MASOC-507
Urban Sociology-II

MA SOCIOLOGY
4th Semester

Rajiv Gandhi University
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MA (Sociology)
FOURTH SEMESTER
MASOC507

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URBAN SOCIOLOGY PART II

BOARD OF STUDIES

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SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

URBAN SOCIOLOGY

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
Unit I: Basic Concepts Urbanism, Pre-Industrial City, Post-Industrial City.	Unit I. Basic concepts
Unit II: Theoretical Approaches Rural-Urban Continuum- Robert Redfield; Marxian Approach; Post- Modernist Approach.	Unit II: Theoretical Approaches
Unit III: Classification of Cities: Urban Social Structure Population Structure in Indian Cities, Changing occupational Structure; Emergence of new classes, Changing Family Structure; Migration and Mobility.	Unit III: Classification of Cities: urban Social structure
Unit IV: Urban Planning and Problem Urban environmental problems, Urban poverty, Delinquency, Crime, Urban spacing-expansion of cities and consequent displacement	Unit IV: Urban Planning and Problem

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UNIT – 3 CLASSIFICATIONS OF CITIES: URBAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

UNIT – 4 URBAN PLANNING AND PROBLEM STRUCTURE

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: Classification of Cities: Urban Social Structure
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 to be the characteristic of urban rather than country folk. Urban refers to a city or town, which is directly opposite to village or country. A resident of a village is known as folk and of a city is known as an Urbanite.

Cities appeared some ten thousand years ago. The scientific interest in the city is, however, a few hundred years old and the science of urban sociology is still more recent. What probably was the first book about the city possibly was written by an Italian, Giovanni Botero, whose *Delle Cause della grandezza della citta* appeared as early as 1598. Its English version was published in 1806 under the title 'A *Treatise Concerning the 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.

URBANISM

A sociologically significant definition of the city seeks to select those elements of urbanism. No definition of urbanism can hope to be completely satisfying as long as numbers are regarded as the sole criterion. As long as we identify urbanism with the physical entity of the city, viewing it merely as rigidly delimited in space, and proceed as if urban attributes abruptly ceased to be manifested beyond an arbitrary boundary line, we are not likely to arrive at any adequate conception of urbanism as a mode of life. Which mark it as a distinctive mode of human group life.

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

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

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

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

Check your progress

5. What is the determinant of urbanism according to Louis Wirth?

6. What are the traditional elements that urbanism is associated with?

1.3. PRE-INDUSTRIAL CITY

Origins and Growth of the Pre-industrial City

In order to understand the transformations that occurred with the onset of the industrial city, it will first be necessary to look at the origin of cities and the growth of the pre-industrial city. The definition of the city by Davis (1973:1) sees the city as 'concentrations of many people located close together for residential and productive purposes. This sensitizes us to two shifts that were important in the transformation that created the earliest cities. The most significant was probably the shift in the productive base of a society. The occupants of the cities were no longer engaged in agricultural activity and were not self-sufficient. Rather, they supplied services and commodities to the rural population and in exchange they gained their food and other requirements. In order for this new arrangement to occur, productivity had to increase to such an extent that the farmers were producing more than they and their families could consume. This required settled agriculture rather than nomadic hunting and gathering. This is one of the reasons for the earliest cities emerging in the places where they did. These regions had a benign climate and soil and water conditions conducive to agriculture – the growing of wheat and barley. Thus, we see the first cities emerging around 3500 BC in the Fertile Crescent area of Mesopotamia (Sjoberg 1973). In this period, the metal utilized was bronze and the agrarian production was enhanced through the invention of the plough hauled by oxen. Wheeled vehicles had also been invented which allowed the transport of produce to the urban population. Cities were not large. The earliest was home to probably between 5000–10,000 people. Ur, which has been extensively excavated, housed around 34,000 people by 2000 BC. Cities spread by diffusion and the transfer of the technology of agrarian production to the Indus valley (modern-day Pakistan) by 2500 BC and the Yellow River area of China by 1000 BC (MacNeish 1964, Lamberg-Karlovsky and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1973).

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

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

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

The new technologies of production and forms of political and economic organisation required for record-keeping, both for levying taxes and recording trading activity, hence the need for written records. Cities were shaped by the broader civilizations in which they were embedded and towhich their fate was linked. Under the Roman Empire, for example, the city was diffused through much of Europe following along behind the legions. Urban life was established with the decline of the Roman Empire, however, many of the cities that existed at that time disappeared. Early cities were open to many problems associated with closer living, for example, disease, fire, and natural disasters. Many were built on flood plains as these were sites with alluvial soils good

for crop production and close to waterways for trade and transport but thus were prone to flooding. They were also subject to internal political and economic problems over the creation and distribution of wealth. Rivalries occurred between urban and rural populations and between cities.

In Europe, by medieval times, city-states were not uncommon. The basis of their wealth arose from trade and the growth of the craft guilds producing the new equipment for agrarian production and the commodities for the merchant class and the wealthy elites (Pirenne 1956). The opening up of trade on a global scale through voyages for the 'explorers' paved the way for colonialism and the extraction of commodities and raw materials from around the world and the bringing of these back to Europe. The pre-capitalist world made its money largely through land-based production and trade. The cities that grew were those strategically integrated into these activities. The dominant 'global' cities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were, therefore, those which held a key position within the mercantile world, with London, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Genoa, Lisbon and Venice being the most significant. As political fortunes changed across Europe in the eighteenth century, to this group were added Paris, Rome, and Vienna (Robertson 1992, Knox 1996).

Check your progress

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

1.4. POST- INDUSTRIAL CITY

A key weakness of the regulations concepts of Fordism and neo-Fordism is their neglect of services. Ironically the postindustrial society thesis emerged from experience in the 1950s and

1960s when Fordism was at its zenith. Bell (1973) pointed out that heavy industries were beginning to decrease in importance while employment in service industries was growing, especially in sectors such as finance, business services, and retailing, leisure and entertainment industries. The implications of this shift, Bell suggested, pointed to profound shifts in social structure and social relations.

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

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

Meanwhile, the proponents of neoliberal policies have advocated free markets as the ideal condition notonly for economic organization, but also for political and social life. Free

markets have generated uneven relationships among places and regions, the inevitable result being an intensification of economic inequality at every scale, from the neighbourhood to the nation-state. The pursuit of neoliberal policies and free market ideals has also dismantled a great deal of the framework for city building and community development that Western societies used to take for granted everything from broad concepts such as the public good to the nuts and bolts of the regulatory environment. Globalization has meanwhile contributed to the emergence of a postmodern culture in which the symbolic properties of places and material possessions have assumed unprecedented importance, with places becoming important objects of consumption.

The last two decades of the last millennium have seen the rise of the 'postmodernist critique and vigorous debate as to whether the modern industrial world has now transformed itself into the post-industrial world. At the heart of this debate is one about the nature of the economic and social forces shaping both collective and individual life. Giddens, in his recent analysis of the *Third Way* (1998), identifies three major revolutions taking place during this period. They are globalization, the transformation in personal life affecting relations between individuals and communities, and in our relationship to nature. Here, the growth of the debate about genetic engineering and the environment has refocused our attention on the links between nature and science and nature and society. The central question is whether the dominant paradigm through which we view this relationship is still to be one around the notion of universal progress and scientific advancement in order to reshape the natural world, or is there to be a shift towards a more reciprocal relationship as is incorporated in the debate about 'sustainability'? All these transformations have influenced urban life. The city looks very different at the beginning of the new millennium.

The city centres at a weekend are now alive with activity, shops are open, cafes have emerged onto the pavements, recreational and leisure opportunities have increased incorporating such seemingly now universal urban redevelopment features as harbour front redesign, casinos, tramways, museums, leisure districts, convention centres, and restaurant and cafe cultures. The result is a remarkable transformation of empty spaces to ones thronging with people and activity. The structure and form of the city have become much more highly differentiated. The growth of new forms of wealth generation has led to the restructuring of the spatial structures, within the former industrial and administrative cities. Manufacturing has declined as the key engine of growth to be replaced by a new set of activities more centred around information (Castells 1996, 1997, 1998; Sassen 1991) and leisure, recreation and tourism (Lash and Urry 1987, 1994; Zukin, 1991). Consumption landscapes have become the new focus of much of western scholarship. Consumerism is seen as one of the driving forces of economic, political and social life. The global nature of the world requires us to see urban change as an interrelated process. Industrial activity has been relocated to new regions and cities, growth and decline have occurred, the demographic and social structures have changed. In this chapter, the objective is to examine the key aspects of this change and to look at how this has led to a rethinking of urban analysis and the emergence of a different set of agendas to those we have observed in the analysis of the modern industrial city as we confront the increasingly global interconnectedness of the present urban world. The chapter begins with the debates and analysis around the questions of postmodernity and postmodernism and from there moves to the issue of globalization and finally to the nature of the global city.

Check your progress

8. What do you understand by post industrial city?

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

1.5. 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.

1.6. 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.

1.7. 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.

1.8 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.

1.9. FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES PART II

STRUCTURE

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. ROBERT REDFIELD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Check your progress

1. What is the Redfield definition of folk?

2. What is the meaning of urban by Redfield?

2.3. MARXIAN APPROACH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Causes and Consequences of Collective Consumption within Capitalism:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Check your progress

3. Who were the contributors towards Marxian perspective on urban?

4. What is collective consumption?

2.4. POST-MODERNISM PERSPECTIVES

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

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

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

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

1. Quaint space (a deliberate cuteness),

2. Textured facades (for pedestrians, rich in de- tail, often with an aged appearance)

3. Stylishness (appealing to the fashionable, chic, and affluent),

4. Reconnection with the local (involving deliberate historical/geographical reconstruction), and

5. Pedestrian-automobile split (to redress the modernist bias toward the car).

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

Urban planning

Modernism sought to design and plan cities which followed the logic of the new model of industrial mass production; reverting to large-scale solutions, aesthetic standardisation and prefabricated design solutions.[109] Modernism eroded urban living by its failure to recognise differences and aim towards homogenous landscapes (Simonsen 1990, 57). Jane Jacobs' 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* was a sustained critique of urban planning as it had developed within Modernism and marked a transition from modernity to post modernity in thinking about urban planning (Irving 1993, 479). However, the transition from Modernism to Postmodernism is often said to have happened at15 July in 1972, when Pruitt–Igoe; a housing development for low-income people in St. Louis designed by architect Minoru Yamasaki, which had been a prize-winning version of Le Corbusier's 'machine for modern living' was deemed uninhabitable and was torn down (Irving 1993, 480). Since then, Postmodernism has involved theories that embrace and aim to create diversity, and it exalts uncertainty, flexibility and change (Hatuka & D'Hooghe 2007) and rejects utopianism while embracing a utopian way of thinking and acting. Post modernity of resistance seeks to deconstruct Modernism and is a critique of the origins without necessarily returning to them (Irving 1993, 60). As a result of Postmodernism, planners are much less inclined to lay a firm or steady claim to there being one single 'right way' of engaging in urban planning and are more open to different styles and ideas of 'how to plan' (Irving 474).

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

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

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

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

- Mixed primary uses, activating streets at different times of the day

- Short blocks, allowing high pedestrian permeability

- Buildings of various ages and states of repair

- Density

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

Check your progress

5. What do you understand by post modernism?

6. 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.

   3.0 Describe the theoretical explanations of McKenzie.

   4.0 What do you understand by rural urban continuum?

   5.0 How did Marxist explain the theory on urban?

   6.0 Discuss the post modernist approach on urban theory.

2.9. FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT – III CLASSIFICATIONS OF CITIES: URBAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

3.0. INTRODUCTION

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

3.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

1. The dynamics of Population Structure in Indian Cities

2. Explain the phenomena of changing occupational structure

3. Discuss the growth of New Classes at the urban level

4. Understand the changing of family structure in urban

5. Explain the phenomena of migration and mobility

3.2 POPULATION STRUCTURE IN INDIAN CITIES

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

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

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

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

The following table 3.1 shows number of towns and percentage of urban population by size class of city during 1901- 2001. The pattern of urbanization in India is characterized by continuous concentration of population and activities in large cities (Kundu, 1983). This is manifested in a high percentage of urban population being concentrated in class I cities and its population has systematically gone up over the decades in the last century. As per 1901 census percentage of population in class I, IV, V were 26%, 21%, and 20 percent respectively. According to 1991 Census, about two third (65%) of the countries urban population lived in Class -1 cities with more than 100, 000 population. In 2001 it has increased to 69% . Over the years there has been continuous concentration of population in class I towns. On the contrary the concentration of population in medium and small town (Kundu, 1994) either fluctuated or declined. Indeed basic reason for the increasing dominance of class I cities is graduation of lower order towns into class I categories. It may be observed that in 1901 there were only 24 class I cities that has gone up to393 in 2001 which explains largely the increase in the share of population in this size category over the years. The graduation of number of urban centers from lower population size categories to class I cities has resulted top heavy structure of urban population in India. However in addition to factor of increase in number of large cities , the importance of a faster demographic growth, poverty induced (Mukherjee,1995) migration to urban informal sector should be taken into account in making urban structure top heavy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Check your progress

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

3.3. CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

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

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

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

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

Check your progress

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

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

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

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

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

Check your progress

3. What are primary activities?

4. What are secondary activities?

5. What are tertiary activities?

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

The data reveal that GDP from the primary sector (viz., agriculture and allied entities like forestry andfishing)declined from 59 per cent in 1950-51 to 46 per cent in 1970-71 and thereafter, sharply declined to16.1 per cent I 2011-12. This was partially neutralized by an

increase in the share of secondary sectorfrom 13 per cent in 1950-51 to about 22 per cent in 1970-71 and further increase to about 24.3 per centin 2011-12. But the biggest hike in GDP share occurred in case of services from about 27 per cent in1950-51 to 32 per cent in 1970-71 to 59.0 per cent in 2011-12. The emerging structural change in GDPshares witnessed a big decline in the share of agriculture, coupled with a modest increase in the shareof industry and a much sharper increase in the share of services which now account for nearly half of thetotal GDP.

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

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

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

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

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

3.4. EMERGENCE OF NEW CLASSES

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

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

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

Check your progress

6. What is traditional based occupation in India?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.5 CHANGING FAMILY STRUCTURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.6 MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

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

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

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

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

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

Check your progress

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

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

This migration takes place between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five and moves by successive stages to the large industrial cities. More males migrate than females. There arefewer tendencies toward marriage among the migrants than among those who stay on farms. The majority of migrants enter urban life as unskilled laborers. Males enter the clerical, professional, and entrepreneurial classes more readily than females. There seems to be no fundamental difference between the urbanization process in this state at the present time and that taking place in Europe between I850 and I900. The decline of immigration will undoubtedly be accompanied by an increased urbanization process. This may increase the well-being of agriculture by

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

Urban migration is one of the topics which have received a great deal of attention from students of modern India. This interest is understandable in view of the immense contribution of migrants to both urban growth and industrialization (Rao, 1974). For reasons too obvious to mention the main focus of sociological studies has been on relatively poor rural migrants entering the cities to seek unskilled employment in the growing industries of the sub -continent. Thus, Eames (1954) found that migrants from rural Uttar Pradesh typically left the village to earn cash to repay debts, build a house, buy cattle or meet impending social obligations. Indeed, as regards the northern part of the country, where men migrate over great distances for varying periods of time, it has been suggested that the economy of the village has come to depend for its viability on that of the urban centre (Rowe 1973). An important feature of the migratory process which has been noted is its "associational" character. Migrants from similar caste and regional backgrounds initiate one another into urban experiences, provide assistance in obtaining employment, and tend to live together in segregated residential localities, and thus to share a not unfamiliar cultural environment (Rao 19746).

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

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

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

3.7 SUMMARY

- The urban population is increasing decade by decade in India. The growing urban population is rapidly transforming the nearby rural areas into urban periphery. There is a concentration of urban population in large cities and existing urban agglomeration. Most of this increase was in the growth of census towns rather than on statutory towns.

- Occupational change has been understood largely as change in the activities of the members society to earn their livelihood. The change is observed in terms of changes in the distribution activities in the socio-economic structure of society. From this it is only a step further to describe by classifying activities in terms of role expectations and positions and evaluation of this role.

- However, in the mid-twentieth century, the forces of modernization, effective as they are in the urban India today, have given immense opportunities to the members of different castes to achieve a higher status in the non-ritual dimensions. This has shaken the traditional caste structure and has accelerated escalation of statuses, occupational and others and has provided momentum to social mobility.in India the conventional joint family system has not only persisted but also got further reinforced in the face of urban-industrial civilisation. The whole system has experienced marked changes with the rise in industrialisation, urbanisation, migration, modernisation and the spirit of individualism. These changes are no more confined to towns and cities; rather, they have engulfed the whole countryside.

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

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

3.8 KEY TERMS

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

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

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

Primary occupation: an occupation relating to agriculture.

Secondary occupation: an occupation relating to manufacturing.

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

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

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

3.9 ANSWER TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. It ranges from I-VI

2. Free capital and free labour

3. Agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery

4. Manufacturing industries, both small and large scale

5. Transport, communications, banking and finance and services

6. The kind of occupation that is being practice and inherited by the younger siblings from their parents in other word it is caste based occupation.

7. Education, marriage, medical, employment

3.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Discuss the changing profile of population in Indian cities?

2. How many types of town are there according to census study?

3. How does urban bring occupation change?

4. Discuss the new types of class formation in the urban?

5. Illustrate the changing nature of family in urban with examples.

6. Illustrate with examples about the migration process taking palce in india.

7. Discuss social mobility.

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UNIT – 4 URBAN PLANNING AND PROBLEM PART II

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 ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

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

Urbanisation and environmental degradation had been chosen at thisjuncture to highlight the areas of Infringement where symbiotic relation betweenman and environment has been endangered by human activities arising out ofexcessive desire for uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources. Urbanisation process has caused serious changes In landscape, air and waterquality and health. Urbanisation here accentuated natural calamities like soilerosion, landslide and loss of bio-diversity. Inappropriate disposal and reclamationhas become highly detrimental with severe far-reaching effects. Thus urbanization is a major issue of the day and the question of survival of habitations In the regionneeds immediate attention.

Since the time of British occupation around the early nineteenth century, the phycho-cultural set up of urban settlement has been getting seriously disturbed. Extensive deforestation as a result of tea plantation and settlement has led to unplanned constructional

work, inadequate drainage and unscientific usage of land. Moreover the rapid growth of population since Independence has been responsible for more and more environmental changes. It is a unique manifestation where urbanisation has brought alarming changes in demography and created enormous problems in basic amenities for living namely lack of potable water, sanitation, waste disposal and housing, over and above damaging the natural beauty and landscape of the region. Thus the pressure exerted on the environment is immense and ecological Imbalance is inevitable.

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

1. **Slum area**: slum is not a part of the urban planning, slum developed due to constant flow of population from the rural families in search of employment. Slum is destroying the beauty of the city by encroaching the unused land lying adjacent to any natural sites be it pond, streams, river and waste land. Slum is pathological space for urban if it is not properly treated and managed by the authority. The slum dwellers help to spread the most of the communicable diseases because of their unhygienic life style and lack of basic urban facilities. Besides, the petty crime and deviance activities are done by the slum children.

2. **Water managment**: large cities and town required huge amount of water for their daily activities. The rising population is adding more severe situation for the urban population. the ground table water is exhausted due to over use and growing population pressure and the streams and river nearby the town and cities which could be a good sources of water supply is polluted by the nearby settlement, pollution and waste materials released from factory and industry. The major source of water contamination is the faecal waste of sewage. Apart from this broken pipes and loose joints in the distribution system are also responsible for water contamination through seepage and back suction of sewage. Urban structures have an adverse effect on the

capacity of underground water to replinshed itself. The removal of vegetation and impervious surface, created due to roads and building cause lots of changes in water hydrology. Increase in surface ruff, flooding of low lying areas, reduction in the percolation of rain water is the consequence of urbanization.

3. **Green forest**: the trees planted on the roadways, park, garden and few public places is depleting gradually from their place. Due to few numbers of trees in the urban centre the urban environment is not healthy for the urban dwellers. The rising number of vehicles is subsequently adding more chemical into the atmosphere resulting to reducing of breathable air. The trees which act as absorbing agent of poisonous carbon dioxide gas and in return give us oxygen in return is being cut down for urban infrastructure development and beautification of urban centers.

4. **Housing:** urban area is represented by dense and compact settlement. Every inch of the land spaces are used for dwelling place or economic activities. The housing structures are erected in unplanned and very haphazard way in most of the cases creating a congested and dilapidated environment of the colonies.

5. **Waste management**: Urban areas produce tons of waste materials including degradable and non degradable waste every day. Disposing this waste material in a very sustainable and scientific way is the challenge face by the planners, administration and urban local bodies. Waste management is one of the core areas urban local bodies are concerned.

6. **Traffic and transportation**: communication system is lifeline for the urban complex for mobility and transfer of goods to every corner of the city. A roadway is the part of the urban environment, which act as nervous system for the urban environment. The expansion and growth of urban brings forth more road construction be it for easy communication, lessening the traffic congestion and connectivity for the urban

residents. The increasing population and vehicles led to urban environment degradation by creating overcrowded, pollution, and traffic congestion. The urban area is becoming a hotspot for releasing green house gases emission increasing the global temperature.

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

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

8. **Air pollution**: the quality of air in cities is worst affected by vehicular emissions. The air quality in urban area depends on the number of vehicles plying on the roads, types of fuel, vehicle speed, the meteorological condition. Vehicular traffic emissions are the leading source of air pollution in the cities. The sources of air pollution aregreat. Cities experience air pollution mainly from the anthropogenic sources. Automobiles are the greatest anthropogenic source of air pollution in the city. Besides, emission of gases by various industries, garbage, improper disposal of waste materials, open sewage pipelines which produce noxious gases are the other sources of air pollution in the city.The principal pollutants emitted from the automobiles are CO_2, oxides of nitrogen, unburnt hydrocarbon, carbon particles, carbon monoxide, aldehydes etc.

Check your progress

1. Why there is urban environmental problem?

4.3. URBAN POVERTY

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

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

Indeed, a simultaneous trend towards the urbanisation of poverty, with the poor moving into towns and cities faster than the rest of the population, has been noted (Ravallion et al., 2007). It is not always the poorest rural people who migrate to urban areas: it can be

those who have some means to move (e.g. social connections, aspirations, money for transport). However, this is not always the case. A study of rickshaw pullers in Dhaka, Bangladesh, found that 58% had previously worked as casual day labourers, mostly in the agricultural sector. Incidence of extreme poverty is highest among agricultural wage labourers, so a large proportion of the sample rural migrants in this case appear to have come from the rural extreme poor (Begum and Sen, 2005).

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

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

In some contexts, urban poverty is becoming an increasing proportion of overall poverty. The proportion of households below the national poverty line still tends to be slightly lower in urban areas than in rural areas, but a substantial amount of total poverty in many countries in Africa and Asia is now urban (in excess of 20%) (Amis, 2002). This is

expected to increase. An equal proportion (15%) of both the urban and rural population in India is trapped in chronic poverty (Mehta, 2001, in Amis, 2002). Over half of the urban population is below the poverty line in many countries,1 with close to half in many others.2 The same would be found in many others if their poverty lines made allowances for the real costs of non-food necessities in urban areas (UNFPA, 2007). In sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, 72% and 58% of the urban population, respectively, lived in slums in 2001 (UN-HABITAT, 2003b).

The marginalised urban poor receive incomes that are too low to purchase what they need for long-term survival and advancement, reflecting poor employment opportunities, low wages and/or low returns from informal vending or other forms of self-employment. This also reflects the extent to which (and the amounts that) urban dwellers pay for everything they use, with few opportunities to secure essential goods and services outside of the market (e.g. water and sanitation, rent for housing, food, transport and health care) (Mitlin, 2005).

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

Living conditions and access to services:

In urban centres, people are dependent on the provision of public and private services to mitigate the environmental effects of the overcrowded conditions in which they live - accumulations of solid waste, human excrement, and stagnant water in polluted open drains. They cannot dispose of their rubbish on open wastelands, or relieve themselves in forests, and they cannot rely on common property resources as alternative sources of income, water and fuel. Unfortunately, many poor people do not have access to those services - water, drain clearance, solid waste disposal systems - which could improve the environmental conditions

within which they live. This means that urban poverty is invariably associated with poor quality housing, often in overcrowded unsanitary slum settlements, and with ill health which is related to the spread of infectious diseases like tuberculosis (TB), and the constant threat of exposure to environmental hazards such as mosquito infested drains, and fires and floods, which could destroy their homes altogether. Poverty is also associated with a lack of access to a wider range of services, including health, education and law and order, on the grounds of cost, discriminatory practices, and the failure of urban managers to keep pace with the demands of growing settlements on the peri-urban fringe.

In India, these conditions are exacerbated by the division of the poor between those living in officiallyrecognized Slum settlements where service provision is permitted, and illegal non-recognisedsquatter settlements, where it is not. In the former, service provision, if it exists at all, is patchy, poorlymaintained, and severely under-resourced. The status recognized officially permits poor people tomake demands on the political system, but this does not mean that their voices are heard. People in thenon-recognised., category however, are invariably the most vulnerable among the poor. They live onthe most precarious sites and in untenable conditions along polluted canal banks, on pavements, and along railway lines, in constant fear of eviction or relocation. They represent a sizeable proportion ofthe urban poor. Slater (1998), using the 1991 census, has estimated that at least 30 million people fall into this category alone in India. This is in addition to the 46 million residing in recognised slums. Theeffect of these living conditions on family life, coupled with limited access to essential services (andespecially clean water, drain clearance and good health care) is graphically described.

Assets/income

Life in urban areas can be costly. People need access to cash to cover the higher cost of living in urban areas than rural areas, where essential items including food and many non-

food items (such as rent, energy, transport, water from private vendors, and sanitation from pay-as-you-use facilities) have to be purchased. Poor people's capacity to meet these needs is dependent on having somewhere secure to live, preferably close to their work, their capacity to sell their labour for money, and their ability to draw on and use social support systems. This asset base can however be fairly fragile. Their home may be rented from someone else, or may be an illegal dwelling in a squatter settlement, which could be flattened by the authorities. Without secure land tenure, people are denied rights to other services, including loans from banks. In addition, income flows from the sale of labour can be low and unstable. Particular jobs are usually dominated by neighbourhood, gender and caste, while access is mediated by the capacity of individuals or households to mobilise support from local gang leaders, otherwise known as dadaas or mastans. These relationships can be described as forms of .adverse incorporation. based on the merging of two sets of interests - the livelihood strategies of the poor on the one hand, with the discretionary power of patrons on the other who manage access to services and employment on the other. In addition, women are usually paid half the male wage for the same employment, while wages are invariably forced downwards, and working conditions may be unprotected and unregulated.

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

Ascribed status

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

national legislation which protect their rights.

A policy framework for action

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

Table: A Policy Framework for Urban Poverty Reduction

	Social Action	Social Protection
Macro	Education and skill training	Social insurance and pension

(states and markets and Formal arrangements)	Regulate/reform markets to support pro-poor economic development and growth Political representation in decision making.	schemes; laws to outlaw discrimination. Laws to support labour standards, and to protect employee rights to combine in unions. Disability, housing and banking policies. Provision of services - health, basic education, water, sanitation, etc.
Meso (local governments and local markets - formal and informal arrangements).	Participation of poor people and their needs in city level planning. Improved convergence of programmes (e.g. anti-poverty, health, education) for the poor, and increased allocation of resources. Partnerships between range of agencies (municipalities, civil society organisations, private sector) to ensure optimal use of resources Targeted pro-poor	Ensuring the poor receive their entitlements e.g. pensions, health care, etc. Improvements in range, quantity and quality of service provision and on-going maintenance. Identification and implementation of programmes to reduce risks.

	initiatives.Improved accountability systems.	
Micro (communities and households - informal arrangements)	Participation in community groups (social capital), informal labour arrangements/protecting access to jobs and markets; organisation of crèches so that women can work; participate in Ward level decision making.	Kinship groupings and extended families providing reciprocal support; thrift and credit groups; fair tenancy arrangements agreed between householders; awareness of legal rights; informal support to those in need (charity).

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

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

4.4. DELINQUENCY

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

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

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

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

Characteristics of juvenile delinquency in India:

1. Thedelinquencies are much higher among boys than among girls.

2. The metropolitan cities produce more delinquents than the small cities and towns.

3. Accordingtothe report of 2011, children living with their families commit or involved in the delinquent behavior rather than homeless children. This shows the role of family environment in juvenile delinquency.

4. Low education background is the prime attributes for delinquency. Illiterate and education up to primary contributes the largest percentage of 55.8 of the juvenile arrest.

5. Poor economic background is another important factor for growing delinquency in India a large numbers of juvenile came from the poor economic back ground earning less than 25000 rupees per annum.

Explanatory factors of delinquency

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

The impact of the neighbourhood on the child is more in the urban than the rural areas. Children spend good part of the day with in the company of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood can contribute to delinquency by blocking basic personality needs engendering culture conflicts, and fostering anti social values. Congested neighbourhoods with inadequate recreation facilities deny the natural play impulses of children and encourage the formation if delinquent gangs. Picture houses, cheap hotels and video halls in the neighbourhood become the breeding place of vices and delinquency.

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

Both school performance, whether measured by reading achievement or teacher-rated reading performance, and retention in grade (i.e., being held back) relate to delinquency. The relationship between reading performance and delinquency appears even for first graders. Likewise, retention in grade associates with delinquency even for first graders. Delinquency

is more likely for males than for females after adjusting for the effect of performance level and retention.

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

4.5. URBAN CRIME

The urban crime remains concentrated in a relatively small number of areas within a city, areas characterized by high levels of chrionic poverty, unemployment, substandard housing, teenage pregnancy, and drug use. While the economic cost of crime is spread throughout the urban population, its effects are greatest on the poor themselves.

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

Wilson's perspective on the causes of the crimehas been enormouslyinfluential. His influence on policies thathave been implemented toreduce crime rates has been more powerful. His prescription for changing physical environment that are conducive to criminal behavior has beenemployed in city after city. According to argument, toleration of minor

offenses such as loitering, graffiti or other disruptive act invites more serious breaches of norms of public order.

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

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

Crime Occurrence and Urban Social Structure

Evidence provided by previous criminological studies leads to the conclusion that areas where offenders reside are not likely to be areas where the most crime occurs. On the whole, the highest crime occurrence rates are to be found in the central business districts of urban areas,3 while the highest criminal offender rates are found in lower-class, non- white,

anomic neighborhoods. Thus, crime occurrence rates cannot be explained by the same factors that account for the prevalence of offenders.

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

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

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

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

Relationship between Natural Areas and the Distribution of Crime

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

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

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

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

in analyzing crime patterns in the central segment, the census tracts were so arranged that they could be effectively related to natural areas.

Check your progress

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

4.6. URBAN SPACING- EXPANSION OF CITIES AND CONSEQUENT DISPLACEMENT

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

The human ecological research program also involved the extensive use of mapping to reveal the spatial distribution of social problems and to permit comparison between areas. Burgess was particularly interested in maps and used them extensively, requiring all his students to acquire proficiency in basic mapmaking techniques. Burgess and his students scoured the city of Chicago for data that could be used for maps, gleaning information from city agencies and making more extensive use of census data than any other social scientists of the time. This was one of the most important legacies of the urban ecology studies undertaken at the University of Chicago in the 1920s as mapmaking became part of the methodological toolkit of the developing disciplines of sociology, criminology, and public

policy. Burgess was not a systematic theoretician but an eclectic promoter of theory and methodology. He sought to develop reliable tools for the prediction of social phenomena such as delinquency, parole violation, divorce, city growth, and adjustment in old age.

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

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

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

Check your progress

3. How could you define urban space.

Expansion as Physical Growth

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

This expansion in area of our largest cities is now being brought forcibly to our attention by the Plan for the Study of New York and Its Environs, and by the formation of the Chicago Regional Planning Association, which extends the metropolitan district of the city to a radius of 50 miles, embracing 4,000 square miles of territory. Both are attempting to measure expansion in order to deal with the changes that accompany city growth. In England, where more than one-half of the inhabitants live in cities having a population of 100,000 and over, the lively appreciation of the bearing of urbanexpansion on social organization is thus expressed by C. B. Fawcett:

"One of the most important and striking developments in the growth of the urban populations of the more advanced peoples of the world during the last few decades has been the appearance of a number of vast urban aggregates, or conurbations, far larger and more numerous than the great cities of any preceding age. These have usually been formed by the simultaneous expansion of a number of neighboring towns, which have grown out toward each other until they have reached a practical coalescence in one continuous urban area. Each such conurbation still has within it many nuclei of denser town growth, most of which

represent the central areas of the various towns from which it has grown, and these nuclear patches are connected by the less densely urbanized areas which began as suburbs ofthese towns. The latter are still usually rather less continuously occupied by buildings, and often have many open spaces."

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

Expansion as a Process

No study of expansion as a process has yet been made, although the materials for such a study and intimations of different aspects of the process are contained in city planning, zoning, and regional surveys. The typical processes of the expansion of the city can best be illustrated, perhaps, by a series of concentric circles, which may be numbered to designate both the successive zones of urban extension and the types of areas differentiated in the process of expansion.

Besides extension and succession, the general process of expansion in urban growth involves the antagonistic and yet complementary processes of concentration and decentralization. In all cities there is the natural tendency for local and outside transportation to converge in the central business district. In the downtown section of every large city we expect to find the department stores, the skyscraper office buildings, the railroad stations, the great hotels, the theaters, the art museum, and the city hall. Quite naturally, almost inevitably, the economic, cultural, and political life centers here. The relation of centralization to the

other processes of city life may be roughly gauged by the fact that over half a million people daily enter and leave city. More recently sub business centers have grown up in outlying zones of the city. These "satellite loops" do not, it seems, represent the "hoped for" revival of the neighborhood, but rather a telescoping of several local communities into a larger economic unity. The city of yesterday, an agglomeration of country towns and immigrant colonies is undergoing a process of reorganization into a centralized decentralized system of local communities coalescing into sub- business areas visibly or invisibly dominated by thecentral business district. The actual processes of what may be called centralized decentralizationare now being studied in the development of thechain store, which is only one illustration of the change in the basis of the urban organization.

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

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

urbanism produces opportunities for an insurgent citizenship. By insurgent, Holston is referring to the opposition to the modernism that, in effect, "absorbs citizenship into a plan of state building."

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

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

The consequenceand processes of spatial segregation are also particularly visible, expressed without disguise or subtle. Sometimes, to look at an exaggerated form of a process

is a way of throwing light onto some of its characteristics that might otherwise go unnoticed. It is like looking at a caricature. In fact, with its high walls and fences, armed guards, technologies of surveillance, and contrasts of ostentatious wealth and extreme poverty. The forms producing segregation in city space are historically variable. From the 1940s to the 1980s, a division between center and periphery organized the space of São Paulo, where great distances separated different social groups: the middle and upper classes lived in central and well-equipped neighborhoods and the poor lived in the precarious hinterland. In the last fifteenyears, however, a combination of processes, some of them similar to those affecting other cities, deeply transformed the pattern of distribution of social groups and activities throughout the city. São Paulo continues to be a highlysegregated city, but the way in which inequalities are inscribed into urban space has changed considerably.

4.7. 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.

4.8. 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.

4.9. 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.
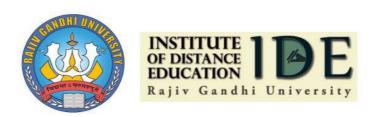
4.10. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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.

4.11. FURTHER READINGS

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