MASOC-503
Urban Sociology-I

MA SOCIOLOGY
3rd Semester

Rajiv Gandhi University
ww.ide.rgu.ac.in

MA (Sociology)
THIRD SEMESTER
MASOC 503

URBAN SOCIOLOGY PART I

BOARD OF STUDIES

Authors:
   Dr. Padi Hana
   Assistant Professor,
   Department of Sociology,
   Rajiv Gandhi University
   Rono Hills, Doimukh, Arunachal Pradesh

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

URBAN SOCIOLOGY

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
Unit I: Basic Concepts Urban, town, city, Urban vs Rural,	Unit I. Basic concepts
Unit II: Theoretical Approaches Chicago School-Park, Burgess, McKenze;	Unit II: Theoretical Approaches
Unit III: Urbanization in India Growth of cities in India-ancient, pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial; Types; Factors of urbanization.	Unit III: Urbanization in India
Unit IV: Urban Planning and Problem Urban management in India, Urban institutions, Factors affecting Planning, Problems of housing, Slum development,	Unit IV: Urban Planning and Problem

CONTENTS

UNIT – 4 URBAN PLANNING AND PROBLEM STRUCTURE PART I

INTRODUCTION

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: 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

1.0. INTRODUCTION

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 Urbanusmeaning "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 tobe 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 Causesof 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. Urbansociology is indebted to these scholars. A few of the basic problems have been first investigated by such pioneers as Graurlt, Ravenstein, Mayr,Supan, Ruecher, Adna Weber, Willcox, and Hurd, but non 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 en 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 Charless 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 theexample 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, **1**974).

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 1961Census, 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 Ill) 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 presentfigure. 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 or 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?

Check your progress

7. What do you understand by post industrial city?

8. Discuss the salient features of the post industrial city?

1.6. 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.

1.7. 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.

1.8. 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 respective 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 been 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 DanielBell (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.

1.9. 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.

1.10. FURTHER READING

- Thorns, David C. 2002**.***The Transformation of Cities.* New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.

- DAVID. A et al. 2015.*Being Urban: A Sociology of City Life, Third Edition.* Santa Barbara, California, Praeger ,An Imprint of ABC-CLIO.

- Kleniewski, Nancy. 2005. *Cities and Society.* Cowley Road, Oxford. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

- Abrahamson, M. 1976. *Urban Sociology*. Englewood, prentice Hall.

- Quinn, J.A. 1955. *Urban Sociology*. New Delhi, S. Chand & Co

- Ramachandran, R. 1991. *Urbanization and Urban System in India*. Delhi, OUP

- Ellin Nan. 1996. *Post Modern Urbanism*. UK, Oxford.

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 Summary

2.6 Key Terms

2.7 Answer to ' Check your progress'

2.8 Questions and Exercise

2.9 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 thinkerwhich 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. [7]

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 (I) 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,perceptibilityand 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

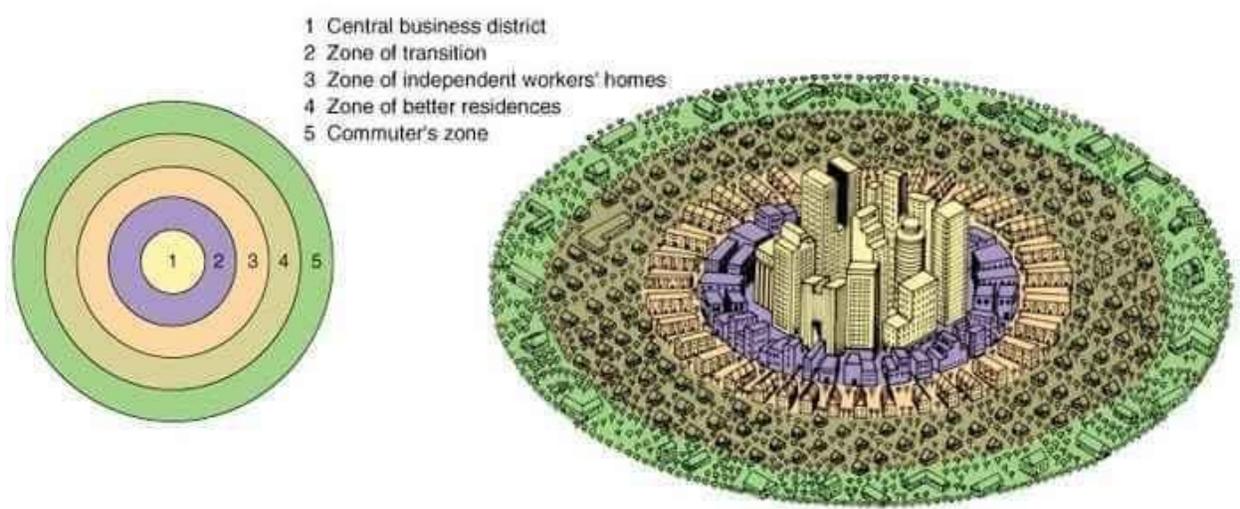5. What is Human ecology as understood by McKenzie?

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?

Check your progress

8. What do you understand by post modernism?

9. Who wrote the book based on post modernism '***The Death and Life of Great American Cities*** '?

2.5. 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.

2.6. 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.

2.7. 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, Lojkine, 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.

2.8. 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.

2.9. FURTHER READINGS

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

- Michael Dear, "Los Angeles and the Chicago School: Invitation to a Debate," *City and Community* 1, 1 (March): 5–28. © 2002 American Sociological Association.Reprinted by permission of John Wiley and Sons.

- Fawa F Sylvia.1968. *New Urbanism in World Perspectives*. New York. T Y Cowell.

- David Harvey, "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (1978), 2, 1: 101–131. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley and Sons.

- Robert Ezra Park, "Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology* 42, 1: 1–15 (1936). Reprinted by permission of University of Chicago Press.

- Ronnan, Paddison. 2001. *Handbook of Urban Studies*. India, Sage.

UNIT III: URBANZATION IN INDIA STRUCUTRE

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 Harappanwas 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 Harappan's; instead they used the harrow for tilling the soil. Barley, wheat, peas and seasum 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 an 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 divison 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, expect 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 HarappanEmpire. 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. They 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 – Vedict 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 Dharmasultras 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 Arthasastra 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. Al 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 differently 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 kshatriyas 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 Harappanwasunaware 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 arthasastra, 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 Arthasastra 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, kshtriyas, 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: Kautilyas's Arthasastra 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, they 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 functioins 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 5th 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, tool 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, through 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 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. 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 10th century ADonwards) 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 4th century BC. Kautilya inhis Arthasastra 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 3rd century BC. Pearls, metals (particularlygold) 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 4th and 3rd 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 3rd 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 (inMesopotamia) 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 5th century BC to the present. While some of the earlier urban centres such as Uraiyur ,Puharand 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 5th century BC, the south always maintained a cultural identify of its own. Aryan influences, starting with the Buddhist and Jain monks who were based primarily at Kancheepuram 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 Bharatvarsha now included the entire south as well as the north. Sankaracharya of Kaladi in the 8th 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 significance 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 Maharashta, 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 Vindhaya 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 a Dagra; 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 inthe 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 kind, 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 12th and 13th 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 will 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: Certainbasic elements characterize the internal structure of cities and towns of this period. The first and the most conspious 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 importance 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 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 13th 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 17th 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, whole 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 111510 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 19th 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 19ᵗʰ 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 19ᵗʰ 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 18ᵗʰ 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 19ᵗʰ 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 19th 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 19th 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 19th 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 19th 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 19th 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 20th 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 8th 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 t 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 19h and early 20th 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 19th 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 18th century, took a full hundred years to reach India. The early factory industries to emerge in India were the cotton textile industry in Bombay andAhmedabad, 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 of 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 20th 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 though 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, Bhubaneshwar 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 steams: (1) the refugees from west Pakistan, who found their way to Delhi, the national capital, the adjoining state of Punjab (including modern-day Harayana) 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 on 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 thr rural areas of west Bengal, Assam and Tripura. Thus, the impact of the refugees on urbanization was far greater in the northern states of Indian 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 Bhubaneshwar 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 say 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 now industrial areas, and the re-location and rebuilding of slum area. 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 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 Harppan 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 Sthaniya 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?

3.10. FURTHER READING

- Bhattacharya, B. 1979.*Urban Development in India*. Delhi. Shree Publishing House.

- Davis Kingsley. 1962. Urbanization in India: Past and Future. In Turner, Roy, ed: *India's Urban Future*. Bombay. Oxford University Press, pp3-26.

- Gadgil, D.R. 1974. Industrial Evolution in India in recent Times. Delhi. Oxford university press, pp 134-47.

- Naqui,H.K. 1972. Urbanization and urban center under the great Mughals.Simla.Indian Institute of Advance Study.

- Neelakanta Sastri, K.A. 1966. A History of South India. Bombay. Oxford university Press.

- Raj Bala. 1980. Spatial Perspective on Urbanization in India from the ancient to early modern period', *Transactions,Institute of Indian Geographers*, vol 3, pp 21-9

UNIT – 4 URBAN PLANNING AND PROBLEM

4.0. 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.

4.1. 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

4.2. 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 inrelation to each other

2. If certain issues are related to each other, the proposed solutions should also dealwith the problems in an integrated way

3. The urban manager implements the solution after consulting with all thestakeholders.

According the 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 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 until2031 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 urbandevelopment 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 theaspirations 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 formof meager resources for essential actions and indifference to the absence of institutions capable ofacting, 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 objectiveswith 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 74th 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, thereshould 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 wade management system, provision ofelectricity, urban transport, housing, communication systems ranging fromtelephone services to telecommunication. A proper coordination

amongvarious divisions such as planning, constructing, operation and maintenanceis essential for management of urban infrastructure.

Urban Social Services: Local governments are often called upon to managea diverse range of social services in their areas. These services include urbanhealth care facilities through dispensaries and clinics; education at leastpre-primary and primary education; security from crime, public safety fromfire and natural disaster and during emergencies; welfare programs of physically challenged and old age; poverty alleviation programe andprovision of recreation i.e. open spaces, parks and part of cultural facilities.Provision of urban social services is equally important to that of urbaninfrastructure. The provision of urban services also called for establishmentof schools, hospitals, old age home, and care house for physically challenged,recreation clubs and parks. The judicious allocation of resources betweenvarious development infrastructure and service infrastructure is sine-quanonfor 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 activitiesperformed 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 under to provide sustainable livelihood to urban migrant labourers. Strong urban economy is essential for faster urban development.

4.3. 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 infrastructurelike roads is believed to make them more efficient.

The 74[th]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, theresponsibility 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 downfor declaration of municipal areas. However, specific quantitative criteria were notspecified 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?

4.4. 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 makingand 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 publicauthorities could not handle with, and led to the formation of slum areas and shanty constructions all over the world. As a result, many people haveto suffer from the negative effects of such developments, and to have a very low standard of living. As a governmental work and duty, urbanplanning 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 bythe preparation and the implementation of urban development plans. These plans must bear certain features in order to achieve the public benefitsthat are expected from it. Applications of urban development plans have significant effects on human rights. It affects the fundamental rights andfreedoms 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., barringsomeone from constructing a building on his land), this sort of effects may be classified as those of negative-dimension. On the other hand, if thenon-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 itseffects 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 achievingsocial, territorial and economic development withinIndia and with neighbouring countries. Its primaryrole is integrating housing, strategic infrastructureand urban infrastructure and improving nationaland local governance in the context of urbandevelopment. 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 privateinvestment 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 thereview 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 propertygovernance

— Access to serviced land and affordable housing

— Access to mass transit systems and road networks

— Division of power and financial autonomy between ULBsand other levels of government

— Creating a favourable environment for starting, operatingand growing a business

The challenges have arisen from the following governance deficits:

— Empowerment deficit: Limited, overlapping andfragmented 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.

4.5. 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 Polices & 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.3 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?

.

4.6. 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.

4.7. 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.

4.8. 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 programe 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.

4.9. 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.

4.10. FURTHER READINGS

- Bose, Ashish. 1976. *Urbanization in India 1947-1976*. New Delhi, Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Ltd.

- Clinard, Marshall. 1957. *Sociology of Deviant Behaviour*. New York Holt, Rinehart &Winston.

- Gore, M.S. ,1968.*Urbanization And Family Change*. Bombay, Popular Prakashan.

- Mc Veigh, F.J. and Schostak, Arthur B., 1978.*Modern Social Problems*.New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

- Tonnies, F., " Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft"' in Talcott Parsons et al. (eds), *Theories of Society*, Vol. 1, The Press of Glencoe, New York, 1887,1957 and 1961.

- Wirth, Louis, "Urbanism as A way of life", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.44, 1938.

Institute of Distance Education

Rajiv Gandhi University

A Central University
Rono Hills, Arunachal Pradesh

Institute of Distance Education
Rajiv Gandhi University

A Central University

Rono Hills, Arunachal Pradesh

Contact us:

📞 +91-98638 68890   f Ide Rgu   🐦 Ide Rgu   ✉ helpdesk.ide@rgu.ac.in