.2	—	—	10	1.1	26	0.8	—	—	26	0.8
6	0.7	—	—	6	0.6	27	0.8	1	0.3	28	0.8
1	0.1	—	—	1	0.1	8	0.3	—	—	8	0.2
54	6.7	—	—	54	6.0	142	4.6	—	—	142	4.2
44	5.5	50	50.0	94	10.4	153	5.0	175	51.9	328	9.6
6	0.7	—	—	6	0.6	11	0.4	—	—	11	0.3
7	0.9	5	5.0	12	1.3	30	1.0	22	6.5	52	1.4
1	0.1	1	1.0	2	0.2	4	0.1	1	0.3	5	0.1
198	24.6	18	18.0	216	23.8	554	18.1	45	13.4	599	17.6
77	9.5	2	2.0	79	8.8	157	5.1	16	4.7	173	5.1
20	2.5	—	—	20	2.2	47	1.5	—	—	47	1.4
10	1.2	—	—	10	1.1	48	1.6	4	1.2	52	1.5
4	0.5	—	—	4	0.4	17	0.6	—	—	17	0.5
2	0.3	—	—	2	0.2	6	0.2	—	—	6	0.2
14	1.7	2	2.0	16	1.8	40	1.3	7	2.1	47	1.4
53	6.5	7	7.0	60	6.6	221	7.2	21	6.2	242	7.2
2	0.3	—	—	2	0.2	33	1.1	1	0.3	34	1.0
3	0.4	—	—	3	0.3	29	0.9	—	—	29	0.9
44	5.5	—	—	44	4.9	291	9.5	1	0.3	292	8.6
42	5.2	—	—	42	4.6	291	9.5	1	0.3	292	8.6
9	1.1	—	—	9	1.0	60	2.0	—	—	60	1.8
19	2.4	—	—	19	2.1	147	4.8	1	0.3	148	4.4
34	4.2	—	—	34	3.8	143	4.7	1	0.3	144	4.2
63	7.9	4	4.0	67	7.4	348	11.3	11	3.3	359	10.5
807	100	100	100	907	100	3,068	100	337	100	3,405	100

APPENDIX XIII

Provisional Schedule. Furnished by the Research Programmes Committee
For the Fertility and Family Planning Survey

Age of woman

at marriage
at consummation of marriage
at birth of first child
at present
at the time of the death of
husband, in case of widows.

Pregnancy (1)	Sex (2)	Living /L Dead/D Miscarriage /M (3)	When born (4)	Whendied in case of dead (5)
(1)				
(2)				
(3)				
(4)				
(5)				
(6)				
(7)				
(8)				
(9)				
(10)				
(11)				
(12)				

What is the maximum No. of children you think you should have?

Separate forms have to be filled in for every married female in the household.
Particulars of widows who became mothers also have to be filled in.
In case of still births it may be so mentioned in columns 4 & 5.
In case of miscarriage it may be mentioned in column 3.

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ECONOMIC SURVEY OF MADRAS Fertility and Family Planning (FPS)

Sample Household	Division	No.	Investigator.....

I. GENERAL

- 1.1 Code No. of woman in as 4.1
- 1.2 Marital Status
- 1.3 Differences between the ages of spouses.
- 1.4 For S & W—Age at S or W.
- 1.5 No. of children desired

II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

- 2.1 Religion
- 2.2 Caste
- 2.3 Education
- 2.4 Occupation
- 2.5 Income
- 2.6 Total Income of Household

H* W**

III. AGE

- 3.1 Marriage
- 3.2 Consummation
- 3.3 Birth of first child
- 3.4 Birth of last child
- 3.5 Time of Investigation
- 3.6 Marital Age

H* W**

IV. CHILDREN : General

- 4.1 Children Born
- 4.2 Abortions
- 4.3 Still Born
- 4.4 Children Surviving
- 4.5 Children Dead

*H—Husband **W—Wife

V. SPECIAL

No. of pregnancy	Child			Mother's age at birth of child
	M/F	L/D	Age*	
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				

L—Living

D—Dead

*For dead children, age at the time of death.

APPENDIX XIV
Women Classified According to Marital Age

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Marital Age	Married			Widowed			Separated			Total		
	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T	NI	I	T
1	175	17	192	76	5	72	4	—	4	246	120	366
2	212	127	339	21	6	27	7	1	8	240	134	374
3	183	192	375	10	5	15	6	2	8	199	199	298
4	170	132	302	26	7	33	11	1	12	207	140	347
5	206	133	339	16	2	18	9	1	10	231	136	367
6	205	175	380	21	3	24	9	1	10	235	179	441
7	183	144	327	23	2	25	5	2	7	211	148	359
8	251	167	418	18	3	21	2	1	3	271	171	442
9	216	139	355	25	10	35	1	2	3	242	151	393
10-15	1,305	927	2,232	168	34	202	26	2	28	1,494	933	2,462
16-20	848	242	1,090	170	36	206	15	—	15	1,033	278	1,311
21	2,020	353	2,372	510	115	655	13	7	20	2,542	475	3,018
N.R.	159	81	240	18	10	28	14	2	16	191	93	284
Total	5,974	2,747	8,721	1,075	228	1,303	108	20	128	7,157	3,094	10,251

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CONFIDENTIAL

ECONOMIC SURVEY OF MADRAS
MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY BUDGET ENQUIRY

Investigator : Supervisor :

SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD :

Division No.
Street
Door

Name of Head
Occupation Code
Religion Community
Mother tongue

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD—DEGREE:

Members	Relation-ship to Head of Household	Sex	Age	M.S.	Edu-cation	Status		Secure or insecure	Pub/Pri.	Casual or Regular	Income P.M.
						Econ.	Emp.				
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9											
10											

	A	N.A.		Es.	Eds.	NDs.
No. of persons in household ..			Men			
Dependents living away ..			Women			
Boarders and Lodgers ..			Boys			
			Girls			
			TOTAL			

Total Income P.M. Total Expenditure

Surplus/Deficit

EXPENDITURE STATEMENT ABSTRACT :

Amount in Rs. P.M.	Amount in Rs. P.M.
1. Food	4. Household equipment and furniture
2. Fuel & Lighting	5. Housing
3. Clothing	6. Miscellaneous

1. Food Group :	Units	Value	Vegetables—contd.	Units	Value
<i>Cereals</i>					
1-1 Rice—mm			1-29 Cabbage & Greens		
1-2 Wheat—mm			1-30 Tinned vegetables including pickles.		
1-3 Wheat flour—viss			1-31 Cocoanuts		
1-4 Millets—mm (Cholam, Ragi, Cumbu)			1-32 Leaves—Plantain and dry		
1-5 Other cereals			1-33 Other vegetables		
Total—Cereals			Total—Vegetables		
<i>Pulses</i>			<i>Fruits</i>		
1-6 Bengal Gram—mm			1-34 Bananas—No.		
1-7 Green Gram—mm			1-35 Oranges—No.		
1-8 Black Gram—mm			1-36 Mangoes—No.		
1-9 Dhall—mm			1-37 Other fruits (including tinned foods)		
1-10 Appalam—No.			Total—Fruits		
1-11 Other Pulses			<i>Meat Fish & Egg</i>		
Total—Pulses			1-38 Mutton Sear		
<i>Oils</i>			1-39 Poultry—Unit		
1-12 Gingelly oil—Viss			1-40 Fish—Lb.		
1-13 Coconut oil—Viss			1-41 Eggs—No.		
1-14 Groundnut oil—Viss			1-42 Others		
1-15 Other oils—Viss			Total		
1-16 Vanaspati—Lb.			<i>Sugar</i>		
Total—Oils			1-43 Sugar—Viss		
<i>Milk & Milk Products</i>			1-44 Jaggery—Cane—Viss		
1-17 Cow's milk—mm			1-45 Jaggery—Palmyra—Viss		
1-18 Buffalo's milk—mm			1-46 Others		
1-19 Ghee—Viss			Total		
1-20 Curd—mm			<i>Spices & Condiments</i>		
1-21 Butter—Viss			1-47 Common salt—mm		
1-22 Canned milk			1-48 Tamarind—Viss		
1-23 Milk food for Babies			1-49 Turmeric—Viss		
Total—Milk			1-50 Black Pepper—Viss		
<i>Vegetables</i>			1-51 Dry chillies—Viss		
1-24 Potato—Viss			1-52 Dhania—Coriander—Viss		
1-25 Onion—Viss			1-53 Mustard—Viss		
1-26 Root vegetables			1-54 Ginger—Viss		
1-27 Green chillies			1-55 Asafoetida—Palams		
			1-56 Others		
			Total—Spices		

Beverages & Refreshments	Units	Value	Mill Cloth—contd.	Unit
1-57 Tea leaf—lb.			3-13 Blouse or Choli pieces for women and girls H.L.	
1-58 Tea—cups			3-14 Mill cloth for blouses and jackets for women and girls.	
1-59 Coffee—lb.			3-15 Cloth for other uses	
1-60 Coffee—cups			Total—Cotton Cloth	
1-61 Other beverages : (Cocoa, Ovaltine, Ice cream, Vimto cool drinks).			<i>Clothing: Silk</i>	
1-62 Biscuits, Buns			3-16 Dhoti & angavastram	
1-63 Sweets			3-17 Sarces	
1-64 Savouries			3-18 Cloth for garments—Males	
1-65 Others			3-19 Cloth for garments—Females	
Total—Refreshments			3-20 Cloth for—Children Male	
2. <i>Fuel and Lighting :</i>			3-21 Cloth for—Children Female	
2-1 Firewood—Gundus			Total—Silk	
2-2 Charcoal—Gundus			<i>Clothing—Wool</i>	
2-3 Dung cakes—No.			3-22 Shawls	
2-4 Matches—Boxes			3-23 Garments for men	
2-5 Kerosene—Bottles			3-24 Garments for women	
2-6 Petrol—Gallons			3-25 Knitting wool	
2-7 Electricity—Units			3-26 Sweaters	
2-8 Others			Total—Wool	
Total—Fuel & Lighting			<i>Footwear</i>	
3. <i>Clothing</i>			3-27 Gents	
<i>Handloom</i>			3-28 Ladies	
3-1 Dhoties—Adults			3-29 Children	
3-2 Dhoties—Children			Total—Footwear	
3-3 Sarces—Adults			4. <i>Household Equipment and Furniture</i>	
3-4 Sarces—Children			<i>Bedding and Upholstery</i>	
3-5 Khaddar for Males			4-1 Mosquito nets	
3-6 Khaddar for Females			4-2 Blankets & Rugs	
<i>Mill Cloth</i>			4-3 Pillows	
3-7 Dhoties—Adults			4-4 Quilt—Large	
3-8 Dhoties—Children			4-5 Quilt—Small	
3-9 Sarces—Adults			4-6 Mats	
3-10 Sarces—Children			4-7 Curtain Cloth	
3-11 Shirting—Men & Boys			4-8 Othetss	
3-12 Coating—Men & Boys			TOTAL	

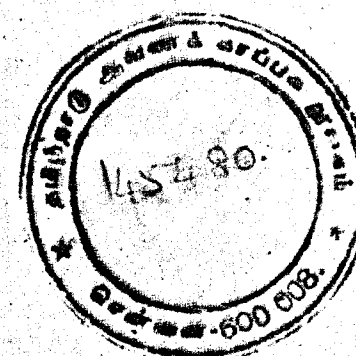
	Units	Value		Units	Val
<i>Utensils</i>					
4-9 Copper, brass and Bell-metal			4-36 Chairs		
4-10 Aluminium			4-37 Tables, desks		
4-11 Iron			4-38 Box, trunk, Suit cases attaches.		
4-12 Glass & Enamelware			4-39 Others		
4-13 China Clay			Total—Furniture		
4-14 Stay Brite (Ever Silver)			5. Housing		
4-15 Silver			5-1 Plinth area		
Total—Utensils			5-2 No. and size of living rooms		
<i>Musical Instruments</i>					
4-16 Harmonium			5-3 Kitchen		
4-17 Gramophone			5-4 Store room		
4-18 Radio			5-5 Bath Room		
4-19 Others			5-6 Verandahs		
Total—Musical Instruments			5-7 Latrine		
<i>Ornaments</i>					
4-20 Gold			For House Owners Only		
4-21 Silver			5-8 Cost of construction		
4-22 Others			5-9 Year in which constructed		
Total—Ornaments			5-10 Additional expenditure incurred since construction		
<i>Other Equipments</i>					
4-23 Bicycles			For rent payers only		
4-24 Tricycles, Children cars etc.			5-11 Rent for residential house		
4-25 Motor cycle			5-12 Expenditure on repairs, if any, in the year.		
4-26 Motor car			6. Miscellaneous		
4-27 Typewriter			Rent and Taxes		
4-28 Sewing-Machine			6-1 Land Revenue		
4-29 Clocks			6-2 Taxes for house		
4-30 Watches			6-3 Rent for residential house		
4-31 Electric Fans			6-4 Income-tax		
4-32 Electric heater, Kettle, Iron			6-5 Others		
4-33 Cameras & Photographic goods.			Consumer taxes		
Total—Other Equipments			6-6 Municipal rates		
<i>Furniture</i>					
4-34 Bedstead			6-7 Radio license		
4-35 Almirah, Show case			6-8 Bicycle license		
			6-9 Motor cycle tax		
			6-10 Motor tax		
			6-11 Water tax		
			6-12 Professional tax		

Rent & Taxes—contd.		Units	Value			Units	Value
6-13	Cattle tax			<i>Pan & Tobacco</i>			
6-14	Other local rates			6-41	Betel leaf		
Total—Rents & Taxes ..				6-42	Arecanut		
<i>Education</i>				6-43	Beedas		
6-15	School & College books ..			6-44	Cigarettes		
6-16	Fountain pens			6-45	Cigar		
6-17	Ordinary pens and pencils ..			6-46	Snuff		
6-18	Ink			6-47	Chewing		
6-19	Notebook & Paper			6-48	Bidi		
6-20	School & College fees			6-49	Others		
6-21	Tuition charges			Total—Pan & Tobacco ..			
6-22	Others			<i>Services</i>			
Total—Education				6-50	Lawyers		
<i>Medicine etc.</i>				6-51	Priest		
6-23	Doctor			6-52	Domestic servant		
6-24	Nurse, Midwife			6-53	Domestic cook		
6-25	Medicine Allo.			6-54	Gardener		
6-26	Medicine Homeo.			6-55	Driver		
6-27	Medicine Ayur.			6-56	Barber		
6-28	Medicine Unani			6-57	Washerman		
6-29	Others—Tonics			6-58	Sweeper		
Total—Medicine				6-59	Cobbler		
<i>Toilets</i>				6-60	Tailor		
6-30	Soap			6-61	Carpenter		
6-31	Snow, cream, Powder			6-62	Blacksmith		
6-32	Oil			6-63	House repairing		
6-33	Comb, Brush, Mirror			6-64	Other services		
6-34	Shaving requisites			Total—Services			
6-35	Tooth Paste			<i>Cultural & Social</i>			
6-36	Others			6-65	Club subscription		
Total—Toilets				6-66	Purchase of books		
<i>Secondary Goods</i>				6-67	Purchase of journals & Periodicals.		
6-37	Umbrellas			6-68	Purchase of Newspapers ..		
6-38	Washing Soap			6-69	Postage		
6-39	Washing soda						
6-40	Others						
Total—Secondary Goods ..							

	Units	Value		Recd.	Disd.
6.70 Entertainment in clubs and restaurants.			6.90 Savings Bank		
6.71 Others (Picnics etc.)			6.91 Chit funds		
Total—Cultural & Social			6.92 Others		
			Total—Savings		
<i>Ceremonials :</i>			<i>Transfers</i>		
6.72 Births			6.94 Charity		
6.73 Marriages			6.95 Remittance		
6.74 Deaths			Total—Transfers		
6.75 Others			<i>Assets</i>		
Total—Ceremonials :			6.96 Land		
<i>Amusements & Sports</i>			6.97 Building		
6.76 Cinema			6.98 Livestock		
6.77 Theatre			6.99 Others assets		
6.78 Toys			Total—Assets		
6.79 Festivals and fairs			<i>Indebtness</i>		
6.80 Sports and games			Amount of debt		
6.81 Others			6.100 Moneylender		
Total—Amusements			6.101 Bank		
<i>Receipts and Disbursements</i>			6.102 Cooperative Society		
	Recd.	Disd.	6.103 Handloan		
<i>Loan : Items</i>			<i>Loans according to Purpose</i>		
6.82 Taken			6.104 Festivals		
6.83 Advanced			6.105 Marriages		
6.84 Repaid			6.106 Funerals		
6.85 Repayment received			6.107 Sickness		
<i>Savings</i>			6.108 Education		
6.86 Deposits made			6.109 Purchase of land and other assets		
6.87 Deposits withdrawn			6.110 Other causes		
6.88 Insurance paid					
6.89 Provident Fund Paid					

Conveyance :

Mode	Purpose			Total
	Work	Education	Cultural & Entertainment	
6.111 Railway				
6.112 Bus				
6.113 Motor car				
6.114 Auto-rickshaw				
6.115 Rickshaw				
6.116 Horse Cab.				
6.117 Bullock cart				
6.118 Others				
Total—Conveyance				

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N 57

SAMPLE SURVEY OF SLUMS

Name of Head Slum
 Address Rel. & Com.
 Mother Tongue Name of E.I.

1. Name
 2. Relationship
 3. Age
 4. Sex
 5. M.S.
 6. Edu. Genl.
 7. Edu. Tech.

8. Exp'ce yrs.
 9. Eco. Stat.
 10. Emp. Stat.
 11. Pre. Job
 12. Pre. Occ.
 13. Age I Emp.
 14. No. jobs held
 15. Pre. job period
 1. Work Place Dist.
 2. Time--To & Fro
 3. Employer
 4. Pub/Pri/Dom.
 5. Reg./Casual
 6. Sec./Insec.
 7. Earning Main
 8. Earning Supple
 9. Unearned Income
 10. Total Income
 11. Mode of pay
 12. Daily earnings
 16. Unemp. Period
 1. U. Latest Ind.
 2. U. Latest Occ.
 3. U. Latest Period

HOUSING AND ASSETS :

	No.	Value
21. House Type		
1. Floor Spa.		
2. Floor Type		
3. Wall Type		
4. Roof Type		
5. Rooms		
6. Windows		
7. Dis. to Pv.		
8. Dis. to Tap		
22. Pro. N.P.		
1. Pro. city		
2. Assets		
3. Assets Charac.		
23. Debts Tot :		
1. Mon. Lend		
2. Employer		
3. Pathan		
4. Coop. Soc.		
5. Others		

CONSUMPTION

	Value	Units
24. Rice		
1. Ragi		

4. Spells of Unemp
 5. Cause of Unemp
 17. Hours of work
 18. Remit
 19. Place
 20. Place
 19.1. V/T
 2. Exodus Year
 3. Imm. Year
 4. Time taken
 5. Cause
 6. N.P. Ind.
 7. N.P. Occ.
 8. Eco. Stat.
 9. Emp. Stat.
 10. Earnings NP.
 20. No. of slums
 1. Reas. for this

CONSUMPTION--contd.

	Value	Units
2. Vegetable		
3. Oils		
4. Fish		
5. Eggs		
6. Meat		
7. Chillies		
8. Tea		
9. Coffee		
10. Soda		
11. Jaggery		
12. Condiments		
25. Firewood		
1. Kerosene		
2. Matches		
26. Dhories		
1. Sarees		
2. Boy's		
3. Girl's		
27. Pansupari		
1. Tobacco		
2. Snuff		
3. Bidi		
4. Cigarette		
5. Dhobi		
6. Soap		
7. Barber		
8. Cinema		
9. Medical		
10. Religious		