SAP-HISTORY MONOGRAPH- 5

PILOT SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

OF URBAN OKHLA

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Ravindran Gopinath

Pilot Socio-economic Survey of Urban Okhla

In 1947 Fahim Khan (name changed), popularly known as Fahim Patwari, came to Delhi from western United Provinces. The holocaust of the partition and the killings in Delhi forced the young boy who had come to better his life in the capital to go back to UP. When the communal killings and looting subsided and the newly independent country settled down to the task of nation building and development, it decided to grant the nationalist Jamia Millia Islamia some land near the Okhla village on the banks of the Jamuna in the southern suburbs of New Delhi. Fahim Khan's family attracted by the prospects of cheap and quiet housing in the neighbourhood of an academic institution decided to move to Okhla. Young Fahim studied in the University and then went on to become a highly successful *patwari*.

India entered the decade of the nineties with depleted coffers, unstable central governments and a rapidly growing anti-Muslim Hindu right wing party. The run up to the demolition of the Babri Masjid at the end of 1996 severely heightened insecurity among the Muslim minority in India. This period once again saw real estate prices shooting up in this area and more and more middle class Muslims moving into it. As communal passions and mistrust mounted, Muslims came in and Hindus gradually started moving out of this area.

As agricultural decline and jobless economic growth hastened under the neo-liberal reforms inaugurated in 1991, Delhi expanded even more vigorously. In-migration became

a major contributor to the city's expansion. In this context, casual daily waged Muslim labour attracted by ethnic and religious links and imagined solidarity began to migrate to this area. However, since our sample was drawn from the house numbers of *pucca*, built houses this population does not find adequate representation in the present sample.

Unlike Fahim, Mir (name changed) had done well for himself in the construction business. His daughter had married outside the community and Mir wanted to move out to a more congenial habitat. A suitably large and posh property was located just outside the Muslim area and the price was settled by Mir's Hindu son-in-law. However, when the time came to sign the registration papers and it became known that the buyer was Mir and not his son-in-law the purchaser attempted to renege on the deal. After much effort the deal went through, but Mir's new neighbours circulated a notice advising house owners not to sell to Muslims to keep the cultural identity of the posh locality intact.

While many Fahims, along with a much larger mass of anonymous urban poor steadily poured in, unlike Mir not many could get out- the ghetto was firmly in place, hemmed in by the Yamuna and its distributary in the east and the broad municipal roads to the west and south.

In 2004-05 students and teachers of Jamia Millia Islamia conducted a small pilot survey of urban settlements in the neighbourhood of Jamia Millia Islamia. Located in the south-eastern part of New Delhi, the study area lies close to the right bank of the river Yamuna, just before the river enters the state of Uttar Pradesh to the south. Delhi is currently

divided into nine districts with three districts each. The study area which covers a large part of Okhla, falls within Ward 7 of *tahsil* Defence Colony in the South district. Earlier Okhla was part of the *tahsil* of Mehrauli.

District Map of Delhi

Source: Census of India

Among these Okhla is of particular interest as its recent history is the story of the transformation of a suburban village into an urban ghetto in the years after Independence developing in a context of Hindu-Muslim violence in the main city with and increasing inflow of Muslims and a more gradual out-migration of Hindus. The establishment of Jamia Millia Islamia in this area in 1956 and the subsequent expansion of the University also played an important role in attracting people to come and settle down in its vicinity.

Okhla along with Khizrabad to the north, Jasola to the south and Julena to the west were villages that have been gradually urbanized as the metropolis expanded. As the Delhi transformed itself into a conurbation in the decades following Independence, it urbanized neighbouring villages, fields and commons.

The population of the localities in the vicinity of the University increased rapidly following anti-Muslim riots or the minority community's perceived insecurity, especially during the run up to the destruction of the Babri Masjid in Uttar Pradesh and the wide scale violence that followed subsequently in northern India. The strengthening of right-wing Hindu political forces further heightened the insecurity of the Muslims in the decade of the nineties. Despite the deplorable civic amenities and the fact that the residential localities are unauthorized by the city's municipality, Muslims, even those with social and economic resources continued to settle down in this area. Not so dramatically, but slowly and quietly, predominantly Hindu localities such as Okhla village have lost most of their population to out-migration. By the end of the nineteen nineties the communal divide of the study area was virtually complete.

MAP INDICATING LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA IN SOUTHERN NEW DELHI

Approximate Location of Study Localities

Source: Map copied from Election Commission website

Objectives of the survey

This exercise had two broad objectives. The first was to impart practical experience in conducting social-economic surveys and analyzing survey data using quantitative techniques. A neighbourhood survey provided a practical and convenient opportunity for achieving this.

At a more academic level, this exercise was seen as the first step in beginning a series of systematic demographic, social and economic surveys of the University neighbourhood that could be subsequently compared across time. This would form a valuable data source for studying the contemporary history of urban expansion in Delhi. At a wider level this particular area of the capital is provides valuable insights into the socio-spatial construction of the minority in post independence India- in other words the life history of a ghetto.

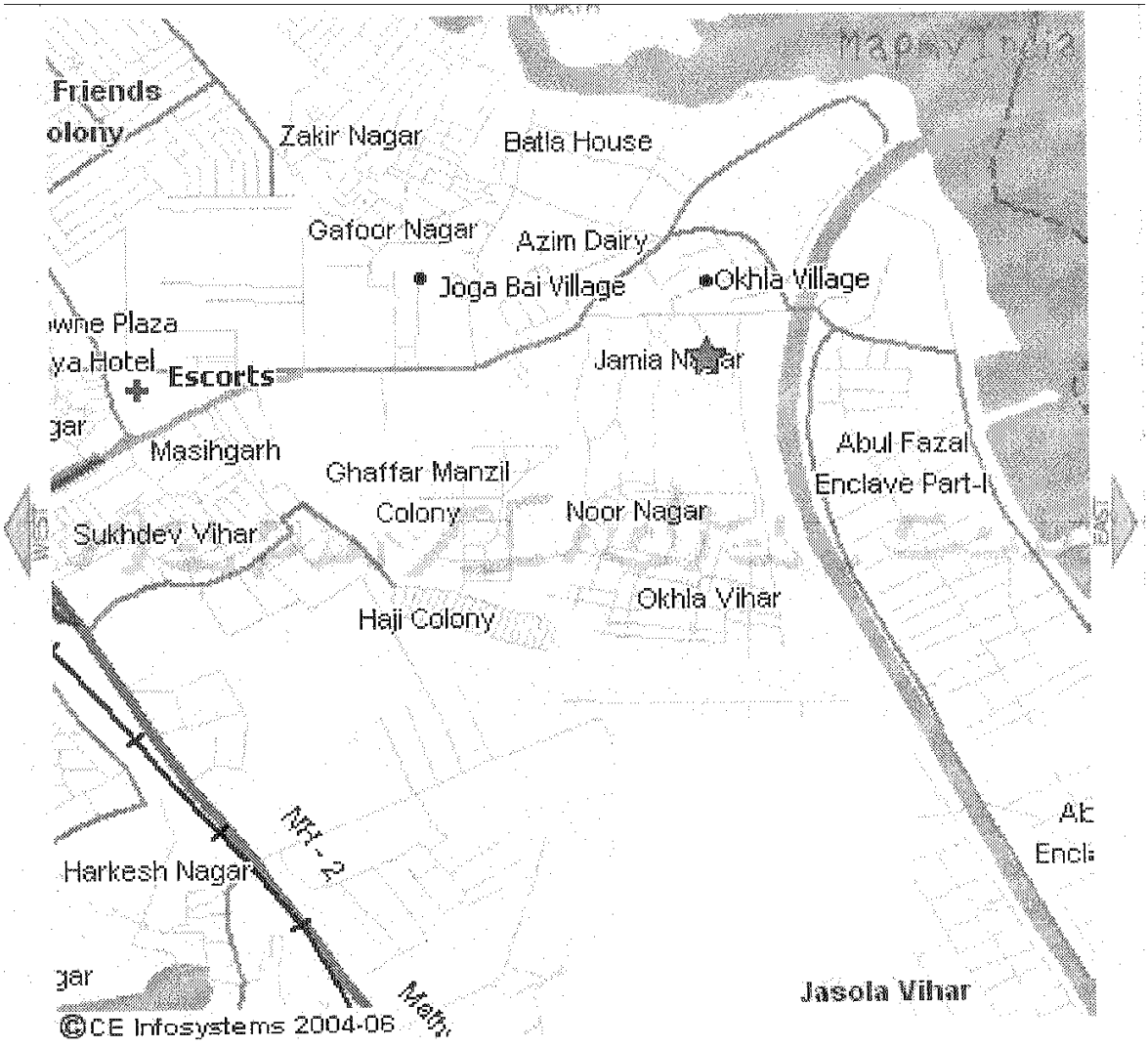
The more specific objectives of the survey was to estimate a variety of indices relating to economic, social, demographic, educational attributes and the availability of state sponsored public goods such as health, education and civic amenities. As religious, caste, occupational and locational details of each of the sample population had been collected, we were in a position to explore and compare the various social and economic characteristics by the above, often overlapping, categories.

The data was then used to run simple and partial correlations and multivariate regressions to estimate the relative value of class and community attributes in influencing social development attributes.

Given the large population and geographical spread of the Ward across economically and socially very disparate localities, it was decided to restrict the study to a selection of localities east of the road connecting Escorts Hospital to the Ring Road up to the Jamuna River in the east.

MAP OF STUDY AREA

Insert from Map of Okhla and adjoining areas



The following localities were selected for study:

Bharat Nagar

Zakir Nagar

Batla House

Ghaffar Manzil

Noor Nagar

Okhla Village

Shaheen Bagh

Abul Fazal Enclave

The total number of households according to the census of 1991 in these localities came to 5509. Their distribution by locality was as follows:

Bharat Nagar	335
Zakir Nagar	1755
Batla House	1801
Ghaffar Manzil	464
Noor Nagar	229
Okhla Village	617
Shaheen Bagh	
Abul Fazal Enclave	

Methodology

This survey was conducted by students of the department of history, who had opted for courses in demography and economic history, and from the department of sociology. The choice of the study are was dictated by the practical consideration of easy accessibility as well as the fact that this was one of the many rural areas of Delhi that had been urbanized as the city extended. Further, existence of both Muslims and Hindus, within the study area provided an opportunity to compare a variety of social and economic indices across religious communities.

A random sample of 281 households was selected from the 1991 Census ward level data for the study area. These households were spread over seven localities. While most of the localities were Muslim dominated one was overwhelmingly populated by Hindus and another had a mixed distribution of population by community.

The selected sample had a confidence interval of 5.85 and a confidence level of 95 per cent. The sample though small is statistically representative. A random sample was used after random numbers were generated from the house numbers listed in the Census of 1991's Ward 7 house numbers.

A structured questionnaire using close-ended questions were used to conduct the survey.

A questionnaire was designed to cover four major themes- demography, economy, social structure and development and communication. In addition to the structured questionnaires the students of the Department of Sociology undertook to conduct a small number of detailed ethnographic interviews. These are however not included in the present publication.

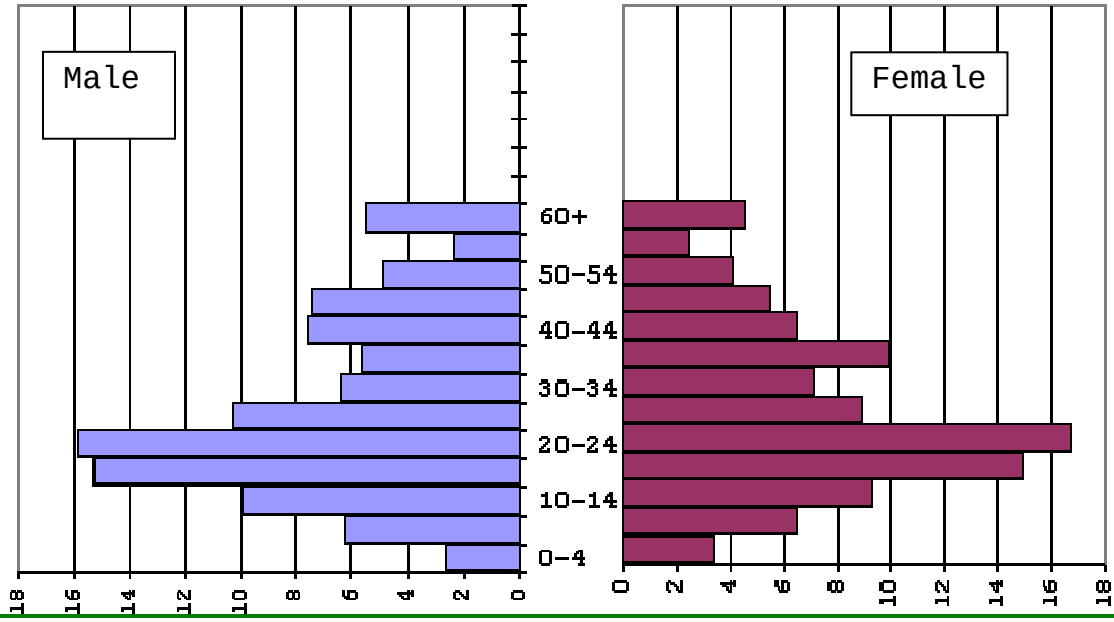
Demographics

The bulk of the population belonged to the age group between 20 and 39 years (53 and 55 per cent respectively) and about 34 per cent in the ages between 0 and 19. The oldest age group (Age 55+) was only around 11 to 12 per cent of the population. Males out numbered females in the working ages between 15 and 55 but the sex ratio was not substantially skewed with a male-female ratio in these ages of 1.06.

Age Structure

Age	Male	Female
0-4	17	21
5-9	41	40
10-14	65	57
15-19	100	92
20-24	104	103
25-29	67	55
30-34	42	44
35-39	37	61
40-44	50	40
45-49	49	34
50-54	32	25
55-59	15	15
60 plus	36	28
	655	615

Age Pyramid of Study Population: 2005 (Per cent of Each Sex)



Fertility

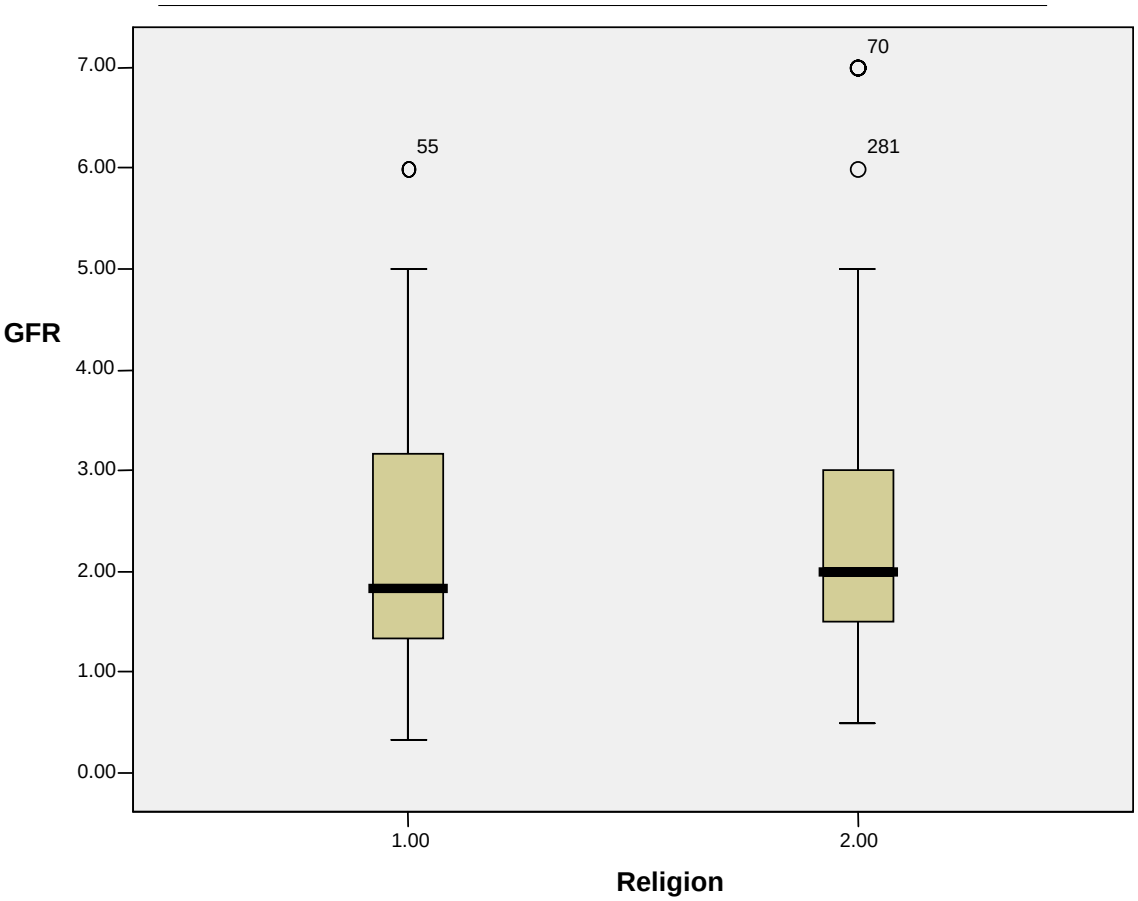
Much has been made of higher Muslim fertility in many academic and popular writings. Our survey results show that Muslim fertility, measured by the General Fertility Rate or GFR did exceed Hindu fertility

Group Statistics

	Religion	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error of Mean
GFR	Hindu	34	3.6618	2.69882	.46284
	Muslim	102	3.9673	2.36018	.23369

Fertility Levels for Hindu and Muslims

				Religion	
GFR	Hindu	Mean		3.6618	.46284
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	2.7201	
			Upper Bound	4.6034	
		5% Trimmed Mean		3.3693	
		Median		3.0000	
		Variance		7.284	
		Std. Deviation		2.69882	
		Minimum		1.00	
		Maximum		12.00	
		Range		11.00	
		Interquartile Range		2.00	
		Skewness		1.883	.403
		Kurtosis		3.362	.788
	Muslim	Mean		3.9673	.23369
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	3.5037	
			Upper Bound	4.4309	
		5% Trimmed Mean		3.7571	
		Median		3.2500	
		Variance		5.570	
		Std. Deviation		2.36018	
		Minimum		1.00	
		Maximum		18.00	
		Range		17.00	
		Interquartile Range		2.50	
		Skewness		2.501	.239
		Kurtosis		11.546	.474



However, on testing the mean levels for significant differences we find non. The Levene's test for equality of variances yielded a statistically insignificant value of p value of 0.63.

To discover the important determinants of fertility level we then regressed GFR on a number of commonly used explanatory variables such as religion, education, income and caste. Once again religion failed to show significant causation. The only significant

covariate being caste ranking. The regression results suggest that lower caste status was a significant explanatory factor in increased fertility.

Regression Coefficients(a)

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
Variable	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	.664	2.651		.250	.803
Income/husehold size	-4.72E-005	.000	-.047	-.386	.701
Religion	.679	1.167	.073	.582	.563
CASTE RANKING	1.460	.619	.296	2.358	.022

a Dependent Variable: GFR.

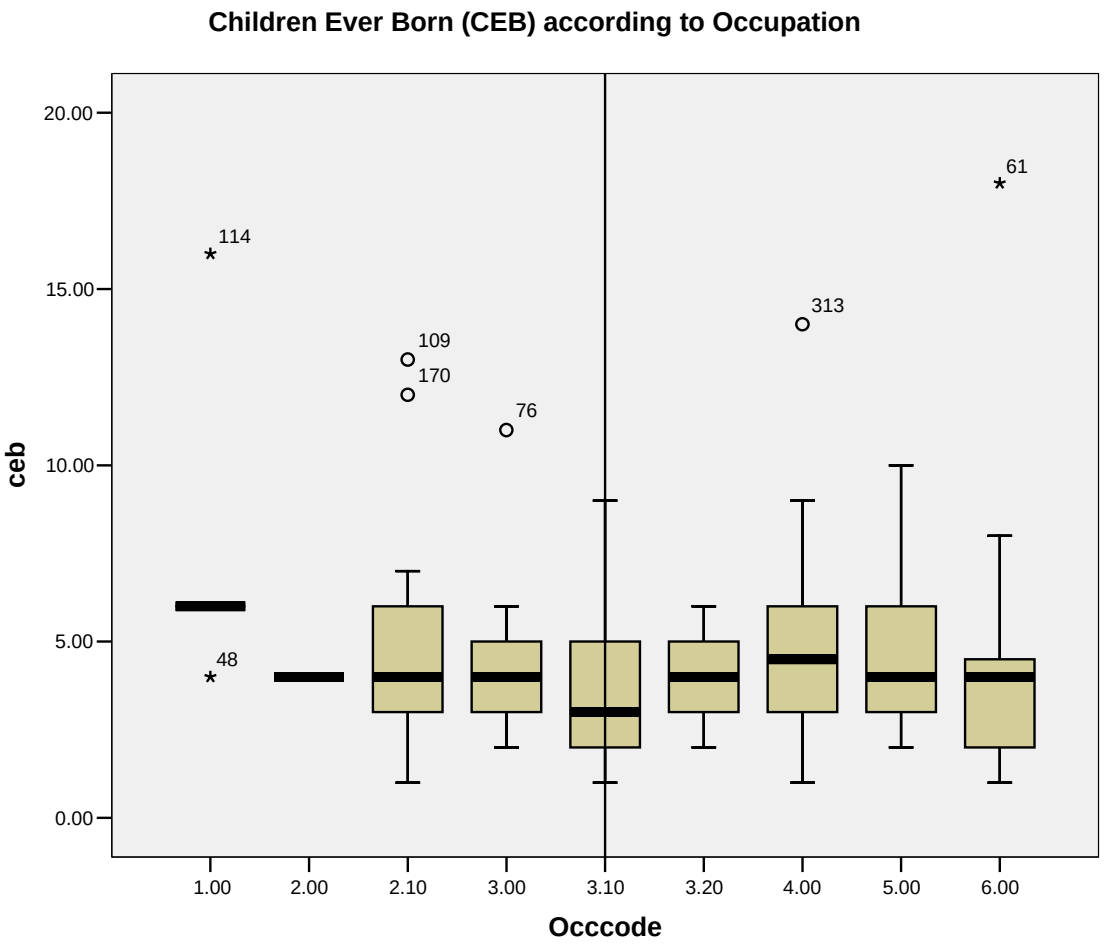
Religion takes the value of 1 for Hindus and 2 for Muslims

Group Statistics

	CASTE RANKING	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GFR	1	31	3.1559	1.93455	.34745
	2	41	4.8130	2.82184	.44070

Independent Samples Test Mean GFR- Caste

					Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	
					F	Sig.
GFR	Equal variances assumed	1.401	.241	-2.807	70	.006
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.953	69.420	.004



Contraception

Four questions relating to contraception were asked. These included a general categorical question on use of contraception followed by questions on the use of specific contraceptive methods- intra-uterine devices, oral pills and sterilization. Student

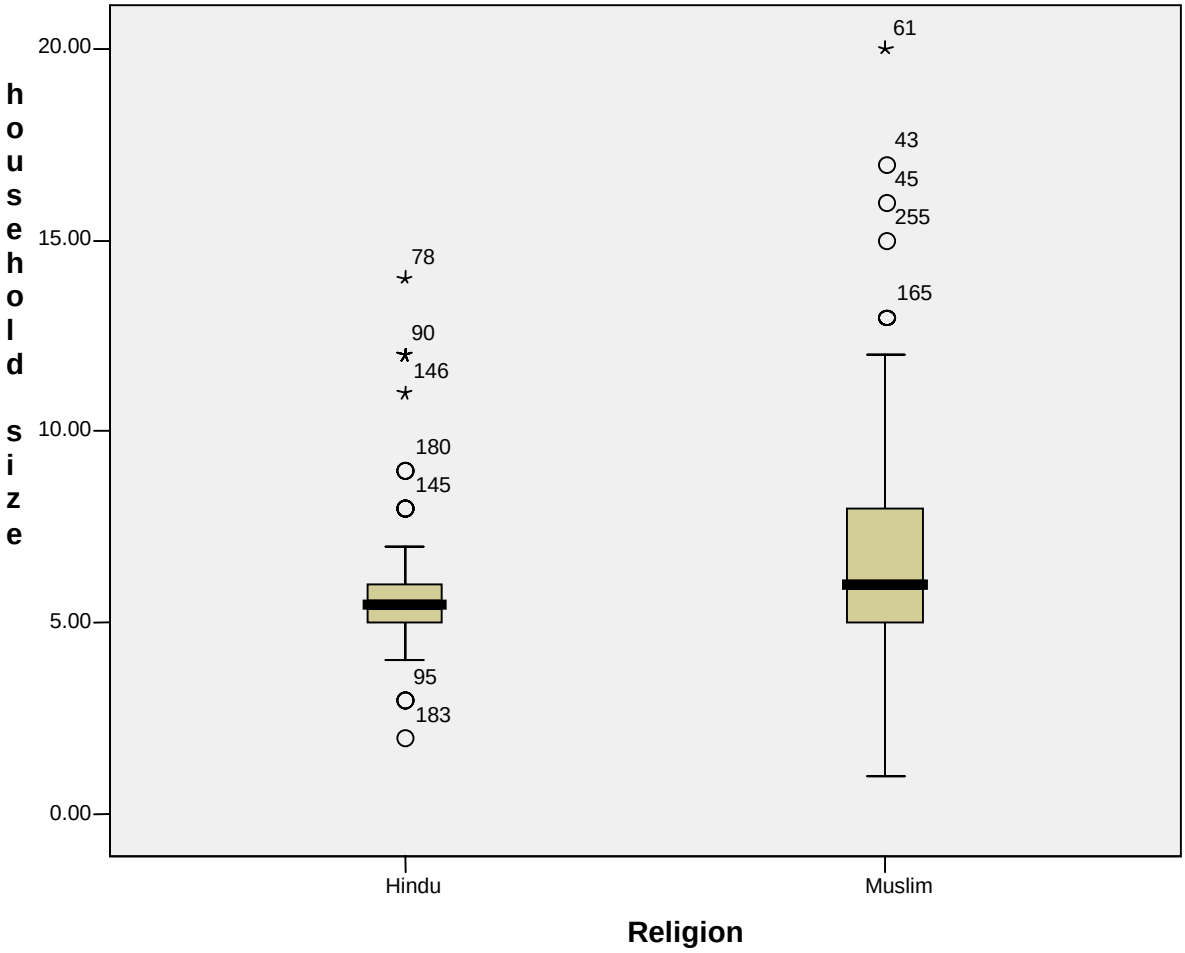
volunteers were at first reluctant to ask for information on contraception. The data for these variables is not satisfactory, especially for specific forms of contraception. No significant bivariate association was found between contraceptive use, religion, caste and income. There is an insignificant negative correlation between the Muslim and contraception variables.

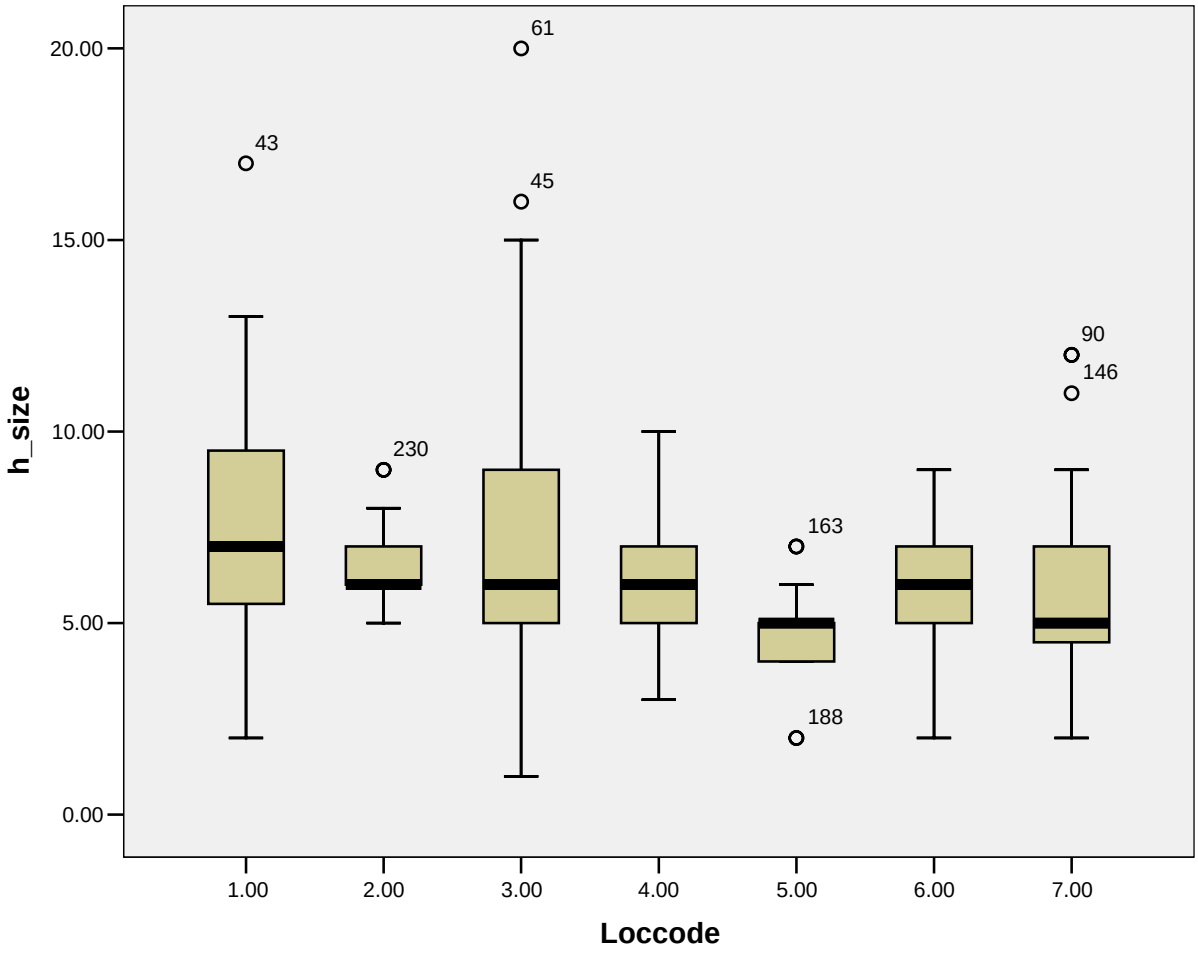
Household Size

The size of the household has often been related to poverty and wealth in economic literature. The survey results show that Muslim households were larger than Hindu households with an average of 5.98 and 6.35 members respectively. Once again we find that this difference in means is not significant. While there is a statistically insignificant correlation between Muslims and slightly bigger households, there is a strong significant inverse correlation between the income per household and household size.

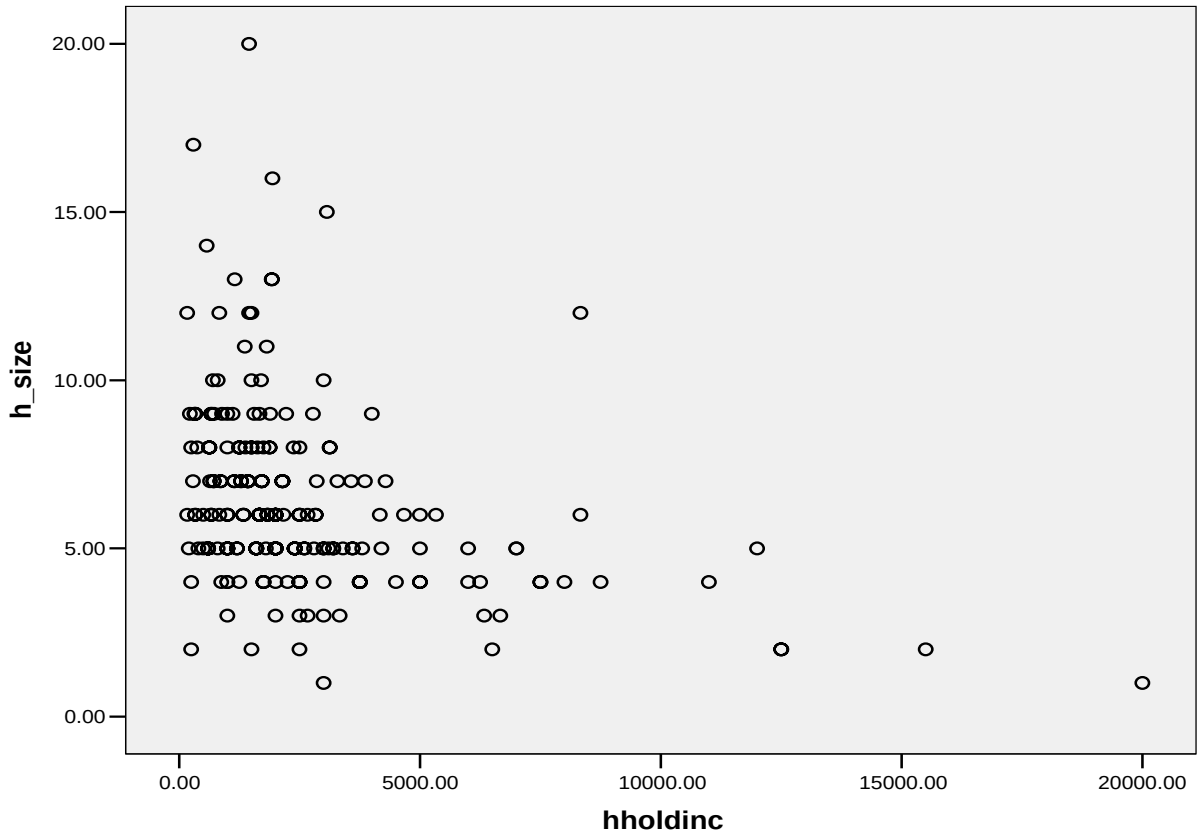
Household Size by Religion

	Religion			Statistic	Std. Error
h_size	1.00	Mean		5.9848	.27608
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	5.4335	
			Upper Bound	6.5362	
		5% Trimmed Mean		5.7946	
		Median		5.5000	
		Variance		5.031	
		Std. Deviation		2.24289	
	2.00	Mean		6.3538	.19514
		95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	5.9690	
			Upper Bound	6.7387	
		5% Trimmed Mean		6.1581	
		Median		6.0000	
		Variance		7.426	
		Std. Deviation		2.72501	


household size
20.00
15.00
10.00
5.00
0.00
61
43
45
255
165
78
90
146
180
145
95
183
Hindu
Muslim
Religion


h_size
20.00
15.00
10.00
5.00
0.00
61
43
45
90
146
230
163
188
1.00
2.00
3.00
4.00
5.00
6.00
7.00
Loccode

Scatter Plot of Household size by Household Income



Regression Coefficients[a]

	Unstandardize Coefficient		Standardize Coefficient		
	B	Std.	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant	7.269	.233		31.23	.000
hholdin	.000	.000	-.353	-5.689	.000

a. Dependent Variable: income/ Household size

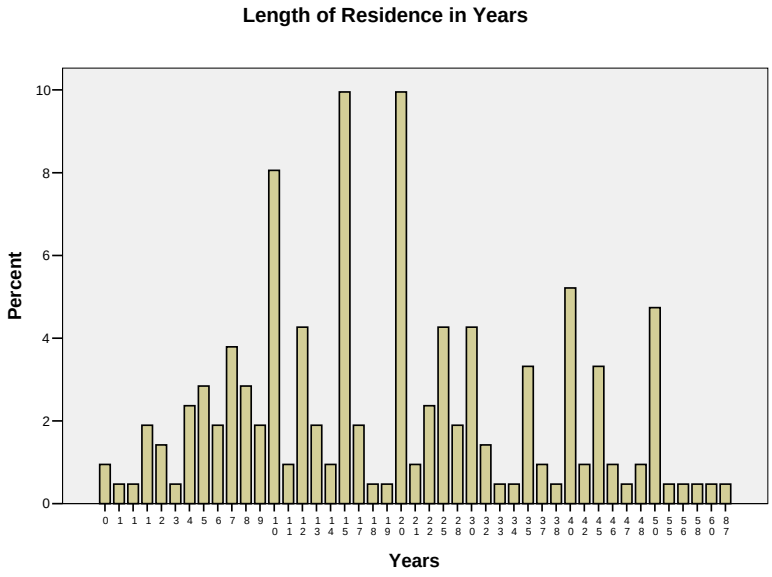
Family Type and Incidence

The preponderant form of family found in the survey was the nuclear family. 82.5 per cent of all the families enumerated were nuclear with the rest being extended nuclear families and stem families and very few complex multi-generational families. No significant difference in family type as opposed to household size was found between religious, caste or income categories. The existence of female-headed households was negligible. Family complexity (represented by the complexity index) declined as one went down the caste hierarchy registering median values of 21, 14.5 and 11.5 for upper, backward and Schedule Castes respectively.

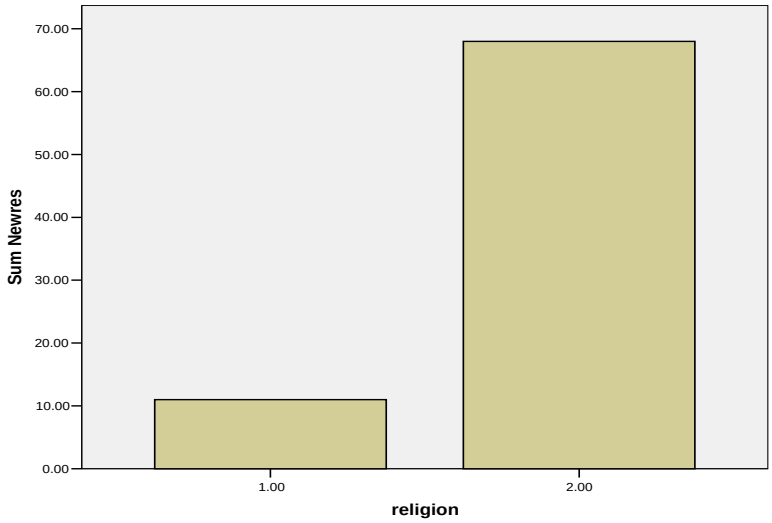
Length of Residence

The relative newness of the surveyed localities is suggested by the fact that mean and median length of residence was 22 and 19 years respectively. The distribution exhibited a multimodal distribution with the smallest modal value of 15 years.

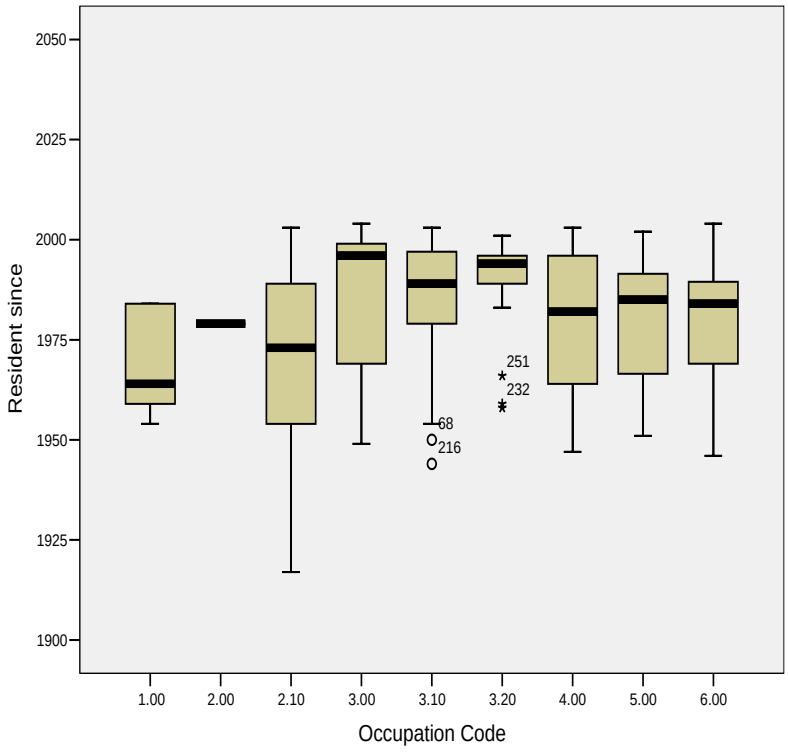
Length of residence in years was weakly correlated negatively with Muslims and lower castes and significantly associated directly with education. No clear pattern emerges in the length of residence by locality or occupational group. While it is true that some of the localities included in our sample are very recent, it is possible that many of its inhabitants shifted there from within the Okhla area and thus the length of residence by location does not show the expected patterns. The bulk of the newer residents, that is those who have resided here for less than fifteen years are Muslims.

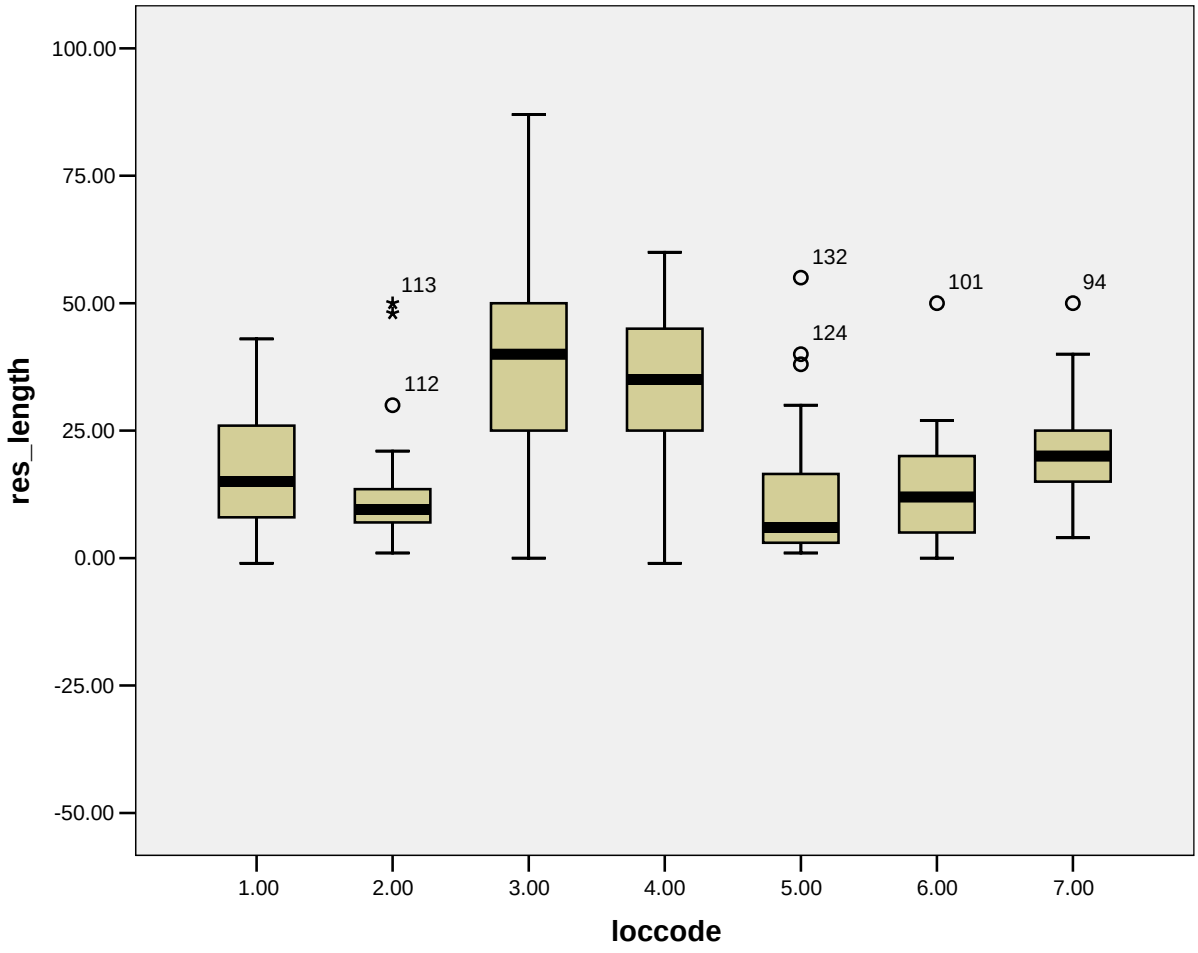


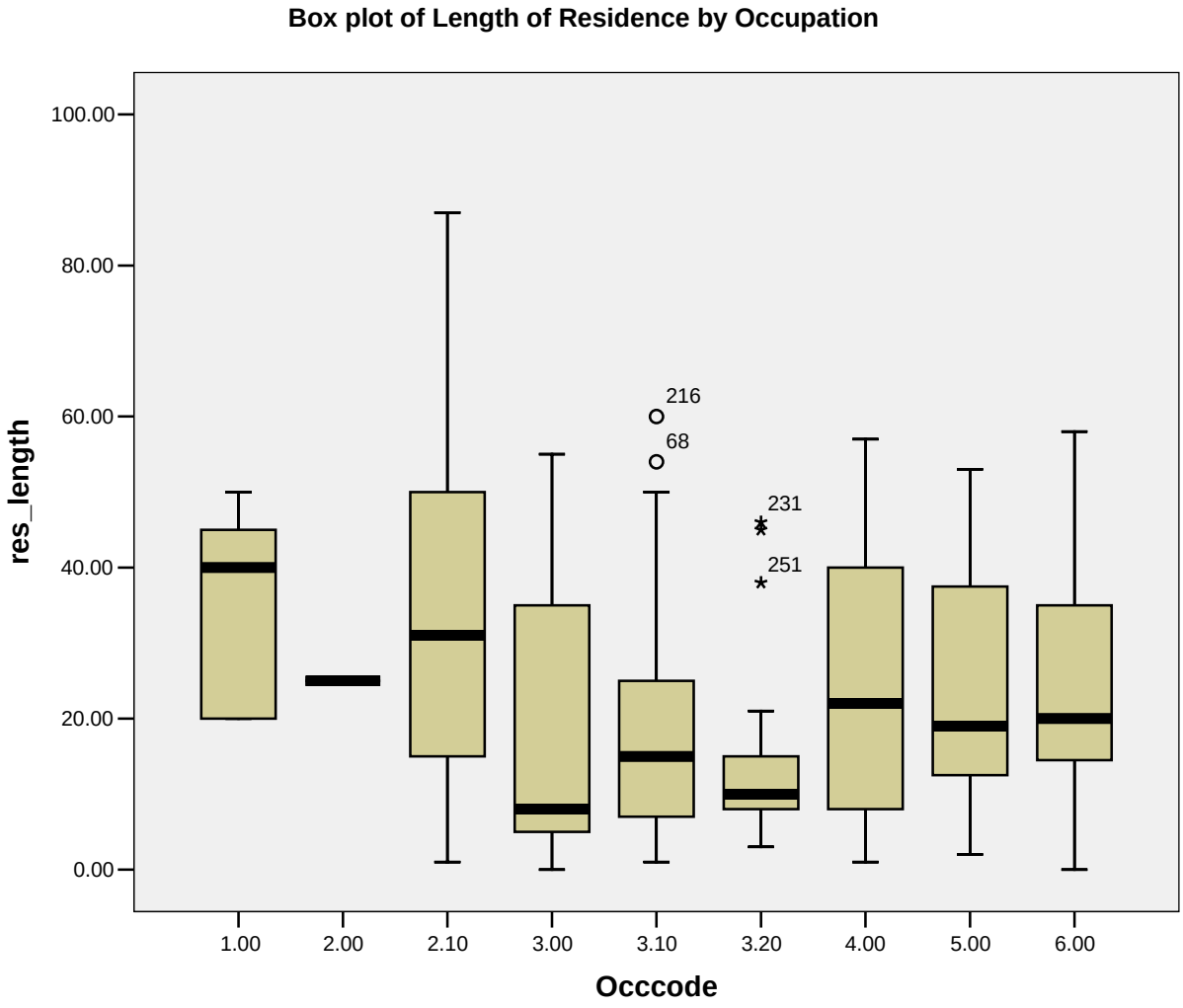
New Residents by Religion



Box plot of Length of Residence by Occupation




100.00
75.00
50.00
25.00
0.00
-25.00
-50.00
res_length
113
112
132
124
101
94
1.00
2.00
3.00
4.00
5.00
6.00
7.00
loccode


Box plot of Length of Residence by Occupation
res_length
100.00
80.00
60.00
40.00
20.00
0.00
216
68
231
251
1.00
2.00
2.10
3.00
3.10
3.20
4.00
5.00
6.00
Occcode

Economic

Income per month

With most of the population being engaged in petty production and trade the gross income reported ranges from low to moderate. Most of the families covered in the survey were engaged in small self-owned manufacturing and processing and salaried employment. As our sample was drawn from built houses that were registered in the census a large number of low paid, casual workers living in shanties and in houses that are not listed have not been included in the sample. This shortcoming of the sample has a tendency to overestimate the general income level.

Mean Household Income for Hindus and Muslims

	Religion	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
hholdinc	1.00	46	2978.2468	2351.87191	346.76460
	2.00	182	2361.8230	2610.24538	193.48426

Hindus exhibited a higher, but statistically insignificant mean, monthly household income than Muslims. The mean household income for both communities is however well below the legal minimum monthly wages for industrial labour in Delhi.

Household income in turn appears to be closely related to occupations.

Zero Order and Partial Correlations- Household Income, Occupations and Religion

Control Variables			Occcode	hholdinc	Religion
-none-(a)	Occcode	Correlation	1.000	.221	-.212**
		Significance (2-tailed)	.	.001	.002
		df	0	216	216
	hholdinc	Correlation	.221**	1.000	-.074
		Significance (2-tailed)	.001	.	.277
		df	216	0	216
	Religion	Correlation	-.212**	-.074	1.000
		Significance (2-tailed)	.002	.277	.
		df	216	216	0
Religion	Occcode	Correlation	1.000	.211	
		Significance (2-tailed)	.	.002	
		df	0	215	
	hholdinc	Correlation	.211**	1.000	
		Significance (2-tailed)	.002	.	
		df	215	0	

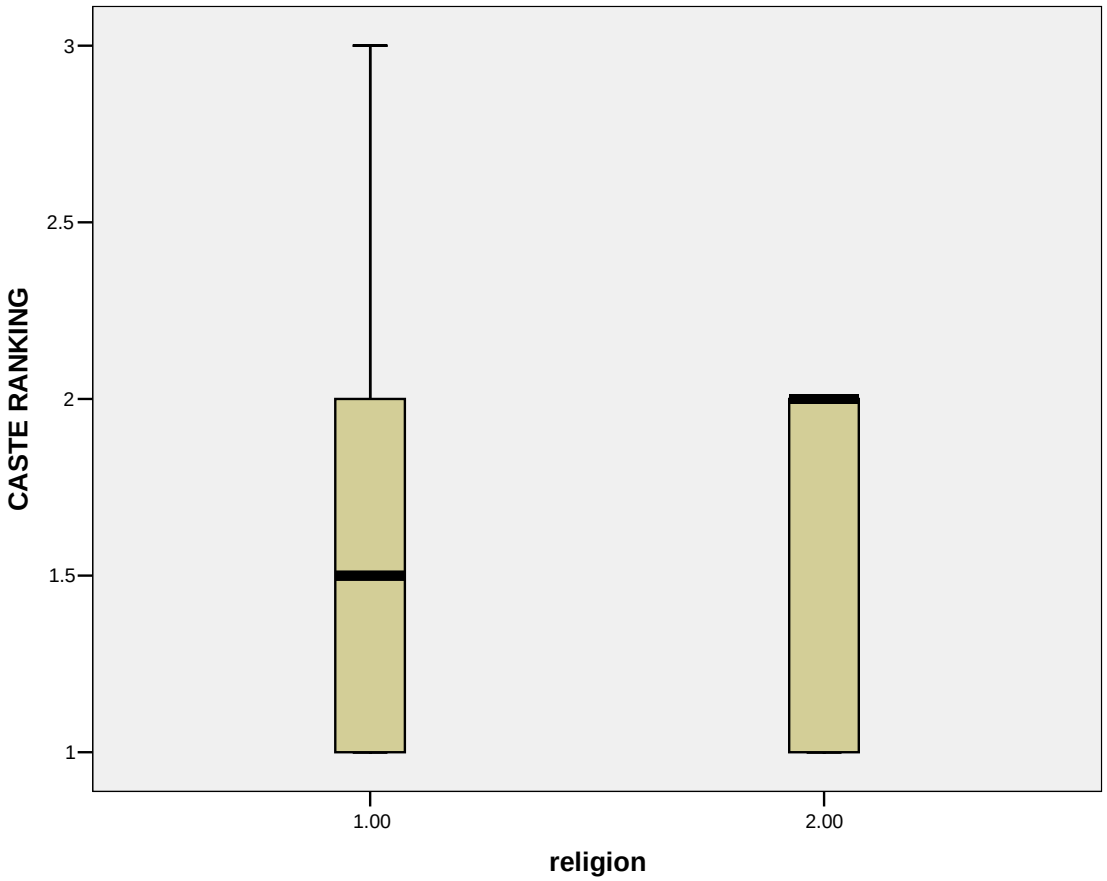
a Cells contain zero-order (Pearson) correlations.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Hholdinc and Occcode denote household income and Occupation code respectively. The variable religion takes the value 1 for Hindus and 2 for Muslims.

Caste

The study area is overwhelmingly Muslim with a small proportion of Hindus in one of the localities. More interesting is the fact that when the larger religious identities are further interrogated, we find a marked similarity in terms of caste composition across the religious divide. The structured questionnaire that was used in the survey contained a question on caste. More than fifteen caste affiliations were returned by the Muslims who were surveyed. These were reduced for the sake of convenience to High Castes and Backward Castes. Similarly for the Hindu population was categorized into High Castes, Backward and Scheduled Castes.

Boxplot of Caste Rank by Religion



The median values of caste ranks for Hindus and Muslims were 1.5 and 2 respectively. Although the proportion of backward castes was greater among the Muslims as the box plot above suggests, there appears to be no statistically significant difference (see ANOVA results below) in the means of caste ranking between the two religious communities.

ANOVA of Caste Ranking between Hindus and Muslims

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.079	1	.079	.289	.592
Within Groups	39.264	144	.273		
Total	39.342	145			

Though caste differences are clearly present in both communities the present sample did not exhibit any statistically significant caste-income relations. A statistically inverse relationship is seen between caste ranking and educational attainment. However, even this weak relationship disappears when we control for income (Partial correlation result not reported).

Educational Attainment

Six questions pertaining to education were included in the questionnaire. Three dealt with the individual's own level of education and three referred to spouse's education. Hindus fared better in average terms compared to Muslims. However, this difference in means

was not statistically significant. Despite this lack of statistical significance in means, we find that there exists a significant negative correlation between Muslims and

Educational Attainment

Educational Attainment by Religion

	Religion	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	
edpr	1.00	26	1.7692	2.40512		.47168
	2.00	158	1.7911	1.65130		.13137
edsec	1.00	33	1.8182	2.63930		.45944
	2.00	134	1.5672	1.22902		.10617
edhs	1.00	39	2.1795	2.55334		.40886
	2.00	143	1.8042	1.49769		.12524
edun	1.00	40	2.4750	2.77339		.43851
	2.00	139	2.0072	1.73413		.14709

Independent Samples Test of Educational Attainment by Religion

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
edpr	Equal variances assumed	.039	.845	-.058	182	.954	-.02191	.37543	-.76267	.71885
	Equal variances not assumed			-.045	29.001	.965	-.02191	.48964	-1.02332	.97951
edsec	Equal variances assumed	1.504	.222	.806	165	.421	.25102	.31145	-.36393	.86596
	Equal variances not assumed			.532	35.485	.598	.25102	.47155	-.70581	1.20785
edhs	Equal variances assumed	2.404	.123	1.171	180	.243	.37529	.32041	-.25695	1.00754
	Equal variances not assumed			.878	45.359	.385	.37529	.42761	-.48578	1.23636
edun	Equal variances assumed	7.371	.007	1.297	177	.196	.46781	.36062	-.24386	1.17947
	Equal variances not assumed			1.011	48.097	.317	.46781	.46252	-.46211	1.39772

Correlations

Control Variables			edpr	edsec	edhs	edun	CASTE RANKING	religion
income_	edpr	Correlation	1.000	.887	.839	.833	.092	-.424
		Significance (2-tailed)	.	.000	.000	.000	.483	.001
		df	0	59	59	59	59	59
	edsec	Correlation	.887	1.000	.878	.835	.155	-.424
		Significance (2-tailed)	.000	.	.000	.000	.232	.001
		df	59	0	59	59	59	59
	edhs	Correlation	.839	.878	1.000	.960	.076	-.442
		Significance (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.	.000	.559	.000
		df	59	59	0	59	59	59
	edun	Correlation	.833	.835	.960	1.000	.091	-.375
		Significance (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.	.487	.003
		df	59	59	59	0	59	59
	CASTE RANKING	Correlation	.092	.155	.076	.091	1.000	-.019
		Significance (2-tailed)	.483	.232	.559	.487	.	.887
		df	59	59	59	59	0	59
	religion	Correlation	-.424	-.424	-.442	-.375	-.019	1.000
		Significance (2-tailed)	.001	.001	.000	.003	.887	.
		df	59	59	59	59	59	0

Partial Correlation Matrix Education, Caste and Religion

Control Variables			edpr	edsec	edhs	edun	CASTE RANKING	religion
income_	edpr	Correlation						
		Significance (2-tailed)						
		df						
	edsec	Correlation						
		Significance (2-tailed)						
		df						
	edhs	Correlation						
		Significance (2-tailed)						
		df						
	edun	Correlation						
		Significance (2-tailed)						
		df						
	CASTE [illegible]	Correlation						
		Significance (2-tailed)						
		df						
	religion	Correlation						
		Significance (2-tailed)			.000	.003	.887	.
		df	59	59	59	59	59	0

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This pilot survey of some of the localities of Jamia Nagar is not comprehensive either in terms of coverage of the population or the themes covered. However the findings of the survey are categorical in highlighting the economic backwardness of the survey population and the near complete separation of Hindu and Muslim localities. This communal division of settlement patterns is tragic not only for the more well known consequences that this engenders, but also because this seemingly absolute division of society is at best apparent.

While Muslims lag behind Hindus in aggregate and average terms in terms of education, income and acceptance of contraceptive practices, these differences are not statistically significant. One factor, that importantly cuts across the religious divide is caste. Caste in turn is significantly related to fertility. There was also a significant inverse relationship

between income and religion with religion taking the value of 1 for Hindus and 2 for Muslims.

The survey findings thus show that generally Muslims lagged behind Hindus in terms of income, education and exhibited higher fertility. However, these differences were very small and both communities were stratified significantly along caste lines. The study area as a whole showed a low level of income and extremely poor public amenities. Unfortunately apparent differences have led to the study area increasingly becoming a Muslim dominated area. With unequal and highly skewed development in the country, large numbers of immigrants come to city in search of jobs and higher incomes. The poorer among them are forced into slums or slum like settlements that extend in an unbroken arc from the northeastern periphery of Delhi to the south.

Apparent differences between religious communities and the consequent stereotyping of each other have led to an out-migration of Hindus and immigration of Muslims into the riparian localities of Okhla. Perceived differences have suppressed common problems and concerns to increase the communal pattern of settlement in this area to such an extent that the population has normalized the idea of suffering together separately.

The findings of survey are not surprising and supplement what similar exercises have highlighted for other parts of the country. The significance of this rather preliminary pilot survey is that it clearly documents the communalization of habitation patterns and socially iniquitous development processes. The need is to conduct more comprehensive re-surveys of this area regularly in the future to generate a continuous and comparable

record of development in the social margins of Delhi as the country hurtles forward in a liberalized and increasingly iniquitous world in the quest for double digit growth rates.