

7

People's Perceptions

@ Institute for Human Development

7.1 Introduction

Having moved progressively from the traditional sense of the term that looked at income, education and health, 'human development' has today come to encompass various meanings including the opportunities available to people, their capabilities, empowerment, and equity, among other things. Different aspects such as leisure, contentment, a feeling of safety and security, and aspirations have increasingly found space in the measurement and understanding of people's well-being and quality of life. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to focus on certain aspects of well-being, as reported by the people of Delhi, in order to attain a holistic understanding of the state of human development in the capital state.

As has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Delhi has a very diverse populace. With a population of more than 16.7 millions, it has been growing by about 0.3 million persons per year since 2007 (Economic Survey of Delhi, 2013). It is also a city of migrants, most of whom come here in search of employment, better wages, educational opportunities and, as such, a better quality of life.

Inevitably, rapid urbanisation and economic growth, coupled with the demands of a growing population, have resulted in a significant advancement of infrastructural facilities in the city, particularly in the road and transport sector, along with considerable improvements in the provisioning of several basic amenities. On the other hand, issues such as the poor quality of services and growing disparities between various sections of the population continue to be a matter of concern. While the other chapters of the report focus on the actual progress made by the Government in terms of the provisioning of facilities and access to better livelihoods, education, healthcare, basic services and safety, the focus in this chapter is on peoples' ratings of their own lives, an assessment of their surroundings, their suggestions for facilitating better livelihoods, a review of what they like and dislike about the city, the type of assets they own in their households, and their aspirations regarding the products they wish to purchase in the coming years. This exercise is thus relevant as it is increasingly being argued that "policy-makers should take the subjective well-being of the population as their goal and think of all other goods like education, health and income as means to that end" (Layard, 2012). Therefore, by examining people's perceptions about their lives, their localities, their neighbourhoods and the city that they live in,

policy-makers can acquire a better understanding of the challenges that need to be addressed for bringing about improvements in the well-being of the residents of Delhi.

This chapter aims to bring out the voice of Delhi's citizens. It is primarily based on the Perceptions Survey, 2013, the findings of which are supplemented with Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), which were conducted in different localities in Delhi, with a particular focus on the poorer localities (for the survey design and other details, see Annexure to Chapter 1).

The questionnaire that was administered to the respondents for the Perceptions Survey, along with the FGDs, covers the following issues, which are presented and discussed in this chapter:

- People's satisfaction levels with respect to the quality of their lives, health, neighbourhoods, work, education and other aspects of well-being.
- Leisure activities, eating out, etc.
- The availability of economic opportunities as perceived by various socio-economic groups.
- Evaluation of basic services, schools and other schemes that are offered for the benefit of the city's residents.
- Household and locality level dynamics and people's assessments of the best and worst services available in the city.
- The nature and extent of assets owned by the households, their assessment of what is lacking, and their plans for the future in terms of asset ownership.
- Feeling of financial stability amongst the respondents
- Ratings of people's interactions with different government personnel, the functioning of social protection schemes, and the process of acquiring ownership of identification documents in the city.
- People's listings of the things they like/dislike about Delhi and the main problems they face here in their daily lives.

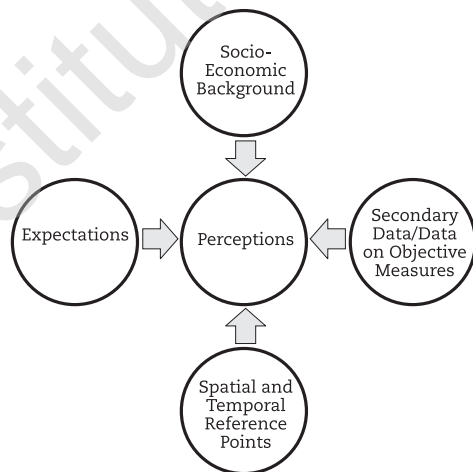
Box 7.1

Studying Perceptions

Both subjective and objective realities are important for studying human development. For example, apart from objective measures such as whether a person has access to drinking water, it is important to know what people feel about this service. Are they satisfied? Do they think that it has improved or deteriorated? However, both subjective and objective evaluations cannot always be mapped on to each other. It is possible that those having water supply of inferior quality may be more satisfied than those having quality water supply in their homes if the water supply for the former group was comparatively more regular. Thus, subjective evaluations such as satisfaction levels or perceptions of change can lead to results that are different from more objective measures. To illustrate further, it has been repeatedly seen that satisfaction levels among recent migrants are higher than those among older migrants and also non-migrants. Why is this so? A possible explanation is that a large proportion of the migrants come to Delhi in a quest for work, that is, to escape poverty and unemployment in their place of origin. Thus, while these migrants more often than not have worse living standards than those of the non-migrants, it has been observed that they still rate their satisfaction levels higher than the latter. This could be because they are comparing their present conditions with those prevalent in their places of origin, which they may consider to be comparatively inferior (spatial reference points). Figure 7.1 depicts how people's socio-economic backgrounds, expectations, secondary data, and spatial and temporal reference points coalesce to influence their perceptions.

Figure 7.1

Factors Influencing People's Perceptions



The issues highlighted above are addressed in this chapter through an analysis of people's perceptions rather than objective indicators, though the latter do exert a major influence in terms of forming people's perceptions. It is equally important to point out at the outset that perceptions are also determined culturally. For example, if we were to look at the happy planet index, we would find that Bangladesh is ranked quite highly with the people there reporting higher levels of well-being than their counterparts in many of the richer nations.¹ This could partly be explained by the fact that the people in Bangladesh have a larger positive perception of well-being on account of their experiences of traditional institutions of family and religion, which inform various dimensions of their lives. Box 7.1 illustrates some of the factors that are likely to contribute towards shaping people's perceptions and opinions.

7.2 Satisfaction Levels among the Residents of Delhi

In order to understand and measure the subjective life satisfaction/sense of well-being of the people of Delhi, the respondents in the survey were asked how satisfied they were with various aspects of their lives, including the parameters of healthcare, neighbourhood characteristics, immediate family, overall achievements in life, work/education, and the general quality of life. These attributes of life in Delhi were explored on the basis of the assumption that they contribute to a person's assessment of his/her overall well-being. The responses were recorded on a scale of one to five, beginning with 'very satisfied', and moving on to 'satisfied', 'neither satisfied nor dissatisfied', 'dissatisfied' and 'very dissatisfied'.²

This section of the chapter first studies the overall life satisfaction index (see Box 7.2), before examining in some detail two of its components which outline a significant difference in people's perceptions.

7.2.1 Overall Satisfaction with Life

To start with, different questions measuring the various aspects of well-being outlined above were combined³ to form a composite index of 'satisfaction

1. Sourced at :<http://www.happyplanetindex.org/> (Accessed June 6, 2013).
 2. For most analyses in this chapter, the responses 'very satisfied' and 'satisfied' have been combined into one measure of satisfaction. Similarly, the responses 'dissatisfied' and 'very dissatisfied' have been combined into one measure of dissatisfaction.
 3. The correlation between various variables for the index was studied before identifying its components.

with life'.⁴ The index thus generated was then scaled by using two cut-off points so that the population could be distributed into three sets of respondents, vis-à-vis., those exhibiting low, average and high levels of overall satisfaction⁵

Box 7.2

A Note on Indices

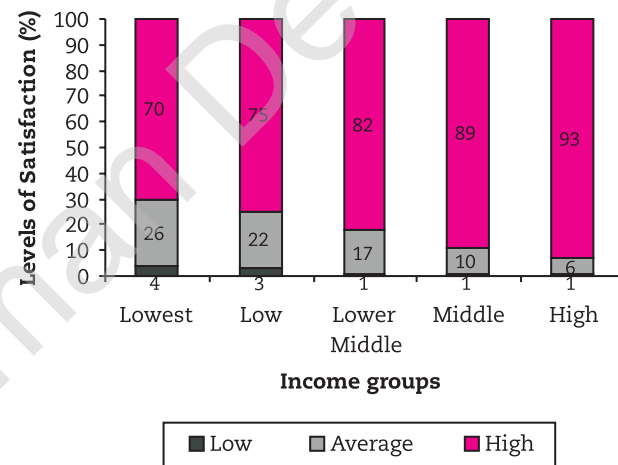
A series of indices have been constructed on the basis of the Perceptions Survey, 2013, and have been presented under various sections in the chapter. These indices assess people's overall satisfaction with life, their evaluation of the basic amenities available to them in terms of both access and quality, their ratings of safety and security, and their assessment of employment opportunities available in Delhi as also the quality of schools in the city.

In general, the construction of an index to examine the broad issues of well being, life satisfaction, human development, and economic environment, among other indicators, can be justified on the grounds that a composite measure makes it easier to summarise and present issues that may otherwise be difficult to comprehend, especially for policy-makers. This is particularly true in the case of issues that are multi-dimensional in nature and require the holistic measurement of more than a single variable, such as 'satisfaction with life'. Using just one indicator in such cases may lead to under-identification of the groups of individuals that should be targeted through policy. For example, a study by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) research team that used a new measure of global poverty found that eight Indian states accounted for more poor people than those in 26 poorest African countries combined,⁶ and this had important implications for policy-making. Similarly, in this chapter, we are interested in arriving at overall evaluations, for example, access to and the quality of different basic services taken together, for the purpose of identifying localities or socio-economic groups that perceive a general deficiency in provisions of the same.

Largely, the composite index reflects that the majority of those who live in Delhi were highly satisfied with their lives although this could, to a large extent, be a cultural artifact (see Box. 7.1). However, as expected, perceptions differed between socio-economic groups (such as gender, age, education levels) and by income levels, activity status and locality,⁷ with the difference in satisfaction levels being the most stark when disaggregated by these latter three groups (see Figures 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4)

Figure 7.2

Distribution of Population Based on the Level of Satisfaction with Life (Index), by Income Group



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

Figure 7.2 clearly shows that a larger proportion of people with higher incomes were more satisfied with life than those with lower incomes, which is not surprising, given that material well-being is generally seen as an important criterion for life satisfaction.⁸

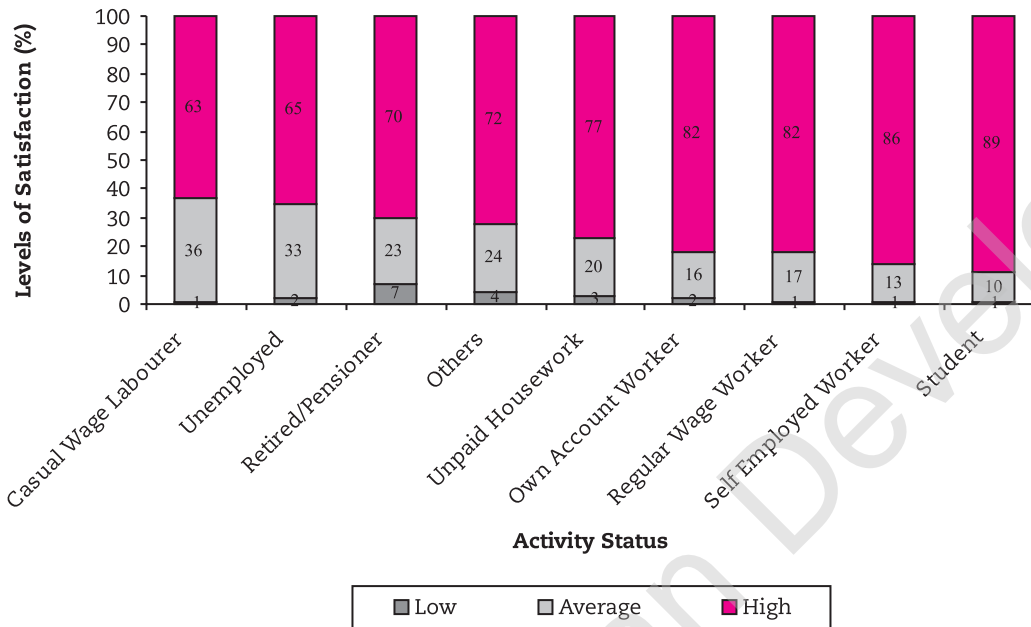
When the socio-economic factors are explored further, the resultant analysis of the life-satisfaction index by activity status (depicted in Figure 7.3) shows that among the different occupational groups, casual wage labourers account for the lowest proportion of people reporting a high degree of life-satisfaction and

4. Confirmatory Factor Analysis showed a high degree of internal consistency between these variables, which meant that they could be combined into a composite index.
5. This could also be read as 'dissatisfied', 'neither satisfied'/'dissatisfied' and 'satisfied'. This is the methodology that has been followed in constructing all the indices in this chapter. The meaning associated with the cut-off points changes in accordance with the question asked.
6. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10609407>. See also the OPHI website: <http://www.ophi.org.uk> (Accessed May 15, 2013).

7. The analysis is based on a general classification of monthly household incomes. These are: Lowest, Low, Lower Middle, Middle, and High. For details of income categories see Annexure 1.1
8. A similar finding was reported for the Quality of Life study conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) in 2005. Under this study, the EIU had developed a 'quality of life' index that linked subjective life-satisfaction surveys with the objective determinants of the quality of life such as income. The index was calculated to obtain a ranking of 111 countries.

Figure 7.3

Distribution of Population Based on the Level of Satisfaction with Life (Index), by Activity Status

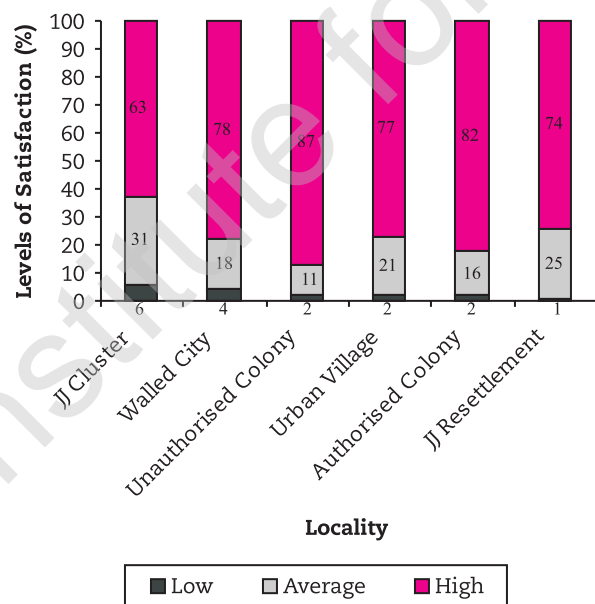


Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

are closely followed by the unemployed. On the other hand, 89 per cent of the students report being highly satisfied with their lives.

Figure 7.4

Distribution of Population Based on the Level of Satisfaction with Life (Index), by Locality



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

Figure 7.4 studies the life-satisfaction index by locality type. It is evident that a large proportion of the people living in *Jhuggi Jhopdi* (JJ) clusters are not very satisfied with their lives, and this has interesting implications when compared with the proportion of those who are 'highly satisfied' in the JJ resettlement colonies. This finding suggests that some basic steps undertaken by the State Government in terms of the development of the JJ clusters in Delhi under their resettlement scheme could have contributed to the positive impact on people's assessment of their life-satisfaction levels.⁹

7.2.2 "How Satisfied Are You with the Quality of Your Life?"

Following the methodology of the 'Quality of Life Index' study (see Footnote 8), which used only one question to measure subjective life-satisfaction, this section explores the responses to the comparable question asked in the Perceptions Survey which was: "How satisfied are you with the quality of your life?"

9. Hence, even though the residents of JJ resettlement colonies are often disadvantaged due to relocation, their higher satisfaction levels as compared to their counterparts living in the JJ clusters could be a result of tenure security, legitimacy, improved amenities and as such, a result of the spatial factors discussed in Box. 7.1.

On the whole, a significant proportion of the respondents (75 per cent) reported that they were 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with the quality of their life. About 17 per cent of the respondents said that they were 'neither satisfied nor dissatisfied' while about 8 per cent reported that they were 'dissatisfied'. However, the perception of satisfaction was not consistent among Delhi's population when disaggregated by their backgrounds (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1
Proportion of Respondents Satisfied with the Quality of Their Life (in %)

Monthly Household Income	Respondents Satisfied	Age	Respondents Satisfied
Lowest	64	15-19 years	79
Low	72	20-29 years	75
Lower Middle	80	30-45 years	75
Middle	82	45-60 years	75
High	85	60 years and above	72
Activity Status	Type of Settlement		
Student	82	Posh Locality	91
Regular Wage Workers	78	Unauthorised Colony	81
Own Account Worker	78	Authorised Colony	77
Self-employed Employer	76	JJ Resettlement Colony	75
Unpaid Housework	73	Urban Village	74
Retired/Pensioner	69	The Walled City	72
Unemployed	66	JJ Clusters	56
Casual Wage Worker	51		
Level of Education of Respondent	Caste Groups		
Illiterate	66	SCs	70
Primary Educated	66	STs	70
Middle School	74	OBCs	75
Matric	77	General	77
Higher Secondary	79		
Graduate and Higher Education	85		
Gender			
Male	76		
Female	74		

Note: All figures have been rounded off. *Proportion of respondents answering the question "How satisfied are you with your quality of life?"

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

Following is a summary of the findings presented in Table 7.1:

- First, the elderly, women, the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), those having lower education levels, casual wage earners and those living in JJ clusters accounted for a higher proportion of people who were less satisfied than their counterparts.
- Second, conforming to the findings for the overall index, a higher proportion of people in the higher income groups reported satisfaction with the quality of their life when compared to those belonging to the lower income groups.
- Third, disaggregated by activity status and locality indicated that casual wage labourers and respondents from the JJ clusters constituted the largest proportion of those dissatisfied with the quality of their life (similar to the overall life-satisfaction index). Only 51 per cent of the respondents among the casual labourers and 56 per cent of the residents of JJ clusters rated the quality of their life as satisfactory, which is much lower than the average figure for the capital city at 75 per cent.

Box 7.3

Dissatisfied Casual Wage Labourers: Who Are They?

The lowest incidence of satisfaction was observed amongst the casual wage labourers, who accounted for 9 per cent of all respondents. Also, those who were dissatisfied had lower education levels and belonged to households with lower income levels. About 71 per cent of the dissatisfied casual wage labourers were illiterate or educated only up to the primary level.

Dissatisfied Women: Was Are They?

While at the aggregate, a larger proportion of women were found to be less satisfied than men with the quality of their life in Delhi, among the younger age groups, surprisingly, a larger proportion of the women were actually found to be more satisfied (than men). Dissatisfaction with the quality of their life was found to afflict a larger proportion of women over the age of 29 years, and could be possibly associated with the competing demands of work, home, marriage and childbirth, which affect a majority of women in Delhi.

7.2.3 How Satisfied Are You with Your Own Health Status?

The Perceptions Survey found a higher proportion of the respondents to be satisfied with their health status (80 per cent) in comparison to those satisfied with the quality of their life (75 per cent). Also, as regards the overall satisfaction of life index, the difference amongst the sexes was relatively small, with the male and female respondents reporting more or less similar levels of satisfaction.¹⁰ However, it was found that the differences in satisfaction by gender varied across age groups when it came to the question of health. The satisfaction levels among both men and women declined with age, but the decline in women's perceptions about their health was much more pronounced. Possible explanations for this could be the added burden of childbirth, household responsibilities and 'double burden of work' that women have to engage with as they get older.

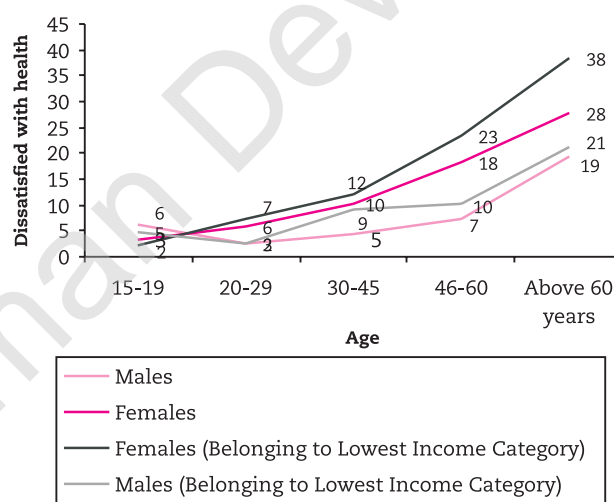
The dissatisfaction levels for males and females, disaggregated by various age groups, revealed that in the youngest age group (15-19 years), a smaller proportion of the women were dissatisfied than men (see Figure 7.5). However, this gets reversed remarkably in the older age groups, with a larger proportion of the women reporting dissatisfaction with health as compared to men. While about 3 per cent of the males in the age bracket of 20-29 years are dissatisfied, about 6 per cent of the females belonging to this bracket reported to be dissatisfied. In the next age bracket (30-45 years), about 5 per cent of the males and 10 per cent of the females are dissatisfied. The proportion of the dissatisfied among both men and women increases with age but the percentage of dissatisfied women is around 28 per cent among those aged 60 years and above, while the corresponding figure among men is about 19 per cent.

The differences in perceptions among men and women relating to health are fairly alarming. It is possible that the 'double burden of work', coupled with ageing, are responsible for the greater proportion of dissatisfied respondents amongst women. An additional analysis of dissatisfaction across income groups by gender indicates that while respondents belonging to the lower income groups were, in general, more dissatisfied with their

health status, the difference in the proportion of the 'dissatisfied' between males and females was also greater among the lower income groups, with a larger proportion of the women being more dissatisfied (see Figure 7.5). In the light of such perceptions reported by women regarding their health and the quest for universalisation of healthcare (discussed in Chapter 4), it would be pertinent for policy-makers to explore further reasons behind such dissatisfaction and to identify the need for special healthcare provisions for women, especially poor women.

Figure 7.5

Proportion Dissatisfied With Their Own Health by Age (in%)



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

7.3 Evaluation of the Economic Environment by the Residents

This section first looks at the index of economic environment in Delhi by gender and income groups, followed by analyses of the individual components that are used in the index.

7.3.1 Overall Evaluation of the Economic Environment

To start with, the rating of overall employment opportunities in Delhi has been examined. This has been done by calculating an index to arrive at a composite rating of the employment opportunities (or the economic environment index) by combining the responses to questions on the rating of employment opportunities for men, those for women, and the change in employment opportunities during the last three years.

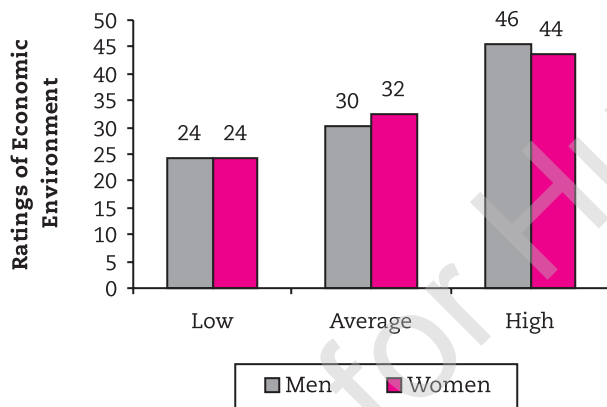
10. The proportion of men who reported a high level of satisfaction on the 'satisfaction with life' index was 80 per cent as compared to 77 per cent of women.

The methodology used to generate the above index is the same as the one described in the previous section for the life-satisfaction index. After the responses to the above questions were combined, the cut-offs were used to divide the population into various categories including those who gave a lower rating to the overall economic environment in Delhi, those who thought that it was average, and those who perceived it to be good.¹¹

The overall distribution for the economic environment index showed that 23 per cent of the respondents gave a low rating to employment opportunities in Delhi whilst 46 per cent evaluated it positively. Furthermore, the difference between the proportion of men and women in terms of their evaluation of the overall economic environment for Delhi was found to be quite small (Figure 7.6).

Figure 7.6

Distribution of Population Based on the Rating of the Overall Economic Environment (Index), by Gender



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

There was a marginal difference between men and women when it came to the proportion of people within each group who gave a positive or average evaluation of the economic environment in Delhi (Figure 7.6). This is interesting because studies have shown that women plan their careers less as compared to men, and this difference in aspirations should be reflected in their evaluation of the economic environment (Department of Education, Oxford Learning Institute; De Vries, *et al.*, 2006). On the other hand, the results here could signify a

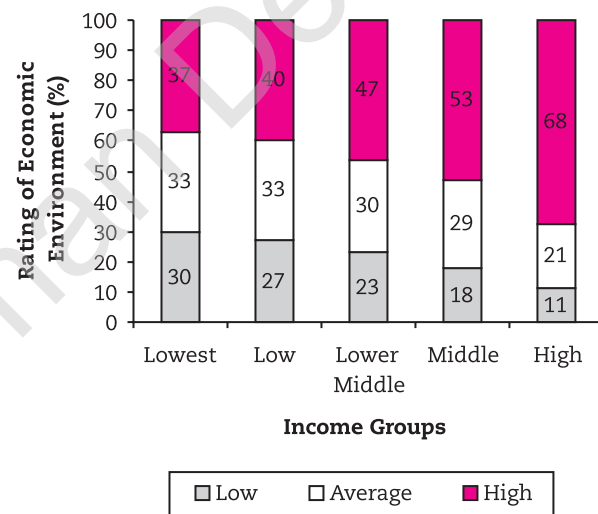
11. This can also be interpreted as low rating=negative evaluation and high rating=positive evaluation, or low rating=dissatisfaction with the economic environment and high rating=satisfaction with the economic environment.

reflection of the way in which the respondents in Delhi perceive the economic environment with no prior expectation of men and women having different opinions.

When people's rating of the overall economic environment is cross-tabulated with the income levels of their households, it is found that a greater proportion of those belonging to the higher income categories rate it higher as compared to those belonging to the lower income groups (Fig. 7.7).

Figure 7.7

Distribution of Population Based on a Rating of the Overall Economic Environment (Index), by Income Group



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

7.3.2 Rating of Availability of Employment Opportunities

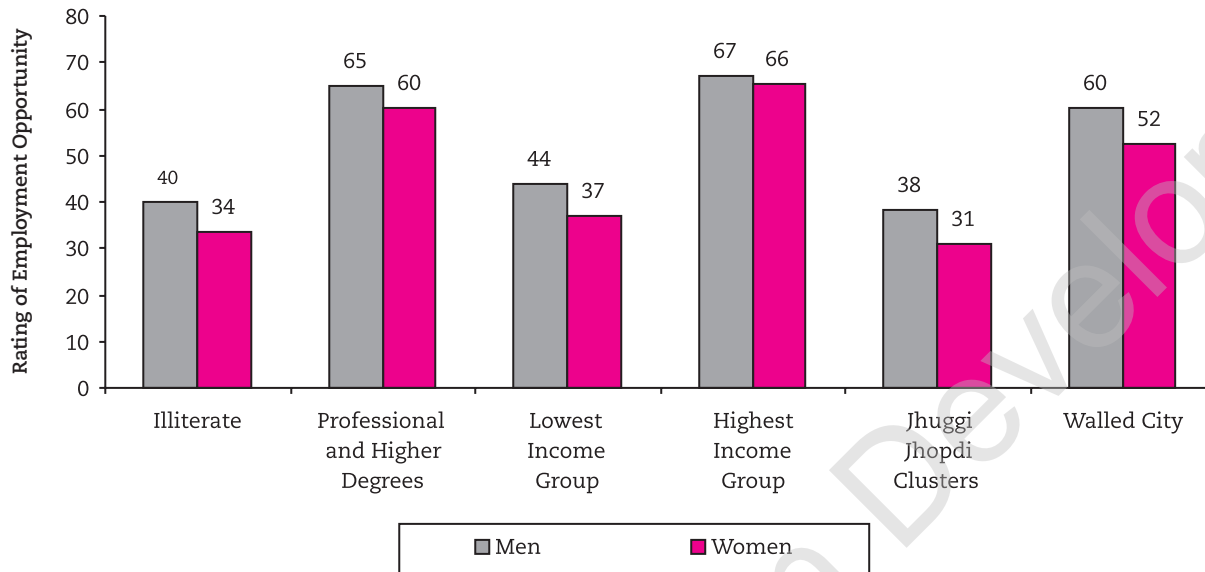
Disaggregation of the economic environment index into the three individual questions that were used to construct the index brings forth some interesting findings. These should be seen in conjunction with the findings of the FGDs (Box 7.4), as it facilitates a better understanding of people's perceptions towards the economic environment in Delhi.

- How do you rate the availability of employment opportunities for men?
- How do you rate the availability of employment opportunities for women?

The results derived from the responses to the above questions show that perceptions about the availability of work were, as such, optimistic. Almost half of the respondents reported that employment

Figure 7.8

Proportion Who Feel That Employment Opportunities are Good For Men and Women (in%)



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

opportunities for men were good in the city, while for women, about 45 per cent said that the opportunities were good. Almost 30 per cent of the respondents rated employment availability to be average for both men and women. Even though the difference in the perceptions regarding job opportunities for men and women is not very large, the results do reflect the more difficult labour markets that exist for women.

7.3.3 Have the Employment Opportunities Increased, Decreased or Remained the Same during the Last Three Years?

With respect to the change over time, more than half of the respondents (52 per cent) felt that the employment opportunities had remained the same during the last three years, but it is encouraging to find that despite the slow growth in employment and the recent economic crisis, more than one-third of the respondents felt that employment opportunities in Delhi had improved.

A related question then is: Who are the people who think employment opportunities are good (high rating)? Which groups feel that opportunities are poor (low rating)?

From the data collected during the Perceptions Survey, 2013, it emerges that employment opportunities are perceived to be fewer by a larger

Table 7.2

Work Participation Rates (15-59 Years) among Women, by Settlement Type

Posh Localities	15
Authorised Colonies	9
The Walled City	7
JJ Resettlement Colonies	7
JJ Clusters	6
Unauthorised Colonies	3
Urban Villages	3

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

proportion of those belonging to the lower income groups. About 21 per cent respondents felt that employment opportunities for men were poor, for women it was 27 per cent. When studied by income groups, on the other hand, only 10 per cent of those belonging to the highest income category rated employment opportunities as poor for both men and women. The Work Participation Rates (WPRs)¹² by women across settlement types also re-affirm this finding (Table 7.2). The WPR for women is found to

12. The Work Participation Rate (WPR) has been calculated for the population within the age group of 15-59 years.

Box 7.4

Work Opportunities: Findings from the FGDs

- *Women's Views on Their Work*

The FGDs with communities in various low-income settlements revealed that social issues continue to constrain women's work and to some degree, reflect the reasons behind the low WPR of women in Delhi. Despite having the inclination as well as the ambition to engage in work, women report that owing to the prevalence of cultural taboos, the men in their families were reluctant to allow them to work. In some households, home-based work is permissible but the women feel that such kinds of work are exploitative. Lack of education was also cited as a reason for not getting work, and this relates to the findings of the Perceptions Survey as well as to the perception that work opportunities improve with educational status. Also, many women reported the need for dual incomes because poverty compelled them to engage in work.

- *What Aspirations Do You Have for Your Young?*

The following responses were obtained to the above question:

- "We want our children to receive good quality education.": Discussions with the respondents revealed that low-income households considered education to be the only tool for upward social mobility.
- "We want government jobs for our children.": A common aspiration among communities was the desire for government jobs for their children, as this ensured stability, status and a decent income. As regards the boys, the respondents aspired for them to become police personnel while for the girls, they aspired for them to become teachers.

- *What Measures by the Government and Civil Society Can Help in Improving Your Livelihoods?*

The responses to the above question were:

- Improving the quality of education;
- Ensuring better terms of work with social security and improved wages;
- Providing high quality and meaningful vocational training for both men and women;
- Providing swift transfer of identity cards in case of migrants, especially BPL cards; and
- Reducing corruption.

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013, and FGDs.

be higher among the higher-income localities (posh localities, authorised colonies, The Walled City areas), followed by the low-income settlements (JJ clusters and JJ resettlement colonies), and then the middle-income areas such as unauthorised colonies and urban villages.

The different settlement types also showed wide variations in perceptions regarding employment opportunities for both men and women. Figure 7.8 shows how perceptions regarding the employment opportunities for men and women differ by place of residence, household income and literacy levels. A larger proportion of the respondents in the JJ clusters and JJ resettlement colonies were much more pessimistic about the same, while a larger proportion of the respondents in the Walled City and authorised colony residents were the most optimistic.

7.3.4 Perceptions Related to the Main wage Earner

A question related to the economic environment that was asked in the survey pertained to the level of satisfaction with work felt by the main wage earner in the household. The question asked was, "How satisfied are you with your work?", which was measured on a five-point scale, similar to the other questions pertaining to satisfaction. Satisfaction levels with work among the main wage earners of the households were found to be highly related with the skill level of the occupation (as also income and education levels). While close to 94 per cent of the professionals reported work satisfaction, less than two-thirds (60 per cent) of the unskilled low-paid workers reported the same.

The results of the Perceptions Survey showed that people's confidence with regard to the stability of

their household incomes was also linked to the skill level of the job being held by the main wage earner (MWE). This aspect was investigated by posing the question, "How confident are you about the stability of your household's main income?" This question was measured on a four-point scale.¹³ Overall, about 63 per cent of the households reported that they were confident about the stability of their respective household incomes. However, there were large variations in the people's responses based on the skill level of the occupation of MWEs, their income and education levels. In households where the MWE fell in the category of an unskilled low-wage earner, about half of the respondents reported that they were not confident at all. As regards the skilled low-paid workers, the respondents were found to be a little more optimistic (56 per cent), and said that they were confident; this proportion increased amongst service workers (64 per cent), even more so among semi-professional households (77 per cent), and was the highest among the respondents in the professional category (87 per cent). It can be said that the poor and the less educated are less confident about the stability of their household's main income.

7.4. School Admissions, Quality of Education, and Professional and Technical Courses

Education is a key variable in understanding human development and is instrumental in augmenting human capabilities. The poor also perceive education as the only tool for upward mobility (see Box 7.4). Chapter 3 of this Report presents and discusses the aspects and issues pertinent to education in Delhi. Here people's perceptions on some aspects of the education processes are presented, including their perceptions on the process of school admissions, satisfaction with the quality of education from the lens of both parents and students, and an evaluation of the opportunities for higher education available in Delhi.

The Perceptions Survey, 2013, reveals that about 62 per cent of the student population was studying in government schools, and the rest in private and other schools. According to the Economic Survey of Delhi, 2012-2013, 38 per cent of Delhi's students study in private schools, which suggests that the Perceptions Survey, 2013, is representative of the school-going population in Delhi.

13. Scale readings were 'Most Confident', 'Confident', 'Less Confident' and 'Not Confident At All'

7.4.1 Evaluation of the Overall Quality of Schooling

An index for measuring people's perceptions of the overall quality of schooling in Delhi was calculated by combining the following questions:

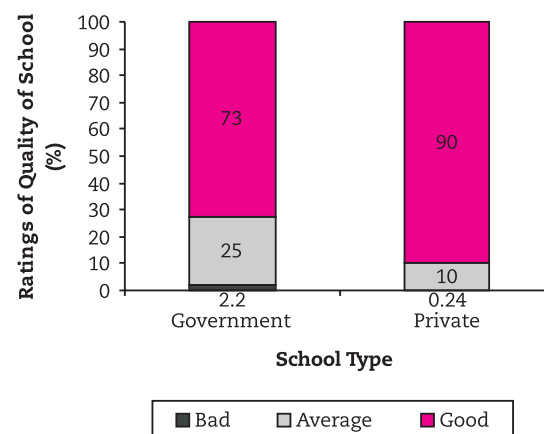
- How do you rate the facilities/infrastructure (like buildings) in your child's school?
- How do you rate the overall discipline in your child's school?
- How safe do you feel your child is while he/she is at school?
- How easy or difficult was the process of admissions in the case of your child?

The composite measure of the quality of school based on the above questions was used to divide the population into those who evaluated the quality of the school as 'good', 'average' or 'bad'. Similar to the evaluation of the overall economic environment, this can also be read as those who are 'satisfied' with the quality of school, are 'neither satisfied nor dissatisfied' and those who are 'dissatisfied'.

Based on the index of quality of schooling, it has been found that approximately 80 per cent of the respondents found the overall quality of the school where their children were studying to be good while the rest thought it to be average (18 per cent) or bad (2 per cent). The overall school quality received a good rating (Figure 7.9) from a larger proportion of respondents whose children were in private school.

Figure 7.9

Distribution of Population Based on the Overall Rating of Quality of Their Child's School (Index), by School Type

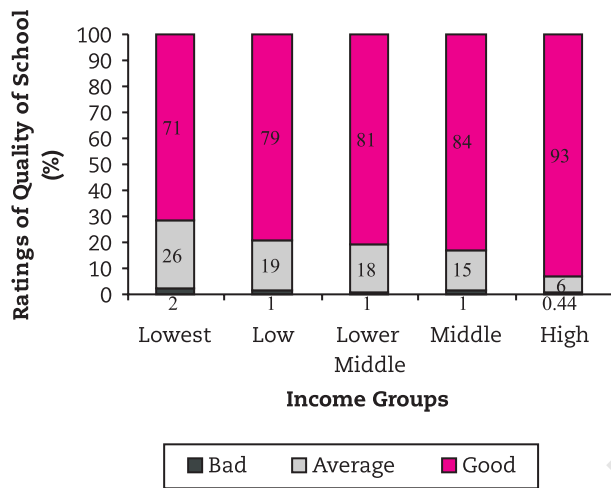


Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

When probed by income levels, a higher proportion of the people belonging to the lower-income groups reported the school quality to be bad or average (Figure 7.10). This could imply that those belonging to the higher-income groups had access to better schools in Delhi and also perhaps differential access within schools.

Figure 7.10

Distribution of Population Based on the Overall Rating of Quality of Their Child's School (Index), by Income



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

To understand better the perceptions about educational opportunities in Delhi, (school and technical educational opportunities) some relevant questions from the survey were examined and the findings are reported below.

7.4.2 "How Difficult or Easy Was It to Get Your Child Admitted to School?"

Issues relating to children's admissions have been widely debated in the context of Delhi. Schools have been directed to follow a point system, which is intended to minimise the biased selection of students. Despite the introduction and implementation of this system, admission-related difficulties are known to be commonplace.

Contrary to common opinion, the results of the Perceptions Survey, 2013 tell us that a majority of the people (62 per cent) felt that the process of school admissions in Delhi was easy and about 11 per cent found it to be very easy. A small percentage felt that the processes of admission in schools were difficult (4 per cent) or very difficult (2 per cent). The income group-wise data for school admissions reveals that

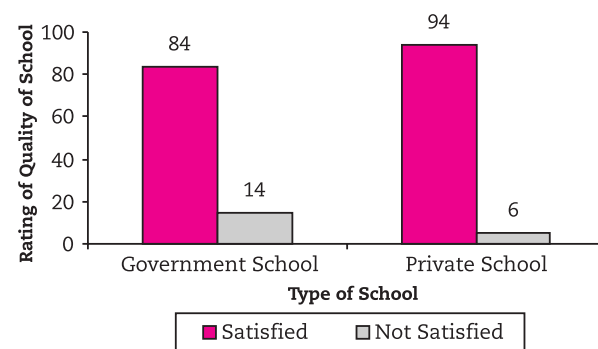
a larger proportion of those belonging to the lowest income category found the processes of admission to be more difficult. Greater ease of access to school admissions was reported by a large proportion of the people in the income categories of low and lower middle. A majority of the children belonging to these income categories were also found to attend government schools, which are bound by law to admit students and could explain the greater ease in attaining admissions for most of them. In the case of those belonging to the income ranges of lower middle and highest, the perceived difficulty in securing school admissions again showed an increase. Among those belonging to the highest income category, the proportion of respondents indicating the processes of admissions to be difficult or very difficult was the highest at about 12 per cent. It is possible that *first*, with increases in incomes, the demand for private school admissions increases (which are often discriminatory in their process of admissions), and *second*, households with higher incomes may have ambitions to send their children to particular private schools, thereby making the processes of admission even more competitive for themselves.

7.4.3 How Satisfied Are You with Your Child's Education in School?

While government school results have improved significantly in the recent past, it is important to know how people rate the quality of education that their children are receiving in the same. Dissatisfaction with schooling was found to be higher amongst those whose children were studying in government schools (Figure 7.11). While overall,

Figure 7.11

Proportion of Parents Satisfied/Dissatisfied with the Quality of Their Child's Present School Education, by Type of School



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

about 90 per cent of the respondents were satisfied with their child's education, such a high level of satisfaction was not uniform across socio-economic groups and localities. A larger proportion of those belonging to the lowest income category and those living in localities such as JJ clusters and JJ resettlement colonies were more dissatisfied with their children's education. In the case of those belonging to the lowest two income categories considered, close to 12 per cent reported being dissatisfied with their child's education, with the figure dropping to 10 per cent, 9 per cent and 2.5 per cent, respectively, in the subsequent income brackets.

The results of the FGDs in the low-income localities showed that the respondents were highly dissatisfied with the quality of education in government schools. They reported dissatisfaction with the teaching quality, discipline, school amenities, infrastructure, and mid-day meals. These FGD findings corroborate the trends in the rating of satisfaction with education across settlement types from the Perceptions Survey, 2013, wherein more than 18 per cent of the respondents from the JJ clusters and about 15 per cent from the JJ resettlement colonies reported dissatisfaction with the quality of education that the children in their households were receiving. The residents of urban villages also reported dissatisfaction levels that were higher than the average (12 per cent). These three settlement types, along with the unauthorised colonies, also accounted for almost 70 per cent of the illiterates (as detailed in Chapter 3 on Education). Those who expressed slightly lower dissatisfaction were the residents of authorised colonies, unauthorised colonies, and the Walled City areas. Residents of posh localities reported the lowest level of dissatisfaction (3 per cent).

7.4.4. How Do You Rate Your Satisfaction Level with Your Present Education?

The Perceptions Survey also administered questions to students with regard to satisfaction levels with their education. Of the 7 per cent of the respondents who were students, 17 per cent (including both male and female) said that they were 'very satisfied' with their current level of education. However, there was a difference of almost 10 per cent between the proportion of male and female students, who reported being 'satisfied', with the female students reporting a higher level of satisfaction than their male counterparts.

The data collected also indicated a clear divide in ratings of satisfaction by the respondents with regard to education in government schools vis-à-vis

private schools. The proportion of students studying in private schools and reporting being 'very satisfied' with their education was much higher than their government school counterparts (27 per cent vis-à-vis 14 per cent). The proportion of those 'dissatisfied' was also higher among those enrolled in government schools as compared to private schools (9 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively). Thus, it is evident from the satisfaction levels with education reported by both parents as well as students that government schools are lacking in many aspects, and are not able to sustain high satisfaction rates among the populace, and this holds true more so for the lower income groups and poorer localities. These are also supported by the findings from the FGDs.

7.4.5. How Do You Rate the Availability of Technical and Professional Courses in Delhi?

Apart from being the political centre of the country and a major centre of work and employment, Delhi is also a hub for higher education and attracts students from across the country as well as internationally.

When asked to evaluate the educational opportunities in Delhi, more than 80 per cent of the respondents reported that they felt that educational opportunities for technical/professional courses were 'good' or 'very good', while 16 per cent of the respondents perceived them to be 'average' and 3 per cent felt that they were 'poor'. The results of the Perceptions Survey, 2013, point towards a positive association between the education of the respondent and his/her perception of the availability of educational opportunities in Delhi. Amongst those who are illiterate, less than 5 per cent felt that education opportunities in the city state were 'very good', while 14 per cent of those with professional degrees gave a 'very good' rating to the same. Again, amongst the illiterates, 5 per cent felt that the availability of educational opportunities was 'poor' but this figure was much lower, at 0.5 per cent, for those holding professional degrees. The reason for this could be that the well-educated can be expected to be more aware of the available educational opportunities in the city and may be able to find jobs commensurate with their skill and aspirations.

It has been reported in the chapter on Education that a significant proportion of the students/migrants come to Delhi for education-related purposes. In order to get a better understanding of this trend, data was collected on the perceptions on education on the basis of the number of years that the migrants have spent in Delhi. The findings reveal that the

more recent was the migrant, the greater was the likelihood of his being optimistic about the education opportunities in Delhi. Almost all the people who had migrated to Delhi during the preceding year rated educational opportunities to be 'good'; for those coming in over the preceding 2-5 years, this figure was 90 per cent, while it was less than 80 per cent for those who had migrated within the last 11-20 years. Overall, it emerges that perceptions regarding education in terms of schooling as well as the availability of technical/professional courses was influenced by the economic and educational backgrounds of the respondents.

7.5 Households in Delhi: What They Lack, What Assets They Own and What They Plan to Purchase

Interpersonal relationships, leisure activities, a feeling of economic stability, all these have an impact on the feeling of well-being among individuals and the general sense of contentment amongst people. In addition, the ownership of assets makes daily chores and life at home more comfortable for people, while some assets like housing also act as a major source of economic security. In order to get a feel of the people's perceptions of their daily lives, including their household amenities, assets and aspirations regarding the same for themselves, the following set of questions was posed to the respondents:

- What does your household lack?
- Which of the following assets do you have in your household?
- Which of the following assets are you planning to buy in the next two years?

Various categories of answers were reported for the open-ended question on what was lacking in the respondents' households (Table 7.3). While many reported lacking household assets (17 per cent), a significant proportion also reported attributes like income (7 per cent), employment (8 per cent), better education (2 per cent), and family members (2 per cent). About 8 per cent reported that they did not lack anything and that 'all was well' in their households. 'Household durables' was the most common response to what was lacking in homes (17 per cent) (Table 7.3).

The household deficiencies mentioned in Table 7.3 above were further disaggregated by income groups and occupations. This revealed that the demand for more income, employment and household durables, on the whole, was much higher amongst the lower-income categories. Expectedly, the lack of

employment was most felt amongst the unemployed (15 per cent), and was followed by casual wage labourers (11 per cent), and was much lower (at 6-7 per cent) among other worker categories such as regular workers and own account workers.

Table 7.3

The Top Twelve Things That Are Lacking in Households (in %)

Household Durable Consumer Appliances	17
Car	16
House	13
Computer/Laptop/Internet	9
Motorcycles	9
All Is Well/ Do Not Lack Anything	7
Job/Employment	8
More Income	7
Cooking Assets like LPG Cylinder and Stove	3
Better Education	2
Identity Card (BPL, APL, Aadhaar, PAN, Passport)	2
Water Facilities	1

Note: All figures have been rounded off.

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

In response to the query: "Which of the following assets do you have in your household?" and "Which of the following assets are you planning to buy in the next two years?" (Table 7.4), it was found that electric fans, cooking gas stoves and televisions had near-universal ownership in the households surveyed. Aspirations were high for the purchase of assets such as laptops and desktops (with and without the Internet facility), followed by motorcycles, cars and air conditioners.

An analysis of the data obtained from the Perceptions Survey, 2013, on the demand for assets based on household income groups found that among the lowest income groups (Lowest), refrigerators had the highest demand; about 16 per cent of the households reported that they were planning to buy it within the next two years; this was followed by durables such as coolers (15 per cent) and motorcycles (14 per cent).

About 4 per cent of the respondents belonging to this income group reported owning a car, about 12 per cent said that they felt that a car was lacking in their households, and about 7 per cent reported that they were planning to buy a car in the next two years. This demand for cars among the poorest is indicative of the growing needs and aspirations of the residents of Delhi.

Table 7.4
Asset Ownership and Proportion of People Planning to Purchase Assets in the Next Two Years (in %)

	Have the Asset	Planning on Buying Asset for the First Time
Motorcycle scooter/moped	44	9
Cycle/cycle-rickshaw/thela	25	2
Car	15	7
Electric fan	96	Negligible
Cooler	70	6
TV	91	2
Cable	80	4
Air-conditioner	17	7
Refrigerator	68	6
Cooking gas stove	92	3
Laptop/desktop without Internet Facility	12	9
Laptop/desktop with Internet Facility	14	11

Note: All figures have been rounded off.

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

Amongst the highest-income groups, the aspirations for durables indicated a different set of preferences. More than one-fifth of households (22 per cent) reported that they were planning to buy a car, followed by laptops/desktops with Internet connections (16 per cent).

Aspirations to buy a house were highest amongst respondents from the lowest-income category as 16 per cent of them reported that they were planning to buy a house within the next three years. For the low and lower-middle income brackets, this proportion was 12 per cent, while it had the smallest incidence among those in the high-income category (5 per cent).

At the aggregate level, approximately 7 per cent of the respondents reported that they did not lack anything in their house (Table 7.3). When disaggregated by income, large disparities were found in the perceptions of the same. While almost one-fourth of the respondents from the highest household income bracket reported that their households did not lack anything, such households constituted 1 per cent among the lowest-income bracket.

When studied by occupations and activity status, it was found that retired persons showed a reasonably

high level of contentment in this regard. More than one-fifth of the respondents (22 per cent) reported not lacking anything in their households, though what they reported as lacking constituted *enough income* (13 per cent) and *family members* (8 per cent), amongst other things. While issues of security, pensions, and economic support were found to be important requirements of the elderly, which could be bolstered through various government interventions, the need and responsibility of family members to care for the elderly emerges.

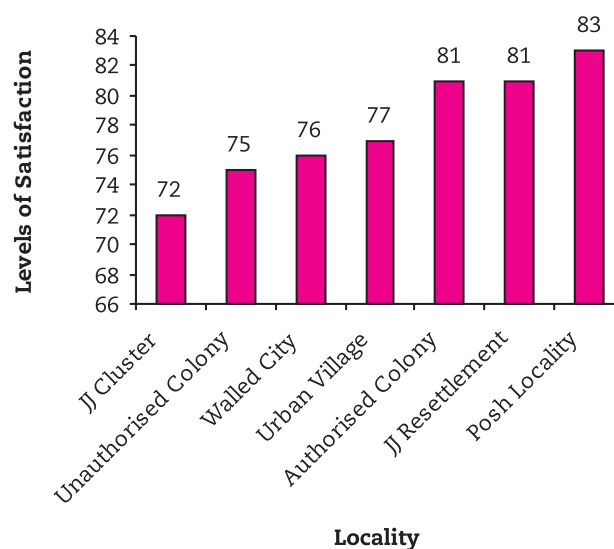
7.6 Assessments of Neighbourhoods/Localities in Terms of Basic Services and Safety and Security

7.6.1 How Satisfied are You with Your Neighbourhood?

A large majority of the respondents (78 per cent) reported being satisfied with their neighbourhoods. Although at the aggregate level, the people's satisfaction levels with their locality/neighbourhood were, in general, very high, they did differ across localities/neighbourhoods, thus depicting a picture of two opposing realities in Delhi (see Figure 7.12). A higher proportion of those living in more 'tenure-secure' settlements were satisfied with their locality. In other words, JJ clusters and unauthorised colonies had a lower proportion of the people expressing satisfaction with their neighbourhoods vis-à-vis other settlements and compared to Delhi as a whole.

Figure 7.12

Proportion of People Satisfied with Their Neighbourhoods, by Locality



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

Box 7.5

What Are Your Three Most Preferred Leisure Time Activities?

What do Delhi-ites enjoy doing during their leisure time? What is people's preferable idea of leisure? How do the choices of women differ from those of men; of young people from those of the elderly? The Perceptions Survey, 2013, tried to investigate the same and asked people to report *three of their most preferable leisure time activities*. The following results were found:

- A combined analysis of all the leisure activities mentioned by the respondents revealed that watching television was the most popular leisure time activity (almost 63 per cent of the respondents), followed by outings/meetings with family and friends (53 per cent).
- A disaggregated analysis by sex revealed that both men and women were more or less equally fond of watching television. While a higher proportion of males reported being fond of sports (12 per cent), reading (18 per cent), watching movies (15 per cent), and surfing the Internet (7 per cent), women reported being fonder of going for outings (56 per cent), and shopping (11 per cent).
- The age-specific analysis shows an interesting distribution of leisure activities. A higher percentage of those in the youngest age groups (15-19 years) were interested in engaging in sports (24 per cent), listening to music (34 per cent), and surfing the Internet (9 per cent). Watching movies was the most common activity in the subsequent age group of 20-29 years. Reading was most popular among the youngest two age groups of 15-19 years and 20-29 years (37 per cent and 20 per cent, respectively) and was the lowest among 30-45 year-olds (11 per cent) and 46-60 year-olds (13 per cent); however, amongst those who were 60 years and above, reading had regained some of its popularity (20 per cent).
- For the respondents in the 30-45 year age group, reading as a leisure activity was reportedly affected by household and work responsibilities that the men and women engaged in and was possibly replaced by watching television, which was most popular for this age group (65 per cent). Interest in watching television was also found to increase with increases in income, but this is likely to be associated with higher rates of TV ownership in the higher income groups.
- Preference for sports as a leisure activity was reported by around 7 per cent of the respondents for all income brackets though it was much more popular amongst the highest-income group (13 per cent). While it is commonplace to see children and youth playing in all corners of the city and all available spaces, the youth, especially those belonging to lower-income groups mentioned the lack of open spaces as one of the four most important issues/problems in their lives. It is likely that a lower preference for sports amongst the lower-income groups is associated with the lack of availability of spaces for children/youth to play in.
- Outings/meetings with family and friends were found to decline significantly with increases in income. Following from this, it was also the most popular activity among the lesser educated, as about 65 per cent of them preferred spending time with family and friends. However, amongst those holding professional degrees, it was the third most preferred activity, at 35 per cent. Preference of meeting with friends/family was reported by 40 per cent among the youngest but by 60 per cent in the highest age bracket.
- Activities such as reading, surfing the Internet and shopping show an expected increase with increases in income (as they are associated with education levels and surplus income). These also seemed to be the avenues which replaced activities such as outings/meetings with friends and family.

Note: Percentages not adding to hundred due to multiple-type response.

7.6.2 Evaluation of Different Basic Services Taken Together¹⁴

In order to assess whether people's perceptions about the availability and quality of basic services varied across locality, an index for the evaluation of basic amenities was calculated. It combined questions on both the rating and evaluation of basic services¹⁵ like power, water, sanitation, garbage disposal, roads, and street lighting,¹⁶ and the cut-off points distributed the population into those who rated basic amenities as 'low', 'average' and 'high'.¹⁷

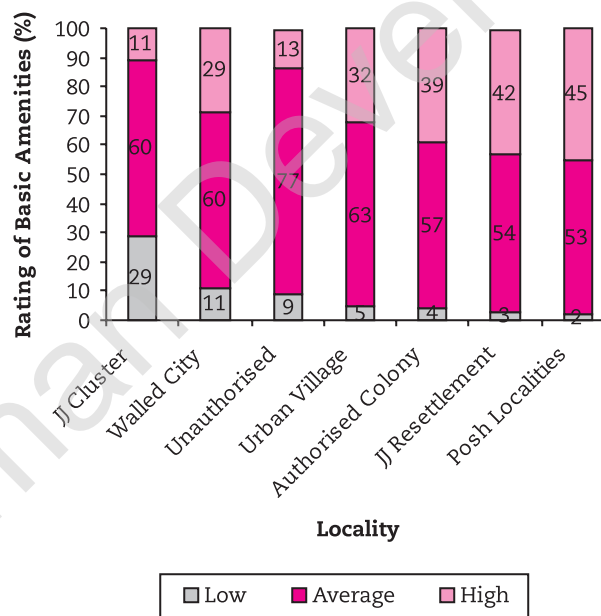
From the findings presented in Chapter 5 on shelter and basic services presented earlier, it is evident that there exist wide disparities in the provisioning of basic services in terms of both their quantity and quality, and that these disparities also emerge clearly from people's overall rating as depicted by the index on perceptions relating to basic services.

Respondents reporting lower ratings of basic services in higher proportions are largely from the JJ clusters, the Walled City, and unauthorised colonies (Figure 7.13). It needs to be noted that as compared to respondents in the JJ clusters and unauthorised colonies, the respondents from the Walled City also reported a higher proportion of those who gave a high rating to basic amenities. What ails the provisioning of basic services in the Walled City emerged quite clearly from the FGDs where the respondents cited congestion and overcrowding in their localities as the factors that made the integration of modern

service delivery systems such as water, drainage, and sewerage into their localities difficult. Thus, despite being authorised tenements, they are unable to receive services at par with other areas of the city, leading 29 per cent of them to rate satisfaction with basic services as 'low'.

Figure 7.13

Distribution of Population Based on Rating of Various Basic Amenities (Index), by Locality



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

7.6.3 Evaluation of Overall Safety and Security

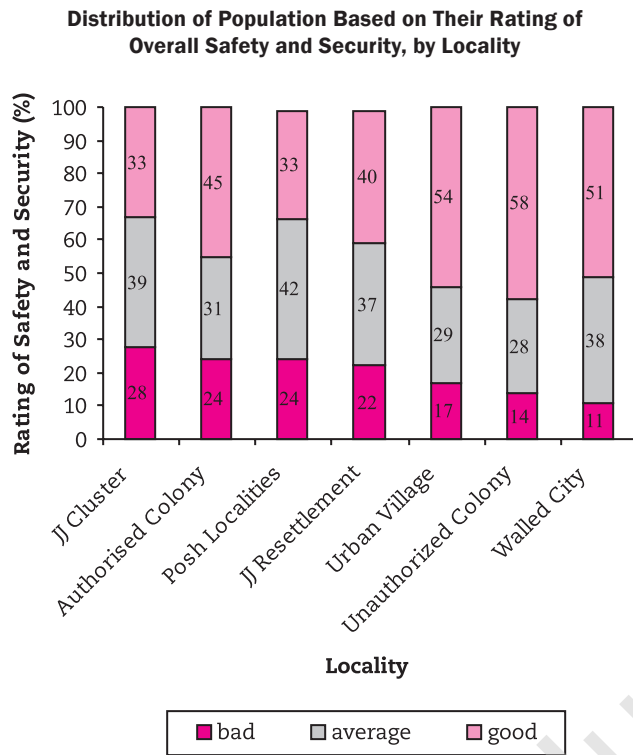
In order to get a composite picture of people's perceptions of safety and security, and to assess whether it varied by locality, an index was generated, which combined the question on perceptions of safety and security in the localities along with questions on perceptions of the safety and security of women at their workplaces, in public transport, and in community areas. The index of safety and security was further broadened to include the perceptions of changing crime levels in Delhi, with respect to both big crimes and smaller crimes. After combining the responses to the various questions, cut-off points were used, which distributed the population into those who rated overall safety and security as 'bad', 'average' and 'good'.

The results show that the highest proportion of respondents who rated overall safety and security as bad belonged to JJ clusters (Figure 7.14). There was

- The evaluation of different basic services taken separately is presented in Chapter 5 of this report.
- Typical question for rating: "How do you rate the <insert name of basic service> in your locality—'very good', 'good', 'average', 'poor', 'very poor'?" Typical question for evaluation: "Has <insert name of basic service> improved, deteriorated or remained the same over the last three years?"
- Although it could be the case that people's evaluation of street lighting went beyond their neighbourhood, Cronbach's alpha and factor analysis showed a high degree of internal consistency between street lighting and other components, and therefore, it was included in the construction of the basic services index. Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistency, that is, how closely related a set of items is as a group. A 'high' value of alpha is often used (along with substantive arguments and possibly other statistical measures) as evidence that the items measure an underlying (or latent) construct. (Source: UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group, Available at: <http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/spss/faq/alpha.html> (Accessed May 25, 201)
- This can again be understood as 'low rating'='dissatisfaction', 'average rating'='neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction', 'high rating'='satisfaction'.

no significant difference in the rating of safety and security by gender.

Figure 7.14



Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

7.6.4 Deficiencies and Problems in Locality

In view of the differences in satisfaction levels across localities in terms of basic services and safety, it was felt necessary to probe further as to what was lacking in these localities and which service delivery issues were the most pressing.¹⁸ In terms of the respondents' answers to what was lacking in their locality, the issue of safety and security was cited by the largest proportion (22 per cent) followed by the issue of sanitation (19 per cent). Responses to questions on the most problematic basic service-related issue also revealed that sanitation was the most critical and pressing issue across all income groups of respondents. While the issues of sanitation were universally raised across settlement types and income groups, they were more of concern in the lower-income settlements. This has also emerged from the findings delineated in Chapter 5 on Shelter and Basic Services.

18. These were analysed on the basis of two questions: 'What does your locality lack' and 'What is the most problematic and the least problematic service/issue in your locality'.

When the results were disaggregated further, the issue of safety and security was more pronounced in the highest-income bracket (30 per cent) and the two lowest-income brackets (23 per cent each), while in the middle-income brackets, a much smaller proportion reported it (18 per cent) as an issue. This corroborates the findings delineated in Chapter 6 on Safety and Security, which indicates that the rich feel the most insecure in the city.

With respect to the most problematic service/issue, sanitation was again reported by about one-third of the respondents across almost all income categories. Water supply as a service was rated the worst by a higher proportion of respondents in the three lowest-income groups (20-23 per cent), thereby highlighting the problems faced by these people with regard to the availability of water in their localities.

Table 7.5

The Most Problematic and Least Problematic Issues Faced by Residents Belonging to Different Income Groups

Income Groups	Most Problematic Issue			Least Problematic Issue
	Most Dislikes	Second Most Dislikes	Third Most Dislikes	Most Likes
Lowest	Sanitation	Water	Power	Power
Low	Sanitation	Water	Roads	Power
Lower Middle	Sanitation	Water	Roads	Power
Middle	Sanitation	Roads	Safety	Power
Highest	Sanitation	Safety	Pollution and Roads	Power
Total	Sanitation (30%)	Water (20%)	Safety (12%)	Power (33%)

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

7.7. Exploring Delhi: What People Like and Dislike about the City

With the main aim of gauging what people liked and disliked about the city as a whole, the Perceptions Survey elicited responses to the following two open-ended questions: "Please mention the two most important things that you like about Delhi." and "Please mention the two most important things that you dislike about Delhi."

Approximately one-fifth (21 per cent) of the respondents reported liking the historical monuments and museums in Delhi; the second most

Box 7.6

Open Spaces, Playgrounds and Gardens

Parks, gardens and playgrounds were reported to be lacking as basic services by almost 10-14 per cent of the respondents across different income groups. The results of the FGDs indicated that a large proportion of the people from the low-income communities such as slums, and resettlement colonies raised the issue of unsafe and unhygienic open spaces. They reported that empty spaces inevitably became garbage dumps, and at the same time, they were not well-lit, and did not have any security provisions. In one of the JJ clusters in West Delhi, a mother said, "Pehle to khelne ke liye jagah hoti thi. Ab wahaan metro aa gayi hai." (Earlier there was an open space to play. Now that space has been appropriated by the Delhi Metro). In the face of growing infrastructure needs and development, the demands on open spaces seem to be increasing. Open spaces do not make it to the top of the list of what is lacking in the locality, but they seem to be of relevance to all income classes and social groups in Delhi.

The need for such spaces is voiced more strongly by some groups. For instance, during the FGDs, children mentioned the lack of open spaces to be the most important problem for them, while among the youth, it was the third most important problem (see Table 7.8).

likes were received by the transport facilities (19 per cent), followed by religious places (17 per cent), good employment opportunities (9 per cent), and the general way of life in Delhi (7 per cent) (Table 7.6). In terms of what people disliked, one-third of the respondents (31 per cent) reported lack of safety and security, followed by crowding and congestion (12 per cent), heavy traffic (12 per cent), poor sanitation (10 per cent), high inflation (10 per cent), and high pollution levels (7 per cent). As such, these attributes that people disliked about Delhi were uniform across, age, gender, and type of locality, among other factors.

In order to get a more nuanced understanding of what people liked and disliked about the city, the FGDs in the low-income settlements probed the questions delineated in Table 7.6 further (see Tables 7.7 and 7.8). The findings from the FGDs presented some paradoxes and were quite contrary to *a priori* expectations. These findings are detailed below.

- **Employment:** Both male and female respondents appreciated the availability of 'some work' (which possibly is even more limited in the case of poor migrants coming from various parts of the country). At the same time, with regard to the question, "What is the most pressing issue that you face in daily life?", the lack of jobs and job security were the most pertinent for both the sexes. What emerges is that while employment opportunities are, as such, felt to be lacking by those residing in the low-income settlements, the possibilities of finding 'some work' were appreciated by these respondents.
- **Transport Systems:** While men, in general, were appreciative of the transport system in Delhi as a whole, women specifically appreciated the Metro service. It is important to note that women, on the whole, reported

Table 7.6

The Two Most Important Things That Respondents Like and Dislike about Delhi (in %)

Top Five Likes		Top Five Dislikes	
Historical Monuments and Museums	21	Law and Order, Lack of Safety and Security of the People and Prevalence of Crime	31
Better Transport Facilities	19	Crowd and Congestion	12
Plenty of Religious Places	16	Heavy Traffic	12
Better Employment Opportunities	9	Poor Sanitation, Garbage Strewn in Public Spaces and Inefficient Sewerage System	10
All Is Well in Delhi	7	Very High Rate of Inflation/Price Rise	10

Note: All figures have been rounded off.

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

disliking the transport system in Delhi, which could possibly be due to issues of safety and overcrowding, among other reasons (see Chapter 5 on Basic Services for more details).

- *Safety*: Those living in the poor localities pointed to lack of safety as a major issue. For women it was the topmost concern, while men rated it at the third place amongst their other concerns. A linked problem was that of alcoholism. The FGDs revealed that the easy availability of alcohol in these localities led to greater violence at home as well as harassment on the streets.
- *Availability of Electricity and Health Facilities*: While the residents of Delhi, in general, view access to electricity and the availability of healthcare facilities as basic to metropolitan living, amongst the poor, especially the migrants, these facilities were cited as major contributors to an improved quality of life. It is not surprising, therefore, that among women, both these services were rated as the third most liked aspect of their life in Delhi.
- In order to facilitate an understanding of the particular problems of children, the youth and the elderly, they were separately asked to rank the most pressing issues they faced (see Table 7.8). While some issues were common across the general findings for all of Delhi, some specific concerns were raised by the following groups:
- *Youth*: The youth residing in low-income localities were particularly concerned about

employment opportunities, especially opportunities which are commensurate with their education/expectations. One young daily wage worker said, “Kitne din baap ka kha sakte hain, jo milta hai le leta hoon.”, (For how long can I live off my father, I take whatever employment I get).

Table 7.7

Most Liked and Disliked Aspects of Delhi as per Men and Women Living in Poor Localities

Liked Aspects	
Men	Women
1	Availability of Some Work
2	Transport Systems and Road Network
3	Way of Life in Delhi
	Electricity and Health Facilities
Disliked Aspects	
1	Sanitation, Open sewers and Drains
2	Water Supply issues
3	Safety
	Safety
	Alcoholism
	Transport Systems

Source: Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) (Ranking of Issues in Poor Localities across Delhi).

The youth also reported the lack of open spaces for playing and the lack of affordable housing as issues of concern for them. With exorbitant land prices and bleak economic prospects, the youth find no avenues to escape living in already overcrowded tenements.

Table 7.8

Common Problems Faced by Different Groups of People

	Women	Men	Youth	Children	Elderly
Most Common Problem	Lack of employment and, Safety and Security	Job security and Job opportunity	Unemployment and inappropriate employment	Open spaces for playing	Lack of pension/ income security
Second Most Common Problem	Sanitation issues and lack of toilets	Water and Sanitation	Quality of education	Quality of education and schools	Lack of easy work
Third Most Common Problem	Water	Price rise	Open spaces for playing	Lack of electricity	Lack of support systems
Fourth Most Common Problem	Alcoholism amongst men	Safety, especially 'Women's Safety'	Affordable housing	Lack of other recreational activities	Water-logging

Source: Focus Group Discussions (Ranking of issues in poor localities across Delhi).

- *Children:* Both parents and children reported the need for open spaces, better quality education, electricity (to aid studies) and also opportunities for recreational activities such as music, dance and art, among others, which were by and large, reported to be missing in government schools.
- *The Elderly:* The elderly reported the lack of support systems and income as issues of importance to them. Many also wanted to be engaged in low intensity work. Waterlogging in their localities was also a common inconvenience.

7.8 Rating of Dealings with Government Officials, Social Protection Schemes and Identity Cards

Amongst other things, social protection and government subsidies are beneficial in augmenting human capabilities, especially amongst the poor and vulnerable groups. While government services and their provisioning are important, it is public personnel and their everyday interactions with the people, which is of essence to be assessed.

7.8.1 Rating of Government Officials

Delhi is governed by various departments, but there are some that come into frequent contact with citizens in their day-to-day life. In the course of the Perceptions Survey, 2013, the respondents were asked to rate their interactions with personnel from different government departments as 'good', 'average' and 'poor'.¹⁹ What emerged was a clear hierarchy amongst the different service providers (Table 7.9). The Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC) personnel had the highest proportion of respondents, with about 79 per cent of the respondents rating their interactions as 'good', followed by the electricity departments (Bombay Suburban Electric Supply [BSES] and North Delhi Power Ltd. [NDPL], 65.5 per cent), the Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC)/bus services (43 per cent), the Delhi Jal Board (DJB) (35 per cent) and the Delhi Traffic Police²⁰ (14 per cent). The Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) and the Delhi Police were at the bottom of the rating ladder with 12 per cent and 10 per cent of the respondents,

19. Many reported that they had not interacted with some department personnel.
20. This is understandable as many in the city only commute by public transport and as such do not have reason to interact with the traffic police.

respectively, rating their interactions with their personnel as 'good'.

Table 7.9

Rating of (any) Interactions Had With Personnel Belonging to Different Government Departments (in %)

Name of Department	Good	Poor
Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC)	79	3
BSES and NDPL	66	9
Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC) and Bus Services	43	13
Delhi Jal Board (DJB)	35	22
Delhi Traffic Police	14	30
Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD)	11	40
Delhi Police	10	46

Note: All figures have been rounded off.

Source: Perceptions Survey, 2013.

7.8.2 Which of the Following Identity Cards Are Owned by Any Member of Your Household?

Identification cards and other proofs are important documents for the purpose of accessing social provisioning, security and formalisation of the workforce. During the FGDs in the low-income settlements, a large number of the respondents reported the lack of identification documents, which came in the way of their availing of the facilities and benefits meant for them. In order to better understand this issue, information on the households' ownership of select documents which served as identity proofs was sought (including driving licence, voter ID card, UID, bank account, PAN card, passport). The Perceptions Survey, 2013, data revealed that the most widely owned document of identification was the voter ID card, owned by at least one member in 88 per cent of the households, followed by bank accounts (81 per cent) and UID cards (71 per cent).

For residents of JJ clusters, the reported ownership of UID and voter ID cards was the highest (90 per cent, and 93 per cent, respectively). The ownership of bank accounts was lower at 65 per cent and that of PAN cards much lower, that is, owned by approximately a quarter of the respondents (26 per cent). Voter ID cards were found to be owned by large proportions of the respondents across all socio-economic groups. Amongst the migrants, 51 per cent of those settled in Delhi over the last year already had voter ID cards,

Box 7.7

Functioning of Some Key Social Protection Schemes

During the FGDs conducted in different low-income settlements, the functioning of key schemes such as the Public Distribution System (PDS), the mid-day meal schemes in schools, pension schemes, and subsidies and scholarships for school books and uniforms were explored.

The PDS was reported to be functioning well in some settlements but not in others, with no clear picture emerging as to what factors made it work and what did not. The common problems associated with the PDS were reported as irregularity of supply, untimely distribution, non-disbursal of the promised amounts, and non-disbursal of certain commodities (in many localities, only rice and wheat are reported as being disbursed).

A few settlements reported that their children were receiving mid-day meals on a regular basis, but issues concerned with the poor quality of food offered, inadequate amounts of food and hygiene-related issues were pointed out by the respondents. Some parents alleged that teachers siphoned off school rations and also carried home cooked food on a regular basis. Parents reported, “*Kabhi kabhi khaana accha hota hai, par us din khaana kum padta hai.*” (Sometimes the quality of food is good, but those days the food falls short). They further said, “*Khaana accha bhi ho to hum school par bharosa nahin kar sakte—humein bachchon ke saath khaana bhejna hi padta hai.*” (Even if the food is good, we cannot rely on it—we have to send food with our children, just in case the food served at school is insufficient or inedible).

Near universal distribution of money for books and uniforms in schools was reported by children living in the low-income settlements. A majority of the settlements reported problems such as partiality of the teachers towards children from certain communities and withholding of part of the disbursal amount by teachers.

In the case of pension schemes (widow, old-age, and disability), more or less all the beneficiaries reported that they were regularly receiving their pensions, however, they raised the issue of inadequacy of the pension amount. Amongst all the schemes the disbursement of pension amounts was found to be the most efficient.

Sources: FGDs and Perceptions Survey, 2013.

while over three-fourths of those who had migrated to Delhi during the last 10-20 years had the same. The migrant population suggested the need to allow the transfer of identity proof documents, especially the Below the Poverty Line (BPL) card. This suggests that migrants and those who live in less ‘tenure-secure’ areas feel a greater need for legitimacy and recognition by the Government.

7.9 Conclusions

Perceptions are subjective assessments and, therefore, formulating clear conclusions and policy prescriptions based on them alone is not advisable. However, perceptions are important indicators of well-being and as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the subjective well-being of the population also needs to be taken into consideration by policy-makers.

- In this light what emerges is that a larger proportion of the vulnerable groups such as women, the SCs, the elderly, and lower-income households do feel less satisfied with their lives, as compared to their counterparts.

The maximum differences in perceptions with respect to satisfaction with life emerge across income groups, and there seems to be a positive association between satisfaction and levels of income. This suggests that life satisfaction in Delhi is closely linked to material well-being and can, therefore, be directly targeted by policy-makers.

- The two most important issues that emerge, in general, are sanitation and safety in the city. Both these issues cut across income, gender, age, settlement types and socio-economic categories. However, they are seen to be more critical to some groups (for instance, safety in the case of the women of Delhi, and sanitation for low-income settlements). This suggests the urgent need for policy-makers to focus on the condition of safety and security in the city, which is also apparent from the findings of Chapter on Public Safety. The results also give some indication as to the localities that can be prioritised for the provisioning of better sanitation facilities.

- In these averages, it is important to note issues specific to certain focus areas like education and employment as well as specific to certain groups such as children, women, youth, the elderly, the poor, etc. A universal concern amongst the respondents from low-income settlements was the quality of education being imparted in government schools. With the respondents pointing towards education as the only tool for their upward social mobility, the need for not only textbook learning but also meaningful and quality vocational training and placements came up as useful policy pointers. The lack of recreational activities like art, dance and music in government schools come up as priority areas for children from low-income settlements. The fact that a large proportion of the respondents expressed the desire to have government jobs for their children owing to the stability in tenure and pay that these jobs ensured, what emerges is the need to formalize work opportunities and enforce better terms of work. These would contribute towards a feeling of greater financial stability amongst the less skilled and poorer households.
- It is also important to note that income levels, education, the skill level of occupations and place of residence are all linked and, therefore, similar patterns are observed across these variables. In this context, it becomes even more important to break this cycle of deprivation to ensure social mobility in the city. This can be done through focused and better implementation of affirmative action policies, the Right to Education (RTE) Act and other similar schemes that are primarily targeted at the traditionally disadvantaged populations.
- Another important focus of the poor during the FGDs were identification documents—as seen above, the poor have more voter identity cards but lack other identification proofs which may allow them to avail of other facilities. This is particularly true for migrants. The FGDs indicate a need to transfer identification and beneficiary identification, especially in the case of BPL cards. As is being advocated, the Aadhar-UID card may constitute a significant step in this direction (as almost 71 per cent of Delhi's population reported that they had received
- it). This would also go a long way towards providing legitimacy to particularly those sections of the population that are at the risk of being marginalised in the a rapidly growing city like Delhi.
- Some particular issues stood out with respect to women, such as their health and labour markets. The fact that a larger proportion of women are significantly more dissatisfied than men with respect to their health (especially after the age group of 20-29 years) could indicate the pressure of competing demands post matrimony and childbirth and also possibly being denied rest, time and priority with respect to health expenditures. It is imperative to explore further the factors that lead to such negative perceptions with respect to health among women. This is also suggestive of a need for welfare schemes that target women, especially mothers and working women.
- As reported in the FGDs, with respect to labour markets, it was found that often women face barriers both at the household level and at a broader level. At the same time, some women complained that they were forced to work out of compulsions such as poverty. Women's access to labour markets needs to be broadened by addressing their competing needs of managing home and work. Apart from sensitising members of the household, other external factors like safety, flexibility that comes from part-time and home based work, better transport connectivity, etc., need to be factored into the planning process and also promoted as an inherent part of human resource practices in both the public and the private sectors.
- Similarly, with respect to the youth living in poor localities, issues of employment, affordable housing and open spaces become critical; for the elderly in these localities, issues of safety and sanitation are not reported to be as critical as are issues of both social and economic support. For the youth, better employment-generating schemes and spreading awareness of these schemes through local employment centres might take care of a lot of issues reported by them. For the elderly, it appears that an otherwise well-functioning pension scheme can be made meaningful by revising pension amounts.

- The assessment of government department personnel by people has revealed the higher ratings of the very modernised Metro system and the recently privatised electricity suppliers. The third most highly rated was the DTC, which has also made massive efforts to modernise its fleet. This indicates the possibility that these modernisation efforts and the resultant change in institutional values greatly impact people's assessment of these departments and their personnel. There is a need to modernise government departments, make them more efficient and reliable, improve service delivery and train employees in better service delivery. Apart from modernisation, departments such as the police need to instil faith among people, especially the poor, by being more accessible, prompt and gender-sensitive.

On the whole, the analyses in this chapter show that in Delhi, there is a stark mapping of subjective life satisfaction to objective determinants of well-being for groups and localities. Stated differently, the poor, the weak, the uneducated, the women, in

general, are also less satisfied with their lives. This is compounded by the contextual effect of localities where it is equally evident that the poorer localities are the ones that are more deprived. The latter is true even when one considers provisions (basic services, safety and security) that are perceived as being the responsibility of the Government and favouring the poor. This suggests that the results of the Perceptions Survey, to a large extent, corroborate the hard data. Looking at the satisfaction with life Index, for example, policy-makers can clearly identify that it is the vulnerable groups who are dissatisfied in Delhi, and this can be rectified by targeted policy towards increasing incomes. Similarly, it is also evident that improving the provision of basic amenities and safety and security in the poorer localities would also go a long way in improving the life satisfaction of those living in these localities. On the whole, people in Delhi are fairly optimistic about their well-being, which puts an added burden on the Government to identify and support those who are not. Using perception-based indicators to bring about policy changes can ensure a more holistic development of the people of Delhi.