

MA (Sociology)  
SECOND SEMESTER  
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URBAN SOCIOLOGY

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## SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

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### URBAN SOCIOLOGY

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Syllabi	Mapping in Book
<b>Unit I: Basic Concepts</b> Urban, town, city, Urban vs Rural, Urbanism, Pre-Industrial City, Post-Industrial City.	Unit I. Basic concepts
<b>Unit II: Theoretical Approaches</b> Chicago School-Park, Burgess, McKenze; Rural-Urban Continuum- Robert Redfield; Marxian Approach; Post-Modernist Approach.	Unit II: Theoretical Approaches
<b>Unit III: Urbanization in India</b> Growth of cities in India-ancient, pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial; Types; Factors of urbanization.	Unit III: Urbanization in India
<b>Unit IV: Classification of Cities: Urban Social Structure</b> Population Structure in Indian Cities, Changing occupational Structure; Emergence of new classes, Changing Family Structure; Migration and Mobility.	Unit IV: Classification of Cities: urban Social structure
<b>Unit V: Urban Planning and Problem</b> Urban management in India, Urban institutions, Factors affecting Planning, Problems of housing, Slum development, Urban environmental problems, Urban poverty, Delinquency, Crime, Urban spacing-expansion of cities and consequent displacement	Unit V: Urban Planning and Problem

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## INTRODUCTION

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Urban sociology is the sociological study of life and human interaction in metropolitan areas. It is a normative discipline of sociology seeking to study the structures, processes, changes and problems of an urban area and by doing so provide inputs for planning and policy making. In other words, it is the sociological study of cities and their role in the development of society. Urban Sociology studies a range of topics, including migration and demographic trends, economics, poverty, race relations and economic trends.

The book is divided into five units:

**Unit I:** Basic Concepts

**Unit II:** Theoretical Approaches

**Unit III:** Urbanization in India

**Unit IV:** Classification of Cities: Urban Social Structure

**Unit V:** Urban Planning and Problem

The learning material in the book is presented in a structural format so that it is easy to grasp. Each unit begins with an introduction followed with unit objectives. The detailed content is then presented in a simple language, interspersed with check your progress questions to enable the student to test his/her understanding as and when they go through each unit. Summary and key terms are provided at the end of each unit which help in quick recollection. Questions and Exercises are also provided for further practice.

## **UNIT 1 BASIC CONCEPTS**

### **STRUCTURE**

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  - 1.18 City
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## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

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In the present unit, our main purpose is to learn the concepts of urban centre, town, city, the difference between urban and rural society and urban growth. It is a well-known fact that it is extremely difficult to create a complete sociological definition of above mentioned concepts. Here, our attempt would be to review various definitions related to these concepts and find out some. A common characteristic is needed to understand these concepts. Urban and Urbane are both derived from the Latin word Urbanus meaning "belonging to a city" and these were once synonymous in meaning. Urbane was borrowed first, from the old French term urbain, and it preserves the French pattern of stress. Subsequently, Urban was borrowed directly from Latin word *urbanus*. Urbane conveys the meaning of being "specialized, refined, polite or elegant". These desirable qualities were considered to be the characteristic of urban rather than country folk. Urban refers to a city or town, which is directly opposite to village or country. A resident of a village is known as folk and of a city is known as an Urbanite.

Cities appeared some ten thousand years ago. The scientific interest in the city is, however, a few hundred years old and the science of urban sociology is still more recent. What probably was the first book about the city possibly was written by an Italian, Giovanni Botero, whose *Delle Cause della grandezza della citta* appeared as early as 1598. Its English version was published in 1806 under the title 'A *Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificence of and Greatness of Cities*'. This book, of course, is now hardly more than a scientific curiosity and it cannot be said that it created a new science. It is only since the seventeenth century that the city has become an object of scientific inquiry and research. The founders of political arithmetic and their successors, the statisticians, the students of population problems, the economists, and the historians became interested in it and were joined by administrators, architects, planners, and



social reformers; producing enormous literature. Urban sociology is indebted to these scholars. A few of the basic problems have been first investigated by such pioneers as Gaurlt, Ravenstein, Mayr, Supan, Ruecher, Adna Weber, Willcox, and Hurd, but none of their works is truly urban sociology. Even after sociology had established itself as a new branch of science, its students took rare notice of urban phenomena. The first monograph written on the city was by a sociologist, Rene Maurier's *L'Origine et la fonction economique des villes*, published as recently 1910. As indicated by the title, its author approached the subject largely as an economist. The three early sociological classics - G. Simmel's, *Die Grosstadte und das Geistesleben*, a (The Metropolis and Mental life) 1903; Max Weber's, *Die Stadt (The City)*, 1921 ; and R. Maurier's, *Le Village et la ville*, 1929- were only parts of larger works. According to Hausserman and Halia (2005) it is fair to say that George Simmel was the first to write on urban sociology. He provided a sociological definition of the term 'Urban' and analysed the interaction between spatial density, social behavior and economic differentiation. Some notable studies of that time include Jane Addams' *Hull House Maps and Papers* in 1893, and Robert Woods' *The City Wilderness* in 1899.

These were explorative studies, which laid the ground for later studies. Edith Abbott and Sophonisba, P. Breckinridge in Ridge in 1908 studied Housing in Chicago after Charles Booth in 1888 had completed an epochmaking study of life and labour in London. Rowntree in 1901 wrote *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* and *a study of destitution in York, England*. Both these studies were on a grand scale and made precise general formulation about city life.

### 1.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of the term urban
- discuss the concept and able to distinguish between urban and rural

- explain the meaning of town, city and metro
- explain the different stages of city growth

## **1.2. MEANING OF URBAN**

The word 'urban' was hardly used in the English language before the nineteenth century. It is briefly defined by the Shorter Oxford Dictionary as 'pertaining to town or city life'. It is derived from the Latin 'urbs' a term applied by the Romans to a city-more especially the city of Rome. Urban refers to a city or town, which is directly opposite to village or country. A resident of a village is known as Folk and the city is known as urban.

### **Examination of Definitions**

It is not possible to have a study of urbanization unless adequate note is taken of the definition of an "urban area" or "urban centre" or city or town, which varies from country to country and from one census year to another. In Greenland, for example, a place with 300 or more inhabitants is called an urban area while in the Republic of Korea; an urban area must have at least 40,000 inhabitants. Most European countries follow the example set by France in 1846, requiring a population minimum of 2000. Even in the same country, there are frequent modifications of the definition of urban which call for numerous adjustments to attain comparability over time. This, for example, was the case in the U.S.A. where a new definition of urban was adopted in 1950. These criteria for defining an urban area show how shaky international comparisons of the level of urbanization based on national definitions can be in the absence of definitional adjustments (Bose, 1974).

Although the urban population is widely understood to include the population resident in cities and towns, the definition of urban is, nevertheless, a complex matter. Population classified for urban varies greatly from one country to another. The delineation of areas as urban or rural is

often related to administrative, political, historical, or cultural considerations as well as demographic criteria. As the United Nation Demographic Yearbook has indicated, definitions of urban fall into three major types:

(1) Classification of minor civil division on a chosen criterion which may include:

- (a) Type of local government,
- (b) Number of inhabitants,
- (c) The proportion of population engaged in agriculture;

(2) Classification of administrative centers of minor rural division as urban and the remainder of the division as rural; and

(3) Classification of certain size localities (agglomerations) as urban, irrespective of administrative boundaries. Even for census purposes, then, the definition of urban involves a multidimensional approach and the setting of arbitrary cutting points in differentiating "urban from rural. (Hauser, 1965)

### **Check your progress**

1. The word urban is derived from which word?
2. What are the criteria for recognizing the urban?

### **1.3. MEANING OF TOWN**

Generally, a town is a place with many houses, shops and other buildings that is larger than a village but smaller than a city. Every country has got its own way and method of identifying the town. The criteria to identify the town are based on population, nature of work and ecology settings of the area.

In the Indian context, the census definition of town remained more or less the same for the period 1901-51. It was only in 1961 that an attempt was made to formalize and standardize the definition by stipulating certain statistical criteria for their identification. But an interesting feature of the Indian census has been the latitude given to Census Superintendents in regard to the classification of places that fall on or around the borderline of rural and urban ( Bose, 1974).

According to Census of India, 1901:Town includes:

- 1) Every municipality of whatever size;
- 2) All civil lines not included within municipal limits;
- 3) Every other continuous collection of houses, permanently inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons, which the Provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as a town for census purposes.

The primary consideration for deciding whether a particular place is a town or not is the administrative set-up and not the size of its population. Not all municipalities, civil lines areas and cantonments have a population of over 5,000 and yet these were classified as towns. At the same time, all places with a population of 5,000 and over are not necessarily towns. There are several overgrown villages with populations of over 5,000.

The definition of the town was thus not totally objective in as much as it was not based on a rigid statistical test. The census authorities were aware of these limitations but they preferred administrative expediency to statistical precision. However, after Independence an attempt was made to provide a very strict definition of an urban area at the 1961 Census, which is as under:

- a) All places with municipality, corporation, cantonment board, or notified town area committee, etc.
- b) All other places which satisfied the following criteria;

- i. A minimum population of 5,000.
- ii. At least 75 per cent of the male working population in non-agricultural pursuits; and
- iii. A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km.

The above definition underwent a slight change between 1981 and 1991. The urban criteria of the 1981 and 1991 Censuses varied somewhat from those of 1961 and 1971. The workers in occupations of forestry, fishing, livestock, hunting, logging, plantations and orchards, etc. (falling under Industrial Category III) were treated under non-agricultural activities in 1961 and 1971 Censuses, whereas in 1981 and 1991 Censuses these activities were treated as agricultural activities for the purpose of determining the male working population in non-agricultural pursuits. Besides, the discretion of Directors of Census in consultation with the State Government to treat some places having distinct urban characteristics as urban even if such places did not strictly satisfy all the criteria mentioned under category (b) above was discontinued at the 1991 Census and it has been followed in the 2001 Census also.

### **Check your progress**

- 3. What is the meaning of town?
- 4. The primary consideration for deciding whether a particular place is a town or not is the administrative set-up and not the size of its population. True or False?

## **1.4. MEANING OF CITY**

The city is a large and important town. A city is an over growth of town which is larger and complex than the town. Both the city and town is urban places which are distinguished on

the basis of census status. The city is an urban area with a population of 100,000 or more is treated as a city in the Indian Census.

The definition and meaning of the city in many countries have been defined in legal terms. A place is legally made a city by a declaration, called a charter, which is granted by a higher state authority. In India the State Government has the responsibility of granting municipal/civic status to a settlement or notifying it as a town.

Such towns are known as statutory towns. The procedure is very clear but the bases of identification are not uniform across the states and extremely unsatisfactory. It is an explanation *ex post facto*.

The city can also be identified by using statistical indicators. The U.S. Bureau of Census considers any place as cities consisting of more than 2,500 or more inhabitants. This method meets the needs of statisticians but offers little sociological insight. The arbitrariness of this kind of definition is revealed by the fact that the United States census has had to alter its criterion from 8,000 inhabitants to 4,000 and finally to the present figure. To meet other difficulties, the census has had to include additional urban developments, such as "unincorporated towns or townships or political City and Metropolis subdivisions." -There are also substantial international variations. Most European countries follow the example set by France in 1846, requiring a minimum population of 2,000. This figure was approved by the International Bureau of Statistics in 1887. It has not been universally accepted, however, since Korea, for example, still sets the minimum limits as high as 44,000. In India, the cut-off point for non-statutory towns is 5000.

### **1.5. URBAN AND RURAL**

Scholars have given their ideas in stating the differences and its continuity and change. As per the discussion, urban is the extension of rural, there is no difference between urban and

rural life. Basically, urban life is modified version of rural life due to social and cultural situation and transition.

Rural and urban communities cannot be placed in watertight compartments. There is continuity between the two. As a community moves from the folk to the urban end of the continuum, there occur shifts from:

- i) Cultural intimacy and organisation to disorganization
- ii) Collective or community orientation to individualisation; and the sacred to the secular.

Redfield's defines an ideal type for the folk society, which is the polar opposite of urban society. He says the ideal type is a mental construct and "No known society precisely corresponds to it ...." It is "created only because through it we may hope to understand reality. Its function is to suggest aspects of real societies which deserve study, and especially to suggest hypotheses as to what, under certain defined conditions, may be generally true about society (Redfield 1947)."

### **Check your progress**

- 5. How a city is identified? And how it is different from town?
- 6. How a urban is differentiated from rural?

## **1.6. URBANISM**

A sociologically significant definition of the city seeks to select those elements of urbanism. No definition of urbanism can hope to be completely satisfying as long as numbers are regarded as the sole criterion. As long as we identify urbanism with the physical entity of the

city, viewing it merely as rigidly delimited in space, and proceed as if urban attributes abruptly ceased to be manifested beyond an arbitrary boundary line, we are not likely to arrive at any adequate conception of urbanism as a mode of life. Which mark it as a distinctive mode of human group life.

Urbanism is the pattern of life and practices found in urban area. Louis Wirth has defined it as a way of life in city. Urbanism is the practices and adoption of modern life found in urban. Urbanism is determined on the basis of heterogeneity, density and size. Thus the larger, the more densely populated, and the more heterogeneous a community, the more accentuated the characteristics associated with urbanism will be. Thus, urbanism is seen as entailing a distinctive form of social organization, characterized by impersonal relations, social isolation, deviance, and so on.

Most often the term today means the culture of cities. However, here too analyst conflates the culture of cities with that of suburbia, although the latter is usually described in stereotypical terms. Urbanism has been traditionally been associated with great sophistication in understanding and consuming the arts, expensive dining, sophisticated entertainment, and fashion.

Discussion of urbanism often emphasized that city life is more tolerant of strangers and so called deviants than the suburbs. There is special district in city that comes alive only at night where people engaged in party activities. Cities are supposed to be more diverse ethnically, racially and with regards to class than suburbs. There is still implicit understanding that city people are more interested in hustling for advantages in economic and social relations, while those people living in the more suburbanized areas of metros region assumes a steadier view of employment and share intimacy only with their select circle of friends.



Today it is not clear whether these sharp social distinctions can be made between urbanism and sub-urbanism. All areas of the multi-center metropolitan region have become increasingly diverse in recent times. Immigrants no longer select the inner city as their place of initial residence. Sub-culture abounds throughout the region. The emphasis on a high consumption lifestyle seems to characterize all areas.

### **Check your progress**

7. What is the determinant of urbanism according to Louis Wirth?
8. What are the traditional elements that urbanism is associated with?

## **1.7. PRE-INDUSTRIAL CITY**

### **Origins and Growth of the Pre-industrial City**

In order to understand the transformations that occurred with the onset of the industrial city, it will first be necessary to look at the origin of cities and the growth of the pre-industrial city. The definition of the city by Davis (1973:1) sees the city as 'concentrations of many people located close together for residential and productive purposes. This sensitizes us to two shifts that were important in the transformation that created the earliest cities. The most significant was probably the shift in the productive base of a society. The occupants of the cities were no longer engaged in agricultural activity and were not self-sufficient. Rather, they supplied services and commodities to the rural population and in exchange they gained their food and other requirements. In order for this new arrangement to occur, productivity had to increase to such an extent that the farmers were producing more than they and their families could consume. This required settled agriculture rather than nomadic hunting and gathering. This is one of the reasons for the earliest cities emerging in the places where they did. These regions had a benign climate

and soil and water conditions conducive to agriculture – the growing of wheat and barley. Thus, we see the first cities emerging around 3500 BC in the Fertile Crescent area of Mesopotamia (Sjoberg 1973). In this period, the metal utilized was bronze and the agrarian production was enhanced through the invention of the plough hauled by oxen. Wheeled vehicles had also been invented which allowed the transport of produce to the urban population. Cities were not large. The earliest was home to probably between 5000–10,000 people. Ur, which has been extensively excavated, housed around 34,000 people by 2000 BC. Cities spread by diffusion and the transfer of the technology of agrarian production to the Indus valley (modern-day Pakistan) by 2500 BC and the Yellow River area of China by 1000 BC (MacNeish 1964, Lamberg-Karlovsky and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1973).

In the newly emerging cities, a new social structure took shape. Cities are social inventions rather than natural constructions, so new forms of organisation had to evolve to cope with large population concentrations. As Davis noted:

“For some villages to become large enough to approach an urban scale, trade in artifacts and materials had to be available, and technologies of water control, soil management, storage, transport, permanent house building and food preservation had to be developed (Davis 1973:11).”

This required new political structures and a different division of labour to ensure the various tasks were accomplished. The further closer settlement meant that land became a resource in demand. Who should own and control land in the city? What form of property rights should develop? What form of governance? Rulers who filled both spiritual and temporal roles mostly governed the earliest cities. The central spaces of the city were the ones where the rulers would be located and the significant buildings, for example the temples, then further out, would

be the residences of the artisans and trades. Cities were often walled or fortified as the urban populations were small relative to the surrounding rural and nomadic populations.

The new technologies of production and forms of political and economic organisation required for record-keeping, both for levying taxes and recording trading activity, hence the need for written records. Cities were shaped by the broader civilizations in which they were embedded and to which their fate was linked. Under the Roman Empire, for example, the city was diffused through much of Europe following along behind the legions. Urban life was established with the decline of the Roman Empire, however, many of the cities that existed at that time disappeared. Early cities were open to many problems associated with closer living, for example, disease, fire, and natural disasters. Many were built on flood plains as these were sites with alluvial soils good for crop production and close to waterways for trade and transport but thus were prone to flooding. They were also subject to internal political and economic problems over the creation and distribution of wealth. Rivalries occurred between urban and rural populations and between cities.

In Europe, by medieval times, city-states were not uncommon. The basis of their wealth arose from trade and the growth of the craft guilds producing the new equipment for agrarian production and the commodities for the merchant class and the wealthy elites (Pirenne 1956). The opening up of trade on a global scale through voyages for the 'explorers' paved the way for colonialism and the extraction of commodities and raw materials from around the world and the bringing of these back to Europe. The pre-capitalist world made its money largely through land-based production and trade. The cities that grew were those strategically integrated into these activities. The dominant 'global' cities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were, therefore, those which held a key position within the mercantile world, with London, Amsterdam,

Antwerp, Genoa, Lisbon and Venice being the most significant. As political fortunes changed across Europe in the eighteenth century, to this group were added Paris, Rome, and Vienna (Robertson 1992, Knox 1996).

### **Check your progress**

9. What are the features of pre-industrial society?

## **1.8. POST- INDUSTRIAL CITY**

A key weakness of the regulations concepts of Fordism and neo-Fordism is their neglect of services. Ironically the postindustrial society thesis emerged from experience in the 1950s and 1960s when Fordism was at its zenith. Bell (1973) pointed out that heavy industries were beginning to decrease in importance while employment in service industries was growing, especially in sectors such as finance, business services, and retailing, leisure and entertainment industries. The implications of this shift, Bell suggested, pointed to profound shifts in social structure and social relations.

The geographical patterns of this service growth have been complex but a key trend has once again been development away from traditional manufacturing centres. The growth of the service economy has had important consequences for the social geography of cities. One of the most important developments has been the tendency to intensify social polarization. Whereas the traditional manufacturing industries tended to have substantial proportions of relatively well-paid, blue-collar, middle-income jobs, services tend to be characterized by both relatively high-paying and relatively low-paying jobs.

Another consequence of service growth has been increasing competition among cities for employment. It is argued that whereas heavy manufacturing industries tended to be firmly rooted in particular places (because of their proximity to certain raw materials, their dependence upon large amounts of capital investment in buildings, machinery, equipment and specialized skilled labour), service industries are much more mobile. The reason for this mobility is that the basic ingredients for many routine service industries – suitable office properties and large supplies of female workers – are much more geographically dispersed. Consequently, there is much more locational freedom on the part of service companies. The result has been vigorous campaigns by city authorities to attract major service employers.

Meanwhile, the proponents of neoliberal policies have advocated free markets as the ideal condition not only for economic organization, but also for political and social life. Free markets have generated uneven relationships among places and regions, the inevitable result being an intensification of economic inequality at every scale, from the neighbourhood to the nation-state. The pursuit of neoliberal policies and free market ideals has also dismantled a great deal of the framework for city building and community development that Western societies used to take for granted everything from broad concepts such as the public good to the nuts and bolts of the regulatory environment. Globalization has meanwhile contributed to the emergence of a postmodern culture in which the symbolic properties of places and material possessions have assumed unprecedented importance, with places becoming important objects of consumption.

The last two decades of the last millennium have seen the rise of the ‘postmodernist’ critique and vigorous debate as to whether the modern industrial world has now transformed itself into the post-industrial world. At the heart of this debate is one about the nature of the economic and social forces shaping both collective and individual life. Giddens, in his recent

analysis of the *Third Way* (1998), identifies three major revolutions taking place during this period. They are globalization, the transformation in personal life affecting relations between individuals and communities, and in our relationship to nature. Here, the growth of the debate about genetic engineering and the environment has refocused our attention on the links between nature and science and nature and society. The central question is whether the dominant paradigm through which we view this relationship is still to be one around the notion of universal progress and scientific advancement in order to reshape the natural world, or is there to be a shift towards a more reciprocal relationship as is incorporated in the debate about ‘sustainability’? All these transformations have influenced urban life. The city looks very different at the beginning of the new millennium.

The city centres at a weekend are now alive with activity, shops are open, cafes have emerged onto the pavements, recreational and leisure opportunities have increased incorporating such seemingly now universal urban redevelopment features as harbour front redesign, casinos, tramways, museums, leisure districts, convention centres, and restaurant and cafe cultures. The result is a remarkable transformation of empty spaces to ones thronging with people and activity. The structure and form of the city have become much more highly differentiated. The growth of new forms of wealth generation has led to the restructuring of the spatial structures, within the former industrial and administrative cities. Manufacturing has declined as the key engine of growth to be replaced by a new set of activities more centred around information (Castells 1996, 1997, 1998; Sassen 1991) and leisure, recreation and tourism (Lash and Urry 1987, 1994; Zukin, 1991). Consumption landscapes have become the new focus of much of western scholarship. Consumerism is seen as one of the driving forces of economic, political and social life. The global nature of the world requires us to see urban change as an interrelated process. Industrial

activity has been relocated to new regions and cities, growth and decline have occurred, the demographic and social structures have changed. In this chapter, the objective is to examine the key aspects of this change and to look at how this has led to a rethinking of urban analysis and the emergence of a different set of agendas to those we have observed in the analysis of the modern industrial city as we confront the increasingly global interconnectedness of the present urban world. The chapter begins with the debates and analysis around the questions of postmodernity and postmodernism and from there moves to the issue of globalization and finally to the nature of the global city.

### **Check your progress**

10. What do you understand by post industrial city?
11. Discuss the salient features of the post industrial city?

## **1.9. SUMMARY**

- The meaning of urban is related to the physical expansion of the area with population growth.
- The delineation of areas as urban or rural is often related to administrative, political, historical, or cultural considerations as well as demographic criteria
- The identification of urban area is not uniform for every country.
- The town is based on certain features which are different from rural definition.
- Rural and urban communities cannot be placed in watertight compartments. There is continuity between the two.
- Community moves from the folk to the urban end of the continuum.

- As long as we identify urbanism with the physical entity of the city, viewing it merely as rigidly delimited in space, and proceed as if urban attributes abruptly ceased to be manifested beyond an arbitrary boundary line, we are not likely to arrive at any adequate conception of urbanism as a mode of life.
- Thus the larger, the more densely populated, and the more heterogeneous a community, the more accentuated the characteristics associated with urbanism will be.
- Pre Industrial Cities are social inventions rather than natural constructions, so new forms of organisation had to evolve to cope with large population concentrations.
- The pre-capitalist world made its money largely through land-based production and trade.
- Ironically the postindustrial society thesis emerged from experience in the 1950s and 1960s when Fordism was at its zenith.
- Post industrial city had heavy industries were beginning to decrease in importance while employment in service industries was growing, especially in sectors such as finance, business services, and retailing, leisure and entertainment industries.

#### **1.10. KEY TERMS**

- Urban: urban refers to a city or town life.
- Town: according to Indian census a place having more than 5000 population.
- City: a large town having more than 1 lakh population.
- Rural: a village having less than 5000 population with homogenous life engaged with agriculture activities.
- Urbanism: the way of life of city culture.



- Pre-industrial city: the city flourished in the beginning of the civilization till medieval period.
- Post industrial city: the city that emerged after post WW II and the peak of the Fordism period.

### 1.11. ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The word urban is derived from the Latin word Urbanus means ‘belonging to city’.
2. The complexity, specialization, division of labour, high density of population.
3. Town stands for a particular area which is declared by the administration following the characteristic features laid down.
4. Yes
5. A city is identified from the large population, vast extension of the area, a cosmopolitan life. It is different from the town in respect to the concentration of population.
6. Urban is life in a city or town. Urban is more complex and sophisticated.
7. Urbanism is determined on the basis of heterogeneity, density and size.
8. Urbanism has been traditionally associated with great sophistication in understanding and consuming the arts, expensive dining, sophisticated entertainment and fashion.
9. Many were built on flood plains as these were sites with alluvial soils good for crop production and close to waterways for trade and transport, The central spaces of the city were the ones where the rulers would be located and the significant buildings, for example, the temples, then further out, would be the residences of the artisans and trades. Cities were often walled or fortified as the urban populations were small relative to the surrounding rural and nomadic populations.

10. Post industrial city according to Daniel Bell (1973) pointed out that heavy industries were beginning to decrease in importance while employment in service industries was growing, especially in sectors such as finance, business services, and retailing, leisure and entertainment industries. The implications of this shift, Bell suggested, pointed to profound shifts in social structure and social relations.
11. Salient features of Post Industrial city; The city centres at a weekend are now alive with activity; recreational and leisure opportunities have increased incorporating such seemingly now universal urban redevelopment features as harbour front redesign, casinos, tramways, museums, leisure districts, convention centres, and restaurant and cafe cultures; Manufacturing has declined as the key engine of growth to be replaced by a new set of activities more centred around information.

## **1.12. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES**

### **Short-Answer Questions**

1. Define urban.
2. Define town.
3. Define urbanism.
4. Contrast between urban and rural.

### **Long-Answer Questions**

1. What do you understand by pre –Industrial city?
2. What is Post Industrial city?
3. Explain the meaning of the term urban?
4. Discuss the relations between urban and rural.
5. Discuss the context of urbanism.

6. Discuss the stages of pre and post industrial city.

### 1.13. FURTHER READING

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## **UNIT 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

### **STRUCTURE**

2.0 Introduction

2.1 Unit Objectives

2.2 Chicago School

2.3 Robert E Park

2.4 McKenzie and E. Burgess

2.5 Robert Redfield – Rural-Urban Continuum

2.6 Marxian Approach

2.7 Post modernist Approach

2.8 Summary

2.9 Key Terms

2.10 Answer to ‘ Check your progress’

2.11 Questions and Exercise

2.12 Further reading

## 2.0. INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we have learned about the definition and meaning of the urban, urbanism and rural-urban contrast. In this unit you will learn about the theoretical understanding and formulation of urban from different perspectives and background.

In this chapter, you will learn about the urban theory developed by each thinker which has touched from different school of thought in aspects of their space and time intervention. Each school of thought has enlightened the knowledge and condition of urban growth and urbanization in length and breadth.

### 2.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the theoretical development of urban sociology
- discuss the concept of urban theory
- Interpret the various perspectives of urban theory
- explain the relationship among the various urban theory
- develop the formulation of urban theoretical

### 2.2. CHICAGO SCHOOL

In [sociology](#) the works of the Chicago school sometimes described as the ecological school was the first major bodies of research emerging during the 1920s and 1930s specializing in [urban sociology](#), and the research into the urban environment by combining theory and [ethnographic fieldwork](#) in [Chicago](#) now applied elsewhere. While involving scholars at several Chicago area universities, the term is often used interchangeably to refer to the [University of Chicago](#)'s sociology department. Following the [Second World War](#), a "second

Chicago school" arose whose members used [symbolic interactionism](#) combined with methods of [field research](#) create a new body of work.

The early social thinkers and major researchers in the first Chicago school included [Nels Anderson](#), [Ernest Burgess](#), [Ruth Shonle Cavan](#), [Edward Franklin Frazier](#), [Everett Hughes](#), [Roderick D. McKenzie](#), [George Herbert Mead](#), [Robert E. Park](#), Walter C. Reckless, [Edwin Sutherland](#), [W. I. Thomas](#), [Frederic Thrasher](#), [Louis Wirth](#), and [Florian Znaniecki](#). The Chicago school is best known for its urban sociology and for the development of the [symbolic interactionist](#) approach, notably through the work of [Herbert Blumer](#).

It has focused on human behavior as shaped by social structures and physical environmental factors, rather than genetic and personal characteristics. [Biologists](#) and [anthropologists](#) had accepted the [theory of evolution](#) as demonstrating that animals adapt to their environments. As applied to humans who are considered responsible for their own destinies, members of the school believed that the natural environment, which the [community](#) inhabits, is a major factor in shaping human behavior, and that the city functions as a microcosm: In these great cities, where all the passions, all the energies of mankind are released, we are in a position to investigate the process of [civilization](#), as it were, under a microscope.

Members of the school have concentrated on the city of Chicago as the object of their study, seeking evidence whether urbanization (Wirth: 1938) and increasing social mobility have been the causes of the contemporary social problems. Chicago was incorporated as a city in 1837, established at the location of what had once been a village of the Miami. The Miami were one of the Illinois tribes that had been displaced by the Potawatomi tribe, who then ceded the land to the U.S. after a disastrous alliance with the Brits and a large influx of settlers. Although

in 1860, Chicago was a small settler town with a population of 10,000, by the time of the [Great Chicago Fire of 1871](#), the population had grown to 300,000, one third of who were homeless due to the fire. The aftermath of the Great Fire led to the "Great Rebuilding," an effort to reconstruct Chicago as a vibrant urban center. By 1910, the population exceeded two million, many of whom had moved to Chicago as new [immigrants](#) to the U.S. With a shortage in housing and a lack of regulation in the burgeoning factories, the city's residents experienced [homelessness](#) (Anderson: 1923) and poor housing, living, and working conditions with low wages, long hours, and excessive pollution. In their analysis of the situation, Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) argued that these immigrants, released from the controls of [Europe](#) to the unrestrained competition of the new city, contributed to the city's dynamic growth.

Ecological studies (among sociologists) consisted of making spot maps of Chicago for the place of occurrence of specific behaviors, including [alcoholism](#), [homicides](#), [suicides](#), [psychoses](#), and [poverty](#), and then computing rates based on census data. A visual comparison of the maps could identify the concentration of certain types of behavior in some areas. For Thomas, the groups themselves had to reinscribe and reconstruct themselves to prosper. Burgess studied the history of development and concluded that the city had not grown at the edges. Although the presence of [Lake Michigan](#) prevented the complete encirclement, he postulated that all major cities would be formed by radial expansion from the center in [concentric rings](#) which he described as zones, i.e. the business area in the center, the [slum](#) area (called the zone in transition and studied by Wirth: 1928, Zorbaugh: 1929, and Suttles: 1968) around the central area, the zone of workingmen's homes farther out, the residential area beyond this zone, and then the [bungalow](#) section and the [commuter's](#) zone on the periphery. Under the influence of [Albion Small](#), the research at the school mined the mass of official data including

census reports, housing/welfare records and [crime](#) figures, and related the data spatially to different geographical areas of the city.

### **Check your progress**

1. What do you understand by the Chicago School of thought?
2. Who were the main thinkers of the Chicago School?

### **2.3. ROBERT E. PARK**

In 1904 Park began teaching Philosophy at Harvard as an assistant professor. Park taught there for two years until celebrated educator and author, [Booker T. Washington](#), invited him to the [Tuskegee Institute](#) to work on racial issues in the southern US. Park and Washington originally met through their mutual interest in helping Africans through the Congo Reform Association of which Park was secretary and Washington was vice president. Over the next seven years, Park worked for Washington by doing field research and taking courses. In 1910, Park traveled to Europe to compare US poverty to European poverty. Shortly after the trip, Washington, with the help of Park, published *The Man Farthest Down* (1913). This publication highlights Parker and Washington's journey to explore Europe in the hopes of finding the man "the farthest down" in order to explore these people were choosing to emigrate and the likeliness of a future change in positions. This led them on a six week journey through the British Isles, France, Italy, Poland, Denmark, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. <sup>[7]</sup>

After Tuskegee, Park joined the Department of Sociology at the [University of Chicago](#) in 1914, first as a lecturer (until 1923), then as a full professor until his retirement in 1933. During his time in Chicago, he continued to study and teach [human ecology](#) and race relations. In 1914 Park taught his first course in the Sociology and Anthropology department. The course was



titled *The Negro in America* and it was, "Directed especially to the effects, in slavery and freedom, of the white and black race, an attempt will be made to characterize the nature of the present tensions and tendencies and to estimate the character of the changes which race relations are likely to bring about in the American system". This class was important from a historical perspective because it may have been the first course ever offered at a predominantly white institution that focused exclusively on black Americans. This set a precedent for classes with similar focuses to come.

During Park's time at the University of Chicago, its sociology department began to use the city that surrounded it as a sort of research laboratory. His work, together with that of his Chicago colleagues, such as [Ernest Burgess](#), [Homer Hoyt](#), and [Louis Wirth](#) – developed into an approach to [urban sociology](#) that became known as the Chicago School. This would become Park's legacy.

Park was inspired by Charles Darwin but ultimately diverges from Social Darwinism through his recognition that human societies participate in a social and moral order that has no counterpart on the nonhuman level. There is a dualism in human ecology in that there is competition as well as cooperation and symbiosis, especially at higher levels of the interactional pyramid. Park furthermore accounted for process, or social change, and was concerned that ecological equilibrium could commonly be disrupted by external changes. Robert Park was driven by the philosophy of pragmatism that he learned from John Dewey, who exhorted American educators to school their students to engage in active learning through direct service in communities. He was influenced by the turn-of-the-century social reform and Progressive movements, as evidenced by his early passion for journalistic muckraking and devotion to anti-colonialist and black causes, distinguishing him from the conservative and racist Social

Darwinists. Though liberal-minded, he did not buck the status quo, as attested by his association with the accommodationism of Booker T. Washington.

Park understanding of urban sociology is greatly interpreted by the human and ecological dimensions. He described; Human ecology is an attempt to apply to the interrelations of human beings a type of analysis previously applied to the interrelations of plants and animals. The term "symbiosis" describes a type of social relationship that is biotic rather than cultural. This biotic social order comes into existence and is maintained by competition. In plant and animal societies competition is unrestricted by an institutional or moral order. Human society is a consequence and effect of this limitation of the symbiotic social order by the cultural. Different social sciences are concerned with the forms which this limitation of the natural or ecological social order assumes on (1) the economic, (2) the political, and (3) the moral level.

The web of life in which all living organisms, plants and animals alike, are bound together in a vast system of interlinked and interdependent lives, is nevertheless. It is interesting to note that it was the application to organic life of a sociological principle-the principle, namely, of competitive co-operation that gave Darwin the first clue to the formulation of his theory of evolution. He projected on organic life, says Thompson, "a sociological idea," and "thus vindicated the relevancy and utility of a sociological idea within the biological realm." The interrelation and interdependence of the species are naturally more obvious and more intimate within the common habitat than elsewhere.

Furthermore, as correlations have multiplied and competition has decreased, in consequence of mutual adaptations of the competing species, the habitat and habitants have tended to assume the character of a more or less completely closed system. Within the limits of this system, the individual units of the population are involved in a process of competitive co-

operation, which has given to their interrelations the character of a natural economy. To such a habitat and its inhabitants whether plant, animal, or human the ecologists have applied the term "community."

These symbiotic societies are not merely unorganized assemblages of plants and animals which happen to live together in the same habitat. On the contrary, they are interrelated in the most complex manner. Every community has something of the character of an organic unit. It has a more or less definite structure and it has a life history in which juvenile, adult and senile phases can be observed. If it is an organism, it is one of the organs which are other organisms. It is, to use Spencer's phrase, a super-organism.

The balance of nature, as plant and animal ecologists have conceived it, seems to be largely a question of numbers. When the pressure of population upon the natural resources of the habitat reaches a certain degree of intensity, something invariably happens. In one case, the population may swarm and relieve the pressure of population by migration. In another, where the disequilibrium between population and natural resources is the result of some change, sudden or gradual, in the conditions of life, the pre-existing correlation of the species may be totally destroyed. Change may be brought about by famine, an epidemic, or an invasion of the habitat by some alien species. Such an invasion may result in a rapid increase of the invading population and a sudden decline in the numbers if not the destruction of the original population. Change of some sort is continuous, although the rate and pace of change sometimes vary greatly.

There are other and less obvious ways in which competition exercises control over the relations of individuals and species within the communal habitat. The two ecological principles, dominance and succession, which operate to establish and maintain such communal order as here described are functions of, and dependent upon, competition. But the principle of dominance

operates in the human as well as in the plant and animal communities. The so-called natural or functional areas of a metropolitan community-for example, the slum, the rooming-house area, the central shopping section and the banking center-each and all owe their existence directly to the factor of dominance, and indirectly to the competition. The struggle of industries and commercial institutions for a strategic location determines, in the long run, the main outlines of the urban community.

The distribution of population, as well as the location and limits of the residential areas which they occupy, are determined by another similar but subordinate system of forces. The area of dominance in any community is usually the area of highest land values. Ordinarily, there are in every large city two such positions of highest land value-one in the central shopping district, the other in the central banking area. From these points land values decline at first, perceptibly and then more gradually toward the periphery of the urban community. It is these land values that determine the location of social institutions and business enterprises. Both the one and the other are bound up in a kind of territorial complex within which they are at once competing and interdependent units. As the metropolitan community expands into the suburbs the pressure of professions, business enterprises, and social institutions of various sorts destined to serve the whole metropolitan region steadily increases the demand for space at the center. Thus not merely the growth of the suburban area, but any change in the method of transportation which makes the central business area of the city more accessible tends to increase the pressure at the center

### **Check your progress**

3. What is the interpretation of Park towards understanding urban?
4. What was the methodology of Park for studying urban condition?

## **2.4. R.D. McKENZIE AND E. BURGESS**

### **R.D. MCKENZIE**

The subject of human ecology, however, is still practically an unsurveyed field, that is, so far as a systematic and scientific approach is concerned. To be sure, hosts of studies have been made which touch the field of human ecology in one or another of its varied aspects, but there has developed no science of human ecology which is comparable in the precision of observation or in method of analysis with the recent sciences of plant and animal ecology. Ecology has been defined as "that phase of biology that considers plants and animals as they exist in nature, and studies their interdependence, and the relation of each kind and individual to its environment." This definition is not sufficiently comprehensive to include all the elements that logically fall within the range of human ecology. In the absence of any precedent it defines human ecology as a study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment. These spatial relationships of human beings are the products of competition and selection and are continuously in process of change as new factors enter to disturb the competitive relations or to facilitate mobility. Human institutions and human nature become accommodated to certain spatial relationships of human beings. As these spatial relationships change, the physical basis of social relations is altered, thereby producing social and political problems.

A great deal has been written about the biological, economic, and social aspects of competition and selection, but little attention has been given to the distributive and spatial aspects of these processes. The plant ecologist is aware of the effect of the struggle for space, food, and light upon the nature of a plant formation, but the sociologist has failed to recognize

that the same processes of competition and accommodation are at work determining the size and ecological organization of the human community.

### **Ecological Classification of Communities**

From the standpoint of ecology, communities may be divided into four general types: first, the primary service community, such as the agricultural town, the fishing, mining, or lumbering community which serves as the first step in the distributive process of the outgoing basic commodity and as the last stage in the distributive process of the product finished for consumption. The size of such communities depends entirely upon the nature and form of utilization of the extractive industry concerned together with the extent of the surrounding trade area. The community responds in size to any element that affects the productivity of the economic base or the extent of the area from which it draws its sustenance. But, in any event, so long as such a community does not assume any other function in the larger ecological process, it cannot grow in population beyond a few thousand inhabitants.

The next type of community is the one that fulfills the secondary function in the distributive process of commodities. It collects the basic materials from the surrounding primary communities and distributes them in the wider markets of the world. On the other hand, it redistributes the products coming from other parts of the world to the primary service communities for final consumption. This is commonly called the commercial community; it may, however, combine other functions as well. The size of this type of community depends upon the extent of its distributive functions. It may vary from a small wholesale town in the center of an agricultural plain to that of a great port city whose hinterland extends halfway across the continent. Growth depends upon the comparative advantages of the site location.

The third type of community is an industrial town. It serves as the locus for the manufacturing of commodities. In addition it may combine the functions of the primary service and the commercial types. It may have its local trade area and it may also be the distributing center for the surrounding hinterland. The type is characterized merely by the relative dominance of industry over the other forms of service. There is practically no limit to the size to which an industrial community may develop. Growth is dependent upon the scope and market organization of the particular industries which happen to be located within its boundaries. Industrial communities are of two general types: first, those that have diversified and multiple industries organized on a local sale of products, and, second, those that are dominated by one or two highly developed industries organized on a national or world-sale of products.

The fourth type of community is one which is lacking in a specific economic base. It draws its economic sustenance from other parts of the world and may serve no function in the production or distribution of commodities. Such communities are exemplified in our recreational resorts, political and educational centers, and communities of defense, penal or charitable colonies. From the standpoint of growth or decline, such communities are not subject to the same laws that govern the development of towns that play a part in the larger productive and distributive processes.' They are much more subject to the vicissitudes of human fancies and decrees than are the basic types of human communities. Of course, any community may and usually does have accretions added to its population as a result of such service. It may, for instance, be the seat of a university, of a state prison, or it may be a recreational resort for at least certain seasons of the year.

### **Check your progress**

5. What is Human ecology as understood by McKenzie?

## E. BURGESS

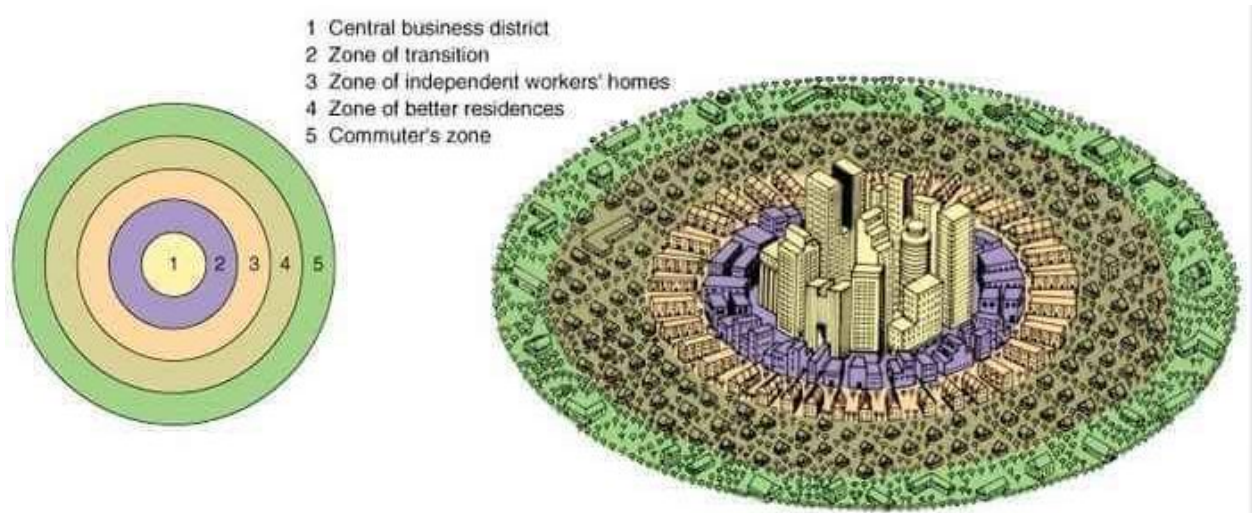
**Ernest Watson Burgess** (May 16, 1886 – December 27, 1966) was a Canadian-American urban sociologist born in [Tilbury, Ontario](#). He was educated at [Kingfisher College](#) in [Oklahoma](#) and continued graduate studies in [sociology](#) at the University of Chicago. In 1916, he returned to the University of Chicago, as a [faculty](#) member. Burgess was hired as an [urban sociologist](#) at the [University of Chicago](#). Burgess also served as the 24th President of the [American Sociological Association](#) (ASA).

A diagram of the ecological structure which, in the words of its author, ‘represents an ideal construction of the tendencies of any city to expand radially from its central business district. The theory posits concentric zones around the central area, defined by their residential composition, moving from the very poor and socially deviant, in the inner [zone of transition](#), to a peripheral suburban commuter ring. He argued that this structure is the result of competition between users for lands—a process analogous to the [ecological competition](#) between biological species for territory. In human societies, these ‘biotic’ processes are overlaid by cultural processes, which limit the conflict and social disorganization resulting from unfettered territorial competition. Control is exercised through the division of the population into distinctive groups, defined by common ethnic identity, occupational status, or economic position. Within each zone, groups occupy particular [natural areas](#), so forming an ‘urban mosaic’ of local communities. Social and economic mobility cause changes in the pattern of territorial occupation, via the ecological processes of invasion, domination, and succession.

This model is an [ideal type](#). However, geographers and economists subsequently proposed more complex diagrams of urban structure and typologies of the natural areas, aided by the advent of large data-sets and computer technology. This [social area analysis](#) largely ignores



the wider issues of social process and structure which concerned Burgess and his colleagues in their distinctive contribution to the development of [urban sociology](#).



**Zone I (Central Business District)** – This is the center (innermost zone) where the central business district is located and has the highest land value. The zone has tertiary activities and earns maximum economic returns. Another feature is the accessibility of the area because of the convergence and passing of transport networks through this part from surrounding and even far places in the city. This part has tall buildings and noticeably high density to maximize the returns from land. The commercial activity taking place in the area results in negligible residential activity in this zone.

**Zone II (Transition Zone)** – The mixed residential and commercial use characterizes this zone. This is located adjacent and around the CBD and is continuously changing, i.e. transition takes place. Another feature is the range of activities taking place like mixed land use, car parking, cafe, old buildings. This zone is considered to decay because of a large number of old structures

as the buildings in transition zone were earlier used for factories and tenement housing blocks. This zone had a high population density when industrial activities were at their peak. Those residing in this zone were of the poorest segment and had the lowest housing condition.

**Zone III (Inner City/ Working Class zone)** – This area is occupied for residential purpose and also known as “inner city” or “inner suburbs.” It consisted of houses built to accommodate factory workers but had the better condition than the transition zone. This area has a mix of new and old development and generally requires orderly redevelopment. People living in this zone are second generation immigrants as many moves out of the transition zone to this zone whenever affordable. This zone is nearest to the working area with modest living conditions, and this resulted in reduced commuting cost. Another interesting feature includes large rental housing occupied by single workers.

**Zone IV (Outer Suburbs/ White Collar Homes)** – This zone had bigger houses and new development occupied by the middle class. Many of the homes are detached, and unlike single occupants of inner suburbs, families resided in these homes. Better facilities are available to the residents like parks, open spaces, shops, large gardens but this comes at an increased commuting cost.

**Zone V (Commuter Zone)** – This is the peripheral area and farthest from the CBD, this resulted in highest commuting cost when compared with other zones. Significant commuting cost gave the name “commuter zone” to this part. People living in this part were high-income groups which could afford large houses, could pay commuting charges, had access to different transportation mode; enjoy modern facilities like shopping malls. Low rise development, large gardens, less population density is some of the characteristics of this zone.

### **The rationale behind the concentric zone theory**

Burgess model takes into account the positive correlation between economic status and distance from downtown. This considers, better the economic status more the distance from the central area. The central area has a high density, and the availability of land is scarce. Because of this more affluent segment of the society reside away from the city center where they can build large houses. Burgess described the changing spatial patterns of residential areas as a process of “invasion” and “succession”. As the city grew and developed over time, the CBD would exert pressure on the surrounding zone (the zone of transition). Outward expansion of the CBD would invade nearby residential neighborhoods causing them to expand outward. The process continues with each successive neighborhood moving further from the CBD. His work included the study of bid rent curves according to which the land with the highest rent was occupied with economic activities of highest returns.

### **Limitations and Criticisms of Concentric zone model**

Concentric zone model is one of the simplest models available. This model accounts for the economic forces which drive development and the study of patterns present at the time of the study. But with the evolution and passage of time urban areas grew more complex and this model cannot define the development of existing cities. Some of the limitations and criticism include:

- Although widely appreciated in the United States Burgess model is not applicable outside the US. This is so, as the pattern of growth is different because of various circumstances.

- The relevance of this model decreased over time. With the advancement in the mode of transportation, mass transit vehicles, motor vehicles, cars changed the way people commute. Accordingly, their preference for living in a particular zone changed.
- It does not take into account the effect of political forces and the restrictions imposed by the government for the improvement of living conditions.
- In reality, no distinct zones and boundaries exist as overlapping of areas is possible in every town. The preference of people changes over time depending on the importance they associate for a particular benefit.
- This model is not applicable to polycentric cities as many CDB exists in such towns. Moreover, every city is different, and the factors influencing the growth of a city are diverse.

### **Check your progress**

6. What was the Burgess idea of urban growth?
7. Why Burgess Model was criticized?

## **2.5. ROBERT REDFIELD**

The conceptual scheme of the folk-urban continuum has been fairly discussed, criticized and employed by anthropologists and field sociologists during its history of about twenty five years. Professor Red-field who formulated the concept was largely concerned with the construction of the typology of the folk society. The folk type of society is characterized as a society which is small, isolated, non-literate, and homogeneous, with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalized into that coherent system which we call culture. The behavior is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical, and personal; there is no legislation

or habit of experiment and reflection for intellectual ends. Kinship, its relationships and institutions, are the type categories of experience and the familiar group is the unit of action. The sacred prevails over the secular; the economy is one of status rather than of the market. Secondary and tertiary tools—tools to make tools—are relatively few as compared with primary tools. It is a group economically independent of all others; there is not much division of labour. The other pole of the continuum, namely, urban type is only constructed in contrast with the folk people.

Redfield's folk-urban continuum has become standard typology in rural sociology. This simply illustrates the difference between rural and urban societies. Rural communities are small and their density is low. Most of the people are engaged in agriculture; other occupational roles are generally confined to traditional crafts. Rural societies are homogenous and cohesive. Members share the same values, beliefs and mores. There is very little division of labour and therefore very little social mobility. In such traditional community family and kinship groups play a dominant role. They are not only social units but also an economic unit; therefore kinship obligations are more diffused and binding. Since much of the social interaction occurs in face to face and close settings, the social relationship is personal frequent and durable. Since rural society is agrarian-based without mechanization, science, skilled labour there is little specialization. People share the same ideas and beliefs and the folk society tends to be culturally homogenous.

The urban societies are large, densely populated and heterogeneous. Social relationships are, generally speaking, anonymous, impersonal, and formal. Complex social organization and highly specialized function character multiple structures. Mass society allows considerable

personal freedom which facilitates diverse interest and beliefs. Society is held together not by personal bonds but by mutual dependence.

A remarkably interesting development of the recent studies on the rural-urban subject is the replacement of the conventional rural-urban dichotomy by what is known as the rural-urban continuum. This in effect amounts to a reversal of the basic approach to the subject and implies that the rural and urban are not, as is generally assumed, antagonistic to each other, but on the contrary, are positively related in terms of the resemblance in certain essential elements which are characteristic of both. In the past towns and cities were few and far between and they were generally looked upon as the repositories and disseminators of culture and civilization. This is reflected in the etymological meaning of the terms employed in different languages to express the idea of the town. The era of rapid and widespread urbanization, towns and cities began to multiply. The enormous growth of towns and cities in the nineteenth century made it possible for the first time for large numbers of people from the countryside to live and work in the cities, thus breaking down, to some extent, the age-old barrier between the urban and the rural.

Continuum means continuity from village to town or city. It is established that there is sharing of culture traits by both the subjects, there are rural culture practices being practiced by the urban people and rural communities have greatly being impacted by the process of urbanization and development of industries in rural areas. The spread of modern industrial centers and urbanization have greatly decreased the difference between the two. Thus the invisible line between cultural boundaries has made it difficult to draw a line of distinction. Hence, the marginal areas show amalgamation and continuation of cultural traits of both the societies.

Due to rural to urban migration this reduces the separation between tribal areas, villages and cities. It is because of migration cities may exhibit combination and amalgamation of such cultural traits. Both are not to be seen in terms of the differences. They are not diametrically opposed to each other. Rather they are the parts of the same continuum.

### **Check your progress**

8. What is the Redfield definition of folk?
9. What is the meaning of urban by Redfield?

## **2.6. MARXIAN APPROACH**

Urban sociology has been one of the last of the major subject areas within sociology to become the focus of Marxian analysis. During the 1960's and early 1970's, when sociology as a whole was undergoing fundamental reformulation, urban sociology remained a theoretical and conceptual backwater still dominated by the thinking which had developed half a century earlier by the Chicago School, and heavily influenced by the empiricist traditions of social administration and geography. Most Marxian schools in sociology had developed in the context of analyses of either British or North American society, and although their intellectual origins were quite naturally deeply influenced by European Marxian theory, the brand of Marxian theory which was developed was indigenous to the capitalist societies within which the empirical work underpinning the theorisation was carried out. The theoretical and conceptual work of these contributors - notably Castells, Lojkin, Lefebvre, Mingione, Preteceille and Lamarche - has been carried out in the context of the study of Latin European societies: especially France, but also Italy and Spain and within an Althusserian structuralist framework.

The implications of this for the way in which Marxian analysis has been applied in urban sociology are far-reaching and as yet only poorly appreciated. The Marxian analysis underlying the new urban sociology differs fundamentally from the Marxian theory that has influenced other sub disciplines within sociology. Indeed, it will be argued that 'the new urban sociology' is a misnomer because it bears little relationship to Marxian sociological theory and is more accurately described as urban political economy.

For Marx (1976), the essence of historical materialism is that any society can be analysed in terms of its mode of production, the latter in turn being analysed in terms of its base and its superstructure. Thus, for Marx, to explain any society involves first, an explanation of the laws and exigencies of the economic base and second, an explanation of the way in which these laws and exigencies determine the superstructure. Hence, the importance for Marx of a rigorous economic analysis as a theoretical and methodological prerequisite of any historical materialist analysis. The Althusserian formulation only slightly alters this conception of a mode of production by characterising the latter, not in terms of a base and a superstructure, but in terms of three basic elements: the economic, the political and the ideological. Each of these elements form separate systems which (in contrast to Marx's characterisation of the base determining the superstructure) are said to have "relative autonomy" from each other, although the economic system is determinant "in the last instance". In other words, the economic system is regarded as the major, rather than the only, determinant of the political and ideological superstructure. Each of the elements of the mode of production is said to form a structure, although (as far as the capitalist mode of production is concerned) only the economic structure, following Marx's pioneering analysis, has yet been analysed.



The significance of the Althusserian formulation of historical materialism is that it clarifies what might be involved, if a historical materialist analysis of (for example) capitalist society were: actually developed. It indicates that while historical materialism does not necessarily entail a total economic determinism, it does, nevertheless, attribute priority to the analysis of the economic system and of the way in which it determines, "in the last instance", the political and ideological systems. Similarly, it suggests that the political and ideological systems may also be analysed structurally along similar lines to Marx's analysis of the economic system. Thus, Althusser's formulation of historical materialism is essentially a clarification of the latter's programme of research, without actually contributing to the development of this programme.

By collective consumption Castells means and refers to such facilities as schools, hospitals, transport, housing, leisure, etc. which are said, in some sense or other, to be "collective". Castells (1977a, p. 445) claims that the phenomenon of collective consumption designates "most of the realities connoted by the term urban". His argument is based on the assertion that urban agglomerations are essentially units or centres for the reproduction of labour power and that, of the two elements comprising the latter, i.e., individual consumption and collective consumption, it is collective consumption which is predominant: hence his argument that urban agglomerations are units of collective consumption.

To define urban agglomerations as centres for the reproduction of labour power faces the objections that urban agglomerations are also units of production and that the reproduction of labour power is only one aspect of production. Since in reality production and reproduction are inseparable and since analytically, from the perspective of historical materialism, both can only be understood in relation to each other, then it would seem to follow that urban agglomerations should be defined as centres of both production and reproduction. Castells,

obliquely acknowledges this possible objection, but tautologically rejects it with the assertion that urban agglomerations cannot be defined in this way since "in the last analysis the city is a residential unit of labour power.

The more general point is that, in terms of the analytical purposes of historical materialism, To define the "urban" from the perspective of historical materialism, it requires (at least) that every element or aspect of the capitalist economic system be open for analysis (i.e., constant capital, variable capital and surplus value and their quantitative and qualitative interrelations). This is no more than the minimum analytical requirement of any approach claiming to be historical materialist. While the study of the problems of collective consumption from the point of view of historical materialism is one possible domain of inquiry. In terms of historical materialism, collective consumption is only one of the processes that structure and determine space, whether this space is "urban" or otherwise.

### **The Causes and Consequences of Collective Consumption within Capitalism:**

(i) The growth of collective consumption is part of the overall growth of consumption in capitalist society. The reason for this, Castells (1977) affirms, is that "the economy of advanced capitalist societies rests more and more on the process of consumption i.e., the key problems are located at the level of the realisation of surplus value or, if one prefers, on the extension of the market". Given that this is (assumed, though not proven, to be) the case, claims that collective consumption plays an essential role in the "stimulation of consumption" since it is essential for the growth of individual commodity consumption.

(ii) The growing concentration (both spatial and social) of capital, which is characteristic of advanced monopoly capitalism, has also given rise to the growing spatial concentration of labour power. The reproduction of the latter is said to have created, in turn, problems of such a "size

and nature" that they] can only be solved by state intervention, in the form of collective consumption (1977 and 1978).

(iii) The growth of collective consumption has also been due, it is affirmed, to "the growing power of the worker movement which extends its bargaining power to all areas of social life". The argument here is that the working class have secured increases in the real wage through "changes in the historical definition of 'need' both qualitatively and quantitatively" (ibid) and part of this increased real wage is now provided (through a tax on wages and profits) by the state in the form of collective consumption!

(iv) Collective consumption has also emerged because capital (particularly multinational capital) has managed to shift the responsibility for infrastructures on to different local or national authorities. Since the latter are increasingly dependent on multinationals for investment and employment, nation-states are increasingly required to finance collective consumption.

(v) The final (and major) reason for the emergence of collective consumption, according to Castells, is that it is a response to the (alleged) law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. He writes (1977, p. 461): "Above all, this production of collective consumption (with a very weak or non-existent profit rate) plays a fundamental role in the struggle of capital against the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Indeed by devaluing part of social capital by unprofitable investments, the state helps to raise proportionately the rate of profit to social capital as a whole" (See also, Castells, 1978, p. 19; for a comprehensive critique of this argument, see McKeown, 1980b).

Each of these five reasons (whether singularly or in combination) is a possible explanation of the role of collective consumption within capitalism. However, it is far from clear which is the actual explanation since no empirical evidence is offered for any one and hence for preferring one to

the other. Without such empirical evidence it is impossible to establish what, in fact, are the precise causes and consequences of collective consumption in capitalist society.

### Check your progress

10. Who were the contributors towards Marxian perspective on urban?
11. What is collective consumption?

## 2.7. POST-MODERNISM PERSPECTIVES

Postmodernism is a broad movement that developed in the mid to late 20th century across [philosophy](#), [the arts](#), [architecture](#), and [criticism](#), marking a departure from [modernism](#). The term has been more generally applied to the [historical era following modernity](#) and the tendencies of this era. compassing a wide variety of approaches and disciplines, postmodernism is generally defined by an attitude of [skepticism](#), [irony](#), or rejection of the [grand narratives](#) and [ideologies](#) of modernism, often calling into question various assumptions of [Enlightenment rationality](#). Consequently, common targets of postmodern critique include [universalist](#) notions of [objective reality](#), [morality](#), [truth](#), [human nature](#), [reason](#), [language](#), and [social progress](#). Postmodern thinkers frequently call attention to the [contingent](#) or [socially-condition and](#) nature of [knowledge](#) claims and [value systems](#), situating them as products of particular political, historical, or cultural [discourses](#) and [hierarchies](#). Accordingly, postmodern thought is broadly characterized by tendencies to [self-referentiality](#), [epistemological](#) and [moral relativism](#), [pluralism](#), and irreverence.

Postmodern critical approaches gained purchase in the 1980s and 1990s, and have been adopted in a variety of academic and theoretical disciplines, including [cultural studies](#), [philosophy of science](#), [economics](#), [linguistics](#), [architecture](#), [feminist theory](#), and [literary](#)

[criticism](#), as well as [art movements](#) in fields such as [literature](#) and music. Postmodernism is often associated with schools of thought such as [deconstruction](#) and [post-structuralism](#), as well as philosophers such as [Jean-François Lyotard](#), [Jacques Derrida](#), and [Fredric Jameson](#).

Ted Relph (1987) was one of the first geographers to catalogue the built forms that comprise the places of post modernity. He describes post- modern urbanism as a self-conscious and selective revival of elements of older styles, though he cautions that postmodernism is not simply a style but also a frame of mind. He observes how the confluence of many trends gentrification, heritage conservation, architectural fashion, urban design, and participatory planning caused the collapse of the modernist vision of a future city filled with skyscrapers and other austere icons of scientific rationalism. The new urbanism is principally distinguishable from the old by its eclecticism. Conversely, postmodern townscapes are more detailed, handcrafted, and intricate. They celebrate difference, poly-culturalism, variety, and stylishness. Their elements are:

1. Quaint space (a deliberate cuteness),
2. Textured facades (for pedestrians, rich in detail, often with an aged appearance)
3. Stylishness (appealing to the fashionable, chic, and affluent),
4. Reconnection with the local (involving deliberate historical/geographical reconstruction), and
5. Pedestrian-automobile split (to redress the modernist bias toward the car).

Just as important to their understanding of its post modernity is its status as a true world city, whose vistas and diversity are so unprecedented as to require neologisms. The city is not merely sprawling and formless but an exopolis, not merely the playground for foreign capital but globalized, not simply remarkably heterogeneous in its social make-up but a heteropolis.

## Urban planning

Modernism sought to design and plan cities which followed the logic of the new model of industrial mass production; reverting to large-scale solutions, aesthetic standardisation and prefabricated design solutions.<sup>[109]</sup> Modernism eroded urban living by its failure to recognise differences and aim towards homogenous landscapes (Simonsen 1990, 57). Jane Jacobs' 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* was a sustained critique of urban planning as it had developed within Modernism and marked a transition from modernity to post modernity in thinking about urban planning (Irving 1993, 479). However, the transition from Modernism to Postmodernism is often said to have happened at 15 July in 1972, when Pruitt-Igoe; a housing development for low-income people in St. Louis designed by architect Minoru Yamasaki, which had been a prize-winning version of Le Corbusier's 'machine for modern living' was deemed uninhabitable and was torn down (Irving 1993, 480). Since then, Postmodernism has involved theories that embrace and aim to create diversity, and it exalts uncertainty, flexibility and change (Hatuka & D'Hooghe 2007) and rejects utopianism while embracing a utopian way of thinking and acting. Post modernity of resistance seeks to deconstruct Modernism and is a critique of the origins without necessarily returning to them (Irving 1993, 60). As a result of Postmodernism, planners are much less inclined to lay a firm or steady claim to there being one single 'right way' of engaging in urban planning and are more open to different styles and ideas of 'how to plan' (Irving 474).

*The Death and Life of Great American Cities* is a 1961 book by writer and activist [Jane Jacobs](#). The book is a critique of 1950s [urban planning](#) policy, which it holds responsible for the [decline](#) of many city [neighborhoods](#) in the [United States](#).<sup>[1]</sup> Going against the modernist

planning dogma of the era, it proposes a newfound appreciation for organic urban vibrancy in the United States.

Reserving her most vitriolic criticism for the rationalist planners (specifically Robert Moses) of the 1950s and 1960s, Jacobs argued that modernist urban planning rejects the city, because it rejects human beings living in a community characterized by layered complexity and seeming chaos. The modernist planners used deductive reasoning to find principles by which to plan cities. Among these policies she considered urban renewal the most violent, and separation of uses (i.e., residential, industrial, commercial) the most prevalent. These policies, she claimed, destroy communities and innovative economies by creating isolated, unnatural urban spaces.

In their place Jacobs advocated four generators of diversity that create effective economic pools of use

- Mixed primary uses, activating streets at different times of the day
- Short blocks, allowing high pedestrian permeability
- Buildings of various ages and states of repair
- Density

Her aesthetic can be considered opposite to that of the modernists, upholding redundancy and vibrancy against order and efficiency. She frequently cites New York City's Greenwich Village as an example of a vibrant urban community. The Village, like many similar communities, may well have been preserved, at least in part, by her writing and activism. The book also played a major role in slowing the rampant redevelopment of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, where Jacobs was involved in the campaign to stop the Spadina Expressway.

### Check your progress

12. What do you understand by post modernism?
13. Who wrote the book based on post modernism '*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*'?

### 2.8. SUMMARY

The purpose of the topic is to get the basic ideas of the theoretical background of the urban sociology. The theoretical understanding of urban society formalised by the development of Chicago school of thought which led to formulation and experimental work on urban society as the laboratory. The Chicago school gave birth to pioneers of urban theorists.

The Human Ecology theory of E.W. Park, which states the importance of relationship between human and their created environment. Park talks about the dualism in human ecology in that there is competition as well as cooperation and symbiosis, especially at higher levels of the interactional pyramid. Park furthermore accounted for process, or social change, and was concerned that ecological equilibrium could commonly be disrupted by external changes.

E. Burgess, in his concentric zone theory explained in a diagram of the ecological structure which, in the words of its author, 'represents an ideal construction of the tendencies of any city to expand radially from its central business district. The theory posits concentric zones round the central area, defined by their residential composition, moving from the very poor and socially deviant, in the inner zone of transition, to a peripheral suburban commuter ring.

R.D. McKenzie in his urban theory of Human Ecology discussed the spatial relationships of human beings are the products of competition and selection, and are continuously in process of change as new factors enter to disturb the competitive relations or to facilitate mobility. Human institutions and human nature itself become accommodated to certain spatial



relationships of human beings. As these spatial relationships change, the physical basis of social relations is altered, thereby producing social and political problems.

Robert Redfield in his contribution of Rural Urban Continuum elaborately discussed and explained about the relationship between urban and rural life. A remarkably interesting development of the recent studies on the rural-urban subject is the replacement of the conventional rural-urban dichotomy by what is known as the rural-urban continuum.

Marxist perspectives discussed the urban sociology from the economic and political dimension. Thus, for Marx, to explain any society involves first, an explanation of the laws and exigencies of the economic base and second, an explanation of the way in which these laws and exigencies determine the superstructure. Hence, for Marxist a rigorous economic analysis as a theoretical and methodological prerequisite of any historical materialist analysis is prerequisite.

Post Modernism Perspectives assumed frequently call attention to the contingent or socially-condition and nature of knowledge claims and value systems, situating them as products of particular political, historical, or cultural discourses and hierarchies. Accordingly, postmodern thought is broadly characterized by tendencies to self-preferentiality, epistemological and moral relativism, pluralism, and irreverence.

## **2.9. KEY TERMS**

**Ecology:** The study of the interrelationship among organisms living in a particular environment, their adjustments to each other and to their environment.

**Folk Society:** An ideal type or abstract model developed by Robert Redfield to describe a kind of society that contrast with modern urbanized society.

**Post Modernist:** Post modernism was a generic social condition and not just a new creative style or body of theory.

## 2.10. ANSWER TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Chicago school of thought is first of its kind to deal with urban sociology in systematic and empirical way.
2. Robert E Park, Burgess, R Mckenzie and Wirth were prominent sociologist worked on urban sociology.
3. Park understanding of urban sociology is greatly interpreted from the human and ecological dimensions. He described; Human ecology is an attempt to apply to the interrelations of human beings a type of analysis previously applied to the interrelations of plants and animals.
4. Human ecology was the theoretical framework and methodology for urban condition.
5. A diagram of the ecological structure which, in the words of its author, 'represents an ideal construction of the tendencies of any city to expand radially from its central business district.
6. Hoyt criticize the Burgess model to be a very simplistic and it is applied only for American city type not for European.
7. In the absence of any precedent it is define human ecology as a study of the spatial and temporal" relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment.
8. The folk type of society is characterized as a society which is small, isolated, non-literate, and homogeneous, with a strong sense of group solidarity.
9. The urban societies are large, densely populated and heterogeneous. Social relationships are, generally speaking, anonymous, impersonal, and formal. Complex social organization and highly specialized function character multiple structures. Mass society

allows considerable personal freedom which facilitates diverse interest and beliefs.

Society is held together not by personal bonds but by mutual dependence.

10. The theoretical and conceptual work of these contributors - notably Castells, Lojkin, Lefebvre, Mingione, Preteceille and Lamarche
11. The growth of collective consumption is part of the overall growth of consumption in capitalist society.
12. Postmodernism is a broad movement that developed in the mid to late 20th century across [philosophy](#), [the arts](#), [architecture](#), and [criticism](#), marking a departure from [modernism](#).
13. Jane Jacobs.

## 2.11. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define Human ecology and discuss the theoretical understanding describe by R E Park.
2. What is the concentric zone theory? Critically analyse the expansion of city as explained by Burgess.
3. Describe the theoretical explanations of McKenzie.
4. What do you understand by rural urban continuum?
5. How did Marxist explain the theory on urban?
6. Discuss the post modernist approach on urban theory.

## 2.12. FURTHER READINGS

- BURGESS Ernest W. Burgess, “The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project,” in *The City*, Robert E. Park et al. (eds.) (1925). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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**UNIT III: URBANIZATION IN INDIA STRUCTURE**

3.0. Introduction

3.1. Unit Objectives

3.2. Pre-Colonial

3.3. Colonial

3.4. Post-Colonial

3.5. Factors of Urbanization

3.6. Summary

3.7. Key Terms

3.8. Answer to Check Your Progress

3.9. Question and Exercises

3.10. Further Reading

### **3.0. INTRODUCTION**

India has been one of the early civilizations in the world. The essence of urbanization experience and structures are evidently found in many different regions of the Indian peninsula. Indus valley civilization to southern part of the civilization to eastern part of the Indian region reveals the richness of urban culture and life.

The urbanization in India can be profoundly explained in various stages of development of cities from the beginning of the historical period. The development and growth of the cities could be demonstrated at four levels - Ancient City, Pre-Colonial, Colonial and Post Colonial.

### **3.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES**

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the historical development of urban and urbanization
- compare the various levels and type of urban growth
- Interpret the various perspectives of urban structure
- Understand the pattern of urbanization and their problems

### **3.2. PRE-COLONIAL**

#### **Ancient city**

The beginning of urbanization in the Indian subcontinent can trace back to the period of 2350 BC (about 4500 years ago) to the Indus valley regions. Even prior to this, there is ample archaeological evidence of Palaeolithic and Neolithic settlements in northern, central and southern India and in the border regions of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. In all these areas, the practice of agriculture and the domestication of animals were clearly in evidence. Together with these developments we also have evidence of wheel- thrown pottery and painted ware of great artistic beauty. The variety and range of tools used by these village people show progressive

improvement, particularly in terms of the materials out of which they were made. Thus, stone implements have way to copper and later to bronze implements. It is at this stage of cultural and technological development that the larger village settlements showed distinct urban attributes thus ushering in an era of urbanization.

### **Check your progress**

1. What was the tools symbolizing urbanity?
2. How a place was identified to be a urban area?

### **Nature of the evidence**

Our understanding of the origins of the earliest cities is based entirely on archaeological evidence obtained from excavation of the ruins of the early settlements. From this evidence, a fairly thorough understanding of the physical aspects of city development, such as the spatial extent of the cities, the layout of their streets, the types of structures and dwellings, and the materials of which they were made. There is concrete evidence of pottery showing variations in the technique of its production and the artistry of its appearance, of tools made of stone and metals, and of articles such as clothing, food grains, and the various types of domesticated animals. Writing in baked tabloids provides additional information about the social and cultural life of the people, although the writing as such has not so far been deciphered. We have a few skeletal remains of humans from which inferences regarding their racial origins can be drawn. There is, however, no literary evidence. Though the archaeological evidence, unlike literary evidence, uncovers the truth as it was, and cannot lie, the lack of literary evidence is a serious handicap in our understanding of the prehistoric societies in their totality. An important aspect of the evidence has to do with the problem of dating the ruins. This is normally done by either of

two methods – the stratigraphic method or the radio- carbon dating method each has its pitfalls and the actual dating by all reckoning can only be approximate. However, vertical digging in the same area provides a chronological sequence of evidence on human habitations.

### **Diffusion versus independent origin**

Opinions differ as to the manner in which the earlier cities in the Indus valley region originated. Earlier archaeological studies, mainly by western scholars, were emphatically of the view that the central idea of the urban way of life came to the Indus valley from Mesopotamia, possibly by chance migration of people. The salient features of the civilization in Mesopotamia and in the Harappa cities are the same- these include wheel- turned pottery, the art of writing, the location of the urban settlement on the banks of rivers, the practice of agriculture and so on. Besides, the Indus valley is not far from Mesopotamia, where cities, thus allowing sufficient time for the diffusion of the idea from Mesopotamia to the Indus valley. Interaction between the two areas, at least in the later stages of the Harappan civilization, is indicated by the presence of Harappan coins in Sumerian cities and Sumerian coins in the port city of Lothal, a Harappan city.

However, except for contemporary trade, the evidence of diffusion of the city way of life becomes unsustainable on closer examination. Harappan agriculture was purely rain-fed and dependent in past on the natural flooding of the plains. No elaborate irrigation works existed. The motifs, shapes, and artistic expressions on pottery and other objects in the Harappan civilization are distinctly of indigenous origin. The system of writing, as yet undeciphered, is obviously different from its Mesopotamian counterpart. Harappan cities are bereft of defensive walls and other aspects of city structure differ markedly from the Mesopotamian cities. Coins and weights are entirely new and are of a different design. Thus, there is no doubt that the city way of life was not transplanted in to by people migrating from Mesopotamia to the Indus valley.



However, certain specific ideas, such as the techniques of making copper from its ore and of wheel- turned pottery could have been borrowed from west Asia. The growing evidence appears to favour the indigenous origin of the Harappan cities, with some diffusion of ideas from west Asia.

### **The people of the harappan civilization**

Any civilization is a product of its people. Who were the Harappan? A rather unnecessary but persistent question is whether the Harappans were Aryans or Dravidians the two major ethno-cultural groups in India. This question needs to be answered at two levels. Firstly, at the social and cultural level, the main point to be emphasized is that of discontinuity. The Harappan culture pre-dates the early Aryan culture of northern India and the Dravidian culture of the south by nearly a thousand years. The high level of meticulously planned urban spatial organization revealed in the Harppan culture is nowhere in evidence, either in the south or in the north, even after a thousand years. There is no continuity in writing, the art of pottery, or in the detailed technology of agriculture. However aspects of Harappan culture and have filtered through other transitional cultures into both the Aryan and Dravidian realms. At the second level, there is concrete evidence from human skeletal remains in the ruins of Harappan cities. From this a number of racial types have been identified- proto- Australoid, Mediterranean, mongoloid and alpine, of which the Mediterranean is predominant. The presence of different racial elements points towards a composite culture, with influences coming from far and wide. But as both the Aryans and the Dravidians belong to the Mediterranean group, no meaningful conclusions can be derived from this evidence. Nevertheless, experts are hardly in a position to contradict the layman's view that the Harappan culture and people were products of the Indian subcontinent that in course of time fused into the slowly evolving composite Indian culture.

## **The Harappan culture**

The Harappan was primarily an agricultural people. Like the Mesopotamians, the Harappan people settled on fertile plains where flood waters provided a means of natural irrigation. However, unlike the Mesopotamians, the Harappan did not develop an elaborate system of irrigation, involving weirs and channels. The plough was not known to the Harappans; instead they used the harrow for tilling the soil. Barley, wheat, peas and sesamum were the chief crops. In addition, cotton and rice unknown in other parts of the world then, were also grown. Domesticated animals were sheep, cattle, buffaloes, pig, dogs and camels. Among the metals, copper and bronze were used for tool making, while iron was absent. Wheel-turned pottery is a distinctive feature of this culture. Further, gold and silver were used for making items of jewellery and vessels. Stone and bronze sculptures and terracotta animals, birds, snakes, fish, spindles and toys, testify to a high degree of artistic development. Cotton textiles were a very important industry. The art of writing was known and a script using about 250 characters or signs was in use. A system of weights and measures based on binary and decimal modes was current. The figures on seals reveal the worship of deities of both sexes- male forms such as the linga and the bull representing perhaps Shiva, the nude female figurines representing the mother goddess.

The Harappan culture has all the attributes of a fully developed urban society supported by rural villages around the larger urban centres. The city proper supported a class of non-farmers. At the head of this society was a high priest or king supported by a coterie of nobles. The uniformity of culture throughout the length and breadth of the Indus valley region, reveals the role of a central political influence, or in other words the existence of an empire, ruled possibly from the twin capitals of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Such a political organization calls

for a high degree of social stratification and hierarchy. However, evidence in this regard is indirect and circumstantial, as will be seen in the following sections.

### **Check your progress**

3. What kinds of animals were domesticated?
4. Which metal were not common for the civilization?
5. Do you agree there was high degree of division of labor in the Civilization as a symbol of urbanization? write in few lines.

### **City structure and planning**

The two cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa represent the climax of urban development attained in the Harappa culture. Both these cities are now in Pakistan. There were, however, other cities in the region, some in India, which do not show the same degree of development. These towns were smaller and perhaps functional, not as capital cities, but as regional centres. Lothal, the third major city of this period was a major port on the Gulf of Cambay. The other cities and towns were located at Kalibangan and Banwali in Rajasthan and Harayana respectively, Surkotada in Kachchh and Rangpur and Rojdi in the Kathiawar peninsula. All these towns are located in India. In addition, the ruins of over a hundred lesser sites of Harappan settlements probably representing larger villages have also been discovered in India.

The purpose of this section is to examine the salient urban morphological characteristics of the major cities and towns, and aspects of the settlement system. The two most important cities, namely, Mohenjodaro and Harappa, show remarkable similarities in their urban morphology. Each is located on the banks of a navigable river- Mohenjodaro on the Indus and Harappa on the river Ravi. The city consisted of two components are: (1) a citadel, built on the

high ground and (2) a lower city, where the vast majority of the population lived. The citadel was always located on the western side of the city, the significance of which is not known. It consisted of a number of larger structures and the whole area was fortified by walls. Within the citadel, there were structures with large halls and palatial residence for the nobles and high priests. In addition, the citadel had the well known great bath and the stage granary. The nature of the structures testifies to the fact that the citadel was indeed the real capital where the rulers of the Harappan people resided.

City was divided into two the lower and the proper which was built on a grid pattern the streets were aligned east-west and north – south. The city had an elaborate drainage system, where the main drainage channels along the main streets were fully covered, with the manholes to facilitate periodic cleaning. The city also had a separate storm water drainage system. Water supply for the city population was available from brick- lined wells inside the larger residence, which were about a metre in diameter.

Residence of ordinary citizens varied in size from single-roomed barracks to multi-roomed houses and palatial structures with outer walls. Some of the houses had two or three floors. Thus the city was well-to-do citizens as well as poor as poor artisans and labourers. All the residential structures were built with fired bricks of uniform size, indicating standardization, a fundamental principle in the mass production of bricks. Individual houses also had baths and privies, thus providing basic urban amenities. The cities extended over an approximate area of more than two square kilometres and had as estimated population of around 30,000 persons. Mohenjodaro is the older and larger of the two cities and it was rebuilt at least nine times in a span of six to eight hundred years. However, the rebuilding did not disturb the basic pattern of street layout, except in the later phases, when the rigid patterns were bit strictly adhered to.

Harappa is apparently a city built at a later point in time, as its sudden appearance on the landscape indicates, and it was perhaps built as a secondary capital to satisfy the needs of an expanding empire.

Lothal, located near a tributary of the Sabarmati River, was actually a sea port at the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay. It probably started as a fishing village and emerged as a major trading port under the influence of the Harappan Empire. Through Lothal, the Harappan established trade links with the outside world, in particular with the Mesopotamian cities. Besides trade, Lothal was also a centre of industry, as indicated by the presence of a variety of items like ivory objects, cotton goods, objects used in warfare such as daggers, spearheads and so on. The city was partly destroyed by floods in 2000 BC after which it lost its importance. A major flood around 1900 BC resulted in its final destruction.

### **Check your progress**

6. What was the importance of Lothal? Write in one paragraph.

Unlike the other two Harappan cities, Lothal was surrounded by a mud brick wall, which probably was a protective device against floods. On the other hand, Lothal had a structure similar to the other two cities. It consisted of two parts- the raised city in the west containing the major palatial buildings housing the ruling class, and the lower town with a market centre in the north, an industrial sector in the west and a residential area in the north- western part. There was a large dockyard in the eastern part, connected by an artificial channel to the river. In addition to Lothal, the Harappan people had several other port towns at Suktagendor, Sotka-koh, Bhagatrav, Tuda and somnath.

Among the smaller towns, Kalinbangam in Rajasthan has a typical Harappan city structure with lower and upper city areas, a grid pattern of streets without drains and buildings of inferior quality, indicating both a lower status of the town, as a declining phase of urbanization. Another sea port, on a smaller scale than Lothal, was located on the Makran coast in Baluchistan, having a dockyard in addition to the citadel and lower town. The other smaller towns did not have citadels, indicating their lower status in the urban hierarchy. Thus, the Harappan towns and cities revealed variations in form, structure and functions.

The total picture and scale of urbanization in the Harappan civilization is yet to emerge as newer sites are discovered and investigation made. Nevertheless, considering the spatial extent of the harappan culture, which extended from Baluchistan to western Uttar Pradesh, towns and cities were indeed few in number and probably accounted for less than five per cent of the total harappan population.

### **City and Country Relations**

The Harappan city encompassed a few larger cities, a number of smaller towns, and a very large number of rural villages. The relations between the urban centres and the villages may be inferred from the mass of archaeological evidence. It would appear from the evidence, that the rural villages were mainly concerned with agriculture, although a few industries such as pottery making and textiles for ordinary wear were also present. The city produced a greater variety of goods, both luxury items such as jewellery expensive clothing, and artistic ware, and articles of everyday use, including metal ware and tools. Thus the cities were as much centres of production of goods as the villages. Agriculture was unimportant in the city; but, on the other hand, the city has a class of people who enjoyed leisure and power and were responsible for the welfare and security of the entire society. The villages and the cities shared a common culture in terms of

language, religion, customs and beliefs. The city provided the leadership at the cultural, political and economic levels. There was no conflict of interests between the city and the country and the relationship was one of mutual co-operation and harmony.

The emergence of the earliest cities generated a 'little traditions' based on common beliefs and mythology which unified rural and urban society. This society was literate, in the sense that the art of writing was known and records of various transactions between the country and the city were maintained. The ruler of the empire acted also as the chief priest and was responsible not only for the maintenance of law and order, but also for dispensing justice to the entire population. Thus, the relationship between the city and country encompassed all aspects of life- cultural, political and economic.

### **Check your progress**

7. What kinds of goods were produce by the city?

### **The decline of Harappan cities**

The Harappan cities flourished during the period 2400 BC to about 1900BC. From then on, till about 1700 BC, the urban settlements became smaller and their general condition deteriorated. The physical extension of the housed into the well planned streets, the partitioning of housed and courtyards, the mixing up of residential and non-residential uses, and the deterioration in quality of the drainage systems, all point towards slow urban decline. This decline may partly be explained by the growth of population and the increasing pressure on the city's available land area. The progressive decline occurred over a period of two centuries, until ultimately the cities were abandoned for some reason still unknown to us.

The decline and eventual disappearance of the Harappan civilization is often put down to either natural disaster or deliberate destruction by an invading army. The probable natural causes for the disappearance of this culture are flood, droughts and pestilence. Most Harappan cities were located on the banks of major rivers and were highly vulnerable to devastation by floods; however, floods could not have destroyed all the cities at one time. Harappan agricultural technology even at its zenith was weak- the plough was not known and metals such as copper and bronze were sparingly used for tool making. It is quite possible that a general decline in the fertility of the land aggravated by frequent droughts destroyed the very base of the urban superstructure which was dependent on agricultural surpluses. The increasing pressure of population in cities, with concomitant overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions at the later stages, could have produced devastation pestilence thus reducing the population and sapping its vitality. Whether the Harappan culture was ultimately destroyed by nature or by man, it undoubtedly came to an end by about 1800 BC. Harappan town planning, so highly developed as to be the envy of even modern- day town planners, never again reappeared in the Indian subcontinent. It is indeed unfortunate that the successors to the Harappan culture did not make any attempts to carry forward the levels of perfection in town planning attained by the Harappan.

The second phase of urbanization in India began around 600 BC. The architects of this phase were the Aryans in the north and the Dravidians in the south. These parallel and independent urban developments are later culturally interlinked by large-scale migration of Aryan people to southern India, particularly the Brahmanas and Jain and Buddhist monks, starting from around 300 BC. Thus, during the later historical periods, the cities of the north and the south were intimately tied to each other through cultural and economic interaction.



The second phase of urbanization is in many ways more important to us, because from this time onwards, urbanization became a permanent feature of the Indian landscape. The oldest existing cities in India- Varanasi and Patna(Pataliputra) in the north and Madurai and Kancheepuram in the south, originated around 500 BC and are symbolic of India's long urban heritage.

The early historical period covers nearly a thousand years of urban history. This period may be divided into three parts in northern India, consisting of the post – Vedic period, the Mauryan period and the Post- Mauryan period. These periods indicate the early origins of urbanization, its climax in the Mauryan period, and later its decline. In southern India, urbanization originated in the Pre- Sangam period and rose to great heights during the Sangam period, which saw the emergence of literary classics in Tamil.

### **The Nature of Evidence**

Unlike the first phase of prehistoric urbanization, the second phase of Aryan and Dravidian urbanization is substantiated by the great literary texts of this period. The Rig Veda is the oldest of our great religious texts and it belongs to the pre- urban phase of Aryan culture. The Rig Veda is followed by a number of Vedic texts such as the Dharmashastra and Dharmasutras belonging to the period 600 to 300 BC, wherein references are made to the presence of urban places. Panini's great grammatical work also belongs to this period and so do the various Jain and Buddhist religious texts written in the Pali language, using the Brahmi script or in variants. The Arthashastra of Kautilya provides a wealth of information on the urban centres of the Mauryan period. The great epics, the Ramayan of *Valmiki* and Mahabharata of *VyasaMuni* were written in the post-Mauryan period, although the actual events may have belonged to earlier times. The Kamsutra of Vatsayana, Mahabhashya of Patanjali, Manusmriti and the Puranas

provide a mine of information on urbanization during the post- Mauryan phase. The literary evidence during the later time periods tends to exaggerate and glorify cities and much of the descriptions fictional rather than factual. Archeological evidence in support of the existence of early Aryan cities is not altogether lacking; nevertheless, there are no spectacular remains of ancient cities comparable to the Harappan phase. This is mainly because the Aryans used wood and other perishable materials for building their cities, thus leaving behind very little archaeological evidence.

For southern India, literary evidence exists in the Tamil language. The earliest phase of Tamil literature is known as the Sangam period, dating back from 500 BC to AD 200. This phase of Tamil literature includes the *Tolkappiam*, a grammatical work, the epics of *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekhalai*, the philosophical work of *Tirukkural* and a number of other works. All these texts together provide a picture of the emergence of early Tamil kingdoms and of urban centres, besides information on Tamil society and culture. The literature during this period also shows indirect and direct influences of Jainism and Buddhism, and of the Brahmanical religion of northern India.

### **Urban Origins in the post- Vedic period**

The Rig Veda describes the Aryans as a pastoral and agricultural people of rural origin and the proud destroyers of an alien culture. The pro-rural bias of the Rig Veda finds sympathetic echo in the later Brahmanical texts such as the *dharmasastra* and *dharmasutras*. The Aryans came to India in several migrational waves and over a period of several centuries between 2000 BC and 1500 BC. They first settled in the valley of the Indus and its tributaries and later, in the post- Rig Vedic period, their domain was extended to the upper Yamuna and Ganga plains.

The Post-Vedic period, 800 to 600 BC, the centre of the Aryan homeland had shifted to the upper Yamuna and Ganga basins, which were inhabited by the two principal Aryan tribes the *Kurus* in the area around Delhi and the *Panchalas* in the upper Ganga- Ghaghara Doab near Bareilly. There were many other Aryans tribes, who fought incessant wars among themselves and with the non- Aryan groups. The territorial feuds led to the emergence of small kingdoms, which necessitated the building of capital cities and palaces, and the rise of elitist classes of nobles, militia and priests. The earliest cities of this period were Hastinapura, sravasthi, Kapilavastu, Ujjain, Mahishamati, Champa, Rajgir, Ayodhya, Varanasi and Kausambi. The location of most of these cities of supported by archaeological evidence in addition to the literary evidence.

According to the Aitareya and Taitareya Upanishads, the Aryan country or Arya Varta was divided into eight janapadas or tribal territories. Later, through territorial conquest and expansion, the janpadas increased in number and size and in time 16 Mahajanapadas came to be recognized. This process of expansion and consolidation of Arya Varta continued into the later periods. Territorial expansion increased the power of the kings, who could now make land grants and impose taxes, while the role of the popular assemblies, a characteristic feature of the early Vedic period, vanished. The king was assisted by the Brahmanas; the art of writing was still unknown and there is no direct evidence of it as yet. The Ashokan edicts are the earliest written records of India which have been deciphered. These were written either in the brahmi or kharosthi script in the Prakrit language. Panini's *Astadhyayi*, however, belongs to an earlier period and this work must have required the use of a written script. It is possible, therefore, that the art of writing existed earlier than 500 BC.

The cities of the post-Vedic period were few and far between mention has been made of about a dozen cities of this period, which is comparatively small number for the large area in which Aryans had already settled. However, it is important to note that cities emerged and began to play a key role in Aryan society which changed from an egalitarian society to one with marked differences within the various sections of people. The emergence of the cities resulted in the rise of secular power of the kshatriyas. This struggle resulted in the emergence of kshatriya religious movements as exemplified by the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. The new religious movements were essentially urban oriented. They not only held city life as legitimate, but in fact went so far as to praise it. This is very evident from the Buddhist and Jain texts. As opposed to this, the later Vedic literature is totally contemptuous of urban places and urban people. It assigned a lower status to the Vaishya, who played a key role in urban commerce.

The emergence of cities in the Post- Vedic period is to be attributed, in the final analysis, to economic forces. The Aryans were essentially an iron- age people, while the Harappan was unaware of iron. Iron tools are an important component of the Aryan period. Iron was used for making axes, saws and agricultural implements. The use of iron was important in many ways for setting the stage for urbanization. First, it made it possible to clear the thick forests of the Ganga plains for cultivation. The early Aryan settlements were located close to the foothills of the Himalayas as far east as southern Nepal and from this region they expanded southwards along the river valleys. The use of iron was of vital importance in widening the area of settlement. Secondly, the use of iron ploughs and draught animals, mainly oxen, helped to generate a large surplus of food which contributed to the emergence of cities. Thirdly, iron was important in the manufacture of horse-driven chariots for warfare and ox-driven carts for

transportation. These also contributed to the increased mobility of the population and helped trade and commerce, a basic economic factor leading to urbanization.

The houses of this period, both in the villages and in the cities, were made of mud walls, timber and thatch. Baked bricks were also in use, but rather sparingly, as is evident from the poverty of archaeological finds of buildings in the early cities of this period in Kurukshetra and Hastinapur. The paucity of archaeological evidence is also due to the small number of field investigation that has been carried out so far.

### **The Mauryan period**

This period is extremely rich in terms of literary sources of information, the most important being kautilya's arthashastra, the Buddhist texts and the travel accounts of Fa –Hsien and Megasthenes. There is a result, a voluminous account of urbanization and city life during this period. Some, at least, of the literary accounts are gross exaggeration, as many a city is described as having insurmountable walls, deep moats, wide streets, large gates, sky-rocketing mansions, busy markets, parks and lakes. Furthermore, all cities are described in a similar literary style with little variation in content. The archaeological excavations provide far more convincing evidence of urbanization during the period. This period also witnessed the introduction of aspects of Greek architecture and scientific knowledge in India's urban landscape, brought about by Alexander's invasion in 326 BC.

**The Growth of Cities:** From the post- Vedic period to the Mauryan period, there is once again a major eastward shift in the position of the Indian cultural heartland. By this time, the lower Ganga plains had been fully inhabited and the centre of gravity had shifted from the Kuru and Panchala country around Delhi to the Magdh region in Bihar. The smaller janapadas have way to the Mahajanapadas around 600 BC, which gave rise to the Magadhan empire around 300

BC. However, the concept of janapadas as politico- administrative units continued to be accepted and their number increased from eight in the post- Vedic period to over 230 by about AD 500. All the janapadas continued to be administered or sometimes ruled by local kings from a capital city located in the centre of each janapada. The growth of janapadas and empires encouraged urbanization. The cities increased in number size and the complexity of their internal structure and functions. The relations between the city and countryside also underwent important changes.

**Types of Towns:** The complexity of urbanization during the Mauryan period is indicated by the presence of different types of towns in addition to the capital or administrative city. The Buddhist texts give a typology of cities of this period. The most important categories of towns were: Rajadhaniya Nagara, Sthaniya Nagara, Kharvata, Kheta, Putabhedana, Nigana, Pattana and Dronamukha. The first four are administrative towns at four hierarchical levels, the Rajadhaniya being the capital city and the largest of all cities. The Sthaniya Nagara, according to Kautilya, was the capital of a janapada., which at this time had the status of province within an empire. The Kharvata Nagara was the focal point of about 200 villages- smaller than a Sthaniya Nagara which covered 800 villages. The Kheta was a small town comparable to the Kharvata but it was located in a hostile territory within the empire and therefore treated with disdain by the rulers.

The last four types refer to commercial cities. Of these, the Putabhedana was a large commercial centre specializing in wholesale trade. The Nigama was an ordinary market centre (the term itself refers to an organization of merchants). The Pattana was a coastal trading town, while the Dronamukha was located at the mouth of a river and served as a port city.

In addition, there were cities of permanent character specialized centers of learning and religion, arts and crafts, and medicine. The well known educational cities of Taxashila and Nalanda, however, belong to the post- Mauryan period.

### Check your progress

8. What is Sthaniya Nagara?
9. What was the name of educational cities?

The Internal Structure of Cities: The cities of this period resembled the early Aryan villages. They were all walled cities, rectangular or square, with four gates, one in the centre of each side. The city was surrounded by moats and walls, in some cases in a successive concentric manner. In the city were the king's palace, the council hall, the royal store house, buildings used for dramatic arts and sports, business quarters, and residences of ordinary people. Larger cities had market places and rest- houses for travelers.

Kautilya in his Arthashastra describes in some detail the internal structure of capital cities. A capital city should have three royal highways in the east-west direction and three in the north-south direction, dividing the city into 16 sectors, each sector having a specific type of land- use. These specific land- uses included the following: the palaces of the king, the ministers and the priests; the houses of dealers in flowers and perfumes; residences of warriors; warehouses and workshops; stables for elephants, camels and horses; records and audit offices; the labour colony; the royal armoury; residences of merchants; living quarters of courtesans and dancers; residences of craftsmen in wool, leather, etc; the royal treasury and mint; the residences of brahmanas and temples; houses of metal workers and workers in jewellery; and so on. The city's internal structure had acquired great variety and complexity. The city showed distinct levels of segregation in terms of occupations. Brahmanas, kshatriyas, and vaishyas lived in the better areas of the city which were located in the north and north-east. The vaishyas lived in the southern

parts of the city, while the sudras, who comprised the bulk of the artisan class, lived in the western part of the city. This section was also the industrial area of the city.

The streets had a standard width of about eight metres and formed a grid. The residents had to make their own arrangements for the disposal of rubbish. The larger houses had courtyards, pounding sheds, and latrines for the common use of the tenants. Security was a major obsession with the city fathers and, consequently, a complete record of the city population was maintained and the activities of strangers monitored.

**City Administration:** Kautilya's Arthashastra gives details of Mauryan urban administration. The city was under the charge of a nagaraka or mayor, just as the village was under the charge of the village headman or mukhya. However, the mayor was subordinate to the samaharta or the minister in charge of municipal affairs. The duties of the nagaraka included the inspection of the city's water supply and the maintenance of the roads, public grounds, subterranean passages and the city's defences such as the wall, tower and moat. The town was divided into four wards, each in the charge of a sthanika, and each ward was divided into gopas which consisted of between 10 and 40 households. The arrival and departure of visitors to the city – guests of city residents, travellers, sandhus, and merchants – were kept track of by the city's espionage network. The citizens were forbidden to move about the city in the night. The city also had a police force. According to Megasthenes, the city was ruled by a committee of 30 members, subdivided into six committees of five members each. These committees were in charge of: (1) factories, (2) foreigners, (3) births and deaths, (4) markets, weights and measures, (5) inspection of manufactured goods, and (6) sales tax. According to Kautilya, however, these functions were performed not by committees but by Adhyakshas or superintendents appointed by the ruler. The city legal system consisted of courts at three levels: the locality, the caste and



the clan level. In addition to these courts, the various occupational guilds also settled disputes among their members.

### **Check your progress**

10. What is the term for the city in- charge?

**City Industry:** The Mauryan city was also a centre of the manufacturing industry. Each specific industry was allotted a certain area within the city. In addition, the city was often surrounded by craft villages. These villages were more or less homogeneous in terms of occupation and specialization in some activity. Thus, there were villages of reed makers, salt makers, potters and so on. Within the city itself, there was great variety of crafts and industries. The sixty-odd industries mentioned may be grouped into 11 categories as follows: (1) textiles, (2) carpentry and woodwork, (3) metal work including smiths and jewellery, (4) stone work, (5) glass industry, (6) bone and ivory work, (7) perfumery, (8) liquor and oil manufacture, (9) leather industry, (10) clay works including pottery, terracotta figure making, modelling and brick making, and (11) other miscellaneous industries such as making garlands, combs, baskets and musical instruments, and painting. An advanced system of guilds or shrenis of industrial labour regulated the manufacture of goods. The guilds of merchants dealing in various goods were called Nigamas.

### **The Post- Mauryan Period**

Cities, and along with them the urban way of life, began to decline from around the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. This is lucidly described by Fa- Hsein and Hiuen Tsang who visited India during the periods AD 405-11 and AD 630-44, respectively. The accounts of these foreign travellers about the state of urban centres are further supported by Indian writers, notably Vatsayana, and the overwhelming archaeological evidence available to us today. The literary accounts describe

the utter ruin and abandonment of a number of well-known cities of the earlier period. The list of cities that were in a state of decline includes: Taxashila, Mathura, Sravasthi, Kausambi and Pataliputra. In spite of the adverse conditions for urban growth during this period, a few cities still managed to maintain their former splendour, for example, the cities of Kanauj and Nalanda.

The reasons often attributed for the decline of urban centres in the Post- Mauryan period are many and varied: (1) the frequent recurrence of natural calamities such as famines, pestilence, fire, floods and earthquakes, took a heavy toll of urban population. (2) the political factor was no less important. The decline of well-administered empires and their replacement by the rule of feudal chiefs resulted in the exploitations of peasants and artisans alike. Capital cities, particularly the larger ones, were abandoned, as they no longer served as seats of government. (3) foreign invasions, particularly those of the Hunas who entertained anti-Buddhist sentiments, resulted in the deliberate destruction of many Buddhist centres in north-western India and also in the Ganga plains, though to a lesser extent. (4) In addition to the foreign invaders, the internecine wars between feudal chiefs also contributed to the destruction of urban places. (5) Many cities in the Mauryan period had emerged directly as a consequence of the many urban centres also lost their former importance. (6) The prosperity of earlier times was essentially due to a very productive agricultural base and the growth of crafts and industries. These had been protected and encouraged by kings. With the decline of the empires and kingdoms and the rise of petty feudal chiefs, agriculture and industry became less productive, and concomitantly urban centres began to decline.

### **Urbanization in South India**

The story of the second phase of Indian urbanization, up to this point, has largely been confined to the north. However, the extreme southern part of India, which comprises the two

states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala, witnessed an independent process of urbanization resulting in the emergence of a distinctly Dravidian ( as different from Aryan) culture.

The first phase of urbanization in India, namely the Harappan phase, the resulted in the establishment of urban centres a far south as the mouths of the rivers Narmada and Tapti and in the Malwa plateau. There is district archaeological evidence of the spread of Harappan culture deep into the Deccan plateau. However, as in northern India, there is no continuity between the harappan phase of urbanization and the Dravidian phase of urban development. The origins of the Dravidian phase of urbanization may be traced to around the 5<sup>th</sup> BC. Unlike the Aryan phase of urbanization, the origins of the Dravidian phase are of not fully understood and there is a need for further archaeological and historical enquiry in this direction. Nevertheless, the rough contours of the Dravidian phase of urbanization may be delineated from the available archaeological and literary evidence.

**The Urban Phase:** From the early chalcolithic settlements, there arose a distinct Dravidian culture with Tamil as the spoken language. The other Dravidian languages of today, such as Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam, originated at later points in time (roughly the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD onwards) as a result of Aryan influences in the south. The fact that the Dravidian culture attained a very high level, with urbanization as a concomitant process, is attested by known as the ‘Sangam’ literature. The position of Tamil in the south corresponds to that of Sanskrit in the north. However, while Sanskrit ceased to be a spoken language long ago, Tamil continues to be a spoken language to the present day.

The early Tamil literature of the Sangam period consists of works on grammar, collections of early poetry, epics and discussions on philosophy and culture. The earliest works, such as the Tolkappiam and its predecessors could have been written only in an urban context.

The two major Tamil epics, namely, Silappadikaram and Manimekhalai deal with urban societies in the Pandya and Chera kingdoms. Thus, the classical Tamil literature provides ample evidence of an independent urban civilization in the south. The major Tamil cities were Madurai, Vanji, Urayur, Puhar and Korkai, which served as the capital cities of the early Tamil kingdoms of the Pandyas, Cholas and Cheras. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of the Mauryan king, mentions the southern cities of Madurai and Kancheepuram and the Pandyan kingdom in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Kautilya in his Arthashastra refers to the trade between the Mauryan empire and the cities of Madurai and between the Mauryan empire and the cities of Madurai and Kancheepuram in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Pearls, metals (particularly gold) and fine textile products were imported from the south into the Mauryan Empire. The literary evidence indicated the existence of cities in south India as far back as the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Naturally, then, Dravidian cities did not come about all of a sudden, nor did the Tamil culture and its literature emerge out of a vacuum. There are indications that city life perhaps emerged in the south even before the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. However, the evidence available to us is not conclusive.

### **Check your progress**

11. Name those major cities of Tamil?

**Salient Features of Urbanization:** From early times, the Tamil country, which included in the two southern states of India, was divided into four Mandalams equivalent to the Mahajanapadas of the north, though differing from the Janapadas in terms of their non-tribal origins. The Mandalams were further subdivided into smaller territorial units called Nadus and Kottams. A king ruled over the Mandalams, while chieftains ruled over the smaller territorial units and paid tribute to the king. Accordingly, a system of cities emerged with capital cities at their apex and

smaller towns forming the focal points of the lower territorial orders. In addition, there were a number of port cities, specializing in international trade.

In the early Tamil cities the king's palace and the temples were enclosed within four walls, but the cities as a whole did not have walls. In the main city, the buildings were made of bricks and tiles, cemented by mortar. The poor, however, lived in huts made of thatch with mud floors. Different communities lived in segregated streets. The major components of Tamil society in the Sangam period were the Parpanars (Brahmans), Arasars (nobles), Vellalars (peasants) and the Vaniyars (traders).

The major cities of the period were Puhar, the Chola port and coastal capital, Uraiyur, the Chola inland capital, Korkai, the Pandya coastal capital, Madurai, the Pandya inland capital, Musiri, the Chera port, and Vanji or Karur, the Chera inland capital. Thus, a distinctive feature of the southern kingdom. Kanchi (Kancheepuram of today) was the inland capital of the Tondaimandalam, the fourth territorial unit of the Tamil country.

The southern cities carried on a flourishing trade with the Arabs, and later the Greeks and the Romans. Early contact with the Hebrew kingdoms of Sumeria (in Mesopotamia) around 1000 BC is indicated by the use of Tamil words in Hebrew for peacocks and monkeys. The Pandya kings sent emissaries to the Rome's court in the second century AD, and the presence of numerous kinds of Roman coins in south India testifies to the volume of trade between the south Indian ports and Europe.

Distinctive aspects of Dravidian urbanization: in general south India, and particularly the Tamil country, shows remarkable continuity in urban traditions from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC to the present. While some of the earlier urban centres such as Uraiyur, Puhar and Korkai exist only as ruins today, others, particularly Madurai and Kancheepuram, have withstood the vagaries of

Indian history remarkably well. One major factor contributing to this continuity is the near absence of foreign invasions which characterize the history of north India. The south was protected from the Muslim invasions of the medieval period, and although Aryan influences penetrated into the region from as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the south always maintained a cultural identity of its own. Aryan influences, starting with the Buddhist and Jain monks who were based primarily at Kanchipuram in Tamil Nadu and Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh, were eventually absorbed within the local traditions. The process of fusion of the Aryan and Dravidian traditions did not generate a cultural hiatus, while in the north such a hiatus emerged inevitably as a result of the conflict between Islamic and Aryan traditions and cultures.

### **Urbanization in the medieval period (AD 600-1800)**

The decline of urban centres that began in the Gupta period (5th century AD) continued during the succeeding centuries in northern India, which witnessed during this period the political disintegration of the larger empires and the emergence of unstable dynastic regimes. The decline of Buddhism gave rise to the revival of Hinduism. The concept of Bharatavarsha now included the entire south as well as the north. Sankaracharya of Kaladi in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, who contributed in large measure to the revival of Vedic religion, travelled widely over the country and established four maths in the four corners of Bharatavarsha- Joshimath in the Himalayan region, Puri in Orissa, Dwarka in Gujarat and Srinagar in Karnataka. These centres have emerged as urban places of great religious importance wielding enormous influence all over India. The most significant aspect of these places is their continuity through history to present times. During the period under discussion, the decline of urban centres in the north was paralleled by the emergence of powerful Hindu kingdoms and urban centres in south India. Urbanization in north India, on the other hand, further suffered from Muslim invasions from the

north-west. The story of urbanization during this period is a story of turmoil in the North and rapid growth in the south.

### **The rise of urbanization in the south ( AD 600- 1300 )**

In the late Vedic period (800 to 400 BC), two major centres of urbanization were prominent- the northern centre located in the middle Ganga basin and the southern one in the Tamil country. During the Mauryan period, urbanization spread to the lower Ganga valley. Orissa, Gujarat and Maharashtra, and much of the extensive territory lying between the two original centres of urbanization were dotted with cities. Cities such as Nasik, Puri, Cuttack, Broach ( Bharuch), Ujjain and Machilipatnam, served as a link between the northern and southern urban foci. During the medieval period (800 – 1300AD) urbanization in the entire south- the region south of the Vindhya mountains- received a strong stimulus and numerous cities came into existence. Urbanization during this period is closely identified with the rise and decline of kingdoms and dynasties. A major feature of the history of south India during this period was the remarkable influence of brahmanical religious customs and rituals and the role of the Sanskrit language. Beginning with the Satvahanas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and even the Pallavas, the south saw the emergence of kingdoms whose ruling dynasties were brahmanas. This largely explains the Aryan influence on the south and the dominance of the temple and the religio- political elite in southern cities.

The major kingdoms in the south during this period were the Chalukyas in Karnataka who ruled this territory between 600 and 800AD. Their capital at Vatapi (present-day Badami ) was a major city of this time. The Ishvakus established their rule in the Krishna – Godavari region and built many cities, including Nagarjunakonda and Dharanikota, which are in ruins today, as well as the cities of Vijayawada, Rajahmundry and Nellore which stand to the present

day. About the same time, the Pallavas of Kancheepuram rose to power (500-800 AD). They were followed by the Cholas, who ruled over the Tamil country for over 400 years from 900 to 1300AD. The cities in the south grew in number and included a large number of cities which are still well known today including Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Tiruchirappalli, Cuddalore, Nagapattinam and Tiruchendur, to name but a few. A major feature of all these cities is the presence of one or more temples which dominate the urban landscape. Indeed, the size of an urban place could be estimated by size of its dominant temple. Even today the approach of major cities in the south is indicated by the appearance of the temple Gopuram.

The Chalukyas and the Pallavas were replaced by the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan. They ruled from Malkhed (nearSholapur) in Maharashtra for about 200 years (750- 972 AD). The famous Ellora caves belong to this period. Other dynasties that ruled over this region were the later Chalukyas with their capital at Kalyani, the Hoysalas of Belur, theKakatiyasof Warangal and so on. Each kingdom was remarkable not only for the emergence of its capital city, but also for its numerous administrative and commercial centres. A large number of cities that originated during this period continue to exist today.

The medieval south Indian city had a distinct urban morphology which still holds for southern cities. The major feature of the city was the temple, which served as the focal centre. Around the temple there were one or more concentric squares of streets. The inner squares were occupied by the upper castes, particularly the brahmanas. The lower castes lived in the periphery of the city and often the lowest castes were not allowed to come near the temple. Streets leading outwards form the four gates (Gopurams) of the temple were mostly devoted to commercial activity and served as arterial roads of the city, linking the inner city with the periphery and the rural regions beyond.



### **Muslim Rulers and Urbanization in the North (AD 1000 to 1526 )**

Between AD 600 and 1000 urbanization in north India continued to make slow progress under the patronage of petty Hindu kingdoms. The Hunas, who destroyed many cities in the early historical period had by this time merged with the locally powerful Rajput clans. The Rajput kings established numerous towns in Marwad, Mewad and Malwa. The Palas of Bengal contributed to the urbanization of the Ganga delta. The old and established urban centres in the Ganga plains saw ups and downs with the rise and fall of countless dynasties.

The slow political disintegration in north India set the stage for Muslim invasions from Afghanistan. The initial forays were most disastrous for Indian cities. Thus, the seventeen invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni ravaged the cities of north-west and western India including the cities of Gujarat. However, the new Muslim rulers of India soon established themselves with their capital at Delhi. The earliest dynasty was the so-called slave dynasty of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. They were followed by the Khiljis, Tughluqs and later the Lodis. These successive dynasties built new cities within the present site of Delhi. Thus, within a span of few hundred years, the city of Delhi built by Ananga pala Tomara was replaced by that of Qutb-ud-din; later a new city was built nearby at Siri ( now in ruins ) by the Khiljis. The Tughluqs built an entirely enclosed township at Tugluqabad and still later Jahanpanah and Ferozabad came into existence to the north of the site of ancient Indraprastha. The Lodis shifted the capital from Delhi to Agra in 1506. Al-biruni and Ibn Batuta mention nearly fifty cities of importance during this period. Their lists show hardly any new city, most of the cities having existed long before this period. Urbanization by this time had reached every corner of northern India from Chittagong in the far east to Baroda (Vadodara) in the west and from Srinagar in the north to Dhar in the Malwa plateau. However, there were many areas in between, where cities were non- existent. In relation

to the previous time period, urbanization in the medieval period was rather subdued. The few capital cities established by the Muslim rulers, however, showed distinct signs of prosperity as reported by Ibn Batuta. The two leading urban centres of northern India from this time onwards were Delhi and Agra; and while Agra has lost much of its former glory as capital of an empire, Delhi continues to enjoy a premier position even today. Other Major cities in the north during this period were Mathura, Thaneshwar, Allahabad, Varanasi, Pataliputra, Gwalior, Ujjain, Dhar, Somnath, Meerut, Panipat, Broach, Baroda and Srinagar.

**Cultural hiatus in Indian Urbanization:** This period marks a major cultural shift in the Indian urban scene. For the first time, the Islamic influence made its distinct impact on the urban landscape. Mosques, forts, palaces, reflect Islamic art and values and the traditions of central Asia, the Arabs, and more specifically the Persians. As early as the Mauryan period, Indian cities saw the impact of foreign influences, primarily Iranian and Greek, in the arts and sciences, but these were absorbed into the indigenous culture. While the foreigners (Yavanas ) for a time were disliked, nevertheless, they were ultimately absorbed within the Varna system of Indian society. Such a fusion of cultures unfortunately did not occur following the Muslim invasions of India. The cultural thrust during this period was altogether of a different kind. It divided the people and the society into two camps for all time- the Muslims and the non- Muslims. Thus a cultural hiatus came into existence in India's urban landscape. At least in the initial stages, the Muslims were confined to the cities, while the villages followed the ancient religious traditions. A new Muslim urban culture arose, with the king, nobles and the military at its apex. Persian was invariably the court language and fashions were determined by Persian customs and manners. The ruling classes were mainly from Afghanistan, with smaller numbers of Turks and Mongols. Eventually, all these ethnic subgroups were absorbed into an Indian Muslim society that

consisted predominantly of converts. Thus, while the ethnic gap was narrowed, the cultural gap remained as wide as ever as between the Muslims and the Hindus. This cultural hiatus was conspicuous within all the cities as well as had become the focal point of an alien culture. While the city had a large or even dominant Muslim population, the villages were by and large predominantly Hindu. The anti-urban bias of the Vedic tradition received renewed support, and Hinduism began to shift to its original rural traditions. The Bhakti movements of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries in south India, which later spread to North India as well, tended to highlight the rural brahmanical tradition and provided a shield against alien urban influences. City and country were largely alienated from each other during this period, a phenomenon that was further strengthened under the British.

### **Check your progress**

12. What is the name of the foreign dynasty that established its city in north india?

### **Urbanization in the Mughal Period (1526-1800 AD)**

The Mughal period stands out as a second high watermark of urbanization in India, the first occurring during the Maurayan period. The country (essential northern India including Pakistan and Bangladesh ) attained a high level of political stability and economic prosperity under the Mughals over a period of about 300 years- a period long enough to establish cities on a sound footing. The Mughal period saw the revival of older established cities, the addition of a few new cities and the building of an impressive array of monumental structures in almost every major city of northern India, whose urban landscape today bears unmistakable testimony to the grandeur of Mughal architecture.

**The Extent and Level of Urbanization:** The Mughal Empire covered the whole of northern India from Assam to Gujarat, including present-day Pakistan and Bangladesh. The empire was divided into 15 Subas (provinces) , which were further subdivided into 105 Sarkars or districts. According to Abu-l Fazl, there were 2,837 towns in 1594; only the larger cities numbering around 180 are, however, actually mentioned in his works. All the provinces, whether Bengal in the west, or Lahore, Khandesh or Malwa to the south, Gujarat in the west, or Lahore, Multan or Kashmir in the north, contained many cities of importance besides numerous small towns and large villages of some consequence.

The overall urban system of this time was dominated by 16 large cities: Agra, Sikri, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Cambay, Ellichpur, Burhanpur, Ajmer, Ujjain, Mandu, Awadh, Lucknow, Varanasi; Jaunpur, Ujjain and Burhanpur are still one- lakh cities. Some of the cities mentioned above, for example, Sikri, have all but vanished, and all except Sikri had existed long before the Mughals came to India. The construction of the Mughals to urbanization in India cannot be measured in terms of the number of new cities that they established – there were few of these, such as Moradabad. But, on the other hand, the Mughals contributed in a large measure to the revival of existing urban centres.

### **Check your progress**

13. According to Abu-l Fazal how many towns and large cities were there 1594?

At the southern fringe of the Mughal Empire, the rise of the Marathas, the Bahmani kingdoms and Vijayanagar Empire, and finally the Nizam of Hyderabad, stimulated urban growth. Golcondo, Hyderabad, Bijapur and Aurangabad are outstanding examples of urban

development during this period. In addition, Pune became the centre of Maratha power and the city developed into a metropolis of great cultural and political importance.

Apart from the capital and administrative towns, the smaller towns received support from a class of feudal chiefs to whom the Mughal emperors gave large land grants. It does appear that, at least to some extent, the Mughal emperors were aware of the yawning cultural gap between the rural masses and the city rulers. In order to bring about closer contact, the intermediate functionaries were dispersed into different parts of the empire. These petty feudal lords helped in the process of land resettlement and the building of small towns. From the literary evidence, it becomes clear that the smaller urban places, noted for their craftsmen and for the large houses of the nobles and their henchmen, prospered considerably. All this led to an ever- expanding urban system, with a hierarchy of settlements, each performing a number of economic, administrative and military functions.

**The development of capital cities:** An integral and major aspects of urbanization, at every point of time in history and pre- history the scale and character of the capital cities. It is here that the maximum attention is paid and vast sums of money and labour invested. The capital city is invariably the largest and the most impressive city of the time, and the three Mughal capital cities were on exception. The capital originally established in Delhi in 1526, shifted to Agra, and then, during Akbar's time, an entirely new city was built at Fatehpur sikri, which lasted for barely 15 years. Later, under Shahjahan, the capital returned to Delhi with the building of Shahjahanabad- a planned city of great beauty and charm.

These three capitals differ from each other in many ways. Fatehpur sikri is unique among capital cities of the world in that its location was based on irrational considerations; the result was its abandonment within a period of 15 years mainly on account of inadequate water supply.

Agra, however, was a large city even before Sikander Lodi made it his capital. When the Mughals took over, they altered the appearance of Agra by building an impressive fort city. (The Taj lies outside the city proper) a major characteristic of Mughal cities was the Building of forts in which the entire royal entourage lived. The city of the ordinary people lay outside the fort, often surrounded by wall as in the case of Shahjanabad in Delhi. Unlike Agra, Shahjanabad is a well planned city with a wide central leading to the main gate of the red fort. On one side of this avenue- the Chandni Chowk- is a mosque, the Jama Masjid, a symbol of Islamic culture. The Chowk constituted the main market, while on either side of the central avenue were located the residence of nobles. The city proper is divided into Mohallas or localities, where the streets are narrow. The poorest people lived near the outer wall. Shahjanabad may be described as the urban jewel of the Mughal Empire.

The Internal Structure of Cities: Certain basic elements characterize the internal structure of cities and towns of this period. The first and the most conspicuous element was the palace of the king or the feudal lord of the area, which was located either on a river bank or high ground towards one end of the city. The palaces were the largest structures in the city with a number of buildings enclosed within a fort. The second major element was the mosque- the Jama Masjid- which became the cultural focal point of the Muslim residents of the city and continues to play the same role even today. The third element, not always present, was the outer wall, defending the city from invaders. All cities had gates for regulating entry. Some cities, in particular the city of Agra, grew beyond the outer wall, indicating rapid and uncontrolled growth. The fourth aspect has to do with the lack of planning of the city's road network. Except for Shahjahanabad, none of the Mughal cities had a regular of planned network of roads and streets. In fact, the internal structure of the Mughal cities was haphazard with overlapping residential, commercial and

industrial land uses. The entire area of the city was closely built with a very high density of population: new growth was accommodated in the suburbs, which were strung along the roads leading to the main gateways of the outer wall. Every city of this period had a market centre- the main Chowk or crossroads of the city. Adjoining the market centre were the homes of craftsmen and the centre of the local industry. The markets sold a variety of goods- textiles, food, metal and wooden objects, and so on, and attracted customers both from within and outside the city.

### **Check your progress**

14. What was the demerit of Mughal urbanization?

The larger residences and buildings of the Mughal cities were built of brick and mortar, while the smaller ones, which constituted the larger part of the city, were made of mud, wood and thatch. The cities by and large were poor in appearance and unclean or even filthy. This is indeed to be expected, as cities such as Delhi and Agra housed nearly 5,00,000 people. The poverty of the masses was clearly in evidence in all the cities; narrow, dusty streets and the lack of basic amenities such as drainage and water supply made living conditions intolerable. Some cities, however, were relatively better off than others. Thus, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad and Broach were poor and shabby in appearance. Most towns in this period looked like overgrown villages. To most European visitors of this time, Indian cities were rather unimpressive. The contrast between the rich and the poor in the cities was extreme- a phenomenon which continues to mar our urban scene even to the present day.

**Industry and Urbanization:** A major factor contributing to urbanization in the Mughal period was the growth of traditional industries such as textiles (cotton, silk and woollen) and metal work, and various arts and crafts. North Indian cities hummed with industrial activity. Whether in Dacca, Varanasi or Ahmedabad industry was a major urban activity and the markets of all the

cities were full of goods of high quality. This is amply testified by European travelers in India during this period. The crafts and industry were patronized by the rich. The craftsmen, however, came from the poorer sections of urban society. In earlier time periods, the craftsmen were Hindu; but during the course of Muslim rule from 1000 AD, and in particular during the Mughal period the skilled craftsmen were converted to Islam. This occurred partly in response to the pressure from the ruling elite and partly as an escape from the low caste status assigned to craftsmen in Hindu society. However, the economic conditions of the craftsmen did not improve even after their conversion to Islam. They continued to be exploited and this state of affairs has remained unchanged to the present. Nevertheless, industrialization and urbanization proceeded simultaneously and generated a large number of small towns in addition to the many provincial and administrative capitals of the period.

External trade was another major contributing factor in urbanization during this period. Indian-made goods were much sought after in west Asian, south-east Asian and European markets. A number of trade centres emerged, particularly at the periphery of the Mughal Empire. The main centres were Cambay and Surat, Burhanpur Satgaon, Chittagong, and Hooghly. Cambay and Surat were by far the most important trade centres of this time. The traders belonged to three communities- the Bohra Muslims, the Hindu Banyas, and the Parsis. Traders had appointed agents in other parts of the world, particularly in south-west Asia. Burhanpur in Malwa was a major centre of trade between the Mughal Empire and the kingdoms of the Deccan. Trade and industry thus contributed immeasurably to urbanization during this period.

### **Urbanization in the Deccan and the South**

In the onward march of the Muslims cultural invasion of India, the Deccan acted as a buffer zone between the extreme south and the north. The two southernmost



states never formed part of the northern Muslim empires. The Muslim influence there was confined to sporadic, for example, the invasion of the Pandya kingdom and the destruction of Madurai city in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Malik Kafur. On the other hand, northern parts of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and the whole of Maharashtra were outside the direct control of the Muslim rulers for the north, including the Mughals. This region was divided into a number of Muslim and Hindu kingdoms. The Bahmani kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda had to meet with the stiff opposition of the Vijayanagar kingdom with its capital at Hampi. The Marathas rose to power in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and established Pune as their capital; further, they also exercised control over parts of the extreme south as far as Madurai and Tanjore. They helped to rebuild the Hindu temples and protect the urban centres of the far south.

A number of major cities grew up in the Deccan. Of these Golconda (now in ruins near Hyderabad), Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Gulbarga, Badami, Kolhapur, Pune, Hampi and Hyderabad are notable examples. These cities were built on a grand scale, with monumental structures in the centre in the form of mosques or palaces. They often had planned street layouts, as in Hyderabad, and large market centres- the Char Minar area of Hyderabad. Some of these were walled cities, reflecting the sense of insecurity felt by the smaller kingdoms in relation to their giant northern counterparts. A number of these cities continue to occupy positions of great importance even today. Hyderabad and Pune are million cities, while Ahmadanagar, Bijapur, Gulbarga and Kolhapur are all one-lakh cities.

The urban character of the Deccani cities presents a mixed picture of Hindu and Muslim dominance. Ahmadanagar, Bijapur, Golconda and Hyderabad were the capitals of Muslim kings, while Hampi and Pune symbolized revival of Hindu political power. The rural population in the Deccan remained predominantly Hindu in its composition, and the Muslim influence on the

whole was confined to the cities. Thus, the contrast between the city and the country widened and the city had only a marginal significance to the masses in the rural areas.

In the far south, the ancient kingdoms of the Cholas, Pandyas, Hoysalas, Gangas and Rastrakutas had all come to an end. This was a period of the 'Kalabras' which in Tamil is synonymous with confusion. The far south experienced a period of urban stagnation, if not decline, during this period. The Marathas, and to some extent other local kings and chieftains, helped to sustain the earlier prosperity of the temple cities of the south. While the south did not experience the cultural trauma of the north, it nevertheless suffered from the weakness of its political set-up.

### **Captive Urbanization**

Despite the laudable efforts of Akbar to bring about cohesion between the Hindu and Muslim societies of India, the intra- urban as well as rural- urban cultural hiatus continued to persist during the Mughal times. While the Muslim influence penetrated to the smaller towns during the Mughal period, the conflict between the two cultures remained unabated. The cultural hiatus is highlighted by the fact that there were as many as 29 major uprisings even during Akbar's time. The village and the city were divided on the basis of religion and each group followed its own ways. In the major cities, the Hindu population was substantial; they even formed a majority in some cities. Communal tension was a common feature of this time, as it is, unfortunately, even today. In large measure, the present communal riots in urban India have their origins in the Mughal period. The important point that emerges is that the socio-cultural hiatus not only characterized rural- urban relations, but also the relations of people within the city itself. The city thus emerges as a hotbed of social heterogeneity and tension. Riots broke out periodically, disrupting the normal quiet, peace and harmony.

The people of the Hindu-Muslim city are still captives within the four walls of their experience- an experience derived from history, of doubt and distrust. At the present time, a large number of Muslims live in segregated areas within the cities, thus generating cities within cities. These islands of humanity are cut off from the rest and cannot expand to accommodate their increasing numbers. The city becomes a prison for its residents, where walls of prejudice isolate groups from the mainstream. To liberate the captive cities would require a total restructuring of their living quarters and the elimination of spatial segregation within the city.

### **3.3. COLONIAL**

#### **Urbanization in the British Period (1800-1947)**

The European phase of India's urban history has its beginnings, ironically, in the period during which Mughal supremacy was at its height. The Portuguese were the first to establish new port towns in India- Panaji in Goa in 1510 and Bombay in 1532. They were followed by the Dutch- Machilipatam in 1605 and Nagapattinam in 1658; and the French- Pondicherry in 1673 and Chandranagore in 1690. The British established themselves in Madras in 1639 and Calcutta in 1690. All these European settlements, and the European presence as traders in a large number of existing Indian ports and inland cities, continued throughout the Mughal period; but without having any marked impact on the level of urbanization in India. It is only in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century that the British established a firm territorial hold in India, and India came under the British crown in 1858. From that time, until 1947, the British exercised unquestioned sway over the entire subcontinent including the 500- odd princely states. The entire country, without exception, came under one political umbrella. This was unprecedented in Indian history. The course of urbanization after 1800 in all parts of India was determined by British colonial economic policies and social attitudes.

### **Urban Decline in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

The consolidation of territorial power by the British in 1800 and the end of a period of political instability brought about, surprisingly, a period of stagnation and decline of urban centres in India, which lasted for well over a century. The 19<sup>th</sup> century urban scenario stands out in contrast to the Mughal period of urban growth. The main reasons for the decline of cities during this period: (1) the lack of interests on the part of the British in the prosperity and economic development of India, and (2) the ushering in of the industrial revolution in England in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, thus altering the very complexion of urbanization in England, and in India at a later stage.

Around 1800, India had 16 cities with a population of one lakh or more, and about 1500 towns spread over all parts of the country. Only a third of the towns and cities were located in the Ganga plains: western and southern India was comparatively more urbanized, while eastern India was the least urbanized. The overall level of urbanization in 1800 is estimated to be approximately 11 per cent. Varanasi was the largest city in India in 1800, followed by Calcutta; Surat, Patna, Madras, Bombay and Delhi had populations of only 1,50,000. Among these cities only three (Calcutta madras and Bombay) were entirely new cities established by the British the rest had their origins in Mughal or earlier times.

A Major feature of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was the decline of the pre-British cities. Prominent among the cities that lost their former importance were Agra, Delhi, Lucknow, Ahmedabad, Srinagar, Cambay, Patna, Gaya, Baroda, Indore and Tanjore. This is by no means a complete list of cities which declined during this period. By 1872, when the first census was undertaken, the urban population of India had declined from 11 per cent in 1800 to 8.7 per cent in 1872. There were only 116 cities with a population of one lakh or more and, in all, only 43

places had a population of 50,000 or more. Calcutta had by this time become the premier city of India with a population of nearly 8 lakhs, and while the pre-British cities showed a marked decline in population, the British cities of Calcutta, Bombay and madras showed remarkable growth.

The decline of a large number of urban places in India during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was primarily due to the negative attitude of the British towards the traditional industries of India, particularly the cotton textile industry. This attitude was largely a result of the industrial revolution in England and the growth of the textile industry in Manchester. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, England had emerged as a major industrial economy of the world and India was the main market for British goods. India's traditional products, declined rapidly as a consequence.

Another factor contributing to the decline of the urban centres of the pre-British period was the introduction of the network of railroads in India, starting from 1853. By 1900, the rail network had been fully developed and covered all parts of the country. The introduction of the railways resulted in the diversion of trade routes into different channels and every railway station became a point of export of raw materials, thus depriving some of the earlier trade centres of their monopoly in trade. Many trading points on the Ganga, river, which was an important trade channel, lost their importance. A good example is that of Mirzapur.

On the positive side, the railways contributed to the growth of the metropolitan cities and even some of the major inland towns. The railways also helped in the introduction of modern industry in the metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Bombay, madras and Kanpur. The 19<sup>th</sup> century also saw the emergence of a new class of towns in the hill areas of the Himalayas and the south.

By 1901, after a century of the British occupation of India, India's level of urbanization remained at around 11 per cent; the 19<sup>th</sup> century had witnessed a period of decline of urban

centres until about 1870, and thereafter a slow upward growth in the level of urbanization. In 11901, India had 25 cities with one lakh or more persons and 69 cities with a population of 50,000 or over. In all there were 1,917 towns in 1901.

### **Facets of British Influence on Urbanization**

The largely negative impact of the British on the Indian urban scene in the 19<sup>th</sup> century has to be viewed in the light of the overall impact of British rule over the entire period from 1800 to 1947. While urban stagnation or slow growth was a feature of this period until about 1931, urbanization began to show signs of rapid growth thereafter. In 1941, which marks the last census before independence, there were 49 one –lakh cities in India, and in all around 2,500 towns. Apart from the overall level of urbanization, the British impact was considerable character. During the 150 years of British rule, India's urban landscape went through a radical transformation.

The major contributions of the British to the Indian urban scene were: (1) the creation of the three metropolitan port cities, which emerged as the leading colonial cities of the world, (2) the creation of a chain of hill stations in the Himalayan foothills and in south India, and the introduction of tea and coffee plantations which produced a number of small settlements with distinct urban characteristics in Assam and elsewhere, (3) the modification of the urban landscape of the existing cities with the introduction of, (a) the civil lines and (b) the cantonments, (4) the introduction of the railways and modern industry which led to the creation of new industrial township such as Jamshedpur, Asanosol, Dhanbad and so on, and (5) the improvements in urban amenities and urban administration. These major facets of British influence are examined in greater depth below.

1. The Metropolitan Cities. By the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Calcutta, Bombay and madras

had become the leading cities of India; although none of these had a population of a million. The older cities of the Mughal period had all dwindled into small towns and cities. Thus, Delhi, Varanasi, Ahmedabad , Agra and Allahabad had population of around 2,00,000 only, while Calcutta, the leading city, had a population of over 9 lakhs. Further, the landscape of the colonial cities showed distinct signs of European influence.

Calcutta, madras and Bombay were leading administrative, commercial and industrial cities. The city's focal point was the central commercial area, with tall, European-style buildings, representing the banks and headquarters of commercial and industrial products- clothing, furniture, medical supplies, electrical and other gadgets, apart from areas devoted to entertainment. The chief commercial area was also the city's focal point of rail and road transportation. Suburban railways, tram cars and city buses gave the colonial cities a new status, unmatched by the traditional cities of the interior.

The city's administrative nerve centre was no less impressive. Dalhousie square in Calcutta and fort St. George in madras were close the central commercial area, but each was a major second focal-point in the city. Both the central market area and the administrative area had massive buildings which were British variants of roman styles. To the native Indians, these structures provided a glimpse in the European culture, while for the European; they were remainders of their home. The metropolitan cities had no remarkable structures reflection Indian traditions; the only features that were entirely Indian were the shabby and crowded residential quarters where the greater part of the Indian population of these cities lived.

In 1911, the capital of the British Indian empires was shifted to Delhi, and an entirely new city- new Delhi- was built. This new city was completed by about 1935. New Delhi had a modern commercial area, with a magnificent administrative complex not far away. It was a

sprawling city of bungalows with large compounds and wide streets lined with trees, which on the whole provided a cultural landscape satisfying European taste. New Delhi stands in sharp contrast to the now overcrowded and rather dilapidated Shahjahanabad, the city of the Mughals.

2. Hill Stations and Plantation settlements. The hill station is an inheritance from the British period. It is a permanent feature today, though it has been thoroughly Indianized during the post-Independence period. The British, coming from a cool temperate climate, found the Indian summer season inhospitable and even considered it a threat to good health and longevity. They found an escape in the hills, where they spent the greater part of summer. Even the national capital was shifted from Delhi to Simla for six months of the year. The hill stations, located at elevations of 1,500 to 3,000 metres above sea level, attempted to replicate the ambience of the English countryside, for which the English in India longed nostalgically.

The first hill stations were established as early as 1815, and by 1870 there were over 80 hills stations in four different areas in India, serving the four major metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay and Madras. These areas were: (a) Simla- Mussoories- Nainital near Delhi, (b) Darjeeling- Shillong near Calcutta, (c) Mahabaleshwar in the western Ghats near Bombay, and (d) the Nilgiri- Kodaikanal area in Tamil Nadu.

The hill stations originally catered to the needs of the British population in India, which consisted mainly of civilian and military personnel and their dependents. In course of time, a substantial native population migrated to the towns, seeking employment in providing the various services which the British needed. The British built schools, hospitals, hotels and clubs for the exclusive use of Europeans. Women and children of European origin out-numbered the men, who were compelled to spend longer times in the plains. In due course, the Indian princely families followed the British to the hill stations, where they established their summer palaces.



The hill stations also eventually served the needs of European business executives working in private industrial and business houses, and Christian missionaries.

For the vast masses of Indians in the plains, the hills had a spiritual sanctity. They were considered as places for quiet contemplation and for withdrawal from worldly concerns. The Himalayan region, in particular, had mythological significance, apart from its being the source of the sacred river ganga. As early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Adi Sankaracharya had established temples in Badrinath, Kedarnath and amaranth. In the south as well, the hills formed appropriate locations for temples and places of worship. The British viewpoint, however, differed considerably. The hill station, for the British, was a temporary home away from home. For a people accustomed to a different climate, the hill station was also a definite need. Today hill stations exist primarily as recreational and tourist centres catering mainly to the needs of the new urban elite.

The tea and coffee plantations generated yet another type of settlement in the plains of Assam and in the hill areas of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. These settlements were brought about by both voluntary and forced migration of poor labourers from Bihar and Bengal in the case of the estates in Assam, and from neighbouring districts in the case of tea and coffee plantations in the hills of southern India. The plantation settlements were never very large in size, but had distinct urban characteristics in the presence of processing plants, workers residence and associated commercial establishments.

3. Civil Lines and Cantonments. The urban landscape of a large number of Indian towns and cities, which originated long before the arrival of the British, were nevertheless, modified substantially during the British rule. The modifications are most noticeable at the administrative centres of the British raj- the provincial capitals, the district headquarters, and the Tehsil- level administrative centres. The civil lines were a new addition to all but the smallest administrative

centres, while cantonments were most civil lines and the cantonments existed as adjuncts to the native city to accommodate the British civilian and military personnel. The civil lines contained the administrative offices and courts as well as residential areas for the officers. The civil line and cantonment areas invariably had large open spaces, and roads were built according to a plan, with the administrative buildings occupying a central position. The civil lines area stood apart from the native city, which was overcrowded and lacked basic amenities. The British residences, sprawling bungalows with large compounds, are a typical colonial heritage.

Unlike the civil lines, cantonments are found in fewer places. The cantonments are, however, very conspicuous around the large cities. In all 114 cantonments were built during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, of which about five per cent were located in hill areas and functioned, more or less, as adjuncts to the hill stations. They were concentrated in the plains of the Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh, while the four southern states together had only five cantonments. The cantonments were originally built for housing British officers and men of the armed forces. Indian soldiers were housed in separate areas within the cantonment. In both British and Indian barracks spatial segregation in terms of rank was strictly enforced.

The civil lines and cantonments highlight the social distance deliberately maintained by the British from the mass of Indian urban dwellers. The British, even more than the Muslim rulers, were conscious of their alien identity and hardly attempted to acquaint themselves with the people over whom they ruled. The city thus became more firmly divided within itself, and the social distance between the urban and rural areas increased.

4. Railways, Industrialization and Urbanization. The introduction of railways in India in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century contributed to the emergence of a national network of urban places, in which the metropolitan cities formed the primary foci, supported by the one-lakh cities which

acted as satellite centres. The railways contributed in no small measure to the enlargement of trade and the introduction of modern industry and thus indirectly helped the process of urbanization, although the impact of the railways was not strongly in evidence until the 1930s.

The most direct contribution of the railways to the growth of the existing cities was the railway station. The railway station soon became a focal point of the city, rivaled only by the main market centre. The cities began to grow in the direction of the railway station and even the main market began to shift towards this area. The result was haphazard urban growth from the city centre towards the railway station. The railways also introduced, in a number of larger towns, railway colonies to accommodate their administrative and engineering staff. The railway colonies have become an integral part of many Indian cities. The enlargement of the railway network also led to the establishment of railway workshops and employment of large numbers of workers. As a result of this development, new railway towns emerged in various parts of the country, for example, Jamalpur in Bihar, Waltair in Andhra, Bareilly and Meerut in Uttar Pradesh, Nagpur in Maharashtra and so on.

The industrial revolution that originated in England in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, took a full hundred years to reach India. The early factory industries to emerge in India were the cotton textile industry in Bombay and Ahmedabad, jute in Calcutta and coal mining in the Damodar basin. There are some scattered developments of the cotton textile industry in other parts of India, as well. Kanpur and Jamshedpur were the only truly industrial cities to emerge during the British rule; Kanpur specialized in the leather and woolen textile industries, while Jamshedpur, established in 1907, was the main iron and steel centre in India until 1947. Industrial development in India before independence was indeed very modest. Most industries were located in existing towns, principally the colonial metropolitan cities of Bombay, Calcutta

and madras. Calcutta and Bombay were the only cities in which distinct industrial areas developed.

5. Urban Amenities and Urban Administration. One of the major benefits of British rule, was the improvement in civic amenities in some, at least, of India's major cities. Piped water supply, street lighting, domestic electricity supply, sewerage, modern shopping areas and in some cases parks and playgrounds for recreation were established in a number of cities. However, it must be admitted that at the time of independence, the vast majority of India's towns and cities did not have electricity, leave alone piped water supply and sewerage. The conditions in many places, particularly with respect to water supply and sewerage, continue to be poor even to this day. During the British period, civic amenities were provided only in the civil lines area and the cantonment. The native city remained outside the pale of modernization. Urban administrative bodies were established to look after the civic amenities (and to introduce local or grass-root democracy) in a number of cities from 1881. These municipalities were primarily concerned with the collection of local taxes, the maintenance of roads, removal of garbage and night soil, primary education during the British period, although legislation for the improvement of slum areas was enacted in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Bombay and other provinces.

### **Urbanization in the Princely States**

During the entire period from 1800 to 1947, a substantial part of India was outside the direct jurisdiction or rule of the British government of India. In 19047, there were as many as 548 princely states, some of which were as large as the British provinces, for example, Hyderabad and Mysore. The only direct British impact on urbanization in the princely states was seen in the institution of the residency and cantonments in the capital cities of some of the states.

In Hyderabad, Mysore and other major cities, the residency and the adjoining areas grew more rapidly than the rest of the city, partly as a result of the comparative security and freedom from arbitrary rule that these areas offered. The smaller towns in the princely states continued to stagnate during this period. With a few exceptions, the princely states were generally backward in terms of their level of economic development. This is reflected in the lower levels of urbanization in these states.

### **The New Urban Ethos**

In the British period, Indian cities became the focal point of westernization. Schools, colleges and universities trained men and women in western thought and languages. New western oriented urban elite emerged. Their dress, eating habits, and social behaviour reflected western values and attitudes. The educated behaviour reflected western values and attitudes. The educated sought jobs under the British government and, in general, emulated the British in all walks of life. This process of westernization, firmly rooted in India during the British period, has continued to guide the destiny of the urban elite even four decades after independence. It is indeed the central aspect of social change in modern India. With the process of westernization, there has been a concomitant alienation of the urban elite from the urban and rural masses. The gap between city and countryside has become wider and the rural conflict continues to plague the Indian social and political system.

## **3.4. POST-COLONIAL**

### **The post-independence period**

Urbanization has entered a new and more important phase in the post- independence period. In contrast with the British period, which witnessed a period of urban stagnation, the

post-independence period is notable for rapid urbanization, particularly of the one-lakh and million cities. There has been nearly a threefold increase in India's urban population, from 62 million in 1951 to 159 million in 1981. The proportion of urban population of total population has increased at a slower pace from 17.6 per cent in 1951 to 23.7 per cent in 1981. The number of cities with a million major changes that have occurred in India's urban scene in the post-independence period are: (1) the influx of refugees and their settlement, primarily in urban areas in northern India, (2) the building of new administrative cities, such as Chandigarh, Bhubaneswar and Gandhinagar, (3) the construction of new industrial cities and new industrial townships near major cities, (4) the rapid growth of one-lakh and million cities, (5) the stagnation, and in some cases decline, of small towns, (6) the massive increase in squatters and the proliferation of slums in the million cities, and the emergence of the rural- urban fringe, and (7) the introduction of city planning and the general improvement in civic amenities.

### **3.5. FACTORS OF URBANIZATION**

#### **The Refugee influx and urbanization**

In the period immediately following independence, there was a massive influx of refugees into India, in two principal streams: (1) the refugees from west Pakistan, who found their way to Delhi, the national capital, the adjoining state of Punjab (including modern-day Haryana) and to a lesser extent western Uttar Pradesh; and (2) the refugees from east Pakistan who settled down in Calcutta and its suburbs and in Assam and Tripura. In all 14 entirely new towns were built to accommodate the refugees, of which only one was in west Bengal, five in Uttar Pradesh, four in Punjab, three in Gujarat and one in Maharashtra. In addition, refugee colonies (new townships) were established near existing cities. These new urban additions were generally designated as model towns, and 19 places in Punjab, Haryana and Delhi were selected

for locating these townships. In contrast, the refugees from Bangladesh settled primarily in the rural areas of west Bengal, Assam and Tripura. Thus, the impact of the refugees on urbanization was far greater in the northern states of India than in the eastern and southern states.

### **New State Capital**

The partition of India in 1947 and the states reorganization of 1956 resulted in the creation of linguistic states, without suitable capital cities. Some of these states built, with central assistance, new capital cities, the most notable and the most lavishly built and stands out as an anomalous marvel among Indian cities. The other new administrative capitals are Bhubaneswar in Orissa, Gandhinagar in Gujarat, and Dispur in Assam. These towns have added a significant new dimension to Indian town planning.

### **Industrial Cities**

India has become the world's tenth largest industrialized nation. This has come about largely in the post-independence period and in particular since 1956. Among the most notable outcomes of industrialization in the post-independence period are the steel cities of Rourkela, Durgapur, Bhilai Nagar and Bokaro, each of which has a population of one lakh or more persons. Other new industrial cities are the refinery towns of Barauni, Noonmati, Haldia and Ankleshwar; the fertilizer towns at Sindri, Mittrapur, Naya Nangal and Namrup; port towns such as Kandla and Paradeep; and aluminium towns like Korba and Ratnagiri. The number of industrial townships or company towns located in close proximity to existing major cities is too large to be listed here. There are over one hundred such townships in India today. In addition, there are over 500 industrial estates on the periphery of one-lakh cities. Industrial growth in India during the past three decades has indeed been impressive and so has its impact on city development.

**Check your progress**

15. Can you name important steel industry of India?

**Metropolization**

A remarkable feature of urbanization during the post-independence period has been the rapid growth of the one- million and one-lakh cities. The number of such cities has increased from 76 in 1951 to 219 in 1981. The proportion of urban population living in the one-lakh cities has increase from 38 per cent in 1951 to 60 percent in 1981. In absolute terms the population living in one-lakh cities has increased from 39 million in 1951 to 94 million in 1981- a phenomenal growth indeed. The unenviable result of this growth is the widening gap between the cities and the smaller towns in terms of opportunities for employment, education and medical facilities. Further, the rapid and more or less unplanned and haphazard growth of the cities has imposed severe strains on housing, water supply, sewage and sanitation in the cities- a problem that has become chronic and assumed alarming proportions.

**Stagnation and Decline of Small Towns**

A concomitant phenomenon of Metropolization is the decline or stagnation of the smaller towns. The decline has been most conspicuous in the case of very small towns with a population of less than 20,000, and to a lesser degree in towns of 20,000 to 50,000. The total number of urban places in India has increased from 2,844 in 1951 to 3,245 in j1981, while the number of small towns with population of less than 20,000 has declined from 2,345 in 1951 ti 2,020 in 1981. The contribution of these towns to the total urban population has also declined from 32 per cent in 1951 to 19 per cent in 1981. It is important to note that small towns play a crucial role in rural development and, to a large extent; the decline of the small town is an indication of the



failure of the planners to bring about any development in rural areas. The trend of declining small town ought to be a major cause for worry for the National Planning Commission.

### **The Growth of Slums and the Rural- Urban Fringe**

The rapid growth of the one-million cities, in particular, has brought in its wake a large set of problems. Perhaps the most important of these is the problem of housing for the poorer sections of society. Many have flocked to cities in search of employment. The available housing accommodation in the city is far too expensive, and the poor have by and large settled down in an illegal way on vacant public or private land. Ugly thatched huts, tenements constructed with an odd mixture of assorted materials, and the use of pavements for dwelling are all characteristic features of metropolitan cities in India today. Further, the big cities have expanded physically into the peripheral villages in an unplanned and haphazard manner. Thus, a rural- urban fringe has emerged around most of the larger cities. The provision of basic amenities, such as piped water supply, sewerage, drainage and paved roads to the slum dwellers and the fringe villages, poses a major problem to the city administration. There is increasing demand for these services, while the people, particularly in the slums and fringe areas contribute nothing by way of taxes. Further, the municipality is called upon to provide services to areas that are under illegal occupation. Political exigencies have compelled the administration to legalize squatter colonies and provide them with some, at least, of the basic amenities. The inherent contradictions of this chaotic situation in our urban areas pose tremendous challenges to the urban planner and the city administrator alike.

### **City Planning**

The post- independence period saw the beginnings of city planning in India. The town and country planning organization, established by the central government, prepared the master

plan for Delhi in 1957. It also prepared model legislation for town planning for state governments to enact. The 1960's saw the emergence of town planning department in different states in the country. With the help of central grants, these departments have prepared over 500 master plans for individual cities. However, few city master plans have been implemented with vigor. The metropolitan cities such as Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta have succeeded to some extent in executing massive housing programmes, the construction of commercial complexes, the creation of new industrial areas, and the re-location and rebuilding of slum areas. All this activity has altered the urban landscape of the big cities in a significant way. The experience gained by the Metropolitan Development Authorities provides the basic infrastructure for planned urban development in the future.

### **3.6. SUMMARY**

- The unit contains the major themes of the urbanization in India. It has been able to touch the various aspects of historical description and discussion to explain the development and growth of cities and urbanization effects in Indian traditions.
- The Harappan culture pre-dates the early Aryan culture of northern India and the Dravidian culture of the south by nearly a thousand years. The high level of meticulously planned urban spatial organization revealed in the Harappan culture is nowhere in evidence, either in the south or in the north, even after a thousand years. The two most important cities, namely, Mohenjodaro and Harappa, show remarkable similarities in their urban morphology. Each is located on the banks of a navigable river- Mohenjodaro on the Indus and Harappa on the river Ravi. The city consisted of two components are: a citadel, built on the high ground and a lower city, where the vast majority of the population lived.
- The second phase of urbanization is in many ways more important to us, because from this

time onwards, urbanization became a permanent feature of the Indian landscape. The oldest existing cities in India- Varanasi and Patna S(Pataliputra) in the north and Madurai and Kancheepuram in the south, originated around 500 BC and are symbolic of India's long urban heritage.

- The complexity of urbanization during the Mauryan period is indicated by the presence of different types of towns in addition to the capital or administrative city. The Buddhist texts give a typology of cities of this period. The most important categories of towns were: Rajadhaniya Nagara, Sthaniya Nagara, Kharvata, Kheta, Putabhedana, Nigana, Pattana and Dronamukha.
- The origins of the Dravidian phase of urbanization may be traced to around the 5th BC. Unlike the Aryan phase of urbanization, the origins of the Dravidian phase are of not fully understood and there is a need for further archaeological and historical enquiry in this direction.
- Islamic period marks a major cultural shift in the Indian urban scene. For the first time, the Islamic influence made its distinct impact on the urban landscape. Mosques, forts, palaces, reflect Islamic art and values and the traditions of central Asia, the Arabs, and more specifically the Persians. As early as the Mauryan period, Indian cities saw the impact of foreign influences, primarily Iranian and Greek, in the arts and sciences, but these were absorbed into the indigenous culture.
- The major contributions of the British to the Indian urban scene were: (1) the creation of the three metropolitan port cities, which emerged as the leading colonial cities of the world, (2) the creation of a chain of hill stations in the Himalayan foothills and in south India, and the introduction of tea and coffee plantations which produced a number of small

settlements with distinct urban characteristics in Assam and elsewhere, (3) the modification of the urban landscape of the existing cities with the introduction of, the civil lines and the cantonments, (4) the introduction of the railways and modern industry which led to the creation of new industrial township.

A remarkable feature of urbanization during the post-independence period has been the rapid growth of the one- million and one-lakh cities. The unenviable result of this growth is the widening gap between the cities and the smaller towns in terms of opportunities for employment, education and medical facilities. Further, the rapid and more or less unplanned and haphazard growth of the cities has imposed severe strains.

### 3.7. KEY TERMS

Civilization

**City structure:** urban morphological characteristics of the major cities and towns, and aspects of the settlement system.

Pattana: a coastal trading town.

Dronamukha: located at the mouth of a river and served as a port city.

Nagaraka: The city was under the charge of a or mayor,

Mukhya: The charge of the village

### 3.8. ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Thus, stone implements have way to copper and later to bronze implements.
2. This stage of cultural and technological development that the larger village settlements showed distinct urban attributes thus ushering in an era of urbanization.
3. Domesticated animals were sheep, cattle, buffaloes, pig, dogs and camels.
4. iron was absent.

5. Yes
6. Lothal, located near a tributary of the Sabarmati River, was actually a sea port at the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay. It probably started as a fishing village and emerged as a major trading port under the influence of the Harappan empire. Through Lothal, the Harappan established trade links with the outside world, in particular with the Mesopotamian cities.
7. The city produced a greater variety of goods, both luxury items such as jewellery expensive clothing, and artistic ware, and articles of everyday use, including metal ware and tools.
8. The Sthanika Nagara, according to Kautilya, was the capital of a janapada., which at this time had the status of province within an empire.
9. Taxashila and Nalanda
10. nagaraka or mayor
11. The major Tamil cities were Madurai, Vanji, Urayur, Puhar and Korkai,
12. The earliest dynasty was the so-called slave dynasty of Qutb-ud-din Aibak
13. According to Abu-l Fazl, there were 2,837 towns in 1594; only the larger cities numbering around 180.
14. In fact, the internal structure of the Mughal cities was haphazard with overlapping residential, commercial and industrial land uses.
15. Rourkela, Durgapur, Bhilai Nagar and Bokaro

### **3.9. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES**

1. Discuss the nature of urban growth during the pre historic period in India?

2. Discuss Indus valley civilization as an important era of urbanization? Explain the city structure.
3. What do you understand by ancient city?
4. What do you understand by Pre-Colonial city?
5. What do you understand by Post Colonial city?
6. Discuss the structure of city of Ancient city and medieval period in India?
7. What are those factors that led to the decline of cities on ancient and medieval period?

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**UNIT – 4 CLASSIFICATIONS OF CITIES: URBAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

## 4.0 Introduction

## 4.12 Unit Objectives

## 4.13 Population Structure in Indian Cities

## 4.14 Changing Occupational Structure

## 4.15 Emergence of New Classes

## 4.16 Changing Family Structure

## 4.17 Migration and Mobility

## 4.18 Summary

## 4.19 Key terms

## 4.20 Answer to check your progress

## 4.21 Questions and exercises

## 4.22 Further reading

## **4.0. INTRODUCTION**

Indian cities and its development have been taking place since the early Indus valley civilization till post independence period. Cities were developed and lost in various occasion and reason. In India we find cities and town were formed due to its religious site, administrative centres, capital city, trading centres, hill station, etc. The development and growth of cities led to change in the social structure which was based on caste system. The era of modernization and globalization further led to social mobility especially among the urban dwellers facilitating each individual and family a different social class in the new urban society.

### **4.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES**

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

1. The dynamics of Population Structure in Indian Cities
2. Explain the phenomena of changing occupational structure
3. Discuss the growth of New Classes at the urban level
4. Understand the changing of family structure in urban
5. Explain the phenomena of migration and mobility

### **4.2. POPULATION STRUCTURE IN INDIAN CITIES**

The urban population is increasing decade by decade in India. The growing urban population is rapidly transforming the nearby rural areas into urban periphery. According to the census the total urban population of the India were 20.22 per cent in 1971, 23.73 per cent in 1981, 25.72 per cent in 1991 and 27.78 per cent there is unequal growth of urbanization and urban population across the Indian states. There is a concentration of urban population in large cities and existing urban agglomeration. The census of 2011 reports that there are 53 million plus cities accounting for 43% of India urban population. The census of 2011 also notes that the



number of towns in India increased from 5161 in 2001 to as many as 7935 in 2011. Most of this increase was in the growth of census towns rather than on statutory towns. A large number of towns are born in the vicinity of existing cities with million plus population.

There are 5161 urban centers in India. Of the total urban population 68.67 percent or about 196 million lives in class I towns, each with population of one lakh or more. There are thirty five cities or agglomerations each with a population of ten lakh or more. These million plus cities with a total population of 108 million account for 38 per cent of the country's urban population. Contiguous group of cities, town and urban centres is another major phenomenon. There are 382 of them in the country comprising 1162 urban centres.

At the moment, India is among the countries of low level of urbanization. Number of urban agglomeration /town has grown from 1827 in 1901 to 5161 in 2001. Number of population residing in urban areas has increased from 2.58 crores in 1901 to 28.53 crores in 2001. Only 28% of population was living in urban areas as per 2001 census. Over the years there has been continuous concentration of population in class I towns. On the contrary the concentration of population in medium and small towns either fluctuated or declined. The graduation of number of urban centers from lower population size categories to class I cities has resulted top heavy structure of urban population in India. India's urbanization is often termed as overurbanisation, pseudo-urbanization. The big cities attained inordinately large population size leading to virtual collapse in the urban services and followed by basic problems in the field of housing, slum, water, infrastructure, quality of life etc. Urbanisation is a product of demographic explosion and poverty induced rural-urban migration. Urbanisation is occurring not due to urban pull but due to rural push.

The following table 3.1 shows number of towns and percentage of urban population by size class of city during 1901- 2001. The pattern of urbanization in India is characterized by continuous concentration of population and activities in large cities (Kundu, 1983). This is manifested in a high percentage of urban population being concentrated in class I cities and its population has systematically gone up over the decades in the last century. As per 1901 census percentage of population in class I, IV, V were 26%, 21%, and 20 percent respectively. According to 1991 Census, about two third (65%) of the countries urban population lived in Class -1 cities with more than 100, 000 population. In 2001 it has increased to 69% . Over the years there has been continuous concentration of population in class I towns. On the contrary the concentration of population in medium and small town (Kundu, 1994) either fluctuated or declined. Indeed basic reason for the increasing dominance of class I cities is graduation of lower order towns into class I categories. It may be observed that in 1901 there were only 24 class I cities that has gone up to 393 in 2001 which explains largely the increase in the share of population in this size category over the years. The graduation of number of urban centers from lower population size categories to class I cities has resulted top heavy structure of urban population in India. However in addition to factor of increase in number of large cities , the importance of a faster demographic growth, poverty induced (Mukherjee,1995) migration to urban informal sector should be taken into account in making urban structure top heavy.

Table 3.1: Number of towns and percentage of Urban population by size class

Census year	No of Towns by size class					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1901	24	43	130	391	744	479
1911	23	40	135	364	707	485

1921	29	45	145	370	734	571
1931	35	56	183	434	800	509
1941	49	74	242	498	920	407
1951	76	91	327	608	1124	569
1961	102	129	437	719	711	172
1971	148	173	558	827	623	147
1981	218	270	743	1059	758	253
1991	300	345	947	1167	740	197
2001	393	401	1151	1344	888	191

Class I : Greater than 1,00,000 population Class II : 50,000--1,00,000 population  
Class III : 20,000---50,000 population Class IV : 10,000--- 20,000 population  
Class V : 5,000---10,000 population Class VI : less than 5000 population

From the trend (Fig 4) in urban population by size class over the last century one can presume an increase in inequality in the urban structure, along with regional imbalance in the next decades. The distribution of population in different size class is likely to become more and more skewed. The share of class I towns or cities, with population size of 100,000 or more, has gone up significantly from 26 per cent in 1901 to 69% per cent in 2001. The percentage share of class IV, V and VI towns, having less than 20,000 people, on the other hand, has gone down drastically from 47 to 10 only. This is largely due to the fact that the towns in lower categories have grown in size and entered the next higher category (Kundu,1994).

Number of million plus cities have increased from 5 in 1951 to 23 in 1991 and to 35 in 2001. About 37% of the total urban population lives in these million plus/ UA cities. As per 2001 census the newly added million plus cities are 12 in numbers, they are Agra, Meerut, Nashik, Jabalpur, Jamshedpur, Asansol, Dhanbad, Faridabad, Allahabad, Amritsar, Vijaywada, Rajkot.

### Check your progress

1. How many town class types are there in India?

### 4.3. CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Occupational change has been understood largely as change in the activities of the members society to earn their livelihood. The change is observed in terms of changes in the distribution activities in the socio-economic structure of society. From this it is only a step further to describe by classifying activities in terms of role expectations and positions and evaluation of this role. Insofar as the social implications of these occupational changes are concerned, generally recourse taken to study of occupational groups, their social characteristics, psychology, etc. But there is a feeling of inadequacy about these studies, insofar as they are indicators of social change. This feeling of inadequacy can be pinpointed to activities being central point of observation and analysis and their being related to some of the economic, psychological attributes of different occupational groups. But the question that arises is, can a man not continue the same activity and yet change son, i e, his social relationships? Also can a man not change his activity and not change relationships? The point of departure of this is the affirmation that a man can change his occupation not change his person and vice versa. This affirmation requires us to shift the centre of attention activity to person, i.e, to social relationships. It is suggested that irrespective of the number of occupational activities and the number of persons engaged in them, there could be occupational if there is change in social relationships. It is further submitted that in India occupational change sense is taking place more widely than statistics of change in the number and variety suggested.

Agriculture is no longer subsistence agriculture, and a way of life. It is becoming an industry. Land has also become a commodity to be sold and purchased in the market and it is

merged with capital as a factor of production. Thus capital and labour become two important factors of production governed by the mechanism of the market. Free capital and free labour to be used anywhere by anyone for the production of any commodity are the two factors which made possible the new disposition of human labour in Indian society.

The emergence of labour as a free commodity has affected the occupational structure of India giving rise to the class of workers who sell their labour in the market. Free capital has given rise to the class of owners and managers of capital. The new forms of economic organisation which never existed in the past could not be possible without free labour and free capital.

### **Check your progress**

2. What are the two component led to growth of disposition of human labour?

The rise of owners of capital, entrepreneurs or managers of capital and free labour force made possible the change in the variety and quantity of goods and services produced for the market and not for subsistence or immediate consumption. This in its turn opened the way for the changes in the technology of production. This change in its turn created a number of new activities requiring different skills which could not be acquired in the homes at the work bench. That required a new system of training. This had its consequences for the educational system. These new activities resulted in creating greater division of functions and specialisation with different remunerations and rewards. This has given rise to a new hierarchy of status roles and relationships in which the incumbents to the role positions enter. These relationships have a very wide range and they are also more indirect, and general. The rules governing these relationships are not based on custom and tradition but on law. They are impersonal in a different sense from

custom and tradition which are also impersonal to a degree. It is also necessary to note that these changes in the nature of occupational relationships were first ushered in by the British government in the government directed activities. That government itself was organised on principles different from those on which government was organised in India before the British took it over. It was for the first time in India that the state recognised the individual and his freedom in theory. In practice there were limitations because of the colonial nature of the government. But the free worker and free capitalist was the child of British rule in India. This contribution of the political system to the occupational structure need not be confused with the failure of British government to rear up its own child. The nature of the state itself was such that it could rear up its child at its own disadvantage. So that task was left to the government of free India. The first employers under the new occupational relationships and organisation were the British government in India. It is also probable that their first demand was for white-collar employees and not so much for the technical employees. Actually what are called industrial occupations in any sizeable number came much later, say, during the First World War and thereafter. The preference for white-collar and government occupations was created first because of the nature of employment, i.e., the occupational relationship and also because of status considerations. The new occupational relationships were well defined and specific between the persons occupying different positions in the establishment. One could enter into them by definite procedure known to everyone, provided the incumbent had requisite qualifications. It was a contractual relationship which could be dissolved by either party again according to well laid down procedure. The hours of work and remuneration were fixed and binding on both the employers and the employees. The occupants of the white-collar government positions acquired certain status and respect in their own society. This respect and status probably had some relation

to the power and authority that the posts carried with them. Also the white-collar positions required certain educational qualifications. That was an additional element which gave respect to these persons. Moreover, most of these positions were in the urban areas where the occupants of these positions could live in a particular style. Thus the role of the political system in bringing about the change in the occupational structure and in affecting the disposition of human labour in society is very vivid in the Indian case.

The occupation has been divided into three types, Agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery etc., are collectively known as primary activities. Manufacturing industries, both small and large scale, are known as “secondary” activities. Transport, communications, banking and finance and services are “tertiary activities” in the country. The occupational structure of a country refers to the distribution or division of its population according to different occupations.

### **Check your progress**

3. What are primary activities?
4. What are secondary activities?
5. What are tertiary activities?

Colin Clark, in his work said that, ‘conditions of economic progress’, argues that there is a close relationship between development of an economy on the one hand, and occupational structure on the other and economic progress is generally associated with certain distinct necessary and predictable changes in occupational structure.

The data reveal that GDP from the primary sector (viz., agriculture and allied entities like forestry and fishing) declined from 59 per cent in 1950-51 to 46 per cent in 1970-71 and thereafter, sharply declined to 16.1 per cent in 2011-12. This was partially neutralized by an

increase in the share of secondary sector from 13 per cent in 1950-51 to about 22 per cent in 1970-71 and further increase to about 24.3 per cent in 2011-12. But the biggest hike in GDP share occurred in case of services from about 27 per cent in 1950-51 to 32 per cent in 1970-71 to 59.0 per cent in 2011-12. The emerging structural change in GDP shares witnessed a big decline in the share of agriculture, coupled with a modest increase in the share of industry and a much sharper increase in the share of services which now account for nearly half of the total GDP.

The National Sample Survey reveals that the share of workforce deployed in agriculture declined from 74 per cent in 1972-73 to about 53.2 per cent in 2009-10. Along with this decline, the share of employment in industry increased from 11.2 per cent in 1972-73 to 14.9 per cent in 1993-94 and further to 21.5 per cent in 2009-10. Also the share of services in total employment increased from 14.6 per cent in 1972-73 to 25.4 per cent in 2009-10.

<b>Industry Division</b>	<b>1972-73</b>	<b>1983</b>	<b>1993-94</b>	<b>2009-10</b>
<b>Agriculture</b>	74.0	68.1	63.9	53.2
Agriculture Forestry, Fishing and Hunting				
<b>Industry</b>	11.2	13.9	14.9	21.5
Mining and Quarrying, Manufacturing, Electricity Gas and Water, Construction				
<b>Services</b>	14.6	18.2	21.2	25.4
Wholesale and Retail trade and Restaurants and Hotels				
Transport, Storage and communication other services				



The upshot of this analysis is that whereas GDP share of agriculture declined sharply, the corresponding decline in employment share did not take place in India. Meanwhile, GDP share of industry registered an increase of 5 per cent during the last four decades (1970-71 to 2009-10). But the corresponding increase in employment share was only 6 per cent during the same period. This only indicates that the process of industrialization failed to absorb excess labour in agriculture in the expansion of industry. Thirdly, share of services in GDP increased sharply to about 57 per cent, but they also failed to register a sharp increase in employment which was barely 15 per cent as against an 25 per cent increase in GDP during 1970-71 and 2009-10. From this it follows that Indian did not experience sequence in the growth of GDP and employment in industry during the process of industrialization, but skipped to the postindustrialisation phase of increasing its share of GDP as well as employment in services, though a relatively smaller increase in employment in the service sector took place. We may have to wait for some more time so those secondary and tertiary sectors are able to absorb more labour force in tune with their rising share in GDP.

Urban areas began to be characterised by the new occupational relationships. This changed the character of the urban areas of the old feudal society and created new problems characteristic of the new capitalist society, e g, anonymity, employer- employee relationship, housing, health, etc. This growth and spread of urban areas was made possible by the physical movement of human beings, which was facilitated by the developments in transport and communications. That established the link between the urban and the rural with all its implications. The migration was helped by the real and believed opportunities in urban areas, by the expectation of better monetary rewards of labour than in rural areas, and by the idea of better living conditions. The new outlook penetrated the rural areas. The old concepts such as that India

is rural India and that the urban is dependent on the rural are becoming out of date. The combined effect of all the occupational change was the creation of differentiations within the social groups of the old society both in urban and rural areas. That changed the old relations between those groups. That change in the old relationship also struck at the division of labour based on sex and at the old stratificatory system by striking at the occupational relationship based on caste, family and village community. All these structural changes threw up individuals who would utilise the opportunity to move in wider social and geographical space. That gave rise to the phenomenon of social mobility, which characterises the capitalist society as distinguished from the moribund feudal society of the past.

#### **4.4. EMERGENCE OF NEW CLASSES**

Traditionally, the social structure of Indian society has been vertical and unidimensional. The caste status was more or less consistent with the other statuses in different dimensions of social life like education, income and occupation. The lower castes, because of a number of rigid and orthodox restrictions, could never achieve a higher status in any of the above mentioned dimensions in the past. Since mobility—either caste or Occupational —was, generally speaking, restricted, there was little scope for achieved statuses. Thus the ritual status in the caste system corresponded horizontally and vertically with the non-ritual statuses.

However, in the mid-twentieth century, the forces of modernization, effective as they are in the urban India today, have given immense opportunities to the members of different castes to achieve a higher status in the non-ritual dimensions such as stated above. This has shaken the traditional caste structure and has accelerated escalation of statuses, occupational and others and has provided momentum to social mobility.

Further, the Government of India not only facilitated the process, but at the same time actively encouraged the lower castes to attain equal or higher status, while competing other castes in the educational, economic, political and occupational dimensions. The special privileges granted to them under the constitution of India and their implementation has created certain inconsistencies in the traditional social structure. Social legislation and democratization have gone a long way in bringing about profound changes in the social structure of urban communities. Furthermore, the social policy and economic planning have been geared (in order to attain democratic socialism) to achieve a fracture in the traditional social structure. All this has resulted in the emergence of the status discrepancies and inconsistencies. The social values are changing. Differences in the attitudes towards ritual rank on the one hand and wealth and power on the other hand have become striking in modern times. In short, the society has become intersected by the systems of caste and class.

### **Check your progress**

6. What is traditional based occupation in India?

Wirth and others have given us incisive insights into some of the essential characteristics of the socio-cultural processes which are considered to be the typical features of urbanism as a mode of life. Large aggregation, fairly high density of population, predominance of manufacturing and servicing functions, monetization, large-scale segmental and diversified living, increasing dominance of formal regulation, atomization of the individual, shift from primary to secondary relations, intense mobility as a result of economic growth, growth of transport and communications as well as emergence of numerous servicing agencies, relatively

greater sophistication, and the rise of what Ralph Turner calls upper cultural tradition, are some of the features which have been noted as typical of urban life.

Urban agglomeration and the urban way of life within the matrix of a society which is founded on the private ownership of means of production, profit as the motive of production, market and competition as the levers of realizing profit and the wage-labour of the non-owning strata, will be qualitatively different from either the urban agglomeration and the urban way of life existing in ancient slave-based or medieval serf-based societies as also those prevailing in those new societies which have emerged after the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia and subsequently in countries of Eastern Europe and China and which, in varying degrees are based on the elimination of private property in means of production and abolition of profit as the motive of production and, instead, on the social ownership of these means, and on universal planning of national (socialized) economy from the standpoint of the assessed needs of the people (in contrast to production for profit and market).

As a result of the interplay between the two conflicting systems of caste and class, a series of new groups and sets of relationships have emerged such as those that are ritually high and also high in occupation, income and education and which often come in contact with those which are high in education, income and occupational dimensions but low in ritual ranking. Many examples of such groups and sets of relationships can be given, in fact they will be analysed in the following part of the paper.

Theoretically, then, an individual possesses two sets of statuses—an ascribed 'relatively fixed status' and an achieved 'relatively flexible status'. This dichotomy of the two opposite social systems is further intersected by the dichotomy within each system characteristic of caste and class. That is, vertically speaking, the dichotomy of upper and lower castes exists along with the

dichotomy of upper and lower classes. Such fluidity, characteristic of the transitional urban community today, is responsible for the creation of status inconsistencies. It is, therefore, an interesting and useful theoretical exercise to analyse these inconsistencies which have a bearing on the urban social stratification.

In the situation such as described above the concept of status inconsistency of status crystallization becomes relevant. From Aristotle to Marx to Warner, various social scientists had conceived and analysed the structure of social hierarchy in unidimensional terms. But since Weber's (1946) classical exposition, "classes, status groups and parties are phenomenon of the distribution of power within a community", it has been realized that the structure of social groups generally involves the coexistence of a number of parallel vertical hierarchies which usually are imperfectly correlated with one another. It has been observed (Lenski 1954) that the different types of statuses of the individuals are inclined to reach a common level in some time. Nevertheless, at a given point in time, there are always individuals in the complex societies whose several statuses are inconsistent.

The nature of their inter-relations is considerably conditioned by the level of technology, the level of productive forces, and the type of property relations within which the entire system of production and distribution of that specific society functions. The amount of urban life, the quality of urban life, the types and content of social processes emerging in urban life, the specific problems which will arise and will confront the urban population, will be basically conditioned by the property relations which prevail in that society as a whole and of which both urban and rural sections are organic parts, and further, by the basic needs of the classes which own the means of production within that society, and which, as a result of the ownership of means of production, fundamentally control the means of power as well as the means of culture in that

particular society. This class, in Prof. Toynbee's term the 'creative minority' at a certain stage becomes a 'dominant minority'. It both organizes the mode of production, and determines the extraction of economic surplus. It also establishes the norms for the distribution. This class also shapes the culture of the society and generates what is called the upper cultural traditions or which is sometimes called great cultural tradition in contrast to little cultural tradition or folk culture in that society. The needs of that class basically decide the types of urban settlements, the quality of social processes generated in urban life, the various types of institutions emerging in urban areas, the dominant recreational, artistic, and intellectual processes which will acquire prominence in urban as well as in total social framework of that society and the types of pathologies or social problems which will prevail therein.

The capitalist societies are marked by certain characteristics which are well-known and within the matrix of which both the urban and the rural life of the people of those societies move. Here, the ownership of the means of production lies in the hands of private individuals or corporations. The entire process of production is oriented to the motive of profit of these owners which is realised through the mechanism of the market. The needs of the capitalist class, which is the ruling class, which owns the means of production, which also controls the political power and the instruments of culture and propaganda, determine the level, the quality, and the extent of the urban mode of life as also the speed and type of urbanization. Chase for profit shapes the entire contour of the social process. It guides the handling of resources, determines the nature of production, and generates specific patterns of institutions and associations. It also determines the mode of distribution, the division of labour, territorial specialization and the allocation of resources. It, further, injects the entire social life with the spirit of competition and market orientation and leads to the elimination or dwarfing of certain higher aspects of life which are not

conducive to its objective. As pointed out by the UNESCO Seminar, "Cities in the West developed largely as a result of the play of the market mechanism. There was no or little central planning. The free play of the market largely determined the division of labour, territorial specialization, the allocation of resources, the spatial pattern of cities and ecological interdependence. It was not necessary for the Western world to understand the matrix of factors which accounted for either economic development or urbanization. The market mechanism operated to produce both economic development and the urbanization of the West.

#### **4.5. CHANGING FAMILY STRUCTURE**

It has been widely argued in the world of social sciences that urban industrial civilisation weakens family ties. In India this view became popular with the works of O'Malley, Mayer and Bailey. However, some social scientists quickly questioned this standpoint. Subsequently their views were further supported by Madan and Shah. These scholars have argued that in India the conventional joint family system has not only persisted but also got further reinforced in the face of urban-industrial civilisation. Their argument has rested not on observations of the common residence group, which is the most basic referent of the term 'joint family', but on studies of attitudes towards family life or of the family group as a set of relationships or as a functioning unit. Nonetheless, they have conceded that urbanisation or industrialisation has caused reduction in the incidence of common residence groups to some extent.

Madan, however, expressed doubts about the relationship between industrialisation and nuclear or conjugal family. In support of his contention he has stated that nuclear family has also been found among many so-called primitive societies and pre-industrial Western societies. There can essential association between Nevertheless, how his argument industrialisation and the nuclearisation. Anthropological knowledge on family suggests that the nuclear family form is

found at both ends of the stages of economic evolution: in societies with primitive hunting and gathering economies, where food supply is uncertain; and in modern industrial societies, where the market requires the geographical mobility of small, nuclear systems.

It is suggested that with the rise in the levels of education and spirit of individualism, population mobility, urbanisation, and the onset of demographic transition and increasing occupational differentiation extensive changes have occurred in the Indian family system. The generalisations or observations made are, however, valid in broad terms only. In essence the paper corroborates the generalisation that the Indian family is in transition from consanguinity orientation to conjugal orientation.

Family forms are affected by family occupations. For example, Brahmins, a priestly caste, who do not cultivate the land themselves, retain for a long duration both the strong authoritarian eldest male role and the joint family life style. Since land is the sole pecuniary source and is held jointly, it would not be economically viable for a son to leave the joint family after marrying. However, now the whole system has experienced marked changes with the rise in industrialisation, urbanisation, migration, modernisation and the spirit of individualism. These changes are no more confined to towns and cities; rather, they have engulfed the whole countryside.

During the 1950s several survey-based studies were conducted covering such urban centres as Calcutta (Kolkata), Poona (Pune), Delhi, Nagpur, Bombay (Mumbai), Bangalore, Mahuva and Navsari, but none suggested the passing of joint families. Rather, according to the family experts, the survey data had shown the presence of joint family, more particularly among trading castes and communities, in a substantial proportion. But, by the end of the first half of the 20th century, changes in family organisation were adequate to imply virtual



departure of joint family from city life. The poorer sections of society have long back cast off the extended or joint family system in favour of nuclear family. Thus, many urban households are really offshoots of rural extended or joint families in a legal sense. A joint household in the native village is the fountainhead of nuclear families in towns. Members of such families do meet during certain festivals or social ceremonies, but for all practical purposes they constitute independent households. These days, owing to the rising spirit of individualism, most often two brothers tend to form two independent households even within the same city, even when the ancestral property is not formally partitioned in their native place. Thus, the conventional joint family is now more a fiction than a reality in urban India.

The states and union territories which have a relatively higher proportion of tribal people in their population or have attained a higher level of urbanisation tend to record a greater proportion of single member house-holds and nuclear families than others. As the pace of family formation/dissolution has become faster than before, households are now usually headed by relatively younger people. Census data from 1971 onwards have clearly borne out that at the national level over three-fifths of the households are headed by persons aged less than 50 (J.P. Singh 1984). There is every reason to believe that households headed by younger persons are likely to constitute a larger proportion than this in urban areas where the proportion of stem families, not to speak of joint families, is much smaller than that in rural areas. J.P. Singh (1984) has further observed that the smaller the size of household, the younger will be its head. Rural to urban migration is mostly a young adult phenomenon and the migrants are more likely to move alone rather than with other members of the family, giving rise to a significant proportion of single-member households in urban areas.

Joint families are breaking up more prematurely than was the case in the past. Based on a study of nine villages in Karnataka, Caldwell has reported that 41 percent of all households were partitioned when the fathers were still alive. The percentage has to be higher in the North Indian villages where there is no system of marriage between close kin. This is evident from the rising incidence of bride burning, divorce and violence against women in North India generally. Notwithstanding individual differences among the members, the joint family was a much more serene organisation in olden days, for the head of the family was quite a commanding person to iron out any intra- or inter-familial differences. Education among the young or their increasing ability to secure work elsewhere has posed a continued threat partition. This has meant reduction in the pyramidal control structure the traditional joint or stem family.

The emergence of financially independent, career-oriented men and women, who are confident of taking their own decisions and who crave to have a sense of individual achievement, has greatly contributed to the disintegration of joint family. Disintegration of joint family has helped develop closer bonds between spouses, though the reverse is also partly true. Nuclear family is viewed as a safer matrimonial home.

true. Nuclear family is viewed as a safer matrimonial home for a woman. Female discords, particularly between mother-in-law and daughter in-law or among daughters-in-law themselves, are considered the prime factor behind the partitioning of families or households. With the rise female education and individual autonomy, discord between brothers on a gradual increase.

#### **4.6. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY**

Migration from rural to urban areas is a phenomenon that is found to accompany economic development universally. Rural areas have agriculture as their principal activity which normally has a lower productivity per worker than the non-agricultural activities which are

mainly located in urban areas. Further, being based on a relatively fixed factor of production, namely land, agriculture tends to grow at a lower rate than other activities. Thus, rural-urban migration, to a large extent, is a reflection of a structural shift in economic activities from agriculture to non-agriculture, which has historically characterised the process of economic development. Besides, of course, by definition, the urban areas provide better access to non-economic facilities and amenities of life, which also attract rural population.

In spite of its being a logical concomitant of economic development, rural-urban migration is quite often viewed as a problem. For one thing, a high rate of such migration is seen to reflect not only a high degree of rural-urban differences in incomes and economic opportunities, but also absolute poverty and destitution in rural areas, which are obviously negative characteristics of the structure and development of an economy. Then, there are social costs of migration, in terms of dislocation of family and community life in the rural areas and congestion and stresses on services in urban areas.

The composition and characteristics of migrants is thus changing over the years. A decline in the proportion of those migrating for employment, though small but consistent, could be considered significant. So there is increasing proportion of those migrating for education among the pre-1971 migrants, marriage constituted the most important reason (36 per cent), followed by employment (27 per cent) and movement of family (22 per cent). Among post-1976 migrants movement of family accounts for the largest number (32 per cent), followed by employment (25 per cent), marriage is the third but much less important reason (17 per cent). If movement of family and marriage are taken together as basically non economic, socio-demographic reasons, we find that they accounted for 58 per cent of the rural-urban migration before 1971, in the post-1976 period they account for 49 per cent. But education and other

reasons have very significantly increased. It, therefore, seems} that over the years the incidence of 'distress' migration has declined, while that for improvement in educational and living standards has increased.

### **Check your progress**

7. Can you highlight the factors that are contributing for the cause of migration?

Thus the rate of migration from rural to urban areas has not accelerated and if anything, has shown a declining tendency. Several demographic and economic reasons have been advanced to explain the slowdown of rural urban migration. Persistently high rate of natural increase in the urban population, slow-down of employment opportunities in urban areas, growth of sub-urban railway and road transport, etc. are some of the factors which could account for deceleration in the rate of migration. And, of course, the general development leading to improvements not only in economic conditions but also in educational and health services is also expected to have contributed to the non-acceleration of the rural to urban migration over the decades.

This migration takes place between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five and moves by successive stages to the large industrial cities. More males migrate than females. There are fewer tendencies toward marriage among the migrants than among those who stay on farms. The majority of migrants enter urban life as unskilled laborers. Males enter the clerical, professional, and entrepreneurial classes more readily than females. There seems to be no fundamental difference between the urbanization process in this state at the present time and that taking place in Europe between 1850 and 1900. The decline of immigration will undoubtedly be accompanied by an increased urbanization process. This may increase the well-being of agriculture by

decreasing production and increasing prices. This urbanization process should be considered in determining public policy regarding the rural school. Farmers are bearing the burden of educating children, one-half of whom will become citizens of towns and cities. The rural school must prepare one-half of its pupils for town life and one-half for agriculture, as well as all for citizenship. It has frequently been suggested that a part of the burdens of rural education be borne by taxes on city populations.

Urban migration is one of the topics which have received a great deal of attention from students of modern India. This interest is understandable in view of the immense contribution of migrants to both urban growth and industrialization (Rao, 1974). For reasons too obvious to mention the main focus of sociological studies has been on relatively poor rural migrants entering the cities to seek unskilled employment in the growing industries of the sub -continent. Thus, Eames (1954) found that migrants from rural Uttar Pradesh typically left the village to earn cash to repay debts, build a house, buy cattle or meet impending social obligations. Indeed, as regards the northern part of the country, where men migrate over great distances for varying periods of time, it has been suggested that the economy of the village has come to depend for its viability on that of the urban centre (Rowe 1973). An important feature of the migratory process which has been noted is its "associational" character. Migrants from similar caste and regional backgrounds initiate one another into urban experiences, provide assistance in obtaining employment, and tend to live together in segregated residential localities, and thus to share a not unfamiliar cultural environment (Rao 1974).

Migration is not necessarily a once -and-for-all step, but may involve several 'entries' and 'exits'. This is not an alternation between the city and a fixed rural abode as in so many instances of labour migration in India (e.g. Eames 1965; see Mayer 1962 for a discussion of the literature

on migration in Africa). It implies, rather, a circulatory movement of migrants between urban centres, as will become apparent. What seems to emerge as a crucial distinction between migrants entering the urban workforce at the upper end of the occupational hierarchy and those entering it at the lower end (and to whom alone most of the observations made about migration to date apply) is that former are, on the whole, more urban and less rural-based. This point has already been noted, for example, by Gist who found that the higher echelons of the occupational order in Bangalore and Mysore City were recruited in disproportionately large numbers from cities. Such an urban orientation relates undoubtedly to patterns of social mobility found at this level of the class structure. Watson (1964) has argued that career advancement requires frequent changes of residence. The progressive ascent of the specialists of different skills through a series of higher positions in one or more hierarchical structures, and the concomitant residential mobility through a number of communities at one or more steps during the ascent forms a characteristic combination of social and spatial mobility which may be called spiralism. Moreover, spiralists are found in greater numbers in the bigger towns and cities where the higher levels of large scale bureaucratic organizations tend to be found. This observation, while made in the context of a study of mobility in Britain, seems equally to apply to the Indian situation. Gould, for one, notes how those high in the occupational order gravitate toward the ultimate metropolitan structures.

Certainly, Madras City has attracted elite migrants including Christians in ever-increasing numbers following the expansion of its industrial importance and the growth in the volume of top positions available to Indians. The movement from smaller to larger urban centres (step-migration) is, according to Chatterjee, confined largely to the urban born or based a contention that would seem to be supported by the evidence from the present study.

#### 4.7. SUMMARY

- The urban population is increasing decade by decade in India. The growing urban population is rapidly transforming the nearby rural areas into urban periphery. There is a concentration of urban population in large cities and existing urban agglomeration. Most of this increase was in the growth of census towns rather than on statutory towns.
- Occupational change has been understood largely as change in the activities of the members society to earn their livelihood. The change is observed in terms of changes in the distribution activities in the socio-economic structure of society. From this it is only a step further to describe by classifying activities in terms of role expectations and positions and evaluation of this role.
- However, in the mid-twentieth century, the forces of modernization, effective as they are in the urban India today, have given immense opportunities to the members of different castes to achieve a higher status in the non-ritual dimensions. This has shaken the traditional caste structure and has accelerated escalation of statuses, occupational and others and has provided momentum to social mobility. In India the conventional joint family system has not only persisted but also got further reinforced in the face of urban-industrial civilisation. The whole system has experienced marked changes with the rise in industrialisation, urbanisation, migration, modernisation and the spirit of individualism. These changes are no more confined to towns and cities; rather, they have engulfed the whole countryside.

Migration from rural to urban areas is a phenomenon that is found to accompany economic development universally. This migration takes place between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five and moves by successive stages to the large industrial cities. More males migrate

than females. There are fewer tendencies toward marriage among the migrants than among those who stay on farms. The majority of migrants enter urban life as unskilled laborers.

#### 4.8. KEY TERMS

**Demography:** the study of population size, composition and distribution and the pattern of change therein.

**Joint family:** a family that includes three or more generation including gran parents, parents, married sons and their unmarried children living under the same roof and sharing the same hearth including their income.

**Nuclear family:** a husband and wife with their unmarried children.

**Primary occupation:** an occupation relating to agriculture.

**Secondary occupation:** an occupation relating to manufacturing.

**Tertiary occupations:** an occupation relating to good and service delivery.

**Migration:** A group of population or an individual moving away from the habitat place.

**Social Mobility:** a change in the position by changing one's own occupation.

#### 4.9. ANSWER TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. It ranges from I-VI
2. Free capital and free labour
3. Agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery
4. Manufacturing industries, both small and large scale
5. Transport, communications, banking and finance and services
6. The kind of occupation that is being practice and inherited by the younger siblings from their parents in other word it is caste based occupation.
7. Education, marriage, medical, employment



#### **4.10. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES**

1. Discuss the changing profile of population in Indian cities?
2. How many types of town are there according to census study?
3. How does urban bring occupation change?
4. Discuss the new types of class formation in the urban?
5. Illustrate the changing nature of family in urban with examples.
6. Illustrate with examples about the migration process taking place in India.
7. Discuss social mobility.

#### **4.11. FURTHER READING**

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**UNIT – 5 URBAN PLANNING AND PROBLEM**

- 5.16 Introduction
- 5.17 Unit Objectives
- 5.18 Urban management in India
- 5.19 Urban institution
- 5.20 Factors affecting planning
- 5.21 Problems of housing, slum and development
- 5.22 Urban environmental problems
- 5.23 Urban poverty
- 5.24 Delinquency
- 5.25 Urban Crime
- 5.26 Urban spacing – expansion of cities and consequent of displacement
- 5.27 Summary
- 5.28 Key terms
- 5.29 Answer to ‘ Check your progress’
- 5.30 Questions and exercises
- 5.31 Further reading

## **5.0. INTRODUCTION**

The world is experiencing a historically unprecedented transition from predominantly rural to chiefly urban living. In 1950, a third of the world's population lived in cities; today, the proportion has already reached more than a half. By 2050, city dwellers are expected to account for more than two-thirds of the world's population. This rapid rise in urbanization will mainly take place in developing countries. India's urban development is among the most important – the country's urban population is forecasted to almost double from 2014 to 2050.

The urban development plans (for example, the “100 Smart Cities” programme) announced by the new administration in India have attracted global attention. Indeed, action is needed in India: the coverage and quality of urban infrastructure and services are poor, and the acquisition and management of land is also a pressing issue.

Cities are an efficient way of organizing people's lives: they enable economies of scale and network effects, reducing the need for transportation and making economic activity proximity can spark innovation and create employment, as exchanging ideas breeds new ideas. The diversity of cities also promotes social tolerance and provides opportunities for civic engagement. Today, the linkages between cities already form the backbone of global trade, and cities generate a majority of the world's gross domestic product (GDP).

India needs to integrate spatial planning at all governmental levels: national, state and city. India should create a stable policy framework for private investment in urban infrastructure. India requires institutions to stimulate capacity building and attract talent to grow businesses.

### **5.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES**

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the urban management system in India
- Describe the forms of urban institution and factors affecting planning

- Discuss the problems of urban at various levels
- Define the urban spacing and its consequences – expansion of cities and consequent

## 5.2. URBAN MANAGEMENT IN INDIA

Urban management is a relatively new topic, which has gained increasing importance due to a rise in urbanization and a wave of decentralization programs in recent decades. The dynamics of cities can be expressed in the golden triangle: urban development is the result of migration and entrepreneurship in a dynamic context created by policies and urban managers. A key element of the urban management definition is that urban issues are related to each other:

1. An integrated approach to urban management should study with all these issues in relation to each other
2. If certain issues are related to each other, the proposed solutions should also deal with the problems in an integrated way
3. The urban manager implements the solution after consulting with all the stakeholders.

According to Amos “Urban Management is the responsibility of municipal government and urban management is concerned with all aspects of urban development, both public and private. It is no way confined to the services operated by the municipal authority. Good urban management depends on the power to coordinate the activities of a variety of agencies at national and local levels.”

Davidson writes “Urban Management is about mobilizing resources in a way that can achieve urban development objectives”.

According to S K Sharma the Urban Management can be described “as the set of activities which together shape and guide the social, physical and economic development of urban areas. The main concern of urban management, then, would be intervention in these

areas to promote economic development and wellbeing and to ensure necessary provision of essential services.”

### **Check your progress**

1. What do you understand my urban management?
2. What could be the possible key elements in urban management?

India’s urban population of 410 million makes it the second largest urban community in the world. Yet, the urbanization ratio (32%) is still low. Overall, the provision of basic urban services is poor. Total investments of at least \$640.2 billion are needed for urban infrastructure and services until 2031 to meet the needs of the growing urban population and improve the standard of living of the existing urban population. The funding gap is estimated at \$80–110 billion. The Government of India has sought to foster urban development by introducing legislation such as the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act and through various initiatives, such as the creation of five industrial corridors programme and the 100 Smart Cities programme.

### **The Nature of Urban Management**

Better management of human settlements in the less developed countries has become a priority if the aspirations of citizens, governments and the concerned international community are to be realised. Recognition of this need has been prompted by a growing awareness that cities, towns, and villages have functions to perform which are as important as those of rural areas. While urban centres have undergone substantial growth and change, urban systems have been neglected, resulting almost everywhere in conditions which are unacceptable by any criteria. This neglect has not only taken the form of meager resources for essential actions and indifference to the absence of institutions capable of acting, but it has also cultivated a general vagueness about the specific nature of the responsibilities involved

and who will bear them. The call for better management of urban areas is an attempt to respond to past neglect. Yet much remains confused about the purposes, nature, scope, and distribution of responsibilities which may be meant by the concept of urban management.

### **A Definition of Urban Management**

Management is a matter of taking sustained responsibility for actions to achieve particular objectives with regard to a particular object. As such, urban management can direct efforts toward common goals, glean benefits from co-ordination of expenditures and human actions, focus resources on high priority targets and organise and initiate essential tasks which competition, confusion, inertia or neglect leave undone. Urban management can husband and efficiently utilize scarce resources, vastly expanding the resource pool available for the needs of urban life.

In the case of urban management, the object is the city or town and only indirectly is management concerned with the institutions trying to manage. Urban management is not the management of local government. Nor is it the management alone of resources, or of development, or of public services, or of urban growth, or of any other partial urban concern. It is no less than management of the activities of human settlements. And, contrary to what is sometimes said, management is not separate from planning or from development, but encompasses both of these.

A prerequisite for taking any responsibility is to know that it is there and to understand what it entails. Hence, the substance of urban management must be clearly identified, if its responsibilities are to be accepted or assigned and if they are to be carried out. A principal cause of weak management of urban areas in developing countries may be this lack of awareness of what urban management is what it entails, and who then must do it or might benefit from doing it. Local and regional cultural and historical differences may lie

behind very different degrees of awareness, giving rise to some of the variations in the quality of urban management from one place to another.

The important scope of urban management can be drawn as follow:

- a. Planning, implementation, monitoring of urban infrastructure and services. Effective and efficient delivery of urban services to raise the quality to living of people residing in urban areas.
- b. Effective and efficient management of projects and programmes for achievement of urban development goals.
- c. Promotion of intersectoral coordination in the urban sector. Coordination with the health, public health, education, women and child welfare, etc. for the holistic urban development.
- d. Promote community participation and involve NGOs and civil society organizations in the effective provision and management of urban services.
- e. Enhance the capability of Urban Local Bodies and Urban Institution in carrying out the duties and responsibilities entrusted to them under the 74<sup>th</sup> constitution amendment (India).
- f. Strengthen urban administration and governance to deal with various problems associated to urban development.
- g. Effectively implement urban policies for enhancing contribution of both formal and informal sectors towards urban development.

The Urban governments and its central, state or urban local bodies generally carry out the responsibility for managing six inter-related urban sector i.e. urban land, natural environment, infrastructure, urban services and development.

### **Check your progress**

3. Name any two scope of urban management.

**Urban Land Use:** Management of urban land is of the prime responsibility of local governments. The equitable, efficient and effective management of urban land is essential for city development. A few important issues related to urban land management are follows:

- a. Accurate and timely mapping, gathering and maintenance of land related data;
- b. Fair and quick land registration procedures to facilitate effective administration of property rights;
- c. Clear cut and fair mechanisms for assembly, transfer and disposal of land including a transparent market valuation mechanisms;
- d. Effective policy and participatory planning of land users and
- e. Efficient and effective procedures and systems for generating revenue from land through taxation and user fees.

**Natural Environment:** It is one of the important duties and responsibilities of local government to do proper management of natural environment of cities. The cities natural resources must be managed in such a way that it is free from pollution and environmental degradation. If the cities, especially large towns environment are not managed properly, it would result in serious irreplaceable depletion of essential resources and affect safely to public health and the capacity of natural systems to sustain development. Therefore, there should be proper management of water resources, air quality and land resources in urban areas in tune with environmental protection and sustainable development.

**Urban Infrastructure:** Infrastructure development is critical to urban development. The local government, therefore, need to do proper planning, provisioning, operation and maintenance of urban infrastructure such as road, water supply and treatment system, solid waste management system, provision of electricity, urban transport, housing, communication systems ranging from telephone services to telecommunication. A proper coordination



among various divisions such as planning, constructing, operation and maintenance is essential for management of urban infrastructure.

**Urban Social Services:** Local governments are often called upon to manage a diverse range of social services in their areas. These services include urban health care facilities through dispensaries and clinics; education at least pre-primary and primary education; security from crime, public safety from fire and natural disaster and during emergencies; welfare programs of physically challenged and old age; poverty alleviation programs and provision of recreation i.e. open spaces, parks and part of cultural facilities. Provision of urban social services is equally important to that of urban infrastructure. The provision of urban services also called for establishment of schools, hospitals, old age home, and care house for physically challenged, recreation clubs and parks. The judicious allocation of resources between various development infrastructure and service infrastructure is sine-qua-non for holistic urban development.

**Urban Economic Development:** Local governments influence economic development through policies and programmes, which has relation with investment climate, distribution of goods and services and other basic amenities; and provision of services through taxation and other mechanisms.

### **Check your progress**

4. What is an urban social service?
5. What is natural environment?

These affect various sectors of urban economy:

- a. **Primary sector** – economic activities, for example, agriculture activities performed in peri-urban areas in Indian context Nagar Panchayats;
- b. **Secondary Sector** – activities relating to manufacturing and construction; and

- c. **Tertiary Sector** – functions relating to services activities such as banking, insurance, and information technology. The local government needs to make necessary urban employment provision in order to provide sustainable livelihood to urban migrant labourers. Strong urban economy is essential for faster urban development.

### 5.3. URBAN INSTITUTION

In this topic we shall discuss urban institution of the decentralisation system of municipal arrangements in India. The aim of this module is to understand decentralisation in the larger context of globalisation, the retreat of the state from traditional functions, greater involvement of non-state actors like market players and civil society organisations (CSOs), good governance and citizens' participation. In the globalised scenario, the state is transforming itself. It can legitimately transfer power or sanction new powers above it through agreements between states to establish and abide by the norms of international government. At the other end, it can allow constitutional ordering within its own territory in respect of the relationship of power and authority between different levels of government and civil society, best described as “glocalisation”.

The state is accompanied by increasing attention towards civil society institutions by which organised interests seek to influence and engage with state institutions. Local governments, in turn, responded by contracting out services to private producers, devolving responsibilities to the voluntary sector and developing bases of internal competition directed more towards the efficient use of restricted financial resources. Globally, the United Kingdom (UK), New Zealand and Australia are forerunners in adopting new forms of decentralised local urban governance (Singh 2012:112).

In the model of good governance, decentralisation and devolution of administrative and financial power and functions are central themes. Decentralisation often means greater participation of non-state actors including private companies and CSOs. The inclusion of

private players in service provision like water, solid waste management, sanitation and infrastructure like roads is believed to make them more efficient.

The 74<sup>th</sup> CAA, 1992 conferred constitutional status on urban local bodies (ULBs), such as municipalities, which were provided with elected councils, and constituted the third tier of government, the other two being the central government and the government of each state of the union. This Act also allowed for participation of women and weaker sections of society through reservation of seats – one-third for women, and for the scheduled castes and tribes in proportion to their demographic weight in the population of the corresponding constituency; and transferred, to the ULBs, the responsibility for urban development – in particular, of providing urban infrastructure and services, and mobilising the required financial resources through taxes, levying of users' costs and the attracting of private national and foreign investments.

Article 243Q of the 74th CAA has stipulated the criteria for three types of ULBs. They are

- (1) Municipal corporation for a larger urban area;
- (2) Municipal councils for a smaller urban area and
- (3) Nagar Panchayat for an area in transition from rural to urban.

It lists five criteria for constituting ULBs, namely, the population of the area, the density of the population therein, the revenue generated for local administration, the percentage of employment in non-agricultural activities and the economic importance. For the first time, thus more comprehensive parameters were laid down for declaration of municipal areas. However, specific quantitative criteria were not specified in the 74th CAA for “larger urban area” and “smaller urban area”. Article 243 Q of the 74th CAA 1992 on the Constitution of Municipalities reads

- (1) there shall be constituted in every State,

- (a) a nagar panchayat (by whatever name called) for a transitional area, that is to say, an area in transition from a rural area to an urban area;
- (b) a municipal council for a smaller urban area; and
- (c) a municipal corporation for a larger urban area, in accordance with the provisions of this part:

Provided that a municipality under this clause may not be constituted in such urban area or part thereof as the governor may, having regard to the size of the area and the municipal services being provided or proposed to be provided by an industrial establishment in that area and such other factors as she/he may deem fit, by public notification, specify to be an industrial township.

(2) In this article, "a transitional area", "a smaller urban area" or "a larger urban area" means such area as the governor may, having regard to the population of the area, the density of the population therein, the revenue generated for local administration, the percentage of employment in non-agricultural activities, the economic importance or such other factors as she/he may deem fit, specify by public notification for the purposes of this part. As per the 12th Schedule of the 74th CAA, 18 new tasks were added to the functional domain of ULBs

### **Check your progress**

6. What do you understand by urban institution?

## **5.4. FACTORS EFFECTING URBAN PLANNING**

### **Concept of Urban Planning and Its Scope**

Planning, in general, means that “the act or process of making, or carrying out of plans; specifically, the establishment of goals, policies, and procedures for a social or economic unit.” As a complex governmental process, planning comprises policy making and policy implementation, which involves the collection of data and information, the

formulation of goals, objectives and priorities, and the devising and evaluation of alternative ways of attaining goals and objectives. “The function of planning” in this respect, Fitch and associates elucidate, is to inform, to stimulate, and to guide those responsible for policy decisions, to reduce the incidence of guesswork in policy-making, and to enable the community to make intelligent choices about its future development.

Planning is a process for providing healthy and livable human settlements, as well as a blueprint of industrial growth and a road map of development. It helps in deciding objectives both in quantitative and qualitative terms. It is a setting of goals on the basis of objectives to be pursued and achieved by the administrative authorities. Planning involves purposeful design of the future through societal action as society and its members devise their own images of a desirable future. Planning is not only of importance to the society as whole but also to the individual’s lives. As public resources are limited and its needs always exceed its coffers, efficiency is a vital element in their use. Planning, then, serves this purpose best.

### **The Scope of Urban Planning**

Urban planning is a term that encapsulates both science and art, which has strong relevance to several disciplines and brings them under a single umbrella. It encompasses almost all aspects of a city, whether it be physical, social, or cultural. In response to urbanization, these aspects vary from the construction of children’s playgrounds to highway or railroad infrastructures; from the construction of residential, industrial, or commercial sites to governmental plants and buildings. However, planning activity involves not only building or re-construction of a whole city but also the construction or restoration of a single building. The public activity of urban planning is not just about the construction of such facilities for public use; it must also meet some cultural and social needs of society, as well as an answer to some aesthetic considerations. Ought urban planning to concern itself only with the present and future needs of the urban community – in a manner limited to the current

modes of social and cultural change, or limited to devising remedies for the problems engendering these changes? The scope of urban planning will be varied based on answers to this question. The answer, indeed, prompts a distinction between two types of urban planning activity.

Boskoff distinguishes between corrective planning and creative planning, according to the scope of, and the aims pursued by, the urban planning activity. Although both types of activity relate to the physical and social aspects of planning, corrective planning is said to be preliminary to the planners' fundamental objective –the creation of an urban region that provides the maximum in physical services and social amenities for its residents; creative planning, on the other hand, being regarded as an ideal, a projected image, and a utopian perspective, directed to building urban areas “in which changes can be consciously selected and articulated with one another so as to achieve the highest level of experience and opportunity from the urban potential.”

### **Major Characteristics of Urban Planning**

It must be noted at the outset that there may be countless way of analyzing the characteristics of urban planning. Before identifying the major characteristics of urban planning, it would be helpful to explain the elements of the urban planning process. B. Harris cites five elements of the urban planning process as follows:

1. At the first stage, a problem is identified with the mismatch between aspirations and potential developments. These problems cover a spectrum of complexity and urgency, and the most general is the difficulty of designing and securing a better future urban environment.
2. A number of solutions or new courses of action are then produced to take part. This stage of planning is basically one of design or invention and holds many more subtle difficulties than are generally recognized.

3. The other problem of planning is to foresee the consequences of adopting each of a selected set of design or discoveries, estimating their costs and benefits and at the same time establishing a comparative basis by forecasting the conditions which would emerge due to the absence of new
4. designs and new policies.
5. The fourth stage in the planning process is the evaluation of courses of action and the selection of the most effective and desired one.
6. Fifth: the desired course would include budgets, project schedules, legislative enactments, public education campaigns, and perhaps a sketch of the political process.

Urban planning is one of the quandaries of modern society. Rapid growth in urbanization has brought about significant problems that the public authorities could not handle with, and led to the formation of slum areas and shanty constructions all over the world. As a result, many people have to suffer from the negative effects of such developments, and to have a very low standard of living. As a governmental work and duty, urban planning is to minimize the negative effects of urbanization, and also to maximize the quality of life in the urban areas. This task may be achieved by the preparation and the implementation of urban development plans. These plans must bear certain features in order to achieve the public benefits that are expected from it. Applications of urban development plans have significant effects on human rights. It affects the fundamental rights and freedoms of persons in two ways, either negative or positive. If the implementation of a plan directly gives rise to the restriction of a right (i.e., barring someone from constructing a building on his land), this sort of effects may be classified as those of negative-dimension. On the other hand, if the non-implementation results in the violation of persons basic rights (i.e., in cases of right to housing or to decent environment), this may be

regarded as positive-dimension effects on human rights. The main characteristics of urban planning (urban development plans), and its effects upon some of the basic rights and freedoms of persons are explored.

### **Integrate spatial planning at all governmental levels: national, state and city**

Spatial planning is the key instrument for achieving social, territorial and economic development within India and with neighbouring countries. Its primary role is integrating housing, strategic infrastructure and urban infrastructure and improving national and local governance in the context of urban development. Spatial planning has both regulatory and developmental functions. For India to take on board this recommendation, the Government of India should initiate comprehensive work on developing a national spatial strategy by the end of 2015 and link it to the ongoing activities of the industrial corridors programme, the Smart Cities programme, and other urban planning and regeneration initiatives.

### **Stable policy framework for private investment in urban infrastructure**

India, like several countries around the world, faces an acute need to provide new or modernized infrastructure and public services. Once the policy environment is stable and the right conditions for investors have been created, the Government of India needs to look at the various tools available to enable investments in strategic infrastructure and urban development. One such tool is public-private partnership (PPP). This report provides a best-practices framework and checklists to facilitate the review of the Indian PPP model of urban development. PPPs can accelerate infrastructure development by tapping the private sector's financial resources and skills in delivering infrastructure effectively and efficiently on a whole lifecycle-cost basis.

### **Institutions to stimulate capacity building and attract talent to grow businesses**

An analysis of India's economic competitiveness reveals two facts: manufacturing accounts for less than 15% of India's GDP, which is low; and India needs to grow its number



of white-collar jobs to retain and attract talent. India also needs “lighthouse” projects with the potential for interdisciplinary collaboration in the area of urban development. As next steps, it is suggested that the Indian administration continue its consultations with industry and infrastructure partners, as well as civil society, to get a balanced view of actions needed to achieve these plans. Fast, measurable and impactful action is necessary.

### **Check your progress**

7. What are the factors affecting urban planning?

### **The challenges affecting urban development in India:**

- Planning for land use and zoning
- Functioning of the property market and property governance
- Access to serviced land and affordable housing
- Access to mass transit systems and road networks
- Division of power and financial autonomy between ULBs and other levels of government
- Creating a favourable environment for starting, operating and growing a business

### **The challenges have arisen from the following governance deficits:**

- Empowerment deficit: Limited, overlapping and fragmented functional assignments resulting in unclear accountability at the city level
- Resource deficit: Limited revenue-generation powers and inappropriately targeted intergovernmental transfers resulting in inadequate local government financial resources
- Accountability deficit: Despite elections and the right to information, transparency structures, roles and mandates are unclear
- Delivery deficit: Insufficient provision and maintenance of municipal services and networks.

#### 4.12. URBAN HOUSING

Housing and sheltering is basic human needs and rights to live as a human life be it rural or urban place. The housing problem is becoming a part of India even after many decades of gaining independence the country is reeling under the problem of providing shelter to growing population in the city and town. The problem is being enhanced by the constant migration from the rural areas. There is severe shortage of housing provision in the urban areas with demand and supply. In small towns of India the problem lies at the adequate housing facilities the houses built are unfit to reside rather than lack of housing facilities.

Academics, bureaucrats and legislators generally concerned themselves with the vast aggregative dimensions of the housing problem. An aspect somewhat overlooked was the qualitative changes occurring in the process of delivery of housing to consumers in urban areas. This is also of immense significance. The housing scene in Calcutta where this change has been occurring over the last decade may serve as an example, typical of urban centres across India.

The most fundamental change that such high returns have brought about is that building construction has become a commercial enterprise. It is no longer in the hands of professionals. Thus we find the agencies entrusted with the powers to regulate and oversee construction corrupted to such an extent that obtaining necessary sanctions now ranks as the most important step in the construction process. This has also resulted in spectacular abuses of building bye-laws, as in the Alipore high rise case. In general, because immediate return is the prime objective of such enterprise, the net result is diminishing standards of both construction and design. Other manifestations of this change ('For a Roof over the Head'. The Statesman, 30.12.1987) are the use of 'power of attorney' and other extra legal methods of property transfer, the ouster of the middle class from their ancestral homes, eviction of slum dwellers and the moving in of lower middle class to slum accommodations (a phenomenon

noted particularly in Bombay). This state of affairs offers scant hope of addressing the shelter needs of tomorrow even for middle and low income groups. The prospects for the poor, known euphemistically as 'Economically Weaker Section', are no brighter. Their fate rests solely on government agencies whose inefficiency renders housing schemes for this section of society-inherently in need of large subsidies-even less viable economically.

Rental housing can be a significant proportion of housing supply. Rental yields (rent as a share of property price) are the returns a property owner can get on her investment and hence play an important part in deciding the economic viability of investing in rental housing. Rental yields in India are typically very low. For comparing rental yields in Indian cities we make use of user contributed self-reported data available on Number.

Since housing is a subject on the state list, different states have different rent control laws. These laws fix rent for properties at much below the prevailing market rates and make eviction of tenants difficult. As a result, they increase perception of risk and distort incentives for renting. In 2016, the Maharashtra government tried to amend the Rent Control Act such that residential properties above 847 square feet would no longer be protected under rent control. This would have allowed landlords of these properties to increase rents to market rates. However, coming under pressure from the tenants' associations the government did not amend the law.

Homelessness is a situation found in cities. The condition varies with the shortage of housing, lackadaisical attitude of government, large scale migration, shortage of land for building the houses, lack of personnel resources and congestion. The following are some of the few factors of urban housing problem in India:

- A) **Lackadaisical attitude of government:** urban housing problem is state problem that needs proper planning and action. Due to corruption and inadequate funds may delay in implementation of the schemes for housing development.

- B) **Lack of personnel resources:** the personnel resources id one of the main problem faced by the urban citizens. Unemployment, shortage of income, lack of connectivity with the organization that facilitates, part time job etc. these are the problems which prevent of acquiring a land and house in the urban areas.People erect temporary shelters rather than be homeless. Squatters usually build temporary shelters at first, but over time these settlements are given concrete shape and become more established.
- C) **Large scale migration:** cities are facing the problems of constant migration from the neighboring rural areas and other states for various reason. The provision for shelter to every person becomes difficult and problematic. Large scale migration from the rural areas led to growth of slum settlement, unrulely settlement at the various railway tract, old industrial areas, river bed etc.
- D) **Shortage of land for building the houses:** the land of city is largely own by the corporate, capitalist, and government. Corporate and capitalist are using their land for commercial and business purposes, while government lack in maintaining and erecting any action plan. If people are not entitled to use the houses which exist, they may be homeless, even when there is no apparent shortage. Some people are excluded because of their circumstances—street children are an example. The main reason for exclusion, however, is financial—homeless people are those who cannot afford the housing which is available.
- E) **Congestion:**Many households in urban areas have to cope with increasingly crowded conditions, although this is certainly not true for everyone. The housing conditions improve when people build high buildings, sometimes more than five storeys, to increase the number of houses. Many urban centres have very high population densities. The house owners therefore rent out numerous rooms to migrants. Poor migrants five under the most crowded conditions. They do not have access to ancestral residential land.

Therefore, they depend on the rented accommodation, which they often share with many others to save money. Some poor households of the original population also live in very crowded dwellings for two other reasons. First, many families expand and split up into multiple households, while the land available for construction becomes unaffordable. They are thus forced to fit more people into the same space or house or else to split up the existing plots and dwellings to accommodate a new household. Second, in the absence of sufficient income from other sources, some households are inclined to rent out a portion of their living space or sheds to tenants.

### **Some alternative to the Problem**

In India, housing is essentially a private activity. The state intervenes only to provide legal status to the land. The state intervention is also necessary to meet the housing requirements of the vulnerable sections and to create a positive environment in achieving the goal of 'shelter for all' on self-sustainable basis. In view of the above aim, the government introduced Housing and Habitat Policy in 1998, which aimed at ensuring the basic need 'Shelter for all' and better quality of life to all citizens by harnessing the unused potentials in the public, private and household sectors. The central theme of the policy was creating strong Public/Private partnership for tackling the housing and habitat issues.

Under the new policy, government would provide fiscal concessions, carry out legal and regulatory reforms, in short government as a facilitator would create the environment in which access to all the requisite inputs will be in tune in adequate quantum and of appropriate quality and standards.

The private sector, as the other partner, would be encouraged to take up the land for housing construction and invest in infrastructure facilities. Cooperative sector and Public Housing Agencies are also being encouraged to share the responsibility of providing housing facilities. The government has even repealed the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act

(ULCRA), 1976, to facilitate land for housing activity. Upgradation and renewal of old and dilapidated housing is also encouraged.

Another major problem is the lack of resources especially with people belonging to the middle class. To overcome this problem, housing finance institutions such as National Housing Bank, a subsidiary of the Reserve Bank of India, was established in July 1988.

The Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) also started functioning with the financial support provided by the Government of India. HUDCO's focus is on providing housing facilities for economically weaker sections (EWS) and for low income group (LIG). With the advent of many private banks, a number of schemes such as providing tax concessions and lower interest rates have been introduced to promote the housing sector.

### **Check your progress**

8. What are the problems of urban housing?

The government has also introduced some schemes to curb the housing problem. They are as follows.

### **Subsidized industrial housing scheme**

This scheme was started in September 1952, to provide houses to the labourers who worked before 1948 and 1952. The Government of India gave loans to the extent of 65 per cent to various industries, state government, legal housing construction societies and cooperative societies to construct houses for the labourers. The labourers could purchase these houses according to the rules framed by the government.

But these houses could not be sold or alienated without prior permission of the government. But this scheme did not succeed much because of the lack of cooperation of mill owners. In the third Five-Year-Plan, it was made obligatory for mill owners to provide housing facilities to their labourers. In the fourth Five-Year-Plan, a provision of Rs. 45 crore was made for this purpose. The fifth plan also included similar provisions. Apart from the

central government, state governments have also formed various Housing Boards and implemented societies and various schemes.

### **LIG housing schemes**

This scheme was started in 1954. Persons who have income less than Rs. 600 per annum could get a loan up to 80 per cent. Local and cooperative bodies are given such loans.

### **Slum clearance and improvement scheme**

This scheme was started in the year 1956 to give financial assistance to the state governments and local bodies for improving the slum areas. It was estimated then that about 12 lakh houses were not fit for dwelling. Hence, the long-term and short-term schemes were started. But as it was not possible to provide houses to all the people living in slum areas, this scheme could not progress satisfactorily.

### **Middle-income group housing scheme:**

Under this scheme, the people of middle-income group are given loans for constructing the houses. The state government also gives loans on low rates of interest.

### **Rental housing schemes:**

This scheme was started in 1959 to provide houses on rent to the state government employees.

### **Land acquisition and development scheme:**

The government felt that the LIG and middle-income group people could construct houses if land was made available to them on a reasonable price. For this purpose, a plan was set up under which the state governments could acquire land and plots at suitable places, develop them and give them away to the needy people.

The government has now started focusing on providing housing facilities but has not thought much about solving problems that are connected with human settlements, such as the problems of improving and managing the civic services, constructing inexpensive houses and

conserving energy and recycling waste. Lack of proper water supply and sanitation facilities for drainage system and garbage disposal are major problems in most of the modern urban centres of today.

### **Slum Development**

Urban Poverty and Slums are the most critical problems of urban development today. The various dimensions of poverty and slums have been discussed in detail in this chapter. The appearance of slums may be seen as a byproduct in the process of urbanization in a developing country like India. Cities are a part of the fundamental changes in the society leading to socio-economic development and modernization. The cities, irrespective of their size, provide possibilities of varied occupations and collective services, such as health, education, cultural, technological, commercial or industrial services and thus act as focal points of development opportunities. The urban population and especially the urban poor face serious problems due to population pressure, deterioration in the physical environment and quality of life. Eventually, the size and spread of slums in this area not only help us to identify that they are not anomalous and pathological phenomena on the urban setting but also a manifestation of urban poverty that is still predominant in the urban economy in India.

The population of the world's cities has doubled in the last thirty years and will double again in the next twenty. An increasing percentage of the world's population is living in transitional settlements -- shanty towns where non-integrated population groups crowd into makeshift, insanitary shelters which lack water, drainage, gas and electricity; and where the lack of protection against the hazards of fire and flood breeds a sense of insecurity. In the Third World, the result has been skyscrapers of steel and glass surrounded by slums of mud and wood. In both developed and developing countries the last decade in particular saw the rapid growth of unconventional urban settlements - squatter areas, slums, and, of less



importance, mobile home parks. These represent the inability of human settlements to house population growth in terms of permanent accommodation at reasonable standards.

Uncontrolled urban growth and internal migration from countryside to the town are the major causes of urban slums. Migrants often arrive at a faster pace than the cities are able to absorb them. The development of infrastructures cannot keep pace, and the new arrivals pile up in settlements made of the flimsiest materials, sometimes without any form of municipal administration or public services. Living conditions in slum settlements are often materially worse than in the villages from which the migrants came. Overcrowding of premises in slums and shanty-type construction are typical. There is enormous pressure on water supplies and the arrangements for waste disposal. Malnutrition and diseases add to the burden on medical services. Schools are overcrowded and anti-social behavior is common. This concentration of unassimilated migrants tends to encourage juvenile delinquency, adult crime, vice, alcoholism, gambling, mental disorders, and political instability. Children of the slums are both materially and emotionally disadvantaged and underprivileged. Other social problems linked with urban environmental factors are the unbalanced distribution of population by age group in urban and suburban areas, non-adaptation of rural migrants, dissatisfaction due to instability of employment opportunities, and difficulty in integrating youth. Sickness and disease, along with high mortality rates, are commonplace. In addition to degrading their own environment, the presence of urban slums is increasingly determining the physical environment of the entire urban area. Streams are polluted, land is laid waste and hillsides are eroded through overcrowding and the lack of even the most rudimentary public services. Rats and vermin spread. Trees and vegetation are all but eliminated by the cutting for use and sale of all available timber.

### **Incidence**

The fabric of urban life and contemporary society of the country is threatened when these populations occupy 30 to 50% or more of urban areas. In India it has not been possible to provide in advance a rational arrangement of space for living, transportation and recreation, or to provide rapidly enough for housing, water, sewage disposal, education, or the other amenities of urban life.

Because the people in these areas lack the economic mobility to escape, this micro-environment becomes their life-time experience with the physical environment. What has emerged in the cities are thus vast areas of despoiled landscape that provide the physical and life space for one of the worst human environments created by man. Poverty is creating unique micro-environments, which in turn are significantly affecting the total environment of cities. Together, these changes are altering not only the natural environment but the very condition of man. The ultimate consequences are severe biological problems and acute social and political unrest.

Increasingly, these unconventional urban settlements also represent practical and effective methods of coping with accelerated urbanization. Uncontrolled settlements on the periphery of cities that formerly were viewed as detrimental because of their haphazard construction and their insanitary conditions have been recognized to have some positive elements. It is not only that their scale and life style provide a more familiar environment and a sense of community to the rural migrant, but they contain a highly motivated group of people striving towards self-improvement. The trend to transitional settlements, which appears to be an inevitable part of spreading urbanization, can be guided and converted into a positive development factor instead of an impediment to healthy urban growth.

### **Slum Development Policies & Strategies**

The approach of the government towards areas notified as Slums under the Slum areas Act 1956 has been three pronged (i) Clearance/Relocation; (ii) Insitu upgradation; and

(iii) Environmental Improvement Schemes. Clearance / relocation have been the mainstay of the policy towards the squatters and JJ clusters. The program of squatter clearance was discontinued at the end of the sixth plan (1980-85). The clearance program has been initiated again in 2005. The general policy adopted by the government has been two fold (i) No new encroachment shall be permitted on public land and (ii) Past encroachments viz. those in existence up to 1990 would not be removed without providing alternatives.

**Slums and Urbanization: Universal and Specific Aspects:**

The slum is characterised by the precarious nature of its habitat. But it is much more than that: it can genuinely be seen as a ‘hothouse’ of cultural creativity, economic invention and social innovation. Classic urban planning principles are based on comprehensive planning regarding land allocation, infrastructural organisation, and decisions on technical services and networks. In the slums, however, this technocratic approach is undermined by the social practices of individuals, families and social groups, particularly the poorer ones. These actors resort to their own emergency solutions to urban integration problems, and they do so at the micro-level at which these problems are posed – generally the plot of land, the house, and then the district. In most cases the result is an individual or family construction on a plot of land which is occupied either illegally or by informal agreement, without being connected to the customary utilities. Although, poor citizens recognise the importance of infrastructures and urban services for their wellbeing, they do not consider them a minimum requirement to move in. The immediate consequences of this situation are:

- for the users: buildings are of inadequate quality, town districts have poor infrastructure, equipment and collective services, and suffer various forms of environmental degradation; .

- for urban planners, it becomes impossible to apply classical models of spatial organisation. It also becomes necessary to improvise remedial solutions based on existing social and territorial conditions.

The question of land ownership is one of the fundamental issues regarding slums in developing countries. In many poor areas of the city most people do not own the land on which they have built their house (Durand-Lasserve and Royston, 2002). In certain cases customary forms of land occupancy still exist, and the plot is allotted to a family by the local community.<sup>3</sup> On rare occasions, this solution is legally recognised by the state. Generally though, land occupancy is wilfully ignored in favour of existing administrative, financial and regulatory procedures, often based on Western legislation imposed during the colonial era.

### **Check your progress**

9. Why there is slum?

## **5.6. URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS**

Our growing human family with its impact on the environment has become an issue of global importance. Nowadays sustainable development pollution and ecological disasters are uttered in the same breath whereas the root cause of suffering of the entire humanity remains unattended. Of late, environmental pollution is defined as unfavourable change to our surroundings by human activity bringing adverse effect on the biosphere. Anthropogenic assault has gone to such a level that it is influencing the terrestrial processes, atmospheric behaviour and radiation changes. Excessive use of natural resources through development and industrial progress are failing to keep a balance between the interactive forces that exist on the earth. The term 'balance' is not equality but an optimal, beneficial and appreciable proportionality between the components.

Urbanisation and environmental degradation had been chosen at this juncture to highlight the areas of Infringement where symbiotic relation between man and environment has been endangered by human activities arising out of excessive desire for uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources. Urbanisation process has caused serious changes in landscape, air and water quality and health. Urbanisation here accentuated natural calamities like soil erosion, landslide and loss of bio-diversity. Inappropriate disposal and reclamation has become highly detrimental with severe far-reaching effects. Thus urbanization is a major issue of the day and the question of survival of habitations in the region needs immediate attention.

Since the time of British occupation around the early nineteenth century, the psycho-cultural set up of urban settlement has been getting seriously disturbed. Extensive deforestation as a result of tea plantation and settlement has led to unplanned constructional work, inadequate drainage and unscientific usage of land. Moreover the rapid growth of population since Independence has been responsible for more and more environmental changes. It is a unique manifestation where urbanisation has brought alarming changes in demography and created enormous problems in basic amenities for living namely lack of potable water, sanitation, waste disposal and housing, over and above damaging the natural beauty and landscape of the region. Thus the pressure exerted on the environment is immense and ecological Imbalance is inevitable.

The urban environmental problems can be discussed from the following aspects:

1. **Slum area:** slum is not a part of the urban planning, slum developed due to constant flow of population from the rural families in search of employment. Slum is destroying the beauty of the city by encroaching the unused land lying adjacent to any natural sites be it pond, streams, river and waste land. Slum is pathological space for urban if it is not properly treated and managed by the authority. The slum dwellers

help to spread the most of the communicable diseases because of their unhygienic life style and lack of basic urban facilities. Besides, the petty crime and deviance activities are done by the slum children.

2. **Water managment:** large cities and town required huge amount of water for their daily activities. The rising population is adding more severe situation for the urban population. the ground table water is exhausted due to over use and growing population pressure and the streams and river nearby the town and cities which could be a good sources of water supply is polluted by the nearby settlement, pollution and waste materials released from factory and industry. The major source of water contamination is the faecal waste of sewage. Apart from this broken pipes and loose joints in the distribution system are also responsible for water contamination through seepage and back suction of sewage. Urban structures have an adverse effect on the capacity of underground water to replinshed itself. The removal of vegetation and impervious surface, created due to roads and building cause lots of changes in water hydrology. Increase in surface ruff, flooding of low lying areas, reduction in the percolation of rain water is the consequence of urbanization.
3. **Green forest:** the trees planted on the roadways, park, garden and few public places is depleting gradually from their place. Due to few numbers of trees in the urban centre the urban environment is not healthy for the urban dwellers. The rising number of vehicles is subsequently adding more chemical into the atmosphere resulting to reducing of breathable air. The trees which act as absorbing agent of poisonous carbon dioxide gas and in return give us oxygen in return is being cut down for urban infrastructure development and beautification of urban centers.
4. **Housing:** urban area is represented by dense and compact settlement. Every inch of the land spaces are used for dwelling place or economic activities. The housing

structures are erected in unplanned and very haphazard way in most of the cases creating a congested and dilapidated environment of the colonies.

5. **Waste management:** Urban areas produce tons of waste materials including degradable and non degradable waste every day. Disposing this waste material in a very sustainable and scientific way is the challenge face by the planners, administration and urban local bodies. Waste management is one of the core areas urban local bodies are concerned.
6. **Traffic and transportation:** communication system is lifeline for the urban complex for mobility and transfer of goods to every corner of the city. A roadway is the part of the urban environment, which act as nervous system for the urban environment. The expansion and growth of urban brings forth more road construction be it for easy communication, lessening the traffic congestion and connectivity for the urban residents. The increasing population and vehicles led to urban environment degradation by creating overcrowded, pollution, and traffic congestion. The urban area is becoming a hotspot for releasing green house gases emission increasing the global temperature.

Increase in vehicular traffic, while on the other there is traffic congestion resulting in longer time travel, extra fuel consumption, and higher vehicular pollution.

7. **Drainage system:** the maintenance and management of drainage system in urban area is one of the urban environmental problem faces by India. There are many significant urban areas in many cities of India there is no construction of drainage, and the existing drainage systems are hardly attend and maintained by the urban management board which is creating flood like situation in monsoon season. There is couple of incidence where the large cities like Chennai and Mumbai have been flooded due to negligence of management.

8. **Air pollution:** the quality of air in cities is worst affected by vehicular emissions. The air quality in urban area depends on the number of vehicles plying on the roads, types of fuel, vehicle speed, the meteorological condition. Vehicular traffic emissions are the leading source of air pollution in the cities. The sources of air pollution are great. Cities experience air pollution mainly from the anthropogenic sources. Automobiles are the greatest anthropogenic source of air pollution in the city. Besides, emission of gases by various industries, garbage, improper disposal of waste materials, open sewage pipelines which produce noxious gases are the other sources of air pollution in the city. The principal pollutants emitted from the automobiles are CO<sub>2</sub>, oxides of nitrogen, unburnt hydrocarbon, carbon particles, carbon monoxide, aldehydes etc.

### **Check your progress**

10. Why there is urban environmental problem?

## **5.7.URBAN POVERTY**

For the first time in history, the world is now more urban than rural (UN-DESA, 2008). Urbanisation is happening much faster in developing countries than elsewhere – population growth rates are higher and widespread internal migration is occurring. There are currently 19 megacities globally, although most population growth is occurring in smaller cities (over 50% of the world's urban population lives in cities of under 500,000 people). Almost all of the urban population increase (90%) will be absorbed in less developed regions: in Africa and Asia, annual urban population growth is projected to be 2.4% (UN-HABITAT, 2003b). The number and proportion of urban dwellers is projected to continue to rise quickly, reaching 4.9 billion by 2030. In comparison, the world's rural population is expected to decrease by some 28 million between 2005 and 2030 (UNFPA, 2007).



Cities in the developing world are increasingly becoming ‘global cities’ (Giddens, 2006). Globalisation is presenting new economic markets for developing countries to promote themselves as locations for investment and development (Grant, 2004) and growing urban centres are a major force in economic development and innovation. There are considerable benefits to living in or near an urban area. Urban areas can provide engines for economic growth, offering residents greater opportunities for work, commercial activity and access to key services. They also offer greater societal freedoms. Urban areas fulfil strategic roles in development (economies of scale, vibrancy, change processes). At the same time, though, it is important to acknowledge that these processes are often occurring alongside rising urban inequality and new forms of urban insecurity.

Indeed, a simultaneous trend towards the urbanisation of poverty, with the poor moving into towns and cities faster than the rest of the population, has been noted (Ravallion et al., 2007). It is not always the poorest rural people who migrate to urban areas: it can be those who have some means to move (e.g. social connections, aspirations, money for transport). However, this is not always the case. A study of rickshaw pullers in Dhaka, Bangladesh, found that 58% had previously worked as casual day labourers, mostly in the agricultural sector. Incidence of extreme poverty is highest among agricultural wage labourers, so a large proportion of the sample rural migrants in this case appear to have come from the rural extreme poor (Begum and Sen, 2005).

Within a generation, it has been estimated that the majority of the developing world’s population will live in urban areas, and that the number of urban residents in developing countries will double, increasing by over 2 billion inhabitants (World Bank 2000). India is no exception. Some 50% of the population or around 600 million people may be resident in urban areas by 2020. These figures suggest that we need to know more about the process of

urban development and its effect on urban residents, lives, and as a development agency, we need to know more about the impact of urbanisation generally on poverty reduction.

Although urban centres present real opportunities for poor people, they also create and feed the conditions within which poverty spreads. On the positive side, economic growth, which is partially driven by urban development, increases the incomes of poor people. In addition, cities have the resources to improve the conditions within which people live and work, and they create the context within which poor people can demand and obtain redress from political and bureaucratic systems. Urban population increases are in part fuelled by rural urban migration as people seek new employment and livelihood opportunities in urban centres.

In some contexts, urban poverty is becoming an increasing proportion of overall poverty. The proportion of households below the national poverty line still tends to be slightly lower in urban areas than in rural areas, but a substantial amount of total poverty in many countries in Africa and Asia is now urban (in excess of 20%) (Amis, 2002). This is expected to increase. An equal proportion (15%) of both the urban and rural population in India is trapped in chronic poverty (Mehta, 2001, in Amis, 2002). Over half of the urban population is below the poverty line in many countries,<sup>1</sup> with close to half in many others.<sup>2</sup> The same would be found in many others if their poverty lines made allowances for the real costs of non-food necessities in urban areas (UNFPA, 2007). In sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, 72% and 58% of the urban population, respectively, lived in slums in 2001 (UN-HABITAT, 2003b).

The marginalised urban poor receive incomes that are too low to purchase what they need for long-term survival and advancement, reflecting poor employment opportunities, low wages and/or low returns from informal vending or other forms of self-employment. This also reflects the extent to which (and the amounts that) urban dwellers pay for everything

they use, with few opportunities to secure essential goods and services outside of the market (e.g. water and sanitation, rent for housing, food, transport and health care) (Mitlin, 2005).

Urban poverty is characterised by weak labour market positions (Grant, 2008), health vulnerabilities (Begum and Sen, 2005) and physical insecurity (Henry-Lee, 2005; Perlman, 2003) and can be linked to how well urban populations adapt to change or cope with transitions (Mitlin, 2005).

### **Living conditions and access to services:**

In urban centres, people are dependent on the provision of public and private services to mitigate the environmental effects of the overcrowded conditions in which they live - accumulations of solid waste, human excrement, and stagnant water in polluted open drains. They cannot dispose of their rubbish on open wastelands, or relieve themselves in forests, and they cannot rely on common property resources as alternative sources of income, water and fuel. Unfortunately, many poor people do not have access to those services - water, drain clearance, solid waste disposal systems - which could improve the environmental conditions within which they live. This means that urban poverty is invariably associated with poor quality housing, often in overcrowded unsanitary slum settlements, and with ill health which is related to the spread of infectious diseases like tuberculosis (TB), and the constant threat of exposure to environmental hazards such as mosquito infested drains, and fires and floods, which could destroy their homes altogether. Poverty is also associated with a lack of access to a wider range of services, including health, education and law and order, on the grounds of cost, discriminatory practices, and the failure of urban managers to keep pace with the demands of growing settlements on the peri-urban fringe.

In India, these conditions are exacerbated by the division of the poor between those living in officially recognized Slum settlements where service provision is permitted, and illegal non-recognised squatter settlements, where it is not. In the former, service provision, if

it exists at all, is patchy, poorly maintained, and severely under-resourced. The status recognized officially permits poor people to make demands on the political system, but this does not mean that their voices are heard. People in the non-recognised category however, are invariably the most vulnerable among the poor. They live on the most precarious sites and in untenable conditions along polluted canal banks, on pavements, and along railway lines, in constant fear of eviction or relocation. They represent a sizeable proportion of the urban poor. Slater (1998), using the 1991 census, has estimated that at least 30 million people fall into this category alone in India. This is in addition to the 46 million residing in recognised slums. The effect of these living conditions on family life, coupled with limited access to essential services (and especially clean water, drain clearance and good health care) is graphically described.

### **Assets/income**

Life in urban areas can be costly. People need access to cash to cover the higher cost of living in urban areas than rural areas, where essential items including food and many non-food items (such as rent, energy, transport, water from private vendors, and sanitation from pay-as-you-use facilities) have to be purchased. Poor people's capacity to meet these needs is dependent on having somewhere secure to live, preferably close to their work, their capacity to sell their labour for money, and their ability to draw on and use social support systems. This asset base can however be fairly fragile. Their home may be rented from someone else, or may be an illegal dwelling in a squatter settlement, which could be flattened by the authorities. Without secure land tenure, people are denied rights to other services, including loans from banks. In addition, income flows from the sale of labour can be low and unstable. Particular jobs are usually dominated by neighbourhood, gender and caste, while access is mediated by the capacity of individuals or households to mobilise support from local gang leaders, otherwise known as *dadaas* or *mastans*. These relationships can be described as

forms of .adverse incorporation. based on the merging of two sets of interests - the livelihood strategies of the poor on the one hand, with the discretionary power of patrons on the other who manage access to services and employment on the other. In addition, women are usually paid half the male wage for the same employment, while wages are invariably forced downwards, and working conditions may be unprotected and unregulated.

Social networks (or social capital) can be both an asset and a cause of vulnerability. Social networks can provide security in times of need, but are insecure where new settlers in slums are unrecognized by older residents, tenants are viewed as second class citizens, and people do not necessarily trust their neighbours. .Adverse incorporation creates unequal patron-client relations, which places the poor in the hands of discretionary favours from patrons. As income streams become more insecure, poor people can be pushed increasingly into debt, forced to take loans from private money lenders who charge xorbitantly high rates of interest. While this might ease immediate consumption needs (e.g. rent payments), it stores up problems in the future as loans are called in.

### **Ascribed status**

In India, particular categories of people in urban areas have an ascribed occupational status, which is often associated with caste. Slum settlement patterns often place particular occupational groups or defined people together - eg rickshaw pullers, fishermen, people suffering from leprosy, and sweepers (sanitary workers) - and their experience of poverty is directly related to that status. The principle of settlement by group for excluded people can also extend to labels for specific individuals, such as the disabled, deserted women, sex workers, refugees, street children, the mentally ill, destitutes and vagrants. Each category of individual has either fallen outside local community and household structures, or has arrived in the city alone, in search of the livelihood opportunities that rural areas may not offer. These individuals invariably have no rights to make demands on the political system, and are

arguably the most vulnerable to discriminatory practices operated by the police and judicial systems, irrespective of national legislation which protect their rights.

### **A policy framework for action**

An indicative range of social action and social protection measures across all three levels of engagement is suggested in Table 3 below. They aggregate individual vulnerabilities into operational activities, and link these to the institutions at household, community, city and national levels which affect the way people live. Partnerships at all levels and between a range of stakeholders - government, civil society, the private sector and international agencies - are seen as important prerequisites for change. Some of the implications of these levels of engagement, with illustrative examples, are described in the following paragraphs.

**Table: A Policy Framework for Urban Poverty Reduction**

	<b>Social Action</b>	<b>Social Protection</b>
Macro	Education and skill training	Social insurance and pension
(states and markets and	Regulate/reform markets to	schemes; laws to outlaw
Formal arrangements)	support pro-poor economic	discrimination. Laws to
	development and growth	support labour standards, and
	Political representation in	to protect employee rights to
	decision making.	combine in unions.
		Disability, housing and
		banking policies.
		Provision of services - health,
		basic
		education, water, sanitation,
		etc.

<p>Meso</p> <p>(local governments and local markets - formal and informal arrangements).</p>	<p>Participation of poor people and their needs in city level planning.</p> <p>Improved convergence of programmes (e.g. anti-poverty, health, education) for the poor, and increased allocation of resources.</p> <p>Partnerships between range of agencies (municipalities, civil society organisations, private sector) to ensure optimal use of resources</p> <p>Targeted pro-poor initiatives.Improved accountability systems.</p>	<p>Ensuring the poor receive their entitlements e.g. pensions, health care, etc. Improvements in range, quantity and quality of service provision and on-going maintenance.</p> <p>Identification and implementation of programmes to reduce risks.</p>
<p>Micro</p> <p>(communities and households - informal arrangements)</p>	<p>Participation in community and groups (social capital), informal labour arrangements/protecting access to jobs and markets;</p> <p>organisation of crèches so that women can work; participate in Ward level decision making.</p>	<p>Kinship groupings and extended families providing reciprocal support; thrift and credit groups; fair tenancy arrangements</p> <p>agreed between householders; awareness of legal rights; informal support to those in need (charity).</p>

Social analysis is imperative to our understanding of urban spatial poverty traps. Social geographical analysis, for example, enables the detailed unpacking of those things which make up a town or city and the influences they have in society. Understanding these dynamics is critical to understanding why poor people live in certain neighbourhoods, and why certain areas remain poor over periods of time.

The development of urban areas changes not only the physical environment but also the social environment. Urbanisation transforms social relations, such as class and caste systems and gender dynamics, in ways which may provide benefits (e.g. greater freedom for women to enter the labour market) but also costs (e.g. poor labour or citizenship rights for migrant workers). As we have seen, urban areas are in a constant state of flux: new people, new trade opportunities, new forms of power and opportunity. Understanding these transitions greatly enhances our comprehension of how poverty traps might evolve in urban areas – often linked to control over space and the changing nature of vulnerability.

### **5.8. DELINQUENCY**

Despite the dominant interest of sociology in class-based theories of delinquency, a number of empirical studies in recent years have failed to establish any meaningful relationship between the economic characteristics of urban areas and the ecological distribution of delinquency. Although the analyses of partial correlation and standard regression coefficients show little linking between economic variables and delinquency, Chilton concludes: "Our findings suggest that delinquency still appears to be related to transiency, poor housing, and economic indices; this supports assumption of almost all sociological theories of delinquency in urban areas is predominantly a lower class phenomena analyses. Unfortunately it is not clear that the more "pure" measures of economic status, such as education, rent, and income, show any consistent relationship to delinquency.



The failure to find a consistent and meaningful relationship between the economic status characteristics of areas and delinquency presents a curious and major disjunction of "facts" and "theory" in delinquency research. The most thoughtful and rigorous contemporary sociological theories of delinquency are virtually unanimous in their positing of social class as a (if not the) core factor producing delinquency. Furthermore, in many such theories, the ecological dimension of class position is crucial. This is clear, for example, in the case of Miller, who argues that lower class culture creates an environment which generates delinquency. The terms "culture" and milieu" are concepts relating to aggregates of persons. For Cloward and Ohlin, likewise, access to opportunity structures is an aggregate characteristic with an ecological referent. In such theories, the ecological setting of the class behavior exerts pressures which are seen as limiting and supportive of responses of youth. Miller, and Cloward and Ohlin, view the environment of the lower class community as one of the potent forces not only in shaping delinquency but in setting the particular kinds of delinquency that will be observed.

According to Reckless (1956), the term juvenile delinquency applies to the violation of criminal code and pursuit of certain patterns of behavior disapproved of for children and young adults". Thus both age and behavior an infraction prohibits in the statutes are important in the concept of juvenile delinquency.

The total delinquencies committed by the juveniles, is hardly 2 per cent comes to the notice of the police and courts. The statistic compiled by the national Crime Record Bureau (NCRB) and published in Crimes in India 2011, gives some indication of the incidence of juvenile delinquency in India. The juvenile delinquency under IPC in 2011 have increased by 10.5 per cent over 2010. The highest decrease in juvenile was observed under the crime heads preparation and assembly for dacoity, death due to negligence, kidnapping and abduction of women and girls, counterfeiting and criminal breach of trust.

### Characteristics of juvenile delinquency in India:

1. The delinquencies are much higher among boys than among girls.
2. The metropolitan cities produce more delinquents than the small cities and towns.
3. According to the report of 2011, children living with their families commit or involved in the delinquent behavior rather than homeless children. This shows the role of family environment in juvenile delinquency.
4. Low education background is the prime attributes for delinquency. Illiterate and education up to primary contributes the largest percentage of 55.8 of the juvenile arrest.
5. Poor economic background is another important factor for growing delinquency in India a large numbers of juvenile came from the poor economic back ground earning less than 25000 rupees per annum.

### **Explanatory factors of delinquency**

The first concerns family attachment, the emotional bond between parent and child. The second concerns various forms of parenting behavior, especially parent communication and supervision, and conflict between parents and their children. Prior poor levels of family attachment and poor parenting behaviors associate with subsequent higher levels of delinquency and drug use. Prior high levels of delinquency and drug use also associate with subsequent poor levels of family attachment and poor parenting behaviors. It seems that poor family life makes delinquency worse and high delinquency makes family life worse.

The impact of the neighbourhood on the child is more in the urban than the rural areas. Children spend good part of the day with in the company of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood can contribute to delinquency by blocking basic personality needs engendering culture conflicts, and fostering anti social values. Congested neighbourhoods

with inadequate recreation facilities deny the natural play impulses of children and encourage the formation of delinquent gangs. Picture houses, cheap hotels and video halls in the neighbourhood become the breeding place of vices and delinquency.

Cinema and pornography literature as a source in the form of movies and comic books featuring immortality, smoking, drinking and brutality leaves a strong impression on the young minds of the children and the adolescents. Many a time they teach the technique of crime and delinquency. Several children are arrested in different parts of the urban areas for emulating these techniques to commit theft, burglaries, and kidnapping. They claimed to have seen such techniques from the cinemas.

Both school performance, whether measured by reading achievement or teacher-rated reading performance, and retention in grade (i.e., being held back) relate to delinquency. The relationship between reading performance and delinquency appears even for first graders. Likewise, retention in grade associates with delinquency even for first graders. Delinquency is more likely for males than for females after adjusting for the effect of performance level and retention.

The relationship between lack of employment and crime or drug use found among adults does not seem to hold for adolescents. Studies in the United States that have examined adolescent employment, delinquency, and drug use in general population samples find that working youth have levels of delinquency and drug use equal to or higher than their nonworking counterparts, and the conclusion of most evaluations of work programs is that the programs have had at best no effect on the delinquent behavior of targeted youth.

## **5.9. URBAN CRIME**

The urban crime remains concentrated in a relatively small number of areas within a city, areas characterized by high levels of chronic poverty, unemployment, substandard

housing, teenage pregnancy, and drug use. While the economic cost of crime is spread throughout the urban population, its effects are greatest on the poor themselves.

Explanation of why crime rates are higher in the poorer districts within the cities once again pit culturalist against structuralist assumption. James Q. Wilson has been the leading spokesman for the culturalist position, proposition that neighbourhood conditions and the attitudes of the local residents is the key to understanding a great disposition towards criminal behaviour, especially among young people. He has long argued that the economic position of the poor in and of it cannot be used to explain their apparent disproportionate involvement in the crime.

Wilson's perspective on the causes of the crime has been enormously influential. His influence on policies that have been implemented to reduce crime rates has been more powerful. His prescription for changing physical environment that are conducive to criminal behavior has been employed in city after city. According to argument, toleration of minor offenses such as loitering, graffiti or other disruptive act invites more serious breaches of norms of public order.

Analyses of neighborhoods and their role in urban decline and mainstream sociological theories of crime have focused neighborhood crime and crime control patterns. Although learned from such work, the effects of economic change social organization have not been taken into account. For local economic conditions and inadequate participation in can both cause and result from social disruption. The Vera Justice recently conducted a study of the effects of metropolitan markets and housing patterns on high-crime neighborhoods. Ethnographic research among three Brooklyn, New York, indicated that persistent unemployment among adult residents development of stable households and youth employment. The resulting lack of informal social controls contributed persistence of crime in some poor urban neighborhoods. Drug sales and other illegal activities provided income to

neighborhoods where legitimate employment options were provided low wages and sporadic hours. Public policy on poor neighborhoods has concentrated on providing delinquents vocational training.

Environmental opportunities for crime vary from neighborhood to neighborhood. Depending on the activities pursued in different sections of the city, the availability of such targets as safes, cash registers, dispensing machines, people and their possessions varies in amount and kind. These differing environmental opportunities should be reflected in the occurrence rates.

### **Crime Occurrence and Urban Social Structure**

Evidence provided by previous criminological studies leads to the conclusion that areas where offenders reside are not likely to be areas where the most crime occurs. On the whole, the highest crime occurrence rates are to be found in the central business districts of urban areas,<sup>3</sup> while the highest criminal offender rates are found in lower-class, non-white, anomic neighborhoods. Thus, crime occurrence rates cannot be explained by the same factors that account for the prevalence of offenders.

The discrepancy between criminal offender and crime occurrence rates is in part the result of the standard method of constructing occurrence rates. Conventionally, these rates are computed as the number of crimes that have occurred in an area relative to the number of people residing in that area. A valid rate, however, should form a probability statement, and therefore should be based on the risk or target group appropriate for each specific crime category. The rate of residential burglary, for example, should be stated as the number of residences that were burglarized in relation to the number of residences that could have been burglarized, not the number of people residing in the area. Since the number of events, or the numerator, varies with the type of crime, the denominator should likewise vary so that the whole number of exposures to the risk of that specific event is incorporated as the base.

Interpretation of the crime factors requires an examination of the characteristics of residential populations, to see whether the variables traditionally associated with the presence of offenders in urban areas are also associated with crime occurrence. That is, do high rates of crime occur among residential populations characterized as lower-class, non-white, and anomic? Social area analysis, based on the dimensions of social rank, urbanization, and segregation," is used here to answer this question. These dimensions have been used before to predict the prevalence of offenders, as well as other social phenomena, and the anticipated relationships have appeared.

As an index of social class, the social rank dimension differentiates population aggregates (census tracts) according to educational and occupational status. The segregation dimension, in the original social area schema, distinguished subordinate populations generally, including foreign-born residents.

The urbanization index is based on the fertility ratio, proportion of single-family dwelling units, and proportion of women in the labor force. A "life style" continuum is assumed, with home and family-centered neighborhoods at the low end and apartment house neighborhoods, characterized by childless or small families and unrelated individuals at the other. Wirth's "urbanism as a way of life" is the ideal-typical characterization of "high urban" neighborhoods. On the grounds that highly urbanized neighborhoods permit only a limited development of informal shared norms for regulating conduct, the urbanization component is used here as an indirect measure of anomie. It seems particularly relevant to crime occurrence. Because residents of highly urban neighborhoods have only limited acquaintance with one another strangers and perhaps potential offenders can go unnoticed and unsuspected in such areas. The lack of knowledge about the lives of other residents and the absence of common interests among neighbors create indifference, and in the extreme, prevent interference even when a crime is observed.

### **Relationship between Natural Areas and the Distribution of Crime**

Because of the heavy concentration of crime in the central segment of the city, detailed consideration is given to the frequency and distribution of specific types of crimes in this area, especially with reference to the basic ecological factors associated with these patterns of criminal behavior. The central segment, as defined consists of census tracts comprising the main business district and contiguous areas.

This central segment was originally defined several years ago in connection with another research project, and coincidentally conforms very closely to Zone I, the innermost of six concentric zones, with successive drawn from the point of highest land value, located in the central business district. This series of six zones as thus delimited represents the basic spatial referent in the analysis of crime gradients.

In order to obviate any semantic or practical problems in defining crime areas, the basic data presented indicate the specific areas not only where crimes are committed but also where criminals reside. Virtually all ecological studies of juvenile delinquency show only the latter. In defining crime or delinquency areas, it is important to know not only where offenders live, but also where crimes are committed. "Offenses known to the police" are allocated according to the place where the crimes actually occurred, while "arrests" are allocated according to the residence of the arrestee. Furthermore, these two basic indexes are differentiated into approximately 65 crime categories, which make it possible to determine with a high degree of specificity the distinctive characteristics of crime patterns from one part of the city to another. There is a common tendency to speak of crime areas as though crime were some simple, unitary concept, whereas in actuality there are many kinds of violations and many forms of human behavior that are labelled criminal. Crime is a legalistic rather than a sociological or psychological concept and is concerned primarily with types of crimes and not criminals.

Within the central segment there are many striking differences with respect to both the volume and types of crime. To a marked degree, these differentials are related to the various "natural areas" that are found in this part of the city. In fact, the concept of crime area derives directly from the natural area concept. It will be observed that the section of the city, as in all large American cities, is composed of a mosaic of many diverse areas, each with its own type of people, institutional activities, physical characteristics, traditions, and values. Each of these is relatively homogeneous: some areas stand out in pronounced contrast while others are fewer distinctive and tend to merge imperceptibly with still other areas. The basic crime data, like most of the demographic and social statistics used, have been tabulated by census tracts which do not conform precisely to natural area boundaries indicated. However, in analyzing crime patterns in the central segment, the census tracts were so arranged that they could be effectively related to natural areas.

### **Check your progress**

11. What are the explainable factors of crime and delinquency in urban?

## **5.10. URBAN SPACING- EXPANSION OF CITIES AND CONSEQUENT DISPLACEMENT**

Ernest W. Burgess (1886–1966), together with Robert Park, established a distinctive program of urban research in the sociology department at the University of Chicago in the early twentieth century. One of the important concepts he disseminated was succession, a term borrowed from plant ecology. Burgess was the originator of concentric zone theory, which predicted that cities would take the form of five concentric rings growing outwards, with a zone of deterioration immediately surrounding the city center, succeeding to increasingly prosperous residential zones moving out to the city's edge. Burgess understood the invasion–succession process as a “moving equilibrium” of the social order, a “process of



distribution takes place which sifts and sorts and relocates individuals and groups by residence and occupation.”

The human ecological research program also involved the extensive use of mapping to reveal the spatial distribution of social problems and to permit comparison between areas. Burgess was particularly interested in maps and used them extensively, requiring all his students to acquire proficiency in basic mapmaking techniques. Burgess and his students scoured the city of Chicago for data that could be used for maps, gleaning information from city agencies and making more extensive use of census data than any other social scientists of the time. This was one of the most important legacies of the urban ecology studies undertaken at the University of Chicago in the 1920s as mapmaking became part of the methodological toolkit of the developing disciplines of sociology, criminology, and public policy. Burgess was not a systematic theoretician but an eclectic promoter of theory and methodology. He sought to develop reliable tools for the prediction of social phenomena such as delinquency, parole violation, divorce, city growth, and adjustment in old age.

The outstanding fact of modern society is the growth of great cities. Nowhere else have the enormous changes which the machine industry has made in our social life registered themselves with such obviousness as in the cities. In the United States the transition from a rural to an urban civilization, though beginning later than in Europe, has taken place, if not more rapidly and completely, at any rate more logically in its most characteristic forms.

All the manifestations of modern life which are peculiarly urban – the skyscraper, the subway, the department store, the daily newspaper, and social work – are characteristically American. The more subtle changes in our social life, which in their cruder manifestations are termed social problems, problems that alarm and bewilder us, as divorce, delinquency, and social unrest, are to be found in their most acute forms in our largest American cities. The profound and subversive forces which have wrought these changes are measured in the

physical growth and expansion of cities. That is the significance of the comparative statistics of Weber, Bücher, and other students.

These statistical studies, although dealing mainly with the effects of urban growth, brought out into clear relief certain distinctive characteristics of urban as compared with rural populations. The larger proportion of women to men in the cities than in the open country, the greater percentage of youth and middle-aged, the higher ratio of the foreign-born, the increased heterogeneity of occupation increase with the growth of the city variations in the composition of population are indicative of all the changes going on in the social organization of the community. In fact, these changes are part of the growth of the city and suggest the nature of the processes of growth.

### **Check your progress**

12. How could you define urban space.

### **Expansion as Physical Growth**

The expansion of the city from the standpoint of the city plan, zoning, and regional surveys is thought of almost wholly in terms of its physical growth. Traction studies have dealt with the development of transportation in its relation to the distribution of population throughout the city. The surveys made by the Bell Telephone Company and other public utilities have attempted to forecast the direction and the rate of growth of the city in order to anticipate the future demands for the extension of their services. In the city plan the location of parks and boulevards, the widening of traffic streets, the provision for a civic center, are all in the interest of the future control of the physical development of the city.

This expansion in area of our largest cities is now being brought forcibly to our attention by the Plan for the Study of New York and Its Environs, and by the formation of the Chicago Regional Planning Association, which extends the metropolitan district of the city to a radius of 50 miles, embracing 4,000 square miles of territory. Both are attempting to

measure expansion in order to deal with the changes that accompany city growth. In England, where more than one-half of the inhabitants live in cities having a population of 100,000 and over, the lively appreciation of the bearing of urban expansion on social organization is thus expressed by C. B. Fawcett:

“One of the most important and striking developments in the growth of the urban populations of the more advanced peoples of the world during the last few decades has been the appearance of a number of vast urban aggregates, or conurbations, far larger and more numerous than the great cities of any preceding age. These have usually been formed by the simultaneous expansion of a number of neighboring towns, which have grown out toward each other until they have reached a practical coalescence in one continuous urban area. Each such conurbation still has within it many nuclei of denser town growth, most of which represent the central areas of the various towns from which it has grown, and these nuclear patches are connected by the less densely urbanized areas which began as suburbs of these towns. The latter are still usually rather less continuously occupied by buildings, and often have many open spaces.”

In Europe and America the tendency of the great city to expand has been recognized in the term “the metropolitan area of the city,” which far overruns its political limits, and in the case of New York and Chicago, even state lines. The metropolitan area may be taken to include urban territory that is physically contiguous, but it is coming to be defined by that facility of transportation that enables a business man to live in a suburb of Chicago and to work in the loop, and his wife to shop at Marshall Field’s and attend grand opera in the Auditorium.

### **Expansion as a Process**

No study of expansion as a process has yet been made, although the materials for such a study and intimations of different aspects of the process are contained in city planning,

zoning, and regional surveys. The typical processes of the expansion of the city can best be illustrated, perhaps, by a series of concentric circles, which may be numbered to designate both the successive zones of urban extension and the types of areas differentiated in the process of expansion.

Besides extension and succession, the general process of expansion in urban growth involves the antagonistic and yet complementary processes of concentration and decentralization. In all cities there is the natural tendency for local and outside transportation to converge in the central business district. In the downtown section of every large city we expect to find the department stores, the skyscraper office buildings, the railroad stations, the great hotels, the theaters, the art museum, and the city hall. Quite naturally, almost inevitably, the economic, cultural, and political life centers here. The relation of centralization to the other processes of city life may be roughly gauged by the fact that over half a million people daily enter and leave city. More recently sub business centers have grown up in outlying zones of the city. These "satellite loops" do not, it seems, represent the "hoped for" revival of the neighborhood, but rather a telescoping of several local communities into a larger economic unity. The city of yesterday, an agglomeration of country towns and immigrant colonies is undergoing a process of reorganization into a centralized decentralized system of local communities coalescing into sub- business areas visibly or invisibly dominated by the central business district. The actual processes of what may be called centralized decentralization are now being studied in the development of the chain store, which is only one illustration of the change in the basis of the urban organization.

Expansion, as we have seen, deals with the physical growth of the city, and with the extension of the technical services that have made city life not only livable, but comfortable, even luxurious. Certain of these basic necessities of urban life are possible only through a tremendous development of communal existence.

The shape and form of many cities today are largely the products of a modernist era in which technology, rational planning, and the state's careful governance of urban space would eventually rid society of many social ills, including overcrowding, density, and the unregulated development of the built environment. Explicit in this modernist notion of city development is the core belief that planning and governance can change society for the better by envisioning an alternative better future. As James Holston tells us, the idea of planning is "central to the identity of the modern state: it motivates political authorities to attempt to create and legitimate new kinds of public spheres, with new subjects and subjectivities for them." So, as Holston informs us, rational planning not only shapes the built environment of cities but attempts to influence and form the identities or subjectivities of those who live there. But this effort to define citizenship is not complete as opposition to modernist urbanism produces opportunities for an insurgent citizenship. By insurgent, Holston is referring to the opposition to the modernism that, in effect, "absorbs citizenship into a plan of state building."

Insurgent citizenship embodies alternative futures to the modernist notion of normative order. This is because they are new metropolitan forms of social interaction not yet absorbed by the modernist doctrine. Holston recognizes the importance of including the ethnographic present into city planning. By this he means "the possibilities for chance encountered in existing social conditions." Holston's audience includes planners, whom he advises to engage with the new, or insurgent, ideas that emerge from grassroots mobilization and everyday practices that empower, parody, and even derail state agendas. Examples cited include transnational networks of immigrant urban dwellers, Queer Nation, ganglands, employee-owned factories, and zones of a "new racism." These examples are labeled insurgent because they introduce into the cities new identities that may not coincide with existing histories and planning agendas.

In the last few decades, the proliferation of fortified enclaves has created a new model of spatial segregation and transformed the quality of public life in many cities around the world. Fortified enclaves are privatized, enclosed, and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure, and work. The fear of violence is one of their main justifications. They appeal to those who are abandoning the traditional public sphere of the streets to the poor, the “marginal,” and the homeless. In cities fragmented by fortified enclaves, it is difficult to maintain the principles of openness and free circulation that have been among the most significant organizing values of modern cities. As a consequence, the character of public space and of citizens participation in public life changes.

The consequences and processes of spatial segregation are also particularly visible, expressed without disguise or subtlety. Sometimes, to look at an exaggerated form of a process is a way of throwing light onto some of its characteristics that might otherwise go unnoticed. It is like looking at a caricature. In fact, with its high walls and fences, armed guards, technologies of surveillance, and contrasts of ostentatious wealth and extreme poverty. The forms producing segregation in city space are historically variable. From the 1940s to the 1980s, a division between center and periphery organized the space of São Paulo, where great distances separated different social groups: the middle and upper classes lived in central and well-equipped neighborhoods and the poor lived in the precarious hinterland. In the last fifteen years, however, a combination of processes, some of them similar to those affecting other cities, deeply transformed the pattern of distribution of social groups and activities throughout the city. São Paulo continues to be a highly segregated city, but the way in which inequalities are inscribed into urban space has changed considerably.

## **5.11.SUMMARY**

- Urban management is a relatively new topic, which has gained increasing importance due to a rise in urbanization and a wave of decentralization programs in recent decades.

The dynamics of cities can be expressed in the golden triangle: urban development is the result of migration and entrepreneurship in a dynamic context created by policies and urban managers.

- Urban institution of the decentralisation system of municipal arrangements in India. The aim of this module is to understand decentralisation in the larger context of globalisation, the retreat of the state from traditional functions, greater involvement of non-state actors like market players and civil society organisations (CSOs), good governance and citizens' participation. Local governments, in turn, responded by contracting out services to private producers, devolving responsibilities to the voluntary sector and developing bases of internal competition directed more towards the efficient use of restricted financial resources.
- Planning is a process for providing healthy and livable human settlements, as well as a blueprint of industrial growth and a road map of development. It helps in deciding objectives both in quantitative and qualitative terms. It is a setting of goals on the basis of objectives to be pursued and achieved by the administrative authorities. Planning involves purposeful design of the future through societal action as society and its members devise their own images of a desirable future.
- Urbanisation and environmental degradation had been chosen at this juncture to highlight the areas of Infringement where symbiotic relation between man and environment has been endangered by human activities arising out of excessive desire for uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources. Urbanisation process has caused serious changes in landscape, air and water quality and health. Urbanisation here accentuated natural calamities like soil erosion, landslide and loss of bio-diversity. Inappropriate disposal and reclamation has become highly detrimental with severe far-reaching effects.

- urban poverty is becoming an increasing proportion of overall poverty. The marginalised urban poor receive incomes that are too low to purchase what they need for long-term survival and advancement, reflecting poor employment opportunities, low wages and/or low returns from informal vending or other forms of self-employment.
- The urban crime remains concentrated in a relatively small number of areas within a city, areas characterized by high levels of chronic poverty, unemployment, substandard housing, teenage pregnancy, and drug use. While the economic cost of crime is spread throughout the urban population, its effects are greatest on the poor themselves.

The human ecological research program also involved the extensive use of mapping to reveal the spatial distribution of social problems and to permit comparison between areas. Burgess was particularly interested in maps and used them extensively, requiring all his students to acquire proficiency in basic mapmaking techniques. The outstanding fact of modern society is the growth of great cities. Nowhere else have the enormous changes which the machine industry has made in our social life registered themselves with such obviousness as in the cities.

## 5.12. KEY TERMS

- **Urban institution:** Urban institution is an interrelated system of social roles and norms about the satisfaction of an important social needs or function. It is an organized group carrying out a particular institutional function
- **Planning:** the act of formulating of a course of action or of drawing up plans
- **Slum:** a residential area inhabited primarily by poor, often demoralized families, and characterize by substandard, unsanitary conditions, overcrowding and usually social disorganization.



- **Development:** the action or process of developing or being developed. The application of new ideas to practical problem.
- **Environment:** the natural world or surrounding.
- **Poverty:** a low standard of living that lasts long enough to undermine the health, morale, and self respect of an individual or group of individuals.
- **Delinquency:** strictly, any violation of law by an adult or child. Usually, however, delinquency refers to juvenile delinquency.
- **Crime:** any behavior that violets the criminal law.
- **Spatial:** pertaining to space
- **Displacement:** the act of displacing, or the state of being displaced; a putting out of place.

### 5.13. ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Urban Management is about mobilizing resources in a way that can achieve urban development objectives
2. An integrated approach; deal with the problems in an integrated way; solution after consulting with all the stakeholders.
3. i) Planning, implementation, monitoring of urban infrastructure and services. Effective and efficient delivery of urban services to raise the quality to living of people residing in urban areas.  
 ii) Effective and efficient management of projects and programmes for achievement of urban development goals.
4. Local governments manage a diverse range of social services in their areas. These services include urban health care facilities; education; security from crime, public safety from fire and natural disaster and during emergencies; welfare programs of

physically challenged and old age; poverty alleviation programme and provision of recreation i.e. open spaces, parks and part of cultural facilities.

5. The natural resources of urban like water resources, air quality and land resources in urban areas in tune with environmental protection and sustainable development.
6. Urban institution is an interrelated system of social roles and norms about the satisfaction of an important social needs or function. It is an organized group carrying out a particular institutional function.
7. Integrate spatial planning at all governmental levels; Stable policy framework for private investment in urban infrastructure; Institutions to stimulate capacity building and attract talent to grow businesses
8. Lackadaisical attitude of government; Lack of personnel resources; Large scale migration; Shortage of land for building the houses; Congestion
9. There are many good reason for growth of slum; over urbanization, lack of housing facility; lack of proper income; poverty; culture of poverty
10. Urban environmental problem arise due to the following factors; population expansion; growth and expansion of unplanned urban areas; rising number of vehicles, migration; pollution;
11. Crime Occurrence and Urban Social Structure; Relationship between Natural Areas and the Distribution of Crime
12. The process of distribution takes place which sifts and sorts and relocates individuals and groups by residence and occupation.

#### **5.14. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES**

1. What is urban management?

2. Define urban institution
3. What do you understand by urban planning?
4. What is urban housing?
5. What is slum development?
6. What is urban environment? Discuss the growing environmental problem of any city of India.
7. What types of crime are being found in the urban areas?
8. Discuss anything on the problems of urban expansion and its displacement consequences.

#### 5.15. FURTHER READINGS

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