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THIKA TENANCY IN BUSTEES OF CALCUTTA : A STUDY

Swati Ghosh

CENTRE FOR URBAN ECONOMIC STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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Centre for Urban Economic Studies
Department of Economics
Calcutta University
1, Reformatory Street
Calcutta : 700 027
I N D I A

The author is a research fellow at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta and a part-time lecturer at the Department of Economics, Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta.

A B S T R A C T

Bustees (slums) which provide accommodation to the largest section of urban poor in Calcutta, are characterised by a three-tier occupancy system, formally known as 'thika' tenancy system. It comprises of the dwellers at the bottom, the 'thika' tenants or the hut-owners at the middle and the landowners at the top. The present paper outlines the evolution of the Thika Tenancy Act and studies various aspects of the system on the basis of data obtained from a sample of filled up 'Return-A' forms available at the Thika Tenancy Office of the Land and Land Revenue Department of West Bengal.



The author thanks the staff of the Thika Tenancy Office of the Land and Land Revenue Department of the Government of West Bengal for their co-operation in the collection of data from 'Return-A' forms.

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1. THIKA TENANCY SYSTEM

Low income accommodation in Calcutta can be classified into various groups by their origin or development. The 'bustee' being one of them harbour the largest section of urban poor in Calcutta. It is characterized by a system of three-tier occupancy pattern. This three-tier occupancy pattern is a particular form of dwelling arrangement peculiar to Calcutta. It is known as the thika tenancy system, comprising of the dweller, the thika tenant or the hutowner and the landowner. This peculiar arrangement of thika tenancy type of ownership system dates back to the last century and continues with the development of the city. The bustees are considered as institutionalized slums, in which the landowner, the hutowner and the bustee-dweller are legally defined and acknowledged.¹ The landowner forms the topmost tier and collects rent for his land leased out to middlemen called the thika tenants. The thika tenants form the middle tier of the ownership system. They construct huts on the leased-in land, paying land-rent to the landowner and collecting house-rent from the tenants (bharatiyas). The bharatiyas are the actual dwellers of the huts who form the lower-most tier and pay house-rent as tenant-occupier of the huts.

Bustee housing comprises of single-storied structures, constructed to accommodate seven to eight families, with rooms facing inward around a common courtyard. Slums with structures of area not less than ten cattahs (1/6 acre) and height of the wall of pucca construction not exceeding 1.5 feet are registered bustees.² Slums

not meeting these criteria are the unregistered ones. Calcutta Corporation collects taxes and also provides some basic amenities in the registered bustees. There are around three thousand registered bustees scattered all over the Calcutta Metropolitan District.³

These were the products of a colonial era which provided shelter to migrants from neighbouring states who came for employment in the newly set-up industries. Bustees, created to serve as dwellings of cheap industrial labour, also provided personal and domestic services to urban rich and middleclass. Thus, the cheapest form of housing came into being, and were constructed on the spare lands of the feudal lords who were very much interested in collecting land rent without making any investment. It has been estimated⁴ that land under such type of bustees in Calcutta is about 10,000 acres with an approximate value of 6,000 million rupees.

II. THE CALCUTTA THIKA TENANCY ACT

After partition in 1947, a sudden influx of refugees from the then East Pakistan generated a massive demand for housing and caused the land-value to increase sharply. The landlord, in order to sell the land at a higher price, started evicting the thika tenants. The Government intervened at this stage and, in 1949, passed the Thika Tenancy Act to protect the thika tenants from eviction. This helped to maintain the cheapest accommodation on one hand, and, on the other, to stop the flow of land from the landowners for the creation of new bustees. Before the introduction of the Act, the thika tenants had almost no permanent right over the land and could be evicted easily. Gradually, they were given

more and more rights through various amendments.

The Calcutta Thika Tenant Act of 1949 resulted from the urge for immediate action. It was enacted with a view to regulate the rights of the thika tenants and liabilities of their landlords : ' ... steady eviction leading to great misery and hardship to the thika tenants of Calcutta ... forced the Government to promulgate the Ordinance to stop eviction ... and the Thika Tenancy Act was passed for providing substantial relief to thika tenants.'⁵ The Act lacked specificity in many respects. Through various amendments the Act has been improved and redefined in 1953, 1959, 1964 and 1969.

The amendments were on various grounds. The definition of thika-tenant was often misinterpreted, and went against the interest of those for whom it was intended. This was corrected in 1953.⁶ The 1959 Amendment⁷ considered the rate of rent its increase, and made provision for deposit of rent in case of dispute. In 1964, the Calcutta Thika Tenancy Act⁸ was again amended. The primary object was to recognise the particular tenant who erected his own structure or acquired the same by purchase, gift or succession. Further, two amendments⁹ were carried out in 1969. The first of the two was simpler and involved definitional changes regarding the extent of Calcutta. The second amendment considered specific issues like the definition of pucca structure, grounds for eviction of thika tenants, rights of thika tenants to construct pucca structures, responsibilities of thika tenants to provide essential amenities to bharatiyas etc.

'The position of thika tenants residing in kutchha structures and position of bharatiyas under them remain vulnerable ...', therefore, with the idea of bringing a more comprehensive legislation for the protection of the interests of the thika tenants and bharatiyas, the Act was again amended in 1981. The Calcutta Thika Tenancy (Acquisition and Regulation) Act 1981,¹¹ provides for (i) acquisition of lands comprised in thika tenancies and other lands under any person, in perpetuity or under registered lease for a period of not less than twelve years or held in monthly or periodical tenancies, (ii) land being used or occupied as khatalas in Calcutta and Howrah and the rights of landlord in such land, (iii) for regulation of the incident of thika tenancies and monthly or periodical tenancies and the relation between thika tenants and their bharatiyas and for (iv) planned development and distribution of such lands with a view to subserving the common good.

The Act has been made effective from 18th January 1982. With effect from the date of commencement of the Act, all resumable land under thika tenancy would be vested directly under the state. Every thika tenant would pay to the state the amount of revenue not less than what he was paying to the landlord. The rights of the thika tenant would be heritable but not transferable. Tenants would also not be able to construct pucca structures without prior approval and without submitting a comprehensive development plan for the holding. Alternative accommodation must also be provided for the bharatiyas.

III. IMPACT OF THE ACT

The immediate beneficiaries

The section most benefitted from this Act were the thika tenants. They were given permanent right over collecting land rent, possibility of eviction of tenancy by the landowner being precluded. The poorest of the thika tenants, for whom house-rent formed the major and often the only source of income, were the target population of the Act, and their condition got much better. It was for their sake, that the tenancy rights were made heritable and not transferable or terminable by law, thus warranting their permanent source of income. Even longtime defaulters of land rent also benefitted from this Act, once they registered themselves as thika tenant under the Government.

The actual residents

Acquisition of bustee land by the Government also enhanced the scope of development within the bustees. Previously, land being owned by the zamindar, the Government was unable to provide civic amenities, improving the condition of living. It would have meant encroachment on private property. The land-rent received by the zamindar was scanty. He was only the owner of the land and not of the huts raised on it and, thus, was least interested in developmental work. Thika tenant was neither rich enough to undertake any developmental work nor interested. The bharatiyas were too poor to provide for any development themselves. The state of the houses deteriorated. Unhealthy sanitary conditions continued to persist. And lack of any civic facility made the situation intolerable. This

Act enabled the state Government and its development wings to get ~~access and initiate improvement to the~~ land which was once owned privately, often by absentee landowners. Earlier attempts by the Government in 1958 and 1972 for the acquisition of slum lands had not been successful.¹²

The landowner

Acquisition of land held under thika tenancy by the landowner was the main objective of the Act. Since acquisition implied loss of property on the part of the landowner, he was paid a compensation against confiscation of his property. Compensation payable was not very high, a maximum of Rs. 10 per square metre or Rs. 668.90 per catta, according to the location of the plot.¹³ Default of rent payment was a common experience for landowners, who were not personally involved in collection. This Act provided for compensation even to the landowners with very little or no rent at all from the land leased out years ago.

The Government

The Act provided for the deposition of land-rent to the Government and not to the landowner. This formed a source of revenue to the Government as well. The cost of maintaining establishment required for collection and deposition of land-rent was almost constant over the year and not very high against the revenue earned by the Government. The collection of rent since January 1982, from when the law has been effective, has been much over and above the cost incurred (Table 1). During the four financial years - from January 1982 to March 1986 the

approximate amount of land-rent deposited has been 37.34 lakhs against the cost around 4.57 lakhs of rupees, It comes from only 10 per cent of the thika tenants who have already registered themselves.¹⁴ Thus much greater deposition of rent is likely when there would be extensive coverage of all the thika tenants.

IV. EMPIRICAL OBSERVATIONS

The thika tenancy system involves a large amount of land which is of high market value today. There are proposals of alternative development from people who want more productive use of the bustee plots within the heart of the Calcutta metropolis. There is also the necessity to provide the basic need of shelter (at least not to evict) to the urban poor in face of acute accommodation crisis today. This calls for institutionalization of the process of thika tenancy in bustees. At this juncture, there is the need to know the structure of this age-old system of low-income-housing within the city.

In an attempt to study the features of tenancy in bustees of Calcutta, available empirical data were examined. It gave broad, notional ideas about important issues like the amount of land under thika, the pattern of land-rent, variations in house-rent etc. The data for this study were collected from 'Return-A' forms of the thika tenancy office of Land and Land Revenue Department of West Bengal. Only the forms checked and verified by the officials were chosen for collecting information. Since the process of verification was still going on, there had been an unavoidable bias in sample selection for the whole of Calcutta. The process of verification

was ward-wise, and only those Return-A forms in some of the wards for which verification was complete, were available. Efforts have been made to make the sample a representative one for the whole of Calcutta, while also reflecting regional variations. Data for East Calcutta were not at hand. Slums of South Calcutta, having a more recent origin, did not represent the peculiar features of three-tier tenancy system. Thus, the sample is more representative of the northern and central parts of the city than those in other parts.

Approximately, there are around 30,000 thika tenants in Calcutta, of whom only about 3,000 have reported their whereabouts through Return-A forms and deposited rents. The process of verification is still going on and all the reported cases have not yet been verified. A sample of 198 thika tenants has been selected, which is 0.66 per cent of the total number existing and 6.60 per cent of the total number available (Table 2). The sample composition is as follows : around 22 per cent from western region of Gardenreach - Khidirpur area (Ward number 75 and 76), around 10 per cent from southwest region (Ward number 88), around 50 per cent from northern part, particularly Dum Dum area (Ward number 2) and around 17 per cent from Central Calcutta (Ward number 26).

Features of the system

We can classify the thika tenants into three broad categories : (i) who raised the structure on leased-in land and, at present, does not rent-out to bharatiyas, but uses the structure for his own residence; (ii) who resides with his family and, at the same time, rents-out certain portions of the house to bharatiyas and (iii) who rents-out the whole structure, and does not reside himself (absentee thika tenant) but collects house rent

from the bharatiyas from time to time. It is found that around 22 per cent of the thika tenants belong to the first category, about 60 per cent to the second, while the remaining 18 per cent belong to the third category. The absentee thika tenants are the relatively better-off section and most of them report to be owners of land and houses in some other place. Similar trend is observed in all the regions, though proportion of absentee thika tenant is higher in west and central Calcutta, (Table 3). Almost 26 per cent of thika tenancies were owned by women. In western and northern region, proportions of women's ownership of tenancies, at least in name were higher (Table 4). For around 74 per cent of the thika tenants, Bengali was the mother tongue, as shown in Table 4. Data for southwest and central region were not available for comparison.

Structure of house

Most of the structures, about 80 per cent, are raised by the thika tenants on leased-in land. The tenant is the owner of the house which he inherited or constructed himself. Around 20 per cent of structures have been purchased by the present thika tenant-owner. The structures are of kutchha construction with mud walls and tiled roofs. Occasionally, pucca structure with corrugated roof and brick walls are also found.

The thika tenant, who resides with the bharatiyas in the same structure usually keeps the best part of the house for himself. It is often the brickwalled portion and two to three rooms which he keeps for his own use. While the bharatiya gets a single room for his family, it is accompanied by a kitchen or a verandah

used for that purpose. The bathroom and the courtyard are for the common use of all the tenants. On an average, the size of the room is approximately (7' x 8') 56 square feet which is slightly greater than the minimum specification of 43.04 square feet.¹⁵ Those that are not rented out are usually larger. There are 723 bharatiya families in the rented-out structures of 198 thika tenants. On an average, there are 6 rooms per structure, of which 4 rooms are rented out.

Land under thika

About 457 cattahs (22.85 bigha) of land is under thika with just 198 thika tenants in 5 wards of the city. This gives a broad indication of the large amount of land held under thika in 130 wards within the city. Size of land holding varies widely. Holdings of smaller size were more often leased out under thika. Around 80 per cent of the holdings under thika are less than three cattahs in area. Holdings of size less than one cattah account for as much as 22 per cent, with the largest concentration in central Calcutta. Relatively larger holdings of size five to ten cattah are also not uncommon, and more frequent in northern and central Calcutta. West and southwest part of the city have more or less even distribution of land holdings of all sizes. Average size of all holdings is 2.31 cattah of land per thika tenant. (Table 5).

The year of contract for leasing-in land under thika has also been mentioned by the thika tenants. Table 6 shows that around 18 per cent had leased-in land in the last century. Around 33 per cent became thika tenant before 1947, another 33 per cent before 1976.

when the urban land ceiling Act was passed, while about 13 per cent stated their thika tenancy to be within the period of 1977 to 1982. The year mentioned by the thika tenants can not be relied upon for a number of reasons. Except for a few, no documentary evidence has been provided by the thika tenants. A large number of the tenancies have been inherited by the present thika tenants, and this makes it more difficult to know the exact date. Contracts between landowner and thika-tenant were often informally decided and tenancies were gifted as a mark of loyalty towards the landowner. Besides, the thika tenants made no difference between the year of initial contract and the year of purchase of ownership right while reporting the date.

Some of the date mentioned, specially those of the later years, were motivated by various considerations. It was the interest of the landlords to establish that the date of tenancy to be prior to 1976, the year from which urban land ceiling was made effective. This is confirmed by the very large number of tenancies set up between 1947 to 1976. If we remember that eviction of thika tenants, following sharp increase in land price, was also very high during this period, we can identify the class interest for registration of date of tenancy during this period. Mention of the date of tenancy prior to 1982 was in the interest of the thika tenants particularly of the defaulters of land rent amongst them. Once they got themselves registered as legal thika tenants under the Government, their permanent source of income was guaranteed. All these factors led to the arbitrary mention of the date of thika tenancy.

Land rent

Figures on land rent under thika would have become highly significant if its variations could be traced over time. Rent variation measured over space (land rent per cattah, is very wide : it ranges from less than one rupee to as high as rupees eighty per cattah. On an average, around 45 per cent pay monthly land rent of less than five rupees, and another 15 per cent pay less than ten rupees per month (Table 7). This shows that most of the tenancies were fixed at quite an early date - earlier than those mentioned, probably even earlier than 1947, as stated by a large number of thika tenants. The sale of initial ownership rights often led to a revision in land rents in accordance with the prevailing land price. Around 6 per cent of the thika tenants did not pay any land rent. In most of these cases landlords did not even claim the meagre rent.

Regional variation of land rent was also wide. It was lowest in the northern part. More than 70 per cent paid land rent lower than rupees five per month. This was followed by southwest and western region : around 45 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively. Land rent was relatively more widely spread in the west : ranging from less than one rupee to twenty rupees per cattah. The central region had the highest land value in terms of rent per cattah; land rent less than ten rupees per cattah was exceptional, while rent as high as fifty rupees was common. Regional variations in land price were due to a combination of factors; development and economic activity, along with tenancies set up at a relatively later period, were the two most important reasons contributing to the wide spectrum of land rent within the city.

House rent

A total of 723 bharatiyas rented the huts raised by the 198 thika tenants. Most of them resided with their families in single room units, while some of them used the room both as their worksite and as residence. As Table 8 shows, about 40 per cent of the bharatiyas paid house rent as low as rupees 20 per month. A large proportion of bharatiyas paying relatively lower rent indicated the time when the rooms were first rented. Around 25 per cent of the bharatiyas paid rent higher than 75 rupees per month. High rent indicated rooms being rented out in relatively recent years. Rooms used for non-residential purpose also fetched high rent. Around 3 per cent of the rooms were rented out for commercial use. They served as shops, godowns, hotels and garages. Rooms were also used as temples.

V. CONSTRAINTS

Two types of limitation constrain the proper implementation of the Act : one definitional, while the other, concerns the objective.

First, the present definition of thika tenant covers only those enjoying the tenancies for at least twelve years. But defaulters of land rent for a longer period of time are also considered rightful owner of the huts.¹⁶ To avoid urban land ceiling of 7.5 cattahs of land, many landowners set up thika tenancies on land above ceiling. Those who could establish their right prior to 1976 - the time of the implementation of the ceiling - were granted thika tenancies. Others remained under the category of 'disputed case'. This also gave rise to a number of legal complications.¹⁷

Second, permanent right to thika tenants implied loss of right to transfer the ownership as well. Previously, thika tenancy could be sold off, albeit unofficially. The new owner of the structure, collected house rent for himself and deposited land rent to the landowner. This is no longer possible under the provisions of the 1981 Act. The objective behind the law was to prevent evictions of tenants at the wish of the landowner, but it also restrained the selling-off of the tenancy right.

Under the law, thika tenanted lands for the use as khatals would also vest with the state, and the landlord would lose right, title and interest on the land.¹⁸ But in reality, the law is not applicable to a large number of khatals which are set up on khas land in private possession of the landowner himself. It violates the right to property. Thika tenancies set up on land owned by religious institutions are also not affected by the law.

As for the other constraints, lack of information is another functional difficulty which delays implementation. Usually, the relatively better-off among the thika tenants get information faster. Efforts should be made to disseminate the relevant information to the intended beneficiaries. These loopholes need to be rectified for proper functioning of the Act.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. As defined by Calcutta Corporation Act 1951.
3. Sunil Kumar Munshi, 'Calcutta, the Colonial City', Calcutta Metropolitan Explosion : its nature and roots, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, 1975.
4. D.K. Roy, op. cit., p. 100.
5. Bimal Chandra Sinha, The then Minister In-charge of Land Revenue, Calcutta, 1949.
6. The Calcutta Thika Tenancy Amendment Act 1953, (West Bengal Act VI of 1953).
7. The Calcutta Thika Tenancy Amendment Act 1959, (West Bengal Act XXIV of 1959).
8. The Calcutta Thika Tenancy Amendment Act 1964, (West Bengal Act XXII of 1964).
9. The Calcutta Thika Tenancy Amendment Act 1969, (West Bengal Act XXVIII of 1969).
10. Benoy Krishna Choudhury, Minister of Land Revenue, West Bengal, Calcutta, 1978.
11. The Calcutta Thika Tenancy (Acquisition and Regulation) Act, 1981 (West Bengal Act XXXVII of 1981).
12. The Calcutta Slum Clearance and Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers Act of 1958 and West Bengal Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act of 1972, provided for acquisition of slum areas at a nominal price and acquisition of right of use of land without change of ownership, has both been challenged at the courts by landlords and thika tenants as well.

13. The Calcutta Thika Tenancy (Acquisition and Regulation) Act, 1981, op. cit.
14. Tentative number of thika tenants, as given by the Thika Tenancy Department, Calcutta.
15. The minimum specification is floor area of four square metre (43.04 square feet) and wall of two metre height, as given by the National Building Organisation.
16. The Calcutta Law Journal, 1987, Part II, Reports 53-125, Volume II, 20th July 1987. Special Issue : Special Bench Judgement on the Calcutta Thika Tenancy (Acquisition and Regulation) Act 1981.
17. The Calcutta Law Journal, 1987, op. cit.
18. The Calcutta Thika Tenancy Act 1981, op. cit.
19. Ibid.

TABLE - 1

ANNUAL RENT DEPOSITED AND EXPENDITURE UNDERTAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT
(IN RUPEES) SINCE JANUARY 1982

Annual duration	Approximate amount of land rent deposited by thika tenants	Approximate expenditure by the Government for collection of rent
January '82 to March '83	1,35,000	nil
April '83 to March '84	10,70,000	nil
April '84 to March '85	14,45,000	84,000
April '85 to March '86	10,84,763	3,73,000
TOTAL	37,34,763	4,57,000

Source : Thika tenancy department, Land and Land Revenue Office, Calcutta

TABLE - 2

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE OF THIKA TENANTS FROM ALL OVER CALCUTTA

Region	Ward No.	Sample size	Percentage break-up	Description
South-west	88	20	10.10	Sahanagar Road/Sadhu Tara Charan Road, Sree Mohan Lane/ S.P. Mukherjee Road
West	75 + 76	44	22.22	Ashubabu Lane/Gopal Doctor Lane (76) Watgunj, Munshigunj, Kabittirtha (75)
North	2	100	50.51	Dum Dum Road/Sabjibagan bustee
Central	26	34	17.17	Maniktala Lane and Jogen Dutta Lane
TOTAL	(5)	198	100.00	

Source: Compiled by the author

CLASSIFICATION OF THIKA TENANTS BY USE OF STRUCTURE (IN NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE)

TABLE - 3

CLASSIFICATION OF THIKA TENANTS BY USE OF STRUCTURE (IN NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE)

Region	Thika tenant who does not rent out but resides	Thika tenant who resides himself and also rents out	Thika tenant who does not reside but rents out	Thika tenant who holds land and holding elsewhere	Data not available	Ownership of structure	Total
South-west	5 (15.00)	15 (75.00)	1 (5.00)	5 (25.00)	1 (5.00)	18 2	20 (100.00)
West	8 (18.80)	26 (59.09)	10 (22.73)	11 (25.00)	-	33 11	44 (100.00)
North	28 (28.00)	56 (56.00)	15 (15.00)	15 (15.00)	1 (1.00)	79 21	100 (100.00)
Central	4 (11.76)	21 (61.76)	9 (26.47)	9	-	29 5	34 (100.00)
TOTAL	43 (21.72)	118 (59.60)	35 (17.68)	40 (20.20)	2 (1.01)	159 39	198

Figures within parenthesis indicate percentage.

Source : Return-A forms, Thika Tenancy Department (T.T.D)

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TABLE - 4

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF THIKA TENANTS: BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

Region	Male	Female	Total	Bengali	Non-Bengali	Total
South-west	16 (80.00)	4 (20.00)	20 (100.00)	-	-	20 (100.00)
West	30 (68.18)	14 (31.82)	44 (100.00)	16 (36.36)	28 (63.64)	44 (100.00)
North	72 (72.00)	28 (28.00)	100 (100.00)	91 (91.00)	09 (9.00)	100 (100.00)
Central	29 (85.29)	5 (14.71)	34 (100.00)	-	-	34 (100.00)
TOTAL	147 (74.24)	51 (25.76)	198 (100.00)	107 (74.30)	37 (25.69)	144 (100.00)

Figures within parenthesis denote percentage.

- Relevant data not available

Source: The same as in Table-3.

TABLE - 5

TOTAL AND PER TENANT LAND, AND SIZE OF HOLDING UNDER THIKA WITH 198 THIKA TENANTS

Region in cat- tah)	Total amount of land in cat- tah)	Land per thika tenant (in cat- tah)	Size of holding (in cattah)										Not avail- lable	
			1	1.1-	2.0	2.1-	3.0	3.1-	4.0	4.1-	5.0	5.1-		10.0
South- west	45.88	2.29	4 (20.00)	7 (35.00)	5 (25.00)	2 (10.00)	1 (5.00)	1 (5.00)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.51)
West	80.45	1.83	12 (27.27)	17 (38.64)	13 (29.55)	1 (2.27)	-	-	1 (2.27)	-	-	-	-	-
North	288.61	2.89	12 (12.00)	29 (29.00)	17 (17.00)	15 (15.00)	7 (7.00)	9 (9.00)	1 (1.00)	-	-	-	-	-
Central	42.64	1.24	16 (47.06)	14 (41.18)	1 (2.94)	1 (2.94)	-	1 (2.94)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2.94)
TOTAL	456.98	2.31	44 (22.22)	67 (33.84)	46 (23.23)	19 (9.60)	8 (4.04)	11 (5.56)	2 (1.01)	1 (0.51)	-	-	-	-

Figures within bracket denotes percentage.

Source : Return A Forms, (T.T.D)

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TABLE - 6

DISTRIBUTION OF THIKA TENANTS BY DATE OF TENANCY CONTRACT AS MENTIONED

Region	Date of Tenancy						
	Prior to 1900	1901-1920	1921-1946	1947-1976	1976-1978	Not available	
South-west	1	4	47	4	3	1	1
West	4	3	11	17	8	1	1
North	16	6	21	41	14	2	2
Central	15	7	8	4	-	-	-
TOTAL	36 (18.18)	20 (10.10)	47 (23.74)	66 (33.33)	25 (12.63)	4 (2.02)	4 (2.02)

Figures within parenthesis denote percentage

Source : Return-A Forms (T.T.D)

DISTRIBUTION OF THIKA TENANTS BY DATE OF TENANCY CONTRACT AS MENTIONED
 Region: South-west, West, North, Central
 Date of Tenancy: Prior to 1900, 1901-1920, 1921-1946, 1947-1976, 1976-1978, Not available

TABLE - 7
DISTRIBUTION OF LAND RENT/CATTAN UNDER-THIKA

Region	Land Rent/Cattah (rupees per month)									
	No rent	1-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-30	30-50	50-75	75+	
South-east	-	9	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
West	8	11	7	10	4	1	1	-	-	-
North	4	71	15	6	1	3	-	-	-	-
Central	1	-	2	9	4	12	5	2	2	1
TOTAL	13	91	32	28	9	16	6	2	2	1
	(6.57)	(45.96)	(16.16)	(14.14)	(4.50)	(8.08)	(3.03)	(1.01)	(0.51)	

Figures within parenthesis denote percentage

Source: The same as in Table 6.

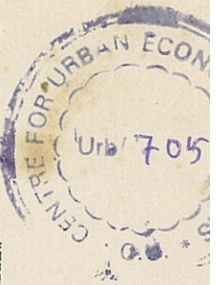


TABLE - 8
NUMBER OF BHARATIYAS, USE OF STRUCTURE AND ROOM RENT OF STRUCTURE

Region	No. of Bharati- yas	Commercial use of rooms	House rent per month (in rupees)			
			Less than 10	10.1-20	20.1-30	30.1-40
South-west	59 (100)	3 (5.08)	2 (3.39)	9 (15.25)	9 (15.25)	15 (25.42)
West	184 (100)	12 (6.52)	-	65 (35.33)	42 (22.83)	60 (32.61)
North	248 (100)	6 (2.42)	-	35 (14.11)	64 (25.81)	45 (18.15)
Central	232 (100)	1 (0.43)	74 (31.90)	108 (46.55)	14 (6.03)	28 (12.07)
TOTAL	723 (100)	22 (3.04)	76 (10.51)	217 (30.01)	129 (17.84)	148 (20.47)

Figures within parenthesis denote percentage.

Source: The same as in Table 6.

TABLE - 8 (Contd.)

	40.1-50	50.1-75	75.1-100	100.1-150	150.1-200	200.1 +	Not available
9		6	3	3	1	-	2
(15.25)	(10.17)	(5.08)	(5.08)	(1.69)			(3.39)
8	3	1	4	-	-	-	-
(4.35)	(1.63)	(0.54)	(2.17)				
32	53	13	1	1	-	-	4
(12.90)	(21.37)	(5.24)	(0.40)	(0.40)			(1.61)
5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
(2.16)	(0.43)						
54	63	17	8	2	1	6	
(7.47)	(8.71)	(23.29)	(1.11)	(0.28)	(0.14)	(0.83)	