

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Our species, man in the widest sense, has succeeded in surviving and multiplying chiefly by improving his equipment for living".

V. Gordon Childe

What happened in History (1957)

A Study of Urbanization : Historical Perspective

This simple and succinct statement of Gordon Childe sums up the whole history and prehistory of man. Although the dawn of human life on this planet is still shrouded with mystery, archaeological findings have, nevertheless, gone a long way in lifting this veil of mystery. Regarding the passage of human civilization from the "palaeolithic savagery" to the era of documented history many an archaeological finding is of extreme relevance.

The economic activities of man gradually developed from simple food-gathering to settled agriculture with a generally associated change in living patterns from nomadic camp to village settlements. "The ordinary village was primarily a place where producers gave one another mutual protection and mutual aid and where local produce was exchanged. Although the inhabitants

collected some raw produce for export and received some distant goods in return, they lived in what was overwhelmingly a subsistence settlement"¹. With improved technology, surplus good production, harnessing of natural and animal powers, increased interaction of communities, some of these village settlements emerged as the early cities.

Till recently, it was generally accepted that the first cities arose some 5,500 years ago. Ever since Mellaart's excavation and discovery of Catal Hüyük in Anatolia, Turkey, during 1961-63, there has been some re-thinking on the antiquity of cities, Catal Hüyük according to him, is a neolithic city.

"By the middle of the seventh millenium B.C. we are confronted by a neolithic city with a possible population of about 8,000-10,000 people, fully able to support themselves with food to spare and with the 'neolithic revolution' fully accomplished"². Mellaart describes, on the basis of archaeological findings, the layout of the city, its architecture, technology, agriculture,

¹ Kingsley Davis, "Introduction" in Cities, Readings from Scientific American, W.H. Freeman and Co., San Francisco, 1973, p. 15.

² James Mellaart, "Catal Hüyük, A Neolithic City in Anatolia" in Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. LI, 1965, London, 1966, p. 202.

rituals and rites, art, industry and trade. He emphatically asserts that, "it would be invidious to deny that this was the first real civilization on the basis that writing had not yet been invented. The impact of this civilization on the subsequent development not only of Anatolia but also of South-east Europe is already recognized...."³ Unfortunately, the plea for Catal Hüyük by Mellaert has gone unheeded by authors on urbanization like Sjöberg and others. The bibliography of the article, "The Origin and Evolution of Cities" by Sjöberg⁴ mentions, however, casually, an article by Mellaert — "A Neolithic City in Turkey". But one does not find any detailed report on that neolithic city in the body of the article. Sjöberg, on the contrary, pleads for literacy as a necessary criterion of urban civilization. "Once a community achieves or otherwise acquires the technological advance we call writing, a major transformation in the social order occurs; with a written tradition rather than an oral one it is possible to create more complex administrative and legal systems and more rigorous systems of thought. Writing is indispensable to the development of sciences;

3 Ibid., p. 212.

4 Gedeon Sjöberg, "The Origin and Evolution of Cities" in Cities, Scientific American, Op. cit., pp. 19-26.

its existence thus implies the emergence of a number of significant specializations within the social order"⁵. And so a city has been defined as "a community of substantial size and population density that shelters a variety of non-agricultural specialists, including a literate elite"⁶. Literacy has generally been accepted as a necessary factor of the urban community. Catal Hüyük fulfils all the criteria of the above definition for a city except the literacy part, and unfortunately Sjöberg and others have remained very rigid on this point.

Another possible reason for eliminating Catal Hüyük from the category of the early cities may be the unexplained gap between the dates of Catal Hüyük (seventh millenium B.C.) and the first cities of Mesopotamia (fourth millenium B.C.), leaving Catal Hüyük, an isolated and unique instance of urban development. The polemical discussion on the diffusion of urban civilization in the Old World has virtually come to a stop with the discovery of Tepe Yahyā of south eastern Iran around 1968. The urban spot had, it is assumed, further implications in the development of cities in the neighbouring areas. "It suggests how urban civilization, which arose in lower Mesopotamia, made its way east to the valley of the Indus"⁷. Trading of scarce

5 Ibid., p. 20.

6 Ibid., pp. 19-20.

7 G.C. and Martha Lamberg-Karlovsky, "An Early City in Iran" in Cities, Scientific American, 1973, op. cit., p. 28.

commodities required by the urban communities with regions rich in those commodities possibly provided the links in the chain of diffusion. Thus a system of exchange, "central place" trade, probably gave rise to urban centres such as Tepe Yahyā. It is suggested "that trade between resource-poor Mesopotamia and the population of the distant part of Persia provided the economic base necessary for the urban development of centres such as Tepe Yahyā during the fourth millennium B.C. its trade with the region farther to the east provided much of the stimulus that culminated during the third millennium B.C. with the rise of Harappan civilization. Sir Mortimer Wheeler has declared that the idea of civilization "crossed from Mesopotamia to the Indus. It seems to us that the Elamite central places midway between the two river basins deserve the credit for the crossing"⁸. The "idea of civilization" that arose in Catal Hüyük has not left any such impression as far as is known to date. Although it is very difficult to overlook Catal Hüyük and deny its claim as the first city of the world yet it is, till now, impossible to satisfactorily explain the break of three millenniums in the chain of evolution or diffusion of urban civilization.

⁸ Ibid., p. 37.

However, Catal Hüyük was followed by the cities in Sumer and Akkad of the lower Mesopotamia, Iran, Egypt and Indus Valley from about the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. According to Sjöberg the first true cities evolved out of the village settlements in lower Mesopotamia. Eridu, Erech, Lagash, Kish and Ur are some of those cities. These were closely followed by the early urban centres of Iran and Nile valley. Some Egyptologists suggest that the Egyptian concept of city-living was even earlier than that of Mesopotamia⁹.

The city-living is conceptualized to have been based on reserves of agricultural produce, expansion of population size, rise of leisured elite served by a group of non-agricultural artisans and labouring class, increasing use of non-essential luxury items by the elite with associated enriched craft-lore and technology, requiring extensive trade for raw materials. This trading in turn gave rise to further urban centres¹⁰. The city-living is mostly associated with the first development writing and mathematics. But starting from these common pre-conditions the urban civilization in different countries have led to quite remarkably dissimilar ends. Gordon Childe has found

9 Sjöberg, op.cit.

10 Tape Yahya and the urban centres of Arabia Felix are cases in point.

basic economic and power structure to differ in Sumer and Egypt. "The economic unit in Sumer is a city with outlying fields and hamlets which could and did function by itself. In Egypt, on the contrary, the unit is the kingdom as a royal estate : the manors or cities into which it may be subdivided would cease to function if isolated from it or rather would relapse into more or less self-sufficing peasant communities. Egyptian is in no sense a colonial outpost of the Sumerian or Vice versa"¹¹.

The cities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa (about 2,500 B.C.) are chronologically followed by the urban settlements of the middle reaches of the Yellow River in China. A capital city of the Shang Dynasty (about 1500 B.C.) was uncovered near Anyang before World War II.

The urban civilization of the New World developed independently at about the beginning of the Christian era in Mesoamerica and in the Andean region. The Maya sites of Tikal in Guatemala and Dzibichaltun in Yucatan revealed thousands of structures within small areas, indicating the past existence of large dense communities there. Teotihuacan, the largest urban site in the region of modern Mexico city, may have had a population of 100,000 during the first millenium A.D.¹². There were literate

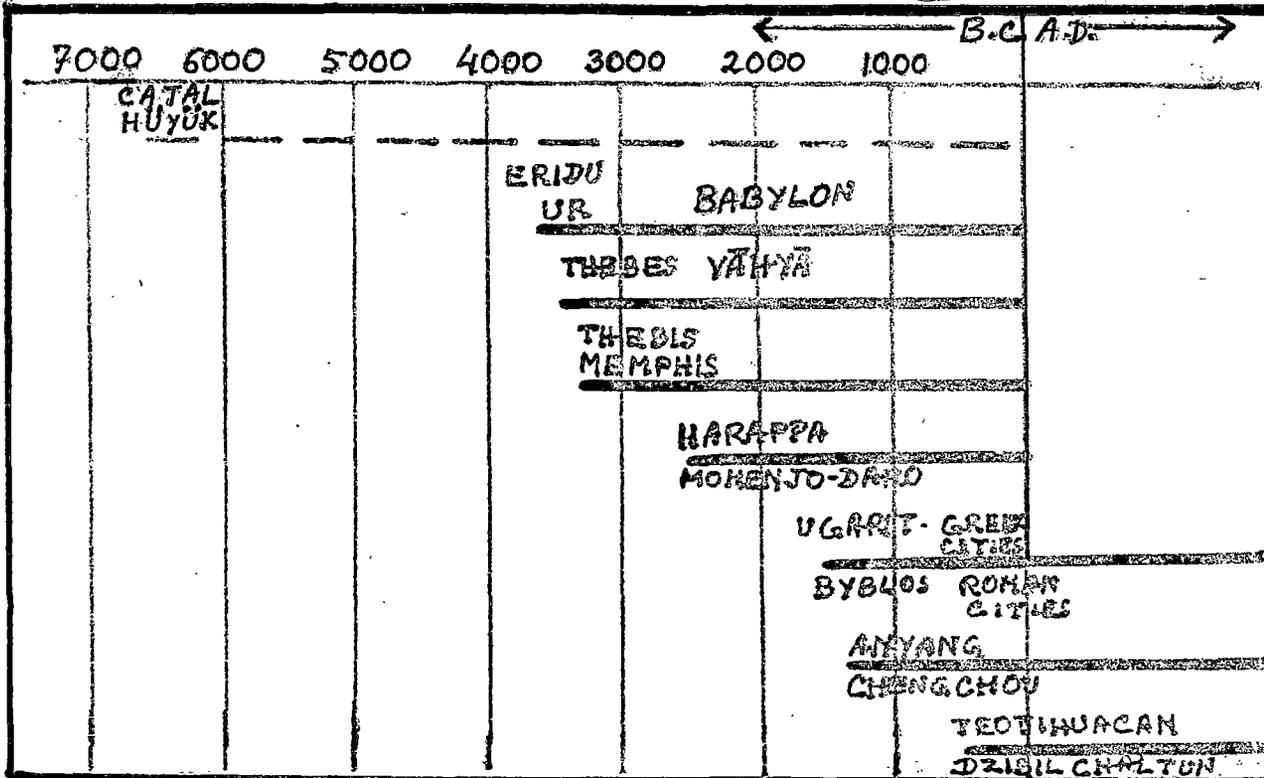
11 V. Gordon Childe, Man Makes Himself, New York, 1951, p. 134.

12 Sjöberg, Op. cit., p. 21.

people in these cities. The achievements of the Maya in the realms of mathematics and astronomy are phenomenal. But no evidence of written heritage is found among the Incas of the Andean region. Hence, Sjoberg is hesitant to attribute the true urban status to the Andean cities¹³. But, there has been significant researches on the region after Sjoberg's seminal book. Drawing on archaeological findings, Popol Voo (a treatise in Spanish) and other research materials, authors have tried to rebuild the structure of the urban areas of the Andean region, absence of a written language notwithstanding.

This broad sweep over the early urban history is represented in the following chart.

CHART I: Sequence of Urban Evolution¹⁴



13 Sjoberg, Ibid, p. 22.

14 This is a modified version of the diagram by Sjoberg, Ibid., pp. 20-21.

Although cities themselves first appeared so many thousands of years ago, they were much smaller by to-day's standard and rarely had much impact on the surrounding countryside. With industrialization of the countries of the world the impact on the cities and of the cities on the rural areas became very palpable and worth noticing. Keeping the variable of industrialization in view, the societies of the world have been classified into pre-industrial, industrializing and industrial societies. The cities of these societies are also categorized accordingly. The pre-industrial cities can be visualized as small islands or urban communities in the sea of the vast rural areas. Whereas, in contrast, the industrial cities in the industrial societies to-day are gradually sending out ripples of urbanization which tend to reach all the parts of a country. Thus urbanization is gaining increasingly greater proportions and the process of urbanization in the world as a whole is accelerating rapidly.

"Before 1850 no society could be described as predominantly urbanized, and by 1900 only one -- Great Britain -- could be so regarded. To-day, ... all industrial nations are highly urbanized.... In general, the later each country became industrialized, the faster was its urbanization. The change of 100,000 or larger to one in which 30 percent lived in such cities took about 79 years in England and Wales, 66 in the U.S., 48 in Germany, 36 in Japan and 26 in Australia ... The intensive

urbanization of most of the advanced countries began within the past 100 years; in the underdeveloped countries it got under way more recently"¹⁵. Now about half of World's nations are more than 30 percent urbanized. This concept of urbanization is seen along with certain other concepts like rurbanization, suburbanization, "take off" and end of urbanization. Each of these concepts will be explained later on in the dissertation. For the present, let us take note of two facts, first, that, in some of the advanced countries, the end of urbanization is in view, and second that, in our country - India, we are yet to attain the 30 percent level of urbanization, although we have registered rapid urbanization in the past decade.

The developing countries of the world are more or less in the same class as India. So, our concern is more for studying the nature and level of urbanization of the developing countries. This has been taken up in the following section.

Urbanization : A Theoretical Discussion with Emphasis on Urbanization in the Developing Countries.

In the previous section we have scanned the history of urbanization. This discussion would be more meaningful when the

15 Kingsley Davis, "The Urbanization of the Human Population" in Breese, G. (ed.) The City in Newly Developing Countries, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969, pp. 5, 11.

central concept — 'urbanization' — is clearly defined. In this section, after defining urbanization the researcher proposes to present the different perspectives of it as conceived by various authors. The thoughts of these authors would show the diverse patterns of urbanization in the different societies. The last part of this discussion would be confined to the urbanization in India.

Urbanization : A Preliminary Definition

Urbanization refers to a process which brings about urban residence of people as against living in rural settlements. Like so many other concepts in social sciences urbanization is also a controversial social process. Demographers, sociologists, historians, economists and geographers all have varied opinions regarding urbanization. Thus arises the need to examine this concept carefully. To begin with, urbanization is, indisputably, a process of change. Regarding the parameters of that change and its measurability the debate consolidates.

The commonest and the most easily measurable definition is forwarded by demographers. To them urbanization means the increase in the proportion of urban population (U) to the total population (T) of a territory over a period of time. Determining the population that is urban is the crucial point in this definition. Urban population usually means the population that

live in urban areas. But the definition of 'urban area' varies from country to country and within the same country from time to time. "For example, the Federation of Malaya takes as "urban" towns and villages of 1,000 or more inhabitants; Japan, municipalities usually having 30,000 or more inhabitants; and Korea, incorporated cities of 40,000 or more inhabitants"¹⁶. "According to the definition given in the 1955 resolution of the State Council, urban places in China are those with 2,000 inhabitants or more of whom at least half are engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. Places of 1,000 to 2,000 population may also be classified as urban if not less than 75 percent of the population is non-agricultural, provided also that these places are industrial, commercial, rail, educational, or research centres, or are residential areas for workers"¹⁷. The definition of town in Indian census has changed over time. In 1981 Census 'urban unit' has been defined as (a) municipalities and such other bodies of equivalent status (like Notified Areas, Cantonments, etc.) which have been created by a definite legislation as urban areas, or, (b) such areas which are urban as per Census

16 United Nations - ECAFE Secretariat, "The Demographic Situation and Prospective Population Trends in Asia and the Far East" in Breese (ed.) The City in Newly Developing Countries, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969, p. 77.

17 Morris B. Ullman, "Cities of Mainland China : 1953-1959" in Breese (ed.) *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

definition, Census definition of urban unit being "a specific geographical area (like a Mouza) fulfilling the following three conditions simultaneously :-

- (1) a population of at least 5,000
- (2) a density of population of at least 400 sq. km.
- (3) at least 75% of the male working persons in that area must be engaged in non-agricultural pursuits (except those in livestock, forestry, hunting, fishing, plantation, game propagation, etc.)"¹⁸

Size of the population, its density, livelihood and such other criteria are used to define urban places. Thus the comparability among the data pertaining to urbanization in different countries is not very satisfactory even with such concrete definition. However, for the purpose of this paper the definition used by the Indian Census Authority is accepted and urbanization (increase in U/T) is estimated accordingly.

The less measurable aspects of urbanization is dealt by the geographers and physical planners, their concern being in the area and boundary of the urban places. Outgrowth, agglomeration and inclusion of new urban places are considered as manifestations of urbanization by them. "Actually the hardest problem is not that of determining the 'floor' of the urban category but of ascertaining the boundary of places that are

¹⁸ Census of India, Series 23, Paper 1 of 1981, Supplement, p.7.

clearly urban by any definition. How far east is the boundary of Los Angeles? Where along the Hooghly River does Calcutta leave off and the countryside begin?"¹⁹

The sociologists and economists have adopted more abstract definitions of urbanization. The historians have observed the courses of advancement of civilization in which development of cities have significant role. The views of the scholars of these disciplines are holistic in the sense that they have seen the cities against the societal backdrop and, therefore, urbanization is not a process which solely concerns the cities and the towns of a society.

The concept 'urbanism' is very useful to explain the meaning of 'urbanization'. Urbanism is the way of life in cities. It can also be adopted by people residing outside a city or in rural areas. This is a social and psychological state of the people of a city. To a sociologist urbanization means the spread of urbanism. Thus urbanization can mean any or all of the following processes --- (a) greater increase in the population of urban areas in comparison to that of rural areas; (b) expansion of urban areas which automatically brings in more people in the urban sphere; (c) spread of urbanism, irrespective of residence.

19 Kingsley Davis, Op. cit., p. 7.

Migration to urban areas is naturally a contributing factor in urbanization. "It seems more meaningful to regard urbanization as involving a process of movement and change; its essence is that it creates the possibility of discontinuity with some pre-existing set of conditions It follows also that urbanization cannot be treated as a unidimensional phenomena; it has demographic, social structural, and cultural aspects, each of which poses separate analytical problems, but which also have to be studied in their interrelations"²⁰.

This definition of urbanization also is inadequate as it merely glosses over the economic aspect by using the 'all pervasive' term 'structural'. Economic growth and economic development have an impressive position in the study of urbanization. A wider definition of urbanization then would also include the process of economic changes.

Different Approaches to the Study of Urbanization

Urbanization has been studied from different time perspectives. The evolutionary approach has been adopted by social historians as well as economists to study the development of cities and related socio-cultural changes and development of economic activities of man. The diachronic studies of

20 A.L. Epstein, "Urbanization and Social Change in Africa", in Breese (ed.), Op. cit., p. 248.

the countries of the World are confined to a narrower limit of time. Another approach is to categorise cities into well-defined typology or static model. Basic to these studies and many others is the belief in rural and urban differences. From this belief stem the theories of rural-urban continuum and folk-urban continuum.

Other than time perspective urbanization has been studied from the view point of changes in demographic, economic and social aspects. Rural-urban dichotomy is the underlying fact in these studies also. Some of these views are discussed in the following pages.

"Ibn Khaldūn, writing in the fourteenth century, stressed particularly the view that the city as the seat of a central or provincial government also exhibits economic patterns significantly different from those of the surrounding countryside. Since the proceeds of taxation are accumulated in the cities, and since governmental and educational functions are concentrated there, new patterns of demand arise. These tend to affect, in turn, the patterns of production and supply, bringing about profound economic differences between country and city"²¹. This observation, at the very beginning of urban sociology, takes into consideration not only the changed way of city life but the

21 Bert F. Hoselitz, "The Role of Cities in the Economic Growth of Underdeveloped Countries" in Breese (ed.) Ibid., p. 234.

impact of it on the countryside. Ibn Khaldūn places primary importance on the cities as the centres of political power and its control over the society as a whole.

Giovanni Botero, on the other hand, writing about two hundred years later, stressed the commercial and industrial feature of cities, which, in turn, affected the economic life of the rural society as well. Hoselitz has suggested that the root of this difference in outlook lies in the fact that Botero lived in Italy and Khaldūn in Spain and North Africa and, of course, both of their opinions were based on the observations made on the medieval towns²².

The very imaginative reconstruction of early urban developments by Mumford lends support to the observations of Ibn Khaldūn. But he goes further and takes a peep into the 'mentality' of the early men. According to him, the cities were developed by powerful chiefs, who could protect his fellow men from the fearful natural and biological surroundings. By shrouding their physical and mental ability to protect others by

22 Ibid., p. 235.

magical mysticism these chiefs wielded power over the others and could make them work for him. From this initial inequality gradually emerged, through many intermediate steps, the complex social system which could nurture and develop cities. Thus emerged cities through magico-religious belief leading to concentration of power in a king and the high priest supported by persons of varied ranks of decreasing importance. The resulting pyramid of social hierarchy had the king at the top and a broad base of slaves, with other ranks in between²³.

Mumford, like Ibn Khaldūn, has considered the new pattern of demand in cities. Fulfilment of these demands gave rise to the institution of war through several steps, such as — (a) plundering the countryside and enriching the cities; (b) protecting the city with its new-found luxury and riches by high walls and moats against the external marauders; (c) plundering other cities which are store-houses of riches instead of plundering the poor villages; (d) building of empire with several cities and countryside and maintaining a protecting army; (e) giving external vent to internal dissatisfaction in the form of war between empires. "Thus the most precious collective invention of civilization, the city, second only to language itself in the transmission of culture, became from the outset

23 Lewis Mumford, The City in History, London, 1963, p. 104.

the container of disruptive internal forces, directed toward ceaseless destruction and extermination"²⁴. He probably sees conflict, arising out of the need for fulfilment of conspicuous consumption of a few, supported by a mass on account of their psychological dependence on the ruling few, as the main force in early urbanization. He recognises "the constant recruitment of new life, fresh and unsophisticated, from rural regions..... These rural folk replenished the city with their blood, and still more with their hopes"²⁵. Starting from the early urban civilization he has trekked a long and tortuous path through history, examining the later cities and their problems, identifying aspects of city life and work that entered and augmented the process of urbanization. He also envisages the future of urbanization and its problems, taking into consideration the more bold aspects and views on urban planning. However, to him urbanization involves both the changing physical aspect of the city and the psychological aspect of the human interaction in the changing set up. Spread of these two things brings about urbanization of a territory.

24 Ibid., p. 53.

25 Ibid., p. 54.

The evolutionary approach is more pronounced in the writings of Gordon Childe and Parsons. Gordon Childe has coined the term "urban revolution", which is an important landmark in the evolution of civilization. It follows certain technological developments, such as settled agriculture, harnessing of inanimate power, etc.²⁶ Parsons, on the other hand, sees urban societies to have emerged through parallel lines of evolution. This multi-linear evolution is characterized by mutative 'evolutionary universals', such as writing or invention of wheels, which, although appearing in multiple societies at different points in time, have often been borrowed by others through 'diffusion' and been improved upon. The evolution has, thus, occurred sometimes in a zigzag manner and sometimes through leap-frogging course²⁷.

Diachronic studies of the countries of the world has been undertaken by several authors from diverse perspectives. Kingsley Davis' extensive demographic studies also take into account the economic aspects of the countries. An often-cited

26 Op.cit., pp. 114-142.

27 T. Parsons, 'Evolutionary Universals' in American Sociological Review, June 1964, p. 339-341.

thesis of Davis is his correlation of industrialization and urbanization. To him many of the countries of the world are 'under-industrialized' and 'over-urbanized', his norm being certain industrialized nations of the West²⁸.

Moselitz, on the other hand, has studied urbanization in relation to economic development. He has asserted that "although there is a high correlation between industrialization and urbanization, the development of towns and cities is not dependent upon the previous establishment of industries, nor must all industrial establishments be located in cities in order to flourish"²⁹. He has waded through the flow of cities in history and has pointed out the cities that were seats of learning and education, centres of governmental and administrative organizations and the religious and cultural rallying points. As such, the cities' effect on the surrounding region is both economic and cultural. The importance of the cities is not, therefore, in the size of urban population, but in their role of developing, changing and continuing the culture in a given society.

28 K. Davis and Hilda H. Golden, "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-Industrial Areas" in Economic Development and Cultural Change, 3, No. 1 (October, 1954).

29 Bert F. Moselitz, Op. cit., p. 234.

Redfield has gone further and stated that the preliterate people need to be studied as "the people with written histories [as they] are what the preliterate peoples have become"³⁰. He looks "forward from pre-civilized life to civilization". This pre-civilized society or preliterate people are 'folk' societies. And "civilization may be thought of as the antithesis of the folk society"³¹. Starting from this dichotomous platform a continuum of folk and urban societies is conceived. But this continuum is also quite broad and embraces "several civilizations that start up from their folk bases into specialized developments in which some elements of the folk society are left behind while others are retained. Yet this fact does not destroy the impression that, as a manner of life taken as a whole, civilization is one kind of thing different from the life of the folk society"³². To understand this general kind of thing which is civilization, he has taken resort to the concepts 'technical order' and 'moral order', two contrasting aspects of all human societies. Moral order refers to the organization of human sentiments into judgements as to what is right"³³. "The technical order is that order which results

30 Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and its Transformations, London, 1969, pp. 12-13.

31 Ibid., p. 34.

32 Ibid., p. 35.

33 Ibid., p. 32.

from mutual usefulness, from deliberate coercion, or from the mere utilization of the same means. In the technical order men are bound by things, or are themselves things. They are organised by necessity or expediency"³⁴. In the folk societies the moral order is dominant while in modern industrial urban societies technical order is so. But Redfield has visualized the supremacy of moral order in folk societies and technical order in urban societies not as a static thing but as a process of continuous dynamism. Thus, to him, urbanization involves successive supremacy, subordination, breaking and remaking of moral order. The values associated with moral order varies from society to society and through time. Thus 'cultural relativism' is a concept he uses to explain this moral order. "Cultural relativism means that the values expressed in any culture are to be both understood and themselves valued only according to the way the people who carry that culture see things"³⁵. Hence, 'moral order' is not an absolute, standardized term. The confusion created in the moral order of a society with the entry of the invador in person or by his tools and his teachings is universal experience in the colonial situation as

34 Ibid., pp. 33-34.

35 Ibid., p. 148.

well as in situations where an underdeveloped country aspires to raise its standard of living in the model of the developed countries of the world. The old moral order becomes subordinate to the technical order, ^{the} new generation comes up doubting, not adhering to the old moral order and unable to accept fully the invader's. The equilibrium of the society becomes upset and returns with new additions, subtractions and modifications at a much later date, first going through a painful and frustrating period of upheaval and innovations. Such is the experience of the countries of the third world more or less, and, to follow Redfield's model, this is what happened in history and is still happening.

As against this dynamic model of change, there are static models for any point in time which categorise and/or predict the structure of the urban society in that category. Louis Wirth's model of 'urbanism as a way of life' or consequences of city life is a meticulous analysis of urban social system ³⁶. Adopting views of Simmel and Spengler, Wirth focussed

36 Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life" in American Journal of Sociology, July 1938.

his attention to the "urban mentality". He has noted the changed human relations in the urban society, and describes this to a great length as the 'consequences of city life'. However, these are primarily applicable to the cities of an industrial society. Belonging to the Chicago School, Wirth naturally based his expositions on observations made in modern industrial urban society, and his model is not applicable, as it is, to non-Western cities.

Sorokin and Zimmerman also developed another model showing rural-urban dichotomy³⁷ which, again, does not quite fit the situation in the developing countries. Sjoberg, on the other hand, has distinguished among pre-industrial civilized, transitional and industrial orders of society — and their respective cities. The basis of distinction is technological development, but the resulting cities show distinct differences in social structure as well. He recognised "that the extent of urban development has been dramatically accelerated by the shift from the preindustrial to the industrial level of technology", but, at the same time, he hypothesized "that the political

37 P.A. Sorokin and C.C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, New York, 1929.

power structure is the main variable in explaining the growth and decline of city life For example, the level of urbanization in the United States by regions has been closely associated with a general realignment in the power structure of the broader society"³⁸.

It need be noted here that all these distinct types of societies are mere conceptual models and are open to modification and improvement always. Their usefulness is in providing a guideline or a pointer for further research over space and time. McGee, for example, has put forward a modified version of the model of Redfield and Sjoberg, as a typology of rural and urban societies³⁹.

38 Gedeon Sjoberg, "The Rise and Fall of Cities : A Theoretical Perspective" in G. Breese (ed.) *Op. cit.*, 1969, pp. 224-231.

39 T.G. McGee, The Urbanization Process in the Third World, London, 1971, pp. 56-57.

Chart 2 : A Typology of Rural and Urban Societies

		URBAN MODELS		
		Preindustrial (These three models of urban society can be either 'stable' or 'migrant' cities) ⁺	Colonial	Industrial
R U R A L M O D E L S	Folk			
	Peasant			
	Farmer			

+ 'Stable' cities are those cities which are either declining, stable or growing from natural increase. 'Migrant' cities are those cities growing substantially from the in-migration of rural migrants.

In the context of the Third World he has observed that large number of migrants in a city "can very clearly change the character of the city as it clearly is doing during the present phase of the 'ruralization' of many of the World's cities. The city, then, is not the sole source of change, simply one element in change"⁴⁰.

Quite a few other static models on the basis of character, function and other variables are there as evidence of the labour of many thinkers. Max Weber has distinguished between 'patrician' and 'plebian' cities on the basis of dominant power group in the city in the ancient and mediaeval periods in European countries⁴¹. Hoselitz has classified cities into 'generative' and 'parasitic' ones, on the basis of the impact of the city on economic growth of the region, in which it is located⁴². Redfield and Singer, resorting to the concepts 'moral order' and 'technical order', have found cities to be 'orthogenetic' and 'heterogenetic', depending on their role in continuing or otherwise of the traditional culture of the society to which the cities belong⁴³. All these and many others

40 McGee, Ibid., p. 58.

41 Max Weber, The City, The Free Press, New York, 1966, Chapters 3 & 4.

42 Bert F. Hoselitz, Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth, New Delhi, 1975, Chapter 8.

43 R. Redfield & M.B. Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities", Economic Development of Cultural Change, 3(1), 1954, pp. 53-73.

have not, however, been discussed here, primarily, on the ground that they are very common and oft-discussed in text books.

There are a set of models which deal with the development and underdevelopment. These two opposite themes are dealt together to show their negative correlation observed in the developed countries as against the underdevelopment of the Third World. This thesis "can be traced back to Marx's discussion of foreign trade and the expansion of capitalism. Since then, the theory has been variously elaborated by many scholars, the better known amongst whom are Lenin, Paul Baran and Andre Gunder Frank Fundamental to the theory is the conception of a dialectical relationship between the development of the First World and the underdevelopment of the Third World. The term 'dialectic' refers to a two-way causal connection. What is implied ^{here} is that the West developed precisely because it was underdeveloping the Third World, whilst the Third World became underdeveloped in aiding the ascendancy of the West"⁴⁴.

This dialectical relationship has been traced through history in three distinct stages, namely the stage of merchant

44 Ankie M. Hoogvelt, The Sociology of Developing Societies, The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1976, p. 67.

capitalism, the colonial stage and the neo-colonial stage. In the first stage the expansion of capitalism led to the spreading out of mercantile activities of the West. This was often in the form of plundering and exploiting. The next stage was of capture and political subordination of territories and utilizing the raw materials thereof to augment capitalism. Industrial revolution is an outcome of these two stages. The last stage, neo-colonial stage, is a peculiar condition of political freedom and economic bondage of the countries with newly acquired independence. This stage is also characterised by a marked change in attitude and values, which started in the stage of colonialism with the introduction of Western education, religion and beliefs, and ^{the} way of life, in general, in the colonies. Redfield's thesis on 'moral order' and 'technical order' fits this situation very well. However, in the colonial stage, the natives of colonies very often joined the capitalistic enterprises of the Western merchants and new classes were formed. The social system often became disrupted. Marx has observed in the case of the British rule in India that the "English interference [in the Indian economic system]... has dissolved these small semi-barbarian, semi-civilized communities [village system] by blowing up their economic basis"⁴⁵. The changed social and economic system

45 Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India", in Marx and Engels, Pre-Capitalist Socio-economic Formations, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 75.

has become a pattern also in the independent countries and the economic dominance of the West persists without the Western countries having to take the administrative liabilities of the colonies. Thus the 'dialectic' relationship continues.

Urbanization in India

The observations, theories and models discussed above, together make up the foundation of the studies on India's urbanization. Although there are some very old urban centres in India, many of them stagnated or declined in the colonial period due to many reasons, such as planned destruction of economic base of the city (e.g. Dacca), setting up of rival industrial centres (e.g. English Bazar against Malda), negligence in maintaining the communicational infrastructure (e.g. Tamralipta and Saptagram), and so on. The religious centres have continued to grow and some old administrative centres have thrived by virtue of their being administrative centres or market towns for procuring raw materials in the colonial period. Demographic decline of the town of Dacca has been noted by Marx as a direct consequence of the destruction of Indian handloom industry and export of British muslins to India⁴⁶. Similar remarks are found in the writings of Baran⁴⁷,

46 Marx, Ibid., p. 73.

47 P.A. Baran, The Political Economy of Growth, New York, 1967, p. 146.

Mukherjee⁴⁸ and others. The fact remains that the urbanization in India faced a setback at the onset of British rule in India, then started to go ahead with new types of towns and urban activities under British rule and finally has surged forward in the post-Independence period.

In the merchant-capitalist stage the territory exposed to the British exploitation was smaller in comparison to that of the colonial stage. The colonial period is characterised by a steady expansion of the British Empire all over India. The introduction of British education, initially in the provinces of Bengal and Madras, created a group of intellectual elites, whose conscious efforts were "to carry on their activities within the framework of a spirit of loyal cooperation with the British crown"⁴⁹. Social and economic changes during this period emanated from the urban centres where these elites congregated, and, as a logical corollary, the cities feature prominently in the studies of social change. The sociologists have followed the rural-urban dichotomous model to study this

48 R. Mukherjee, The Rise and Fall of the East India Company, Berlin, 1958, p. 398.

49 S.B. Chaudhuri, "The Political Framework" in Renascent Bengal (1817-1857), Asiatic Soc., Calcutta, 1972, p. 11.

change both in the colonial period and in the present day (neo-colonial period?). Benoy Sarkar and Benoy Ghose's studies need special mention in this context. Ghose has, moreover, adopted the Marxian model of class-division and dominance/dependence. He observed that the "social division between the city and the village stood on the level of class-division between the capitalist and the proletariat, the landlord and the peasant" [in the colonial period]. He has also commented upon "the non-productive and non-industrial proletariat of the new parasitic colonial city of Calcutta"⁵⁰, thus looking into the relationship of a city with its surrounding countryside and also in the changed social and economic attitudes of these new urbanites and their social system as a whole. The introduction of exchange economy with cash-nexus is seen as an important agent of change. This theme has been carried forward in the study of urban communities in this country also.

The cities in India were first studied by a team from Bombay University under the leadership of Sir Patrick Geddes. Naturally, the early studies centred around Bombay. Study of individual cities from demographic and geographical angles

50 B. Ghose, "Social Change" in Ibid., p. 14.

emerged as Town Planning Reports. Later on, social change in the urban setting caught the fancy of the students of urban society. Their studies have been based, mostly, on the models of rural-urban dichotomy and rural-urban continuum.

Cities in our country tend to retain the small town or rural characteristics. It has been observed by Prof. N.K. Bose⁵¹ that the city of Calcutta has pronounced residential and occupational clustering showing its continued rural tradition. He has termed Calcutta as a 'premature metropolis'⁵². The point of departure for Bose and many other Indian scholars has been the concept of rural-urban dichotomy. On the basis of this idea, quite a few studies have been undertaken and contradictory views have been expressed on the basis of the findings. Often, the opposite notion of rural-urban continuum has been found to be more applicable in the Indian society. The commonest variables examined are caste and occupation⁵³, family and marriage⁵⁴, kinship ties⁵⁵, education⁵⁶, association⁵⁷ and

51 N.K. Bose, Calcutta 1964 - A Social Survey, Bombay, 1968.

52 Bose, "Calcutta : A Premature Metropolis" in Cities, S.C. American Special Issue, 1973, pp. 251-262.

53 V.S. D'Souza, "Caste, Occupation and Social Class in Chandigarh" in Urban Sociology in India, ed. M.S.A. Rao, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 276-288.

54 A. Ross, Hindu Family in its Urban Setting, Delhi, 1973; M. S. Gore, Urbanisation and Family Change, Bombay, 1968.

55 Saroj Kapoor, "Family and Kinship Groups among the Khatriis in Delhi" in M.S.A. Rao, ed. Op.cit., 1974, pp. 355-366.

56 A. Ross, Op. cit.

57 A.M. Singh, Neighbourhood and Social Networks in Urban India,

power structure⁵⁸. "Continuity of some institutions or aspects of it, and changes in other areas of activity is a general feature characterizing social change in India"⁵⁹.

The growth rates of the urban settlements, with which the demographers are concerned, are extremely varied in India. The bigger towns tend to grow more and the smaller towns are growing less or stagnating or declining, as^{has been} observed by Ashish Bose. Spatial imbalance is another special feature of India's urbanization. In West Bengal itself, we find ~~that~~ South Bengal is more urbanized than North Bengal or the fringe districts of Bankura, Purulia and Midnapore. The industrial belts in south Bengal have certainly served as a determining factor in this regard, but there are other important factors also. The study of Calcutta Metropolitan Districts by Sen and Banerjee⁶⁰ is worth mentioning in this context.

Marwah, New Delhi, 1976; K.S. Nair, Ethnicity and Urbanization, Delhi, 1978.

58 M.S.A. Rao, Urbanization and Social Change, A Study of a Rural Community on a Metropolitan Fringe, New Delhi, 1970.

59 M.S.A. Rao, *Ibid.*, p. 230.

60 A. Sen and A. Banerjee, C.M.D. in the Urban Context of W.B. (1951-1981), Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, Occasional Paper, No. 60, 1983.

The demographic studies not only look into the variation of urban population size, but also, try to ascertain the volume and nature of migration to urban areas and shift in the occupational pattern. Studies on urbanization in India has been done by quite a few scholars, of whom Bose must be mentioned first with his compendium volumes on urbanization in India⁶¹ and inventory of source materials on India's urbanization⁶². Kingsley Davis⁶³ and Sovani⁶⁴ also have important contributions in this field. Zachariah has studied internal migration in the sub-continent⁶⁵. His study of the migrants in Greater Bombay⁶⁶ is also worth mentioning. Studies on urbanization in smaller regions have been undertaken by other authors. Migrants in the C.M.D., 1951-71, has been studied by Sen and Banerjee⁶⁷. Pranati

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- 61 A. Bose, Studies in India's Urbanization, 1901-1971, New Delhi, 1974 and India's Urbanization 1901-2001 by the same author, New Delhi, 1978.
- 62 A. Bose, Urbanization in India, An Inventory of Source Materials, Academic Books Ltd., New Delhi, 1970.
- 63 K. Davis, Population of India and Pakistan. Princeton University, Princeton, 1951; "Urbanization in India : Past and Future" in India's Urban Future, Roy Turner ed., Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, 1962, pp. 2-26.
- 64 N.Y. Sovani, Urbanization and Urban India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966.
- 65 K.C. Zachariah, A Historical Study of Internal Migration in the Indian Sub-Continent, 1901-31, Bombay, 1965.
- 66 K.C. Zachariah, "The Maharashtra and Gujrati Migrants in Greater Bombay" in Sociological Bulletin, XV(2), 1966, pp. 66-87.
67. Published as Occasional Paper No. 62 in August 1983 from

Chaudhuri has studied the refugees in West Bengal⁶⁸. Urbanization of West Bengal has been studied by Chakraborty and others under the auspices of Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation⁶⁹. Pant has looked into the urban growth in eastern U.P.⁷⁰ Rao's study on Urbanization and social change⁷¹ is confined to a village in the fringe of Delhi Corporation. There are quite a few other works on urbanization worth mentioning too. On the basis of 1961 and 1971 Census data, the towns and cities have been functionally classified by Mitra and others and an attempt has been made to find out the extent of shift in the function of these towns during these decades⁷². Their aim has been to understand the pace and content of India's urban growth.

the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta.

- 68 Refugees in W.B. : A Study of the Growth and Distribution of Refugee Settlements within the C.M.D. published as Occasional Paper 55 from Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta in 1983.
- 69 K.R. Chakraborty, Trend of Urbanisation in the Four Districts of West Bengal (Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and 24 Parganas). Report. 1965.
- 70 V.K. Pant, Urban Growth and Social Change in Eastern U.P., Nirdoshita Prakashan, Gorakhpur, 1979.
- 71 Op. cit., 1970.
- 72 Asok Mitra, et al., Shifts in the Functions of Cities and Towns of India, 1961-71, New Delhi, 1981.

The methodology of classification is quite logical and is now being followed by other teams pursuing urban studies⁷³.

Studies of urban problems, specially that of slums, occupy considerable position among Indian works. Slums have been studied from the planners' point of view as well as that of the sociologists.⁷⁴ Slums and urbanization edited by Dasai and Pillai is a representative volume of the work done in this field. Wiebe has studied slums in Madras city⁷⁵ to examine the applicability of the 'culture of poverty' in the Indian context. Slums of Calcutta and Howrah were studied by Mukherjee and others. The pavement dwellers of Calcutta have been studied by the Indian Statistical Institute as well as the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization (1976). Beggars of Calcutta, studied by Mukherjee and others⁷⁶ and Beggars of Kalighat by Chaudhuri⁷⁷ may also be mentioned.

73 For example, Prof. Sunil Munsif under the auspices of Centre for Studies in Social Sciences has worked out the trend in W.B. His Some Observations on the Trend of Urbanisation in West Bengal, Occasional Paper No. 68, 1984.

74 Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1970.

75 Paul D. Wiebe, Social Life in an Indian Slum, New Delhi, 1975.

76 S. Mukherjee, et al., Studies on Slums in the Calcutta Metropolitan District, C.M.P.O. (Mimeo.).

77 Sumita Chaudhuri, A Study on Beggars of Kalighat, Calcutta, Ph.D. dissertation, Cal. Univ. 1978.

Thus, urbanization has been studied starting from a broad base of demography and sociological theorisation to aspects of social change and urban problems. The spatial area covered by these studies are also of varying size.