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M.A. SEMESTER - IV
URBAN & INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

SUBJECT : SOCIOLOGY	**UNIT : I-IV**
COURSE NO. : SOC-C-405	**LESSON NO. : 1-20**

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URBAN & INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

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SYLLABUS OF SOCIOLOGY M.A. 4th Semester for the examination to be held in the year May 2020, 2021, 2022
(Non-CBCS)

Course No. SOC-C-405	**Title : Urban & Industrial Sociology**
Credits : 6	**Maximum Marks : 100**
Duration of examination : 2½ hrs.	**a) Semester examination : 80 (External)**
	b) Internal assessment : 20 (Internal)

Objective

Social processes such as urbanization and industralization have become an important feature of contemporary life and are altering institutions and social structure. The aim of this paper is to familiarize the students with the related studies and perspectives on this sub-discipline. By historically tracing the process of urbanization in India, students shall be made to analyze its social impact and study the resultant problems.

Unit-I Urban Sociology:
Concept : Urban, Urbanization and Urbanism; Rural-Urban Fringe; Classification of Cities; Urban Planning and Development.

Unit-II Theories of Urbanization:
Emile Durkheim; Karl Marx; Max Weber; F. Tonnies; Park, Burgess; G. Simmel; Louis Wirth; Castells.

Unit-III Urban Sociology in India:
Urbanization in India - A Historical Background; Demographic aspects of Urbanization; Urbanization and Social Stratification; Human Migration; Urban Culture; Urban Problems: Environment, Housing, Poverty, Crime, Slums and Health; Urban Governance in India.

Unit IV Industrial Sociology in India:
Emergence of Industrial Sociology; Industry and Industrial Organisation; Industralization; Labour in Formal (Organized) Sector; Trade Union and Informal (unorganized) Sector; Women, Work & Technology.

1

NOTE FOR PAPER SETTING:

The question paper will consist of three sections A, B and C.

Section A will consist of eight long answer type questions, two from each unit with internal choice. Each question will be of 12 marks. The candidates will be required to answer four questions, one from each unit. Total weightage will be of $12 \times 4 = 48$ marks.

Section B will consist of Eight short answer type questions - two from each unit with internal choice. Each question will be of 6 marks. The candidate will be required to answer four questions, one from each unit. Total weightage will be of $6 \times 4 = 24$ marks.

Section C will consist of eight objective type, questions of one mark each. The candidate is required to answer all the eight questions. Total weightage will be $1 \times 8 = 8$ marks.

Prescribed Readings:

1. Ahuja, Ram. 1999. *Society in India : Concepts, Theories and Changing Trends,* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

2. Aldrich, B.C., and R.S. Sandhu (eds.). 1995. *Housing the Urban Poor: Policy and Practice in Developing Countries,* New Delhi: Vistaar Publication; London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.

3. Ali, Shabir. 1990. *Slums Within Slums, Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.*

4. Atal, Y. (ed.). 2009. *Sociology and Social Anthropology in India,* New Delhi: Pearson Education.

5. Atal, Yogesh. *2002. The Poverty Question: Search for Solution,* Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

6. Bhowmik, Sharit K., V. Xaxa, and M.A. Kalam. 1996. *Plantation Labour in India,* New Delhi: Friedrich ebert Stiftung.

7. Bounds,M. 2004. *Urban Social Theory,* New York: Oxford University Press.

8. Davala, Sarath C. (ed.). 1993. *Employment and Unionisation in Indian Industry, New Delhi: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.*

9.   Michael, S.M. 1989, *Culture and Urbanization*, Delhi : Inter-India Publications.

10.   Nadkarni, Lakshmi. 1998. *Sociology of Industrial Worker*, Jaipur : Rawat Publications.

11.   Naidu, R. 1990. *Old Cities, New Predicament : A study of Hyderabad, Delhi:* Sage Publication.

12.   Papola, T.S. and Alakh N. Sharma. (eds.). 1999. *Gender and Employment in India*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

13.   Papola, T.S., P.P. Ghosh, and Alakh Sharma (eds.). 1993. *Labour, Employment and Industrial Relations in India.* Delhi : B.R. Publishing Corporation.

14.   Parry Jonathan, Jan Breman, and Karin Kapadia (eds.). 1999. *The Worlds of Indian Industrial Labour,* New Delhi : Sage Publications.

15.   Patel, Sujata & K. Deb. 2006. *Urban Studies,* Delhi: OUP.

16.   Pugh, Cedric. 1990. *Housing and Urbanization: A Study of India,* Delhi: Sage Publications.

17.   Rao, M.S.A. (ed.). 1992. *Urban Sociology in India,* New Delhi : Orient Longman.

18.   Sandhu, R.S. (ed.). 2003. *Urbanisation in India,* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

19.   Sandhu, R.S. 2003. *Urbanization in India: Sociological Contributions,* New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, and London: Sage Publications.

20.   Saseen, S. 2000. Cities in a World Economy, Oaks: Sage Publication.

21.   Shah, Shanshyam. 1997. *Public Health and Urban Development : The Plague in Surat,* Delhi: Sage Publications.

22.   Sharma, K.R. 1997. *Urban Sociology*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers.

23.   Sheth, N.R. 1958. *Social Framework of an Indian Factory,* Manchester: University Press; and 1984, Delhi: Hindustan Publishers.

3

24.   Singh, A.M. and Anita Kelles-Vitanen. 1987. *Invisible Hands,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

25.   Singh, Manjit. 1991. *Labour Process in Unorganized Industry: A Case Study of the Garment Industry,* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

26.   Sivaramkrishan, K, Amitabh Kundu, 2005. *Handbook of Urbanization in India,* Delhi: Sage.

27.   Spates, L. James and J.M. Macionis. 1982. *The Sociology of Cities,* New York: St. Martin's Press.

28.   Wright. S (ed.) 1994. *Anthropology of organization, London: Routledge & Kegal Paul.*

CONTENTS

M.A. Sociology   **Lesson -1**
URBAN, URBANISATION AND URBANISM
Unit-I

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- describe the concepts of urban, urbanization and urbanism

- provide a definition of urban in the Indian context

- explain urbanization as political, economic and geographical process

- discuss the main features of urbanism.

1.1   INTRODUCTION

Main purpose of the unit is to learn the concepts of urban, urbanisation and urbanism. Here, our attempt would be to review various definitions related to these concepts and find out some common characteristics to understand these concepts.

1.2   CONCEPT 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. Resident of a village is known as Folk and the city is known as urbanite. Urbane was borrowed first, from the old French term urbain, and it preserves the French pattern of stress. 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.

It is not possible to have a study of urbanisation unless adequate note is taken of the definition of an "urban area" or "urban centre" or city or town, which varies from country to country and from one census year to another. In Greenland, for example, a place with 300 or more inhabitants is called an urban area while in the Republic of Korea; an urban area must have at least 40,000 inhabitants. Most European countries follow the example set by France in 1846, requiring a population minimum of 2000.

Even in the same country, there are frequent modifications of the definition of "urban" which call for numerous adjustments to attain comparability over time. This, for example, was the case in the U.S.A. where a new definition of "urban" was adopted in 1950.These criteria for defining an urban area show how shaky international comparisons of the level of urbanisation based on national definitions can be in the absence of definitional adjustments (Bose, 1974).

Although urban population is widely understood to include the population resident in cities and towns, the definition of urban is, nevertheless, a complex matter. Population classified as "urban" varies greatly from one ' country to

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

(1) Classification of minor civil division on a chosen criterion which may include: (a) type of local government, (b) number of inhabitants, (c) proportion of population engaged in agriculture; (2) classification of administrative centres of minor rural division as urban and the remainder of the division as rural; and (3) classification of certain size localities (agglomerations) as urban, irrespective of administrative boundaries. Even for census purposes, then, the definition of urban involves a multidimensional approach and the setting of arbitrary cutting points in differentiating "urban" from "rural". (Hauser, 1965).

1.3   DEFINING "URBAN" IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

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

According to Census of India, 1901: Town includes

1) Every municipality of whatever size;

2) All civil lines not included within municipal limits;

3) Every other continuous collection of houses, permanently inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons, which the Provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as town for census purposes. Thus, the primary consideration for deciding whether a particular place is a town or not is the administrative set-up and not the size of its population.

Not all municipatities, civil lines areas and cantonments have a population of over 5,000 and yet these were classified as towns. At the same time, all places with a

9

population of 5,000 and over are not necessarily towns.

There are several overgrown villages with populations of over 5,000. Further, the Census Superintendents also had the discretion to treat any place as a "town", irrespective of its administrative set-up or population size, for "special reason". This is not quite evident from the definition of "town" just quoted, for clause (3) of the definition refers to places with less than 5,000 persons as not being part of urbanfo1.d. But it has been the census practice right from 1901 onwards to allow the discretionary power to Census Superintendents even with reference to places with population. The definition of "town" was thus not totally objective in as much as it was not based on a rigid statistical test. The census authorities were aware of these limitations but they preferred administrative expediency to statistical precision. However, after Independence an attempt was made to provide a very strict definition of an urban area at the 1961 Census, which is as under:

a) All places with municipality, corporation, cantonment board, or notified town area committee, etc.

b) All other places which satisfied the following criteria;

i) A minimum population of 5,000.

ii) At least 75 per cent of male working population in non-agricultural pursuits; and

iii) A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km.

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

10

Urbanisation is an index of transformation from traditional rural economies to modern industrial one. It is progressive concentration (Davis, 1965) of population in urban unit. Quantification of urbanization is very difficult. It is a long term process. Kingsley Davis has explained urbanization as process (Davis,1962) of switch from spread out pattern of human settlements to one of concentration in urban centers. It is a finite process— a cycle through which a nation pass as they evolve from agrarian to industrial society (Davis and Golden, 1954). He has mentioned three stages in the process of urbanization.

Stage one is the initial stage characterized by rural traditional society with predominance in agriculture and dispersed pattern of settlements.

Stage two refers to acceleration stage where basic restructuring of the economy and investments in social overhead capitals including transportation, communication take place. Proportion of urban population gradually increases from 25% to 40%, 50%, 60% and so on. Dependence on primary sector gradually dwindles.

Third stage is known as terminal stage where urban population exceeds 70% or more. At this stage level of urbanization (Davis, 1965) remains more or less same or constant. Rate of growth of urban population and total population becomes same at this terminal stage. The onset of modern and universal process of urbanization is relatively a recent phenomenon and is closely related with industrial revolution and associated economic development. As industrial revolution started in Western Europe, United Kingdom was the initiator of Industrial Revolution. Historical evidence suggests that urbanization process is inevitable and universal. Currently developed countries are characterized by high level of urbanization and some of them are in final stage of urbanization process and experiencing slowing down of urbanization due to host of factors . A majority of the developing countries, on the other hand started experiencing urbanization only since the middle of 20th century.

Urbanization implies a cultural and social psychological process whereby people acquire the material and non-material culture, including behavioural patterns, forms of organization, and ideas that originated in, or are distinctive of the city. Although the flow of cultural influences is in both directions – both toward and away from the city – there is substantial agreement that the cultural

11

influences exerted by the city on non-urban people are probably more pervasive than the reverse. The history of urbanization in India reveals, broadly four processes of urbanization at work throughout the historical period. These are:

a)   The emergence of new social relationships among people in cities and between people in cities and those in villages through a process of social change;

b)   The rise and fall of cities with changes in the political order;

c)   The growth of cities based on new productive processes, which alter the economic base of the city; and

d)   The physical spread of cities with the inflow of migrants, who come in search of a means of livelihood as well as a new way of life.

1.4   URBANIZATION AS A POLITICAL–ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS

The administrative and political developments have played an important role in urbanization in the past and they continue to be relevant today. From about the 5th century BC to the 18th century AD, urban centers in India emerged, declined or even vanished with the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires. Patliputra, Delhi, Madurai and Golconda are all examples of cities that flourished, decayed, and sometimes revived in response to changes in the political scene. The administrative or political factor often acts as an initial stimulus for urban growth; which is then further advanced by the growth of commercial and industrial activities.

1.5   URBANIZATION AS AN ECONOMIC PROCESS

Urbanization in modern times is essentially an economic process. Today, the city is a focal point of productive activities. It exists and grows on the strength of the economic activities existing within itself. It is the level and nature of economic activity in the city that generates growth and, therefore, further urbanization.

1.6   URBANIZATION AS A GEOGRAPHICAL PROCESS

The proportion of a country's total population living in urban areas has generally been considered as a measure of the level of urbanization. Population

growth in urban areas is partly a function of natural increase in population and partly the result of migration from rural areas and smaller towns. An increase in the level of urbanization is possible only through migration of people from rural to urban areas. Hence, migration or change of location of residence of people is a basic mechanism of urbanization. This is essentially a geographical process, in the sense that it involves the movement of people from one place to another.

Urbanisation is often used more loosely, however, to refer to a broad-based rural-to-urban transition involving population, land use, economic activity and culture, or indeed any one of these. Thus, it is frequently used to refer to changes in land-use for specific areas (usually on the periphery of urban concentrations) as this land becomes 'urbanised' and is sold and developed for urban use (e.g. the sale of plots for housing)

1.7   WHAT IS URBANISM

Urbanism is a special concept which inherits within itself all the characters connected with urbanization and the urban way of life. The concept was given its final shape by Louisworth. Urbanism is a developing concept as the urban life pattern itself, as it appears, as a developing and constantly changing phenomenon. As such, there is no well defined theory of urbanism presenting in a systematic fashion all the available knowledge concerning the city as a social entity. However, we have a wealth of literature presenting insights of sociological relevance and also empirical studies offering detailed information on a variety of particular aspects of urban life. Thus, we may assume that the larger, the more densely populated and the more heterogeneous the community, the more accentuated and the more present are the characters of urbanism.

1.8   FEATURES OF URBANISM

There are a number of sociological propositions concerning the relationship between a habitat and (i) the size of population (ii) its density and (iii) heterogeneity as the important factors defining the characters of urban way of life. Now, let us examine them briefly as to their relevance.

13

1.   **Size of Population.** Since, the time of Aristotle it has been recognized that increase in the number of inhabitants in a settlement beyond a certain limit will affect the relationship between people and habitat. Hence, it leads to competition over scarce resources and a search for alternatives and reduces intimacy and nearness of relations, while increasing the number of contacts and acquaintances. Large numbers involve a greater range of individual variation. Further, the greater the number of interacting individuals, the greater is the potential differentiation between them. The personal traits, occupations, the cultural life and the ideas and attitudes of members of an urban community may, therefore, be expected to range between widely separated poles, such give rise to the spatial segregation of individuals, according to colour, ethnic heritage, economic and social status, tastes and preference The bonds of kinship, of neighborliness and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations under a common folk tradition will be absent under such circumstances. Competition and formal control mechanisms provide the substitutes for bonds of solidarity. Personal and intimate contacts arc reduced. Urbanites meet one another in highly segmental roles. They are dependant upon more and a variety of people for the satisfaction of variety of their life needs The superficiality, anonymity and the transitory character of urban social relations consequent upon numbers, makes intelligible the sophistication and rationality of urbanites Urban social relations are reversed, indifferent and formal. Occupational etiquette and professional codes guide city life and behaviour. Impersonal market as the place of exchange and distribution of goods and services is a typically urban character.

2.   **Density**. Increase in the size of the population over a limited area increases its density. Increase in density produces differentiation and specialization as a necessary condition for survival. In denser areas while physical contacts will be close, social contacts are distant. Increase in size and density of population are the necessary concomitant of urbanization Density increases diversification. We are exposed to glaring contrasts between splendour and squalor, riches and poverty, intelligence and ignorance, order and chaos Competition for space is great. Place of work tends to become dissociated from place of residence. The juxtaposition of divergent

14

personalities and modes of life tends to produce a relativist perspective and a sense of tolerance of diference The living together and working together of individuals with no emotional ties foster a spirit of exploitation. Nervous tensions and frustrations are common Moral controls no more work in a congested area and a degree of deviance and disorganization is thus a regular feature. Density itself produces a sort of mass culture whose values are transitory co-operation, group feeling, sort of commonality etc.

3.   Heterogeneity: Heterogeneity is another concomitant of urbanization as urban areas arc the reservoirs of people of a variety of cultural, ethnic and social backgrounds. Social interaction among a variety of personality types breaks down the rigidity of caste and complicates the class structure The heightened individual mobility accepts instability and insecurity as a norm The coming into contact and mixing up of a variety of cultural patterns inevitably leads to their assimilation and the creation of a sort of common mass culture in an urban agglomeration. This accounts for the sophistication and cosmopolitanism of the urbanite. Partly as u result of physical footlessness and social mobility the turnover in urban group membership is rapid Urban people are a fluid mass and hence collective behaviour there is unpredictable However, through its accommodation of differences, city makes up for a leveling influence

Thus we see that increase in size, density and heterogeneity of population, which are the major elements in any society account for much of the character of the contemporary urban society as inevitable consequences

1.9   SUMMARY

Urban refers to city or town. Urbanisation, however, is a broader concept which includes changes: in the nature of peoples activities; in the ratio between the urban and rural population; in the population distribution according to different types of towns or cities; in population concentration and levels of concentration of human activities and in modifying the urban way of life and its further impact on the other sections of society. Urbanism can be defined as patterns of culture and social interaction resulting from the concentration of large populations into relatively small areas.

15

1.10 FURTHER READINGS

- Jayapalan, N. 2013. *Urban Sociology*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.

- Kosambi, M. 1994. *Urbanisation and Urban Development*. New Delhi: Cambridge Press.

- Rao, M.S.A. (ed.). 1992. *Urban Sociology in India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

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RURAL URBAN FRINGE

Unit-I

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- define the concept of Rural Urban fringe

- discuss the concept of Rural Urban fringe in the Indian context

2.1   INTRODUCTION

T L. Smith's discussion of the "urban fringe" around Louisiana in 1937 marked the first use of this term signifying "the built-up area just outside the corporate limits of the city." As a landscape phenomenon, the fringe varies from city to city and from one time to another.

A rural-urban fringe can only exist between a growing urban centre and its rural hinterland, so it is no diminution of the concept to view it as the residual zone between two more readily defined poles. Characteristics of the fringe need not be intermediate nor on a continuum between rural and urban, yet distinctive location and internal heterogeneity and transition, do make possible a unitary if not uniform definition.

The rural-urban fringe is the zone of transition in land use, social and demographic characteristics, lying between (a) the continuously built up urban and suburban areas of the central city, and (b) the rural hinterland, characterized by the almost complete absence of nonfarm dwellings, occupations and land use, and of urban and rural social orientation; an incomplete range and penetration of urban utility services; uncoordinated zoning or planning regulations; a-real extension beyond although contiguous with the political boundary of the central city; and an actual and potential increase in population density, with the current density above that of surrounding rural districts but lower than the central city. These characteristics may differ both zonally and sectorally, and will be modified through time. Within the rural-urban fringe it may be possible to identify:

1.   **The urban fringe,** that subzone of the rural urban fringe in contact and contiguous with the central city, exhibiting a density of occupied dwellings higher than the median density of the total rural-urban fringe-a high proportion of residential, commercial, industrial and vacant as distinct from farmland-and a higher rate of increase in population density, land use conversion, and commuting; and

2.   **The rural fringe,** that subzone of the rural urban fringe contiguous with the urban fringe exhibiting a density of occupied dwellings lower than the median density of the total rural-urban fringe, a high proportion of farm as distinct from nonfarm and vacant land, and a lower rate of increase in population density, land use conversion, and commuting

The first systematic discussion on the rural-urban 'fringe'' ap-peared in 1953, when it was examined both from the urban and the rural points of view (Lively et al. 1953).

The 'rural-urban fringe' has been used to describe a number of different situations and characteristics. Wehrwein (1942) defines it, 'as area of transition between well recognized urban land uses and the area devoted to agriculture'. Firey (1946) considered urban fringe as a marginal area. Dickinson (1952:120) considered it 'as an extension of the city itself, present or potential'.

Attention is also given to describe the population characteristics of the fringe (Beegle 1947). It is shown that the fringe generally occupies a position in certain

18

demographic characteristics that is between rural and urban situations. The economic life of the people in the fringe is shown to have characteristics of combination of farm and non-farm occupations, part-time farming and commuting (Conklin 1944; Black 1945). The emergence of new family forms in the fringe area is studied by Jaco and Belknap (1953). They suggest that the historic functions of the family are seemingly better re-tained in the urban fringe. The rural-urban fringe is also used to study the process of fringe settlement as a two-directional move-ment where the differential characters of families migrated from rural and urban places are examined (Rodehaver 1947).

The various characteristics associated with the rural-urban fringe in these and other studies point out that the fringe society represents on the folk-urban continuum with many transitional features of the peasant-urban society. It also suggests that there are new types which are only found in the fringe society.

2.2   THE RURAL-URBAN FRINGE IN INDIA

The rural-urban fringe in India, however, differs from that in USA. In the latter country, it is largely the result of the deconcentration of urban population, whereas in India it is the result of the growing impact of metropolitan cities on the villages nearby. The 'extended fringe' formed by the invasion of the countryside by the city people exists only in a limited sense in India. The fringe villages in the area of metropolitan dominance while retaining their identity react to the urban situation, and their social structure, organization and cultural values undergo drastic changes in the process. The rural- urban interaction in the fringe villages is more intense not merely because of their physical propinquity but because of greater con-nections with the city. Different processes and levels of adjustment to the urban influence manifest themselves, and the temporal pro-cesses of social change assume significance.

A few significant studies of the villages near a town, city or metropolis in India reveal changes in their social and economic structure, which approximate to some of the characteristics of the fringe society— A.R. Beal's study of Namhalli, a village near Banga-lore, and T.S. Trent's study of Manhalli, a village near a sugar fac-tory town in Mysore (see Srinivas 1956); Chapekar's (1954)

19

study of Badlapur, a village near Kalyan; Acharya's (1956) study of four villages around Nasik; and Kapadia's (1956) study of five'impact villages around Navsari.

2.3   SUMMARY

The rural-urban fringe is the zone of transition in land use. The various characteristics associated with the rural-urban fringe in various studies point out that the fringe society represents on the folk-urban continuum with many transitional features of the peasant-urban society.

2.4   FURTHER READINGS

- Panday, J. 2010. *Rural Urban Fringe of Indian Cities*. New Delhi: Radha Publication.

- Pryor, Robin J. 1968. 'Defining the Rural-Urban Fringe', *Social Forces*, 47 (2): 202-215.

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CLASSIFICATION OF CITIES

Unit-I

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

•   Define the concept of city

•   Provide the sociological concept of city

•   Describe the meaning of metropolis

•   Explain different classification of city

•   Compare Medieval and Modern Indian cities

3.1   INTRODUCTION

It is only since the seventeenth century that the city has become an object of scientific enquiry and research. The founders of political arithmetic

21

and their successors, the statisticians, the students of population problems, the economists, and the historians became interested in it and were joined by administrators, architects, planners, and social reformers; producing enormous literature. Urban sociology is indebted to these scholars. A few of the basic problems have been first investigated by such pioneers as Graurlt, Ravenstein, Mayr, Supan, Ruecher, Adna Weber, Willcox, and Hurd, but none of their works is truly urban sociology. Even after sociology had established itself as a new branch of science, its students took rare notice of urban phenomena. The first monograph written on the city was by a sociologist, Rene Maurier's L'Origine et la fonction economique des villes, published as recently 1910. As indicated by the title, its author approached the subject largely as an economist. The three early sociological classics - G. Simmel's, Die Grosstadte und das Geistesleben, a (The Metropolis and Mental life) 1903; Max Weber's, Die Stadt (The City), 1921 ; and R.Maurier's, Le Village et la ville, 1929- were only parts of larger works. According to Hausserman and Halia (2005) " it is fair to say that George Simmel was the first scientist to deserve the title of an Urban Sociologist". He provided a sociological definition of the term 'Urban' and analysed the interaction between spatial density, social behaviour 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 epoch-making 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.

3.2   CONCEPT OF CITY

There are very few sociological terms on whose definition experts agree. The concept of the city is no exception. In defining the city we encounter numerous problems which are known to all sociologists. Mumford (1948) also mentions this fact in his article on City: Forms and Functions in International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, he writes "Although the city as a form of

22

human settlement dates back to the beginnings of civilisation, it long escaped scholarly scrutiny; and its very definition is still under debate. Levi - Strauss's attack on the ambiguities of "totemism" would apply equally to the term "city" but with less justification, since the city has undergone many changes without losing its architectural and institutional continuity." Everybody seems to know what a city is but no one has given a satisfactory definition. Since English lacks a neat vocabulary to distinguish the succession of urban forms from embryo to adult, their purely quantitative aspect is best rendered in German: Dorf, Kleinstadt, Mittelstadt , Grosstade, Millionenstadt. In English, eopolis, polis, metropolis, megalopolis, and conurbation have been proposed as equivalent series, with regional city and regional urban grid as possible emergent forms. Like many other sociological categories, the city is an abstraction, but the elements of which it consists-residents, structures, means of transportation, installations, and so on - are concrete entities of varying nature. What makes a city is the functional integration of its elements into a whole (Bergel, 1955). Yet a city has not merely a single function but rather an assortment of many functions and not all of them are present in every city. These may vary from city to city and time to time.

3.3 CONCEPT OF METROPOLIS

Metropolis, a Greek word actually consisting of two words- meters (mother) and polis (city). Hence, metropolis can be translated into English as mother Lewis Mumford classified cities on the basis of levels of technological development in Europe such as; Eopolis, Polis, Metropolis, Megalopolis, Tyrannopolis and Necropolis. In ancient times, the term metropolis was reserved for a specific type of a city: the capital of an empire, state, kingdom and places from which "the rest of the world" (or at least some major territory) was ruled. Thus, a metropolis would rank considerably higher than a provincial city. In modern days, any major city likes to be thought of as a metropolis, even if it is not the seat of the government. This is true particularly of the cities in the United States because a typical US State Capital is not a big city. By the same token, most US States have at least one big city, which is not the Capital of the State. According to Indian census a city having more than 10 lac persons or a million plus city is known as a metropolis. According to the 2001 census, there are 35

23

million-plus cities having total population of 107.88 million which constitutes 37.8 percent of the total urban population of the country. There are six mega cities in India, with a population of more than five million in each in 2001 .These are Greater Mumbai, Kolkata, Delhi, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad.

3.4 CLASSIFICATION OF CITIES

We get sufficient information regarding the number of cities and their connected matters from the 1971 Census figures and the subsequent Census figures. There were 147 cities in India having population of more than one lakh (1971 Census). More cities came under this category during 1991 census. There are different types of cities in India. They are :

1.   Production Centres.

2.   Trade and commerce Centres.

3.   Capitals.

4.   Health and Recreation Centres.

5.   Cultural Centres.

6.   Diversified Centres.

1)   Production Centres. Generally, the more important cities of the world are industrial towns. The main reason for increasing urbanisation in modern times is the industrialisation. Consequent upon industrial revolution the urban population all over the world has increased considerably. In India the majority of cities having population of one lakh or more are industrial towns. According to the kind of population the production centres can be classified in two following categories:

(a)   Primary Production Centres. The primary production centres are those places where many materials for industrial use are produced. For example, mining centres where oil, coal, iron, etc., are produced are primary production centres. The population of such places is usually not very large. Generally, only those persons live at these centres who directly or indirectly involved in the production of raw materials. By elaborate transport these centres are connected with places at which raw materials

24

are further refined. Among such towns in India are Nellore, Mauslipatnam, Ranchi, Guwahati, Mysore, Kolar, Dehradun, Bareilly, etc. In Dehradun and Bareilly wood obtained from forest is sawed and packed on to secondary production centres. Bareilly is also known for its bamboo production. In Guwahati we have oil wells, in Ranchi we have coal mines and in Kolar there are gold mines.

(b) **Secondary Production Centres.** Most of the centres of production are included in this category. In secondary production centres are used for manufacture of a variety of goods. At such places population is large and keeps growing. As the primary centres of production produce one or two items, the secondary production centres usually produce scores of items but are famous for one or two items. For example, Ferozabad is famous for its glass bangles, Kanpur for leather goods, Moradabad for brass-work, Gwalior for earthen wares, Aligarh for locks and scissors, Jamshedpur for steel and iron, Kanpur for knives and scissors, Bareilly for furniture, Banaras for saris and brocade work, Bangalore for silk saris.

In these towns a major portion of population is involved in the production of goods specified to it. The industrial activity obviously affects greatly the economic and social life of the industrial town.

In some cities some goods are produced. For example, Meerut and Aligarh both are famous for scissors. In some cities one type of goods is primarily produced. For example, in Moradabad brass works industry is not major but virtually the only industry. In some cities numerous things are produced. In Mumbai not only there is cloth production but there is also production of electrical and engineering goods in a big way. If there is more than one industry in any city the chances of unemployment due to economic recession in one industry are less. This is because if one industry faces recession and there is man retrenchment, the retrenched men may find jobs in the other industry. Whereas, if the lobour force of a place is employed in one industry and if there is no other industry, the economic recession in the industry would result in wholesale unemployment and the labour would be compelled to migrate.

2) **Trade and Commerce Centres.** Generally the cities are production centres and centres of trade and commerce; but in some cities the trade and commerce is the dominant feature and production is secondary. For example, though Mumbai is major

25

production centre, it is a far bigger centre of trade and commerce. Therefore, Mumbai must be regarded primarily to be a centre of trade and commerce.

Generally, the cities situated on the sea-coast and those which are ports, are centres of the trade and commerce. Naturally through these ports large quantity of goods are sent to and received from foreign lands. More than 95% of the trade and commerce transacted with foreign land is made through sea.

The major Indian ports are : Porbandar, Surat, Kandla, Mumbai, Marmagao, Mangalore, Calicut, Cochin, Allepy, Quilon, Tuticorin, Dhanuskodi, Nagapattanam, Karaikal, Cuddalore, Pondicherry, Chennai, Masulipatnam, Kakinad, Vishakhapatnam, and Kolkata. With the exception of Kolkata, Chennai and Mumbai all other ports are known exclusively for trade and commerce.

Though Chennai is primarily a centre of trade and commerce but it is also the capital of Tamil Nadu. Mumbai and Kolkata, however, are so diverse and vast that virtually fit in every category mentioned above. While it is true that ports are usually the centres of trade and commerce. It is by no means the case that these are the only such centers.

Indeed there are many inland towns which satisfy the condition of being centres of trade and commerce. For example, Meerut is a big mandi for gur; so is Muzzafamagar, Dehradun is a mandi of rice. In Mandi goods from far and wide are collected and therefrom distributed to retailers. New York, London, Kolkata, Delhi, Kanpur, Chennai are big mandis where goods from great distances are collected.

3) **Capitals.** All cities, world over, which happen to be the capitals of states have grown into bigness and shot into prominence. Their importance and eminence is not due to their industry or mandi but due to their being the capitals. Indeed, once a place is made the capital, business and industry are but sequel to the main fact of its being the capital. Prior to Industrial revolution, capital cities generally were the most eminent cities of the world. The examples of Rome, Paris, London and Moscow amply bear this out. However, as mentioned before, on account of official policy and patronage the capitals tend to become centes of trade, commerce and production. London, New York, Delhi, Moscow, Berlin, and Peking can be

cited as examples. However, the chief importance of capitals is political rather than industrial or commercial.

In the field of industry and commerce Kanpur is the foremost town of U.P. But the city of pride in U.P. is Lucknow and not Kanpur. This is because Lucknow is the capital of U.P. Some cities' importance lies only in the fact of their being capitals : Shillong, Bhubaneswar, Chandigarh, Jaipur, Hyderabad, Trivandrum, Patna are few such examples. Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Banglore, Ahmedabad and Srinagar are capitals respectively of Maharashtra, Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Gujarat and Jammu and Kashmir. But the importance of these cities lies not mainly in the fact of their being capitals but in other facts. Srinagar, for example, is a summer resort and health centre. Ahmedabad is an industrial city. Bangalore is famous for its aeronautic industry. Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai are centres of trade and commerce.

4)   Health Recreation Centres. Many towns have very salubrious and healthy climate owing to their peculiar geographic location and climatic conditions. Generally the towns situated on the seacoast have temperate climate throughout the year and, therefore, people go there to escape the extreme heat of summer and extreme cold of winter. Similarly, hill towns are cool in summer and their climate and water are beneficial to health. Therefore, people from plains flock in great number to such towns in summer and also go there to watch snowfall in winter. In order to attract more tourists to such places, municipal and state authorities do everything possible to beautify such places and make available all amenities. Many cultural shows are arranged. Many health clubs are opened. Similarly, a number of amusement centres, dance clubs are opened and beauty shows are arranged. In almost every state of India there are one or more important hill resorts. In British days, these towns were made the summer capitals of governments. Shimla used to be the summer capital of India as well as Punjab. Now, this practice has been discontinued, but much official works, particularly conferences during summer days are arranged in these hill lawns.

The important summer resorts in India are in Uttar Pradesh, Almora, Bhovali, Chakrauta, Lansdown, Mussoorie, Nainital and Ranikhet : in Karnataka, Bangalore; in Assam, Cherrapoonji and Shillong; in Tamil Nadu, Coonnor, Kodaikanal and Octacammand; in Punjab, Dalhousie, Kulu and Shimla; in Bengal, Darjeeling and

Kalimpong; in Maharashtra, Mahabaleshwar; in Rajasthan, Mt. Abu; in Madhya Pradesh, Pachmarhi and in Bihar, Ranchi.

At these places few people live permanently but most come in season. The livelihood of permanent residents of these places, depends upon tourist traffic. At these places diverse type of entertainment is available. There are big hotels where wine flows freely and cabarets and western dances are staged for the entertainment of the audience. Most of the tourists coming here hail from the rich affluent class and they spend lavishly. These places get their distinctive colour and personality as a result of the kind of tourists reaching these places. Some hill resorts are patronized by government and official whereas others are patronized by rich industrialists. There are some where middle class tourists also go. Thus the personality of a hill resort is determined by the kind of tourists. Some health resorts have sanatoria and health clinics and these are visited mostly by the sick. In Bhovali there is sanitorium for tuberculosis and Ranchi has a hospital for the mentally sick. In Kasauli there is a Pasteur Institute.

5.   Cultural Centres. In India where religious sentiment dominates, many towns have become famous and developed into big cities on account of their religious value and importance. All the towns situated on river banks have an aura of holiness attached to them. Besides, India is a multi religious country and each religion has one or two places regarded holy by the followers of each religion. For example, Amritsar has a place of pilgrimage known as Golden Temple. Ajmer is a place of pilgrimage for the Moslems, Ayodhya, Hardwar, Rameshwaram, Pryag, Puri, Mathura etc., are holy cities of Hindus. Bodh Gaya and Saranath are holy places of Buddhists. Pilgrims from far and near come to these places to obtain spiritual solace and earn the religious merit.

5)   Diversified Cities. Besides the cities which fit into one or the other of the above mentioned category, there are some towns which fit into none of the category. They may be holy, but holiness is not the fundamental reason for their growth; they may have a university but this, too may be incidental. These are places which may equally i.e., important cultural centres, production centres and as capitals. Thus, it would be unjustified to put them in any one category. Such towns are accordingly

referred to as diversified towns. For example, Varanasi is a holy city of Hindus; it has a famous university also in which students and teachers of all nationalities get together. It is also commercial centre. It is also famous for its gold work on saris. Thus, in Varanasi we find intellectuals, merchants, mendicants, beggars and prostitutes. A man may go to varanasi for business, pleasure, study or for learning merit or reaping spiritual solace. All these things add colour and charm to the town. It is a most appropriate example of a diversified town.

India is a vast country; the process of urbanization is progressing here continuously. Therefore, a detailed description of its many cities would require many volumes. However, broadly speaking, all Indian cities fit into one or the other category listed above. Indeed, the cities of the whole world can be classified in the above mentioned categories.

3.5   MEDIEVAL CITIES AND MODERN INDUSTRIAL CITIES - COMPARISON

Western ancient cities were usually sovereign political entities sometimes called as city-state. Occupational specialization increased population of the cities in those days. Western medieval cities developed with the development of trade. Western modem cities came into existence due to industrialization. Let us see the distinction between modem and medieval cities.

1)   Size. Regarding size basically medieval cities were trade centres which developed only around 5-6 k.m. area from a sea shore or so. Hence, its population was well defined and confined to the trading population and their ancillaries. Further, there was a set pattern for the growth of medieval cities. While prominent market places developed at the centre, godowns and warehouses developed near seaports. While traders lived in a prestigious locality, petty traders craftsmen etc., lived in another less favoured locality and so on. One can set on limit to the development of modem city suburbs which grow in a haphazard manner. Sometimes middle class people live side by side with high class residents. With the development of multi functional shopping complexes, the city markets have lost their strategic and functional significance. Even with regard to location, while medieval cities developed mainly near sea shores, the development of quick and efficient transportation has

29

freed the modem city of its locational problems.

2)   Population. The size of population and its density is large in modem cities. While a medieval city housed say 10,000 people or so as a whole, a modem suburb accommodates more than that number in a metropolis. Hence, rush and congestion are the bigger problems of modern cities. While the medieval cities consisted mainly, people of local or regional origin, our contemporary cities are cosmopolitan and international in character. The people of modern cities come from diverse even contradictory socio-cultural background. Another interesting feature of our modern cities is the existence of a huge chunk of floating population and commuters.

3)   Occupations. Occupational specialization, sophistication, and diversification can be said to be the basic features which differentiate a modem industrial city from all other types and which give rise to other differences. The medieval cities acted as centres of exchange and largely depended upon their rural hinterland for sustenance. With the development of transportation the modem cities can be said to have been almost divorced from their rural hinterland. With agricultural occupation coupled with non agricultural occupations in medieval cities, mainly industrial and commercial and service occupations predominate in our contemporary cities. Sophistication and complexity in the life structure had led to the diversification of the occupational base and greater technicalisation of occupations. Professionalism in occupations can be said to be the specific feature in the development of industrial cities.

4)   Politics. In the political sphere while medieval cities were autocracies, industrial cities are mainly parts of a federal and national set up. The contemporary city government is mainly elected and acts as specialised organization of city life. It formulates the code of conduct of life of city dwellers, and looks after their day-to-day welfare. The functions and organization of a modern city government consisting of a bureaucracy are more complicated and diversified.

5)   Society. In the social sphere once again we find a greater degree of difference. Social life in the medieval cities was more or less conventional and had a rustic tinge in it. Institutions like the family still enjoyed some value and informal relations among the citizens or a clique of them prevailed. The population was less diversified and less

cosmopolitan in character. Hence, there were little problems and tensions. Usually traders occupied the top brass of a well defined total hierarchy. There was, however, relative mobility among the classes. Social life in the modem cities is more diversified and cosmopolitan. Secondary and formal relations predominate. The primary institutions like family have lost their basic importance. Specialized organizations in every sphere, food, clothing, shelter, sex etc., cater to the needs of the city dweller. The norms of ordinary human decency are the only norms of our modern cities Progress and change are the watchwords of a modem city. Rush, tension, anxiety are the regular features of our modern city. Modem cities have a more or less diffused social hierarchy. While the industrial magnets can be said to form the top brass of the hierarchy, there is considerable democratization and mobility in the other social classes. Late marriages, education and employment of women, free sex, co-education, are all concepts of the industrial social culture.

6) **Culture.** In the cultural sphere modern cities exhibit great strides in the development of education, technology and mass entertainment. While entertainment formed a specific and well organized aspect of medieval cities, entertainment in a modern city is a standardized and commercial occupation which caters to the unavoidable leisure time needs of a weary and tension ridden multitude. Education is a common and necessary factor in our modern cities, while it was confined to certain categories, say, traders and craftsmen in the medieval cities.

7) **Problems.** As with all other aspects of life, problems are many and varied in a modem city, while it was possible to order and plan a well patterned life process in a city of comprehensible size and population one can never say so today. The problems of our cities extend from provision and distribution of food, housing etc., to be various mental, physical and social problems of city dwellers. While vices like prostitution were confined to certain parts of medieval cities, social disorganization and vice have become a diffused factor in our cosmopolitan industrial culture.

3.6 **SUMMARY**

City is an urban agglomeration, studied by many noted sociologists, economists, statisticians, historians and planners. Enormous literature under urban sociology has been produced to study cities. Consequent upon industrial revolution

31

the urban population all over the world has increased considerably. Now cities have no uniform character. Their functions also get diversified according to the changed time and changed needs of the people. So a single city may exhibit the character and nature of more than one type of city.

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URBAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Unit-I

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to:

•   explain the nature and scope of urban planning

•   describe the historical evolution of urban planning

•   create a linkage between Planning & Development

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Urban growth has resulted in an unplanned, haphazard and ugly urban settlements. Planning is therefore necessary to combat the menace of urbanisation and its resultant problems. An important function of planning in purely physical terms is the judicious use of land- a scarce commodity in most urban areas, and its rational and timely reservation for future use. Land planning is thus a very essential need. The state governments have therefore to legalise

33

upon planning and to ensure its implementation which is ultimately the responsibility of the urban governments. The state governments have set-up departments of town and country planning for this purpose. In this unit you will learn all about the process of planning, especially in the urban areas.

4.2   URBAN PLANNING: NATURE AND SCOPE

Planning is a preparation for future action. It is a conscious process of selecting and developing the best course of action to accomplish a definite objective. Urban planning is a process by which the use of land is controlled and its development is regulated in public interest. It involves both engineering and architectural problems. The urban planning is a technique and method of development that contribute to the organisation, development and evolution of urban areas. It contributes to their urbanizing environs, based on economic, legal and aesthetic concepts and conditions in order to promote the welfare of the public and the quality of the environment. It deals with the spatial incidence of socio-economic development over an urban space. As Lewis Mumford defines:

"City planning involves the consideration of human activities in time and space, on the basis of the known facts about place, work and people. It involves the modification and relocation of various elements of the total environment for the purpose of increasing their services to the community, and it calls for the building of appropriate structure, dwellings, industrial plants, markets, water works, dams, bridges, villages, cities to house the activities of a community, to assist the performance of all its needful functions in a timely and orderly fashion."

Planning has both social and economic aims; socially successful planning tends to make people's life happier, facilitates social intercourse, and has visual attractiveness. A proper spatial relationship between the communities in a region and the constituent parts of a town, compactness of development and an efficient arrangement of communication routes-all results in human activities being carried out on more efficiently and less wastefully and thus create wealth.

In a town or city there are large numbers of activities going on whether somebody directs them or not. Houses are constructed, shops are opened, markets

34

flourish, schools and hospitals are built, and roads are widened or new roads opened. All these activities will go on whether we have town planning or not. If there is no planning what may happen is that before roads are built houses may be constructed and houses may be occupied before water supply and drainage facilities are provided. Urban planning and town planning considers each one of these improvements and relates them to the community and the city as a whole, to see what is likely to happen not only in the immediate future but over a reasonably long period of time.

Actually the urban planning is concerned with the wide range of issues and problems such as the problem of providing the adequate housing facilities, employment, schools, parks and playgrounds, good transportation facilities and utilities and services for the increasing urban population in the large number of towns and cities which exists today and are likely to come up in the future. These problems require constant and continuous planning instead of piecemeal planning at different level.

The urban planning cannot be seen in isolation, rather the problem of urban planning is related with the entire region, and thus there is a need for a regional approach to urban planning. It is equally important to coordinate the growth of rural areas with the future development of towns and cities to form an integral part of a balanced region. Regional approach should attempt to reduce the socio-economic imbalance between the urban and the rural areas and between different parts of the country. This requires taking up of regional development plans along with the preparation of the master plans for towns and cities. Regional and urban planning therefore is closely related with each other. Regional planning basically deals with the physical planning of towns and cities and the countryside. It may be used with reference to an extension of town planning. It may include the general planning of resources.

Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford have written about regional planning and development as a prerequisite to any social planning or town planning. The term region applies to an area with certain characteristics, often mere size, by virtue of which it is adopted as a suitable unit for some particular purpose of

35

business and administration. It is also an area which is homogenous with respect to some particular set of associated conditions, whether of the land or of the people such as industry, farming, distribution of population, commerce or the general sphere of influence of a city. A region in general terms is envisaged as a natural unit in contrast to the artificial unit created for administrative purposes.

A town planner should be an expert in the area of land use planning. He should utilise the minimum extent of land required for expansion of towns and thus preserve valuable land for some other purposes. Here again, a regional study would help the planner regarding his limitations in planning for the development of any town or city in the region. The present day town planner, faced with the problem of expanding our cities for locating additional houses, industries, public buildings and recreational facilities, is at the same time facing problems like shortage of farm land, ill effects of deforestations, ribbon development along highways, imbalance in rural and urban life and so on. He has to approach the problem at the regional basis before going to the expansion of any existing town or city, or building any town in that particular region. Urban planning thus is a very broad concept and includes not only planning of streets, houses and a few civic buildings but if town planning to be effective and creative, has to start from the village and cover the entire country. At the city level the town planner seeks to serve the interest of not only one community or one town but several communities, individually as well as in relation to one another, and utilises the resources of the city to the best advantage of land optimum utilisation by all the communities of that area.

Urban planning takes place within a national framework. Planning gains its power through its embodiment in the legislation and regulations which forms part of the legal apparatus which can vary from country to country. Secondly, the implementation of planning occurs through the administrative system which again varies considerably across different different countries of the world. Urban planning should be not only politically and socio-culturally feasible but it should be environmentally, economically, technologically, physically, fiscally and infrastructure-wise also feasible. Since the city and its environs cannot grow as fast as the growth of the urban population and human activity, urban planning is

36

a must. Congestion and overcrowding of homes, the poverty and unemployment, the high incidence of deviant social behaviour, the growth of sub-standard settlements and squatter colonies, the shortage of housing, lack of community facilities and public utilities are some of the symptoms of faulty planning in urban areas.

4.3   HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF URBAN PLANNING

Human beings have been living on this earth for more than a million years but we trace the history of the cities only since the 5000 or 6000 years ago in the great river valleys of Euphrates, the Indus and the Nile. From the historical facts it is a well known truth that the cities were always planned with a definite purpose in mind. It may be due to self glorification, protection, trade etc, and the development of the city was always done as a separate agency.

In ancient India particularly during the Mauryas and Gupta periods separate urban planning and development agencies existed. The work of urban planning was performed by city council and town council along with the other functions of the state. The city council was modelled upon that of a village panchayat and it may be assumed that it was an elected body, though certain works were reserved for the control of the imperial officers. During the Gupta period, we have found evidence of the existence of town councils and the public was also very vigilant about proper development of the city.

There are quite a number of books written by the ancient authors about town planning in India. They are known as '*Vastu Sastra*.' Earliest examples of Vedic town plannnning available are Madurai, Srirangam and Kanchipuram, build with the temple as the focal point and concentric square streets all around at some length. One who refers to Manasara Silpa Sastra (Architecture by Manasara) and Kautilya Artha Shastra (Economics by Kautilya) can appreciate the scientific approach to town and village planning in ancient India.

Manasara Shilpa Shastra is a treatise on town planning and architecture and consists of seventy-five *adhyayas* or chapters. Apart from dealing with details of Vastu-shilpa, many of the chapters describe particulars such as design of various

37

parts of the buildings, towers, pillars, chariots trimphals arches, jewellary, idols of gods and ceremonies connected with the commissioning of the finished structures.

4.4   MAIN CONCERNS OF URBAN PLANNING

City planning is the process of developing and adjusting the environment of a city to the social and economic needs of the people. It has fundamental economic and human goals which are achieved through a variety of technical tools. Its central concern is with man and with the problems of agglomerations. Planning is a means of directing social change and social relationships towards the ultimate objective of orderly and harmonious community progress.

Bergel states that there are two primary types of planning:

1.   Physical Planning.

2.   Social Planning.

Physical planning deals with housing patterns, land use, building, transportation and communication lines. Social planning is concerned with the establishment of a communication of all groups living together.

Planning of some kind existed from ancient days. Early Egyptian and Mesapotamian cities were laid out in rectangular design. The plan of the city of Mohenjodaro indicates the artistic and health consideration which operated in its construction. The Roman cities were carefully planned. They had recreational facilities like areas and baths.

Today social planning is predominantly concerned with social **reform.** *Romans* planned military citadels. Alexander planned Alexandria as a symbol of his grandeur. In modern times Paris is said to have been the first great city in the line. Louis XIV had the Academy of Architects to prepare designs for the orderly growth of the city.

The new planning includes along with the physical accommodations, a wide range of social and cultural adjustments. Every big city has some kind of planning board. The intolerable conditions of modern industrial cities necessitate immediate relief.

38

Planning has both general and specific objectives. William E. Cole mentions the following seven objectives:

1.   The best possible environment for urban living.

2.   Strengthening the urban economy.

3.   Overcoming the handicaps and problems created by urban growth and urban change in the past.

4.   Anticipation and projection of urban growth in the future and the planning of the facilities and steps necessary to meet this growth.

5.   Minimizing the economic and social shock involved in the development of urban areas.

6.   Achievement of beauty and functionalism in installations.

7.   The strengthening of the democratic processes.

Prime consideration in city planning is the facilities for the circulation of people and commodities. The plan must give full attention to the housing facilities and development of residential areas. The plan must also bestow attention to parks and open spaces, civic centres and other public buildings. There should be proper provision for the disposal of waste products. There should be plan for slum clearance and low-rent housing. Planning should consider the ways of extending utilities such as gas, electricity and drinking water.

One of the first steps in city or metropolitan planning is the development of a master plan. This implies a careful consideration of a comprehensive set of specifications of the future city or metropolitan area. Each city plan is distinctive in that it is developed to meet the needs of a particular urban situation. Zoning is that aspects of city, planning in which control is exercised over the use of private and public land. The cities are zoned according to the function of the various areas. There are districts, devoted to heavy manufacturing, commercial districts, residential districts. The zoning rules have three main characteristics. The rules regulate the use to which the land may be put whether industrial, commercial or residentialist. They impose a limit on the height of the buildings.

39

The rules also regulate the space covered by buildings. Zoning is indispensible in a modern metropolis. There must be scope for modification as conditions of change occur in an expanding city.

The master plan is also concerned with traffic ways and traffic facilities. The biggest problem in traffic is to keep the traffic circulating. There is a direct relationship between speed, volume of traffic circulation and land use. Modern planning of traffic, ways should foresee the needs of future and plan accordingly.

The problem of city beautification is to be considered carefully, generally an imposing civic centre in a city occupies the attention of planners, visitors to the city will gain a more favourable impression of metropolis, local residents will develop greater civic pride if public buildings such as the city hall, country out-house, public library, museum and civic auditorium are grouped together in a beautiful civic centre. Provisions for recreation become a part of planning. Today there is a general recognition that recreation must be planned, at least in providing facilities which may be used by individuals during their leisure time. The development of public parks and play grounds has become an important aspect of community planning.

Grand city idea was propounded by Ebenezer Howard in 1898. The idea was to preserve the good aspects of rural and urban life.

The main aspects of the plan included:

1)   The purchase of a large agricultural area near a metropolitan city.

2)   Provision for industrial, commercial and residential development in different sections of the area.

3)   The limitation of the community to about thirty thousand persons.

The city would be surrounded by a permanent agricultural belt which would act as a buffer zone preventing encroachments on the community. Howard wanted the city to establish diversified industries so as to afford economic stability. The idea of a 'Garden City' gained much popularity not only in England but also in other countries.

40

Britain's "New Towns" were authorized by the New Town's Act of 1946, 14 New Towns were developed in the vicinity of Britains' large cities. Though the towns are located near a large city they are not designed as suburbs. They are expected to be self-sufficient by establishing industries.

The city planning in India is substantially influenced by the western tradition. In Chandigarh planning the major collaborators were the Western city planners headed by Le Corbusier. The city is divided into 29 sectors. The concept of sector as neighbourhood community provides the main basis of the plan. The basic concept underlying the plan is that of neighbourhood unit or residential sectors each of which will be practically self-sufficient in its day to day requirements such as shopping centres, swimming pools and recreation grounds. The sectors are rectangular in shape and are bounded on all sides by fast motor roads which give the town its gridiron pattern. No fast traffic will enter any of the residential sectors.

Victor S. D. Souza after a detailed study of Chandigarh notes certain relevant things to be considered in Indian conditions. The grid from street pattern and the elaborate planning of different types of roads is well suited for cities where major mode of transportation is by private automobiles. In Chandigarh only **3.3** per cent of the sample households owned motor cars. In India it is very necessary to encourage public transportation. The gridiron street system increases the travelling distance. Bus service becomes expensive in terms of time and money. In Chandigarh 84 per cent of households owned bicycles. The road system has to be designed for the convenience of the cyclists too. In Chandigarh only business and civic activities have been selected for central location. Retail shopping and civic amenities are the common concern of all residents.

The idea of tenement house was not adopted in Chandigarh. India is quite highly densely populated country where one can discern trends towards urbanization. There is a vital need to consider the economy of space. Tenement houses can provide more accommodation and if the tenement houses are located along the main arteries of traffic, towards the efficient functioning of public transportation system.

Victor S.D. Souza considers the neighbourhood planning in the light of the sector theory of Homer Hoyt and C.A. Perry's concept of neighbourhood centered

round an elementary school. The basis of elementary school as the nucleus for neighbourhood community is not suitable under Indian conditions of school management. In Chandigarh 42 per cent of the parents send their children to elementary schools in sectors other than their own. This basis of social organization in the cities in class different on the whole it was found that people of the same socio-economic background prefer to mix with one another.

Finally, regarding Chandigarh as an ideal community because it is planned, the author points out that the planners did not pay much attention to the goal of realizing a society based on the principles of democracy, socialism and secularism. It is true that several traditional barries of caste ascribed status have been broken down but not due attention is paid to the achievement of equality of opportunity in the field of education. The lack of recognized leadership was also a factor which was noticeable.

Functionalism is necessary in urban design but beauty and functionalism must co-exist in a good design. The cultural values of life must receive due consideration from the planners. The city is not a mere artifact of streets and homes of stones and parks, it is what people do.

4.5   SUMMARY

The increasing growth pressure on the cities and towns and lots of problems out of it poses new challenges to the urban planners and administrators in present time. Urban planning should be politically and socio-culturally acceptable as well as environmentally, economically, technologically, physically, fiscally and infrastructure-wise feasible. The increasing pressure of population growth on urban land, its use and reuse, the amenities and services and the large number of low income groups in urban areas are some of the important factors contributing to the problems of the urban health hazards, law and order cannot be managed within traditional role performance of the government. For this the role of the urban community is of utmost importance. The entire urban community should take part in urban planning. In other words the planning system should be as democratic as possible in the present time. The basic weaknesses in the urban planning has been that it did not foresee the problems of the informal sector growth within the urban

economy, and the locational focus did not spell out the implications of the sectoral programmes in relation to population distribution catering to the needs of both urban and rural settlements.

4.6 FURTHER READING

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THEORIES OF URBANISATION: MARX, DURKHEIM AND WEBER
Unit-II

CONTENTS

5.1   Introduction

5.2   Karl Marx's Theory of Urbanisation

        5.2.1 Alienation and Anomie

        5.2.2 Ideology and Consciousness

        5.2.3 Urbanism and Socialism

5.3   Emile Durkheim's Theory of Urbanisation

5.4   Max Weber's Theory of Urbanisation

5.5   Summary

5.6   Further Readings

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

- discuss the Karl Marx's theory of urbanisation.

- understand the Marx's concepts of alienation, ideology and socialism in relation to urbanisation.

- explain the Durkheim's theory of urbanisation.

- describe the Max Weber's theory of urbanisation.

5.1   INTRODUCTION

        Contemporary Marxist urban theories make considerable references to Marx's discussions of the method of dialectical materialism, the theory of class struggle, the

capitalist state and so on, but rarely pay much attention to his discussions of the town-country division or the role of the city in the development of capitalism. Similarly, Weberian urban sociology has tended simply to ignore Weber's essay on the city and to concentrate instead on his discussions of bureaucracy and social classes.

The central concern of all of these writers was with the social, economic and political implications of the development of capitalism in the West at the time when they were writing. The rapid growth of cities was among the most obvious and potentially disruptive of all social changes at that time. This sheer increase in size was startling enough, but it also came to be associated in the minds of many politicians and commentators with the growth of 'urban' problems-the spread of slums and disease, the breakdown of law and order, the increase in infant mortality, etc. Of course, Marx, Weber and Durkheim were each fully aware of the scale and significance of these changes, yet it is clear from their work that none of them considered it useful or necessary to develop a specifically urban theory in order to explain them.

When they did discuss the city, they did so only in one of two ways. First, all three saw the city as historically important object of analysis in the context of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Western Europe. In his essay on the city, for example, Weber showed how in the Middle Ages the towns played a highly significant role in breaking the political and economic relations of feudalism and establishing a new spirit of rationality which was later to prove crucial for the development of capitalist entrepreneurship and democratic rights of citizenship. Similarly, Durkheim showed how the medieval towns helped break the bonds of traditional morality and foster the growth of the division of labor in society, while Marx saw the division between town and country in the Middle Ages as the expression of the antithesis between the newly developing capitalist mode of production and the old feudal mode in this period.

The second context in which the city appears in the work of these writers is as a secondary influence on the development of fundamental social processes generated within capitalist societies. The city is analysed not as a cause but as a significant condition of certain developments. The clearest example here concerns the argument found in the work of Marx to the effect that, although the city does not itself create the modern proletariat, it is an important condition of the self-

45

realization of the proletariat as a politically and economically organized class in opposition to the bourgeoisie. This is because the city concentrates the working class and renders more visible the stark and growing antithesis between it and capital. In rather different vein, Durkheim's concern with the effects of an advanced division of labor on the moral cohesion of modern societies similarly takes urbanization as an important precondition of the development of functional differentiation. In both cases, therefore, a developmental theory (the growth of class struggle, the growth of new forms of social solidarity) is made conditional upon the growth of towns.

5.2   KARL MARX'S THEORY OF URBANISATION

Marx's method of analysis has been debated long and hard by subsequent generations. Marx believed that his method was a 'scientific' method in the sense that it led to the discovery of the forces which shaped the development of the social world. Although Marx himself never used the term, his approach has often been designated by the label 'dialectical materialism'. The principle of the dialectic is essentially that any 'whole' is comprised of a unity of contradictory parts, such that it is impossible to understand any one aspect of reality without first relating it to its context. Further the term 'materialism' in this context is generally used in contradiction to 'idealism' and it basically refers to the principle that the material world exists prior to our conceptions or ideas about it. Marx recognizes that the prevailing ideas which we share about what the world is like and how it works must bear some relation to the actual reality.

Marx's ideas were structural evolutionary concepts reflecting the popularity of evolutionary ideas of the time and his debt to his teacher Hegel. Hegel held that the state was the ideal representation of human beings and the realisation of the self. We can see a conflict between the philosophical and empirical sides of Marx's notion of evolutionary inevitability. The empirical, material, and scientific side of Marx's thought conflicted with his idealist and philosophical concepts regarding the essence of people and the future of humanity. As a materialist philosophy, Giddens argues that Marx's thought ties the character of society to the mode of production and reproduction of life are both the fulfilment of a biological need and the creative source of new needs and capabilities.

46

Marx and Engels (1973) argue that the greatest division of material and mental labour is the separation of town and country. The antagonism between town and country begins with the transition from barbarism to civilisation, from tribe to state, from locality to nation, and runs through the whole history of civilisation to the present day. The existence of the town implies at the same time the necessity of administration, police, taxes and thus politics in general. Thus town became manifest of the division of population into two great classes, which is directly, based on the division of labour and on the instruments of production.

Pre-capitalist peasant societies were predominantly localised and their social and economic relations derived from the simple expansion of traditional forms of tradition. They controlled their own means of production. Bourgeoisie or capitalist society represented a radical change from these types of social organisation. Capitalism constitutes the exploitation of the mass of labourers with nothing but their labour power to exchange for their livelihood. Market relationships, or what Marx called the *cash nexus,* become the determinant of human productive capacity. The traditional feudal ties of exploitation, supported by religious and political illusion, becomes direct exploitation and cash payment becomes the tie between people.

The development of capitalism thus tends towards the development of two great classes:

- The bourgeoisie (capitalists)

- The proletariat (working class)

Classes are defined by their relation to the means of production. Capitalists, however wealthy or poor, own the capital (land, machinery, stock, and other factors of production). The proletariat, however wealthy or poor, have only their labour to contribute to the production process. For Marx, class relations were material relations and while this would, in general, mean that workers were poorer than capitalists (*emisserated* in Marx's terms) it was not their poverty or wealth but their relation to the means of production that defined their material and, thus, social and class interests. Classes form the main link between the relations of production and the rest of society (superstructure). Classes are the axis of political power and political organisation, and political and economic powers are closely

47

related. In reality there are no pure examples of Marx's model. The emergence of political organisation and power and its links with class structure must be seen in the historical context of the formation of towns, the protection of the state and the struggle against feudalism. Mature forms of capitalism are characterised by the dominance of big industry, universal competition and the emergence of the state. The state is dependent on revenue from capital and we still have the residue of preceding forms of production and social organisation, for example, in the Australian context of the landed squattocracy.

5.2.1 ALIENATION AND ANOMIE

Alienation and anomie are two different but related concepts that are crucial to our understanding of the experience of individuals in the modern city. The concept of anomie, as we saw, derives from the work of Durkheim. The word implies normlessness and defines the condition of individuals who are detached from the normative structures of the society in which they find themselves. As Durkheim held, we are first and foremost social beings, therefore the experience of anomie is devastating for the individual. It is our integration as part of a social group that imbues our lives with meaning and it is the great fear of modern life, and the basis of anti-urbanism, that we may experience this sense of lack of belonging implied by anomie.

Alienation relates to Marx's concept of our species being. It is through our labour that we become human. This creative capacity is what separates us from other creatures. Marx held that under conditions of capitalism we become a commodity, a factor of production. We are alienated from our labour and thus alienated from ourselves. Marx and Engels defined three different forms of alienation deriving from our relation to the means of production. These were:

- Alienation from ourselves
- Alienation from the product and
- Alienation from our fellow human beings

Marx held that workers are related to the products of their labour as to alien objects. Marx held that if control of our own labour were a necessary condition for our realisation of self, then our alienation from ourselves would ensure that we were

48

also unable to relate to others. He likened the condition of alienation from the self and the product in the commodification of labour to that of a savage who falls down and worships the idol he or she has made. We create products by our own hand and then long for their consumption as objects or symbols in a process Marx called *commodity fetishism*. As the conditions of alienation in capitalist society are ubiquitous, this experience of alienation becomes central to the experience of contemporary urban life.

5.2.2   IDEOLOGY AND CONSCIOUSNESS

Marx held that, in contemporary civil society, the legal system and judiciary are ideological forms that legitimise the domination of the bourgeoisie state. The class holding the means of material production holds the means of intellectual production, and those who lack these means are subject to it. People's consciousness is a product of their day-to-day experience and it is rooted in *praxis* (practice). Legal freedom legitimises contractual relationships that disadvantage the propertyless. Ideology needs to be studied in relation to the concrete relationships in which it occurs, and the historical factors that determine the dominance of ideas. Ideas cannot be treated in isolation, but must be seen in relation to the experience that gives them a reality in people's consciousness.

5.2.3   URBANISATION AND SOCIALISM

Marx and Engels argue that the city is not only a reflection of the logic of capitalism but they also saw in the development of urbanization the necessary condition for the transition to socialism. This is not because the city is the locus of a new mode of production, as was the case in the medieval period, but because it is in the city that the revolutionary proletariat class created by capitalism achieves its 'fullest classic perfection'. The tendencies for capital to become concentrated and for the classes to polarize develop in the cities and it is therefore in the cities that the concentration and common deprivation of the proletariat is most likely to result in the growth of class consciousness and revolutionary organization.

The conditions of life in the countryside cannot sustain a coherent class challenge to the bourgeoisie because 'the isolated dwellings, the stability of the surroundings and occupations are decidedly unfavourable to all development'.

49

This is why Marx and Engels develop the well known argument in the *Communist Manifesto* to the effect that the bourgeoisie has rendered a service to the workers' movement by creating large cities which have 'rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life'.

It is important to recognize that it is not urbanization itself that forges a revolutionary working class any more than it is urbanization that gives rise to poverty, squalor and disease. The development of potentially revolutionary conditions is a tendency inherent within the development of capitalism, and the growth of cities is a contingent condition influencing whether and how such conditions come to be acted upon by the working class. The city is only of secondary significance in Marx's analysis of capitalism and the transition to socialism.

Thus what this means, of course, is that there is no basis in the work of Marx and Engels for the development of a specific theory of urbanism in capitalist societies. The city may illustrate the manifestations of essential tendencies within capitalism, and it may even influence the way in which these manifestations come to be articulated in political struggle, but it is not the essential cause of such developments. From a Marxist perspective, there seems little basis for developing a theory of urbanism.

5.3 EMILE DURKHEIM'S THEORY OF URBANISATION

Durkheim is most famous for his assertion of the existence of social facts. He believed in knowledge based on observation. He did not, however, accept the ethical neutrality or value freedom of science. Durkheim was of the view that although we set out primarily to study reality, it does not follow that we do not wish to improve it; we should judge our researches to have no worth at all if they were to have only speculative interest. If we separate carefully the theoretical from the practical problems, it is not to the neglect of the latter; but on the contrary to be in a position to solve them.

Durkheim was concerned to identify what it was that held societies together at different points in time. What was the social cement that bound us together in a common fortune? Durkheim defined it as the 'conscience collective' or 'collective

50

consciousness', a moral conviction that was the moral basis of solidarity in society. Solidarity can be a function of homogeneity or heterogeneity and it is this distinction that forms the basis of the difference between modern and traditional societies. Traditional societies were bound together by a form of mechanical solidarity. Based on tradition, societies changed little and the individual members of society were closely related by blood and experience and thus in many respects resembled one another. This was the type of order that bound together European feudal society. The emergent society of modernity was, by contrast, characterised by change, migration, and complexity. Such societies required an increasing division of labour and differentiation between the individual members of the society.

Durkheim believed that the basis for understanding the more complex order of an urban society was to be found in the principles of natural ecology. The most fruitful source of Durkheim's observations on the city can be found in his text "The Division of Labour". In this famous work, Durkheim contrasted the type of society governed by what he called mechanical solidarity with that characterised by organic solidarity.

Mechanical solidarity was the principal mechanism of social integration in small-scale, agrarian societies, where the division of labour or specialisation was negligible and especially where a strong, common religious belief persisted. In such societies social cohesion was provided by the homogeneous experience of all of the society's members and "religion pervaded the whole of social life because social life made up almost exclusively of common beliefs and common practices which derived from unanimous adhesion to a very particular intensity". Common, mutually reinforcing experience and religious themes in small-scale, socially homogeneous societies resulted in a collective consciousness, a common way of seeing and a common identity that held up the society together.

Durkheim pointed out the costs that are involved in the society characterised by mechanical solidarity. Solidarity that comes from likenesses is at its maximum when the collective conscience completely envelopes the whole conscience and coincides in all points with it. But at that moment our individuality is nil. It can be born only if the community takes a smaller toll of us.

It is clear that the basis of this mechanical solidarity is being undermined

51

wherever differences in experience and ideas can be found among a given population. However, these differences are the natural product of the growth and concentration of populations, conditions that lead in turn to a division of labour. It is here that Durkheim turned to natural ecology and the observations of Charles Darwin to explain what he saw as the natural progression of society towards more complex forms.

Darwin observed that the struggle between two organisms is as active as they are analogous. Having the same needs and pursuing the same objects, they are in rivalry everywhere. As long as they have more resources than they need, they can live side by side, but if their number increases to such proportions that all appetites can no longer be sufficiently satisfied, war breaks out. It is quite different if the co-existing individuals are of different species or varieties. Men submit to the same law. In the same city different occupations can coexist without being obliged mutually to destroy one another, for they pursue different objects. The oculist does not struggle with the psychiatrist, nor the shoemaker with the hatter. Since they perform different services, they can perform them parallely.

Durkheim emphasised that he did not mean to say that the growth and condensation of the population permitted a greater division of labour, but that these conditions demanded it and that the city was a prime arena in which to observe this process. He termed the resultant form of solidarity organic, because under an elaborated division of labour, each of the specialised divisions of society was interdependent, which was analogous to the interdependence of the various organs of the human body. This interdependence of each part upon the whole, i.e., organic solidarity replaced the unity of conscience or mechanical solidarity as the major unifying social force. As societies evolved, the division of labour became more complex and the interdependence of the parts, the organic nature of social integration, became more complete.

Durkheim was sure that the overall result of evolving specialisation and interdependence was social progress, although he remained concerned that the division of labour also brought with it certain liabilities. Among these were the results of unregulated competition, class conflict, and the feeling of meaninglessness generated by routinised industrial work- this last liability being a direct result of the division of labour. But he felt that these social and

52

psychological consequences were abnormal and temporary by-products of the rapid rate at which industrialisation had taken place and that appropriate economic controls and norms of industrial relations would emerge in time to remedy them. Likewise, Durkheim believed that tendencies towards moral confusion or anomie were largely the result of the rapid and incomplete transition from the old moral order to a society governed by organic solidarity that, when mature, would be characterised by a just distribution of rewards among the various occupations.

Contemporary society also requires a moral solidarity or form of collective consciousness to bind its members together. It is difference that holds modern societies together; they are bound by the cult of the individual, and this form of collective consciousness is one of organic solidarity or interdependence. Complex societies give rise to increasing levels of what Durkheim called *moral density*, or social interactions and encounters between individuals. Inevitably, this leads to value conflicts and friction among the members of the society. Traditional society was characterised by a particular form of justice, which Durkheim termed *repressive justice*. In traditional societies the commission of crimes could taint or stigmatise whole families because they were felt to be, in some way, responsible. Religion played a strong part in the maintenance of mechanical solidarity, as belief in God and the engagement in common rituals were the basis of a common process of socialisation and conviction that formed the collective consciousness.

Durkheim, like many of his contemporaries, questioned the moral bonds that prevailed among members of contemporary society. What was it that would hold together a population from diverse social backgrounds, language communities, spatial origins, and physical and intellectual abilities in modern society? These questions for Durkheim, as for our other social theorists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were pressing ones. The cities of the world were growing rapidly in the face of industrialisation and increasing levels of physical and social mobility. Immigration was changing the world and bringing together massively diverse populations in crowded circumstances. Simultaneously, education and aspirations to democracy were breaking down the binding commitment of a shared moral code, such as a religion, and leaving populations with aspirations to improve their station and few constraints of morality or social obligation to limit the means by which they might pursue

53

their goal. Yet while social unrest, crime, and revolution were not uncommon in Durkheim's time, clearly the massive changes occurring in society had not brought about a complete moral and social disintegration of the social order. Durkheim argued that the division of labour was a direct product of the increasing moral or dynamic density of societies, which resulted from the increasing material density or dynamic density of societies, which resulted from the increasing material density or concentration of populations. This increasing moral density was a characteristic of cities. Durkheim says, "The formation of cities and their development is a characteristic symptom of the same phenomenon. Cities always result from the need of individuals to put themselves in very intimate contact with others. They can multiply and extend only if the moral density is raised and they receive recruits especially by immigration. As long as social organisation is essentially segmental the city does not exist".

For Durkheim moral density, urban life, modernity, and individuality were as one. The maintenance of a moral order and solidarity in society required a new form of collective consciousness and this was paradoxically provided by individuality itself. Just as other theorists, such as Spencer, had argued for mutual responsibility, contract, or rational agreement between individuals in contemporary society, so Durkheim argued that reciprocity was the key to the social order. Each of us in a complex contemporary society with a highly developed division of labour is dependent on our fellow human being and requires his or her services as he or she requires ours for mutual survival. It is this shared respect for the individual that forms the basis of organic solidarity. Under contemporary social systems we no longer support a form of repressive justice, where we feel personally affronted by commission of crimes, but rather we seek to restore a form of equilibrium when the law or moral convention has been contravened. We practise a form of restitutive justice intended to exact a penalty, which will bring the system back to equilibrium. In reality, as we shall see, contemporary society is neither wholly mechanical nor wholly organic, just as in Weberian terms it is neither wholly rational nor wholly traditional, nor in Marxist terms is it wholly capitalist. Societies, as Durkheim argued, are a product of moral density and reflect an array of sometimes contradictory influences.

54

Durkheim rejected the tendency to see the rapid process of urbanisation as pathological, just as he rejected the notion that deviations (deviance) from shared moral conventions were pathological. Cities were a necessary stage of human civilisation and deviance was a necessary modification or testing of existing mores which opened the possibility of social change.

He identified the nature of humanity as social. He recognised that moral density and the company of strangers in big cities would bring with them a sense of moral uncertainty for individuals. This sense of not belonging, of being unable to share common sentiments with those around you, was for Durkheim the ultimate injury that could be felt by us as social beings. This sense of normlessness he called anomie. We have all experienced at some time in our lives the sense of moral uncertainty of being in the company of strangers, or in strange circumstances. It is difficult to overstate the importance of this concept to our understanding of urban society and Durkheim's work, for anomie is the concept that ties the individual to the social structure. It identifies the absence of that which makes us human and gave purpose to our lives. It is anomie that leads people to feel that they and the world around them are bereft of meaning and lack a purpose. It is, by definition, the object of a society to cure anomie: to provide its members with a sense of solidarity and shared meanings. Much of what we seen today as the problems of society and urbanisation can find some resonance with the question of anomie.

Durkheim, therefore, addresses the urban question in two ways. First, he sees the city as an historically significant condition for the development of particular social forces (that is to say, it creates a social concentration which stimulates the division of labour, while at the same time it facilitates this development by breaking down the bonds of traditional morality). Second, he sees in the modern city the expression of the current (abnormal) development of these forces (pathological disorganization reflecting the anomic state of modern society). Durkheim does not consider the modern city relevant to the key concerns of social theory in advanced capitalist societies. He argues that it is only in the Middle Ages that the city was significant in itself since it was only during that period that it provided the organizational expression for functional economic interests.

55

5.4 MAX WEBER'S THEORY OF URBANISATION

Urban social theory has been heavily influenced by a few German writers whose work followed that of Tonnies and built upon his major themes. Most prominent among these theorists is Max Weber whose wide-ranging works include an attempt to formally define the city. His objective was to devise a comprehensive and concise model, an ideal type that would identify the essential elements that make up the city.

After constructing a variety of characteristics that he found associated with cities historically, he arrived at the features of city. To constitute a full urban community a settlement must display a relative predominance of trade-commercial relations with the settlement as a whole displaying the following features:

1) A fortification

2) A market

3) A court of its own and at least partially autonomous law

4) A related form of association

5) At least partial autonomy and autocephaly

While some of these criteria, such as the existence of a market and of municipal regulation, seem perfectly appropriate in the construction of a general model, the criterion of fortification seems anachronistic. When Weber's work appeared in 1905, the walled city was, for the most part, a thing of the past; industrialisation had taken and reshaped the city, as Weber himself pointed out in the same thesis. But this did not affect the model that he constructed.

Weber was not interested in describing cities but in modelling the city. Each of his core criteria had to qualify as a necessary component of the model. The predominance of trade-commercial relations was the most basic of these criteria. "The 'city' is a marketplace", he wrote, but of course he did not intend to elevate every marketplace to the status of 'city'. He continued, "We wish to speak of a city only in cases where the local inhabitants satisfy an economically substantial part of their daily wants in the local market. It is only in this sense that the city is a market settlement".

56

In his model, Weber made the city a fusion of fortress and marketplace, systematically interwoven components of the full urban community. The full urban citizen was bound to perform certain military duties- to build or maintain the fortification and to guard or to defend the settlement- as an expression of membership in and allegiance to the community. It was in accordance with this reasoning and in this sense that Weber incorporated the idea of a fortification in his model. The town center could serve alternately as marketplace or drill field as per Weber.

It follows that a settlement so constituted be self-aware, and that it, to some extent, determine and regulate its own policies and laws. It is because of this connection that Weber included the third criterion and the fifth criterion in his list. In the area of setting policy or managing receipts and expenditure, as well as the regulation of conditions under which production and exchange in the market are carried out, the agents of the city constitute the commonly recognised "urban authority", of which any concept of the city must take account. Weber made a simple but critically important point for establishing a clear understanding of the nature of the city here: "The economic concept previously discussed must be entirely separated from the political administrative concept of the city. Only in the latter sense may a special area belong to a city".

The historical autonomy of the medieval cities was brief, since mercantile capitalism and the wealth of cities gave rise to kings and nation states that usurped the power of the communes. It was, however, in the cities that modern capitalism, democracy, and the bureaucratic apparatus of the state were born. The two crucial aspects of the city in Weber's thought were the economy and politics. Cities are defined by the existence of an established market. Weber held that a city is always a market centre. It has a local market that forms the economic centre of the settlement and on which both the non-urban population and the townsmen satisfy their wants by means of exchange on the basis of existing specialisations in production.

The city can also be identified as a politico-administrative structure. Even where its policy is determined by a prince to whose territory it belongs, it must still have an autonomous organisation- or as Weber called it, a 'community'- with special administrative and political institutions. Here the city may derive its revenues principally from agriculture but constitutes an

57

administrative unit for the region and has different laws of real estate from those prevailing in the country, principally, in Weber's opinion, because in this context the urban form provides security for the inhabitants. Thus urban real estate incorporates a tax on security. In this sense cities were often fortresses or garrisons, sometimes without walls and, as Weber remarks in the context of specifically garrison towns, sometimes without walls since the military eschewed the need for such defences. Weber argues that the possession of castle, of course signified military domination over the countryside. The only question was who should exert it.

The remaining criterion to be considered, that of "a related form of association", is connected to the other components of Weber's definition. What he was looking for here were elements of social organisation peculiar to the city. He believed that the emergence of a large burgher class or "estate", a politically powerful and privileged citizen-merchant-soldier strata of the population that was able to perceive its interests and take action, was an earmark of the true urban community. The formation of traders and artisans into "urban corporations", such as guilds, is one example of this characteristically urban form of association.

Medieval cities in Weber's analysis were legal and institutional expressions of the organised imposition and usurpations of power by defined social groups. Cities, and in particular ancient and medieval cities, afforded an opportunity for the study of power in society. In cities people gained power and gained refuge from power; some sought high office and some sought freedom from the serfdom of feudal life. As it was in cities that the flux of change from feudal society to mercantile capitalism occurred and fledgling forms of democracy emerged, it was possible to view here the imposition of new forms of legitimate authority and the overthrow of domination by minorities. Cities as the arena and engine of change provided a stage for struggles between classes and status groups and the emergence of new institutions.

Elliot and McCrone (1982) argue that it is power, conflict and social change that are the subject of Weber's essay on the city. Medieval cities provided freedom from the bonds of the feudal system; they provided citizenship, a system of laws,

58

and the development of economic rationality. Most importantly, the city was the basis for new forms of association entered into by individuals. As Durkheim pointed out, in traditional societies individuality did not effectively exist. Individuality emerged in medieval towns as craft and commercial guilds bound together and demanded the allegiance of individuals in return for the rights of citizenship. These communes, or conjurations as Weber called them, enabled the burghers of the town to establish and enforce their own laws, maintain commercial monopolies, establish markets free of feudal constraints, and build armies for their defence and the eventual expansion of their powers.

Weber identified three types of cities:

- The consumer city, which relies on wealthy consumers spending their legal and illegal gains from political power and office or from landownership outside the town.

- The producer city, which is sustained by the consumption of entrepreneurs, artisans, and merchants from the production of factories, workshops, and industries.

- The merchant city, where consumption capacity rests on the revenues of traders based in the city that retail production locally or abroad.

These definitions provide a model for the economically powerful interests of the city, but are purely economic types that reflect the principal economic activity of the city and its relations with its hinterland and trading partners. Weber discussed at some length the difficulty of deriving purely economic definitions of the city based on the distinction between agricultural and industrial production, as many cities possessed their own agricultural holdings and settlements of varying scales mixed agricultural and industrial functions.

Martindale concluded, "The modern city is losing its external and formal structure. Internally it is in a state of decay while the new community represented by the nation everywhere grows at its expense. The age of the city seems to be at an end". It is only in the context of Weber's model, and what he intended by it, that we can understand such a conclusion. For Weber, the urban age had reached a peak. The city at the beginning of the twentieth century was becoming reorganised. New

relationships based on models of efficiency, namely, bureaucracy, had come to characterise the new age. The city no longer held out the promise that the city had once offered.

In sum, the model that Weber constructed is of a diversified market economy upon which the largest numbers of inhabitants are regularly and primarily dependent. Furthermore, it is a self-aware and somewhat autonomous unit within which special forms of social unity arise, which are responsible in part for the settlement's defence. This is the city. It is intended as a model against which any city from any time period may be measured. That is, ancient cities, contemporary cities, and all of the variations between may be held up to this single model to see how well they would fit as "full urban communities". While any city will reflect certain qualities of this model, the medieval town most closely approximates it.

5.5   SUMMARY

The works of Marx, Durkheim and Weber dealt with urban question in different ways but all of these writers seem to have shared the view that, in modem capitalist societies, the urban question must be subsumed under a broader analysis of factors operating in the society as a whole. While cities could provide a vivid illustration of fundamental processes such as the disintegration of moral cohesion (Durkheim), the growth of calculative rationality (Weber) or the destructive forces unleashed by the development of capitalist production (Marx), they could in no way explain them. For all three writers, what was required was not a theory of the city but a theory of the changing basis of social relations brought about through the development of capitalism, and it was to this latter task that they addressed themselves.

They saw the city as historically important object of analysis in the context of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Western Europe. They argued that the city provides secondary influence on the development of fundamental social processes generated within capitalist societies. The city in contemporary capitalism is no longer the basis for human association (Weber), the locus of the division of labor (Durkheim) or the expression of a specific mode of production (Marx), in which case it is neither fruitful nor appropriate to study it in its own right.

60

In the subsequent progress of urban sociology, the works of these classical thinkers influenced many new urban social theories. Durkheim's work on the social effects of the division of labor came to be incorporated into ecological theories of city growth and differentiation in the 1920s, Weber's writings on political domination and social stratification formed the basis for a conceptualization of the city as a system of resource allocation in the 1960s and Marx's analysis of social reproduction and class struggle was developed as the foundation for a new political economy of urbanism in 1970s. The influence of these three writers over the development of urban sociology has been pervasive yet selective.

5.6   FURTHER READINGS

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THEORIES OF URBANISATION: TONNIES AND SIMMEL

Unit-II

CONTENTS

6.1   Introduction

6.2   Ferdinand Tonnies's Theory of Urbanisation

        6.2.1 Concept of Gemeinschaft

        6.2.2 Concept of Gesselschaft

6.3   George Simmel's Theory of Urbanisation

        6.3.1 Features of Urban Life

6.4   Summary

6.5   Further Readings

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

- describe the Ferdinand Tonnies' theory of urbanisation.

- discuss the distinction between the Tonnies' concepts of Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesselschaft (society).

- explain the George Simmel's theory of urbanisation.

6.1   INTRODUCTION

The classical dichotomous view or typological perspective exercised great influence on the study of the city. It envisaged an ideal typical construct of a city,

62

contrasting it to rural or folk society. It attempted to grasp the nature of the urban social organisation by contrasting it with the non-urban or rural folk which represent distinct social types. Ferdinand Tonnies along with Henry Maine, Emile Durkhiem, George Simmel and Robert Redfield initially developed the dichotomous approach.

Ferdinand Tonnies (1887) coined the terms *Gemeinschaft* for urban society and *Gesselschaft* for rural society. Tonnies coined these terms while describing the contrast between tradition and modernity. Tonnies's fundamental thesis was that human societies had changed over time from forms of association based on *Gemeinschaft* to those based on *Gesselschaft* and that the factor which had more than any other produced this shift had been the extension of trade and the development of capitalism.

In a seminal essay, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', Simmel laid the ground for the development of urban sociology. Simmel attempted to identify the impact of society and modernity on the personalities of individuals. His capacity to identify the relation between objective and subjective culture in the relation of the individual to society has underpinned his revived popularity as a social theorist. In the following sections the theories of Tonnies and Simmel are discussed in detail.

6.2   FERDINAND TONNIES' THEORY OF URBANISATION

Tonnies adapted the terms *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft* from his native German language to express the distinction between life in small-scale rural societies and life in the growing urban order. It is Tonnies' work that succinctly captures the sense of loss associated with the transition to urban society from rural life and, unlike the work of Durkheim, Weber and Marx, imbues tradition and rurality with a nostalgia and sentiment that values it above the modern experience.   Tonnies described it as his purpose 'to study the sentiments and motives which draw people to each other, keep them together and induce them to joint action'. To this end, he drew a basic distinction between what he termed 'natural will' (the sensations, feelings and instincts which derive from physiological and psychological processes and which he believed to be 'inborn and inherited') and 'rational will' (the deliberate, goal-oriented and calculative product of the use of intellect). In common parlance, the distinction is that between the heart and the head. To the extent that social relationships were

63

governed mainly by natural will, he spoke of *'Gemeinschaft'*; to the extent that they were governed by rational will, he designated them as *'Gesselschaft'*

6.2.1 CONCEPT OF GEMEINSCHAFT

By *Gemeinschaft,* Tonnies was referring to "any arrangements that involved intimate, private and exclusive living together" in a single community. The term was intended to convey a particular intensity of social integration. In a *Gemeinschaft ,* the individual is socially immersed as a segment of a social unity, a component of the whole- with that whole being the group.

If forced to choose a single word in the English language to express the idea, translators invariably choose "community", although it is clear that in doing so the more intense connotations are lost. In *Gemeinschaft* (community) with one's family, one lives from birth on bound to it in weal and woe.

6.2.2 CONCEPT OF GESSELSCHAFT

The term *Gesselschaft* can be translated as "society", the wider social world without intimate ties. *Gesselschaft* (society) is public life, i.e., it is the world in itself. "One goes into *Gesselschaft* as one goes into a strange country. A young man is warned about bad *Gesselschaft,* but the expression bad *Gemeinschaft* violates the meaning of the word".

Gemeinschaft is old, *Gesselschaft* is new. All praise of rural life has pointed out that the *Gemeinschaft* (community) among people is stronger there and more alive. *Gesselschaft* is transitory and superficial. Accordingly, *Gemeinschaft* should be understood as a living organism, *Gesselschaft* (society) as a mechanical aggregate and artefact.

Gemeinschaft is dominated by group identity while *Gesselschaft* contrasts with it is characterised by individual identity and self-interest. The dichotomy between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft* is not in itself a typology of forms of settlement only but a reflection of the way lives in villages and cities are organised. It refers to the types of social relationship, and more specifically to the contrast between emotional and rational, personal and contractual, communal and individual aspects of human interactions. The two concepts were employed to describe the direction of change in

64

society, rather than differentiate between geographical areas within a society, at any one point of time. Talcott Parsons analysed this dichotomy with greater precision and flexibility. He identified *Gemeinschaft* in terms of particularism, quality, affectivity and diffuseness; while the characteristics of *Gesselschaft* involves universalism, performance, affective neutrality, and specificity.

Tonnies observed a direct tension between *Gemeinschaft* and the city. The rural village was compatible with the feeling of unity; it was stable and small scale and the web of relationships within it was seasoned with age. But the city introduced division by social class, created tensions between the interests of capital and labour, was characterised by hostility and had no natural need or place for family.

The city is typical of *Gesselschaft* in general. It is essentially a commercial town and, in so far as commerce dominates its productive labour, a factory town. Its wealth is capital wealth which, in the form of trade, usury, or industrial capital, is used and multiplies. Capital is the means for the appropriation of products of labour or for the exploitation of workers. The city is also the center of science and culture, which always go in hand in hand with commerce and industry. Here the arts must make a living; they are exploited in a capitalistic way. Thoughts spread and change with astonishing rapidity.

In the city, actions are coordinated simply by their calculated exchange values. The *Gesselschaft* gives the appearance of many living together peacefully. But in fact "everybody is by himself and isolated and there exists a condition of tension against all others".

Tonnies thought that the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesselschaft* had been accompanied by a change in the relationship between the individual and the state. Here his thinking was influenced heavily by Henry Maine's influential work 'Ancient Law'. In it, Maine traced the replacement of system of laws based on what he referred to as 'status' with an ever-changing legal arrangement that he called 'contract'. Under the older system, the state and its laws addressed only the head of the household, the parent, who was responsible for and essentially ruled over the family and servants. Their behaviour was governed by a sense of family honour. Tonnies viewed this arrangement as characteristic of the collective nature and the

65

unity of *Gemeinschaft* .

There was no specific reference in Maine's account to the corresponding urbanisation of society with the transition from status to contract. It was Tonnies who formally associated status relations with *Gemeinschaft* and contract relations with *Gesselschaft*. In the former, social control of individual behaviour is stipulated by the nature of the individual's attachment to the group. In *Gesselschaft,* where the individual is cut free from the group constraints, social control must be ensured by an external factor- a code of laws and punishments, a contract that demands predictable behaviour. Tonnies work emphasised the fragility and, in his view, the "artificiality" of the emerging urban society. He had found in Maine's account some basis for regulating the tensions aroused by the self-interest on which relations in urban society were founded.

Tonnies reasoned that the change over time from forms of association based on *Gemeinschaft* to those based on *Gesselschaft* is due to the extension of trade and the development of capitalism. Indeed, at one point he characterizes *Gesselschaft* as 'bourgeoisie society'. The unity of sentiment which characterizes *Gemeinschaft* and which flows from the 'natural' bonds of blood, neighbourhood and religious belief is disrupted by the growth of industrial capitalism which puts in its place a precarious unity based on monetary calculation and the resolute pursuit of self-interest. In such a context, the only source of unity is the state, but the modern state lacks the natural authority which characterizes the paternalistic rule of fathers, village elders or clerics in the *Gemeinschaft*. Instead, it serves the interests of the propertied class by exercising a formal, legalistic authority which comes to be experienced by ordinary people as alien.

Thus what Tonnies is outlining in his theory is a rudimentary evolutionary theory of social change. Indeed, like Marx, he tries to extrapolate his theory of change into the future. He recognizes that a return to *Gemeinschaft* is impossible but nevertheless suggests that the association of *Gesselschaft* which characterizes modern day capitalism may be developed into a more cohesive and less alienative union of *Gesselschaft* through the emergence of worker co-operatives and similar structures which may transcend the individualistic era of competitive capitalism.

66

6.3   GEORGE SIMMEL'S THEORY OF URBANISATION

The work of examining the experience of urban life in the new age was undertaken by Weber's colleague, George Simmel. Whereas Weber was interested in identifying the broadest features of the urban question, Simmel sought to understand what the urban experience did to the way people thought and behaved.

In Simmel's work, there is recurrent concern with three core themes namely *size, division of labour and money/rationality*. It is for this reason that the metropolis assumes a central significance for Simmel, for it is here that the effects of size, differentiation and the money economy on social relationships are most immediately visible and most intensely felt. These three variables are prominent in his essay 'The Metropolis and Mental Life'. These three variables are discussed in detail as below.

Size: According to Simmel, the sheer *size* of the metropolis is significant because it gives rise to 'one of the few tendencies for which an approximately universal formula can be discovered'. This formula is that larger social circles increase the scope of individual freedom while reducing the quality of relationships with others.

Division of Labour/Differentiation: The effects of *differentiation* are most pronounced in the metropolis, for cities are seats of the highest economic division of labour. This extreme differentiation is itself a function of size, for Simmel argues that only large human aggregates give rise to and can support a wide variation of services. Because of this close association between the city and the economic division of labour, the effects of division of labour in terms of individuality, impersonality and alienation are most clearly revealed there.

Money/Rationality: This impersonality is reinforced by the third defining feature of the metropolis, the *money economy*. 'The metropolis', argues Simmel, 'has always been the seat of the money economy'. Money is both the source and the expression of metropolitan rationality and intellectualism, for both money and intellect share a matter-of-fact attitude towards people and things and are indifferent to genuine individuality. Metropolities are guided by their heads rather than their hearts, by calculation and intellect, not affection and emotion.

67

In the metropolis, therefore, are found the basic dilemmas of social life. It is here that the struggle is waged by the individual 'to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in the face of overwhelming social forces. It is here that the tension is most clearly revealed between the eighteenth-century ideal of the freedom of the individual from traditional bonds, and the nineteenth-century ideal of individuality in the face of the mass. The metropolis is for Simmel the crucible of modern life.

6.3.1 FEATURES OF URBAN LIFE

He believed that there were two important features of urban life that conditioned how urbanites thought and acted:

- The intensity of nervous stimuli or sensation in the city and

- The pervasiveness of the market's effect on urban relations.

Intensity of nervous stimuli in the city

Simmel has mentioned the intensity of nervous stimuli as the most important feature of the urban life. Simmel argues, "The psychological foundation on which the metropolitan type of individuality is erected, is the intensification of emotional life due to the swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli. Thus the reaction of the metropolitan person is moved to a sphere which is least sensitive and is furthest removed from the depths of personality" (Simmel 1903).

Simmel observed that urbanites had no choice but to become insensitive to the events and people around them. He reasoned, "the rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions. These are the psychological conditions which the metropolis creates. With each crossing of the street, with the tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational, and social life, the city sets up a deep contrast with small town and rural life with reference to the sensory foundations of psychic life".

True urbanites must develop a special capacity to avoid emotional involvement in all that takes place around them. This capacity resides in the 'intellect' and its careful cultivation and development displays itself in the 'blase'

68

attitude, "so unconditionally reserved for the metropolis". In contrast to those who reside in small towns and villages, who have the capacity to embrace each other in more deeply felt and emotional relationships, metropolitan beings must hold themselves apart. Of his "metropolitan type of man", Simmel said, "he reacts with his head instead of his heart".

Pervasiveness of the market's effect on urban relations

The tendency towards reserve, brought about by the intensity of experience, is reinforced by the economic basis of life in the city. Where Weber observed the city as a marketplace, Simmel asked 'what life in a marketplace would do to social relations'.

His answer was that it drew people into relationships characterised by tension and calculation. The metropolis has always been the seat of the money economy. Money economy and the dominance of the intellect are intrinsically connected. They share a matter of fact attitude in dealing with men and things; and in this attitude a formal justice is often coupled with an inconsiderate hardness. The intellectually sophisticated person is indifferent to all genuine individuality. Money is concerned only with what is common to all: it asks for the exchange value, it reduces all quality and individuality to the question: How much? All intimate emotional relations between persons are founded in this individuality, whereas in rational relations man is reckoned with like a number, like an element which is in itself indifferent.

In the metropolitan milieu, the modern mind with its predominant qualities of punctuality and exactness becomes even more calculating. Simmel suspected that if we dared to examine more closely the reserve characteristic of urbanites, we would find that it merely cloaks the aversion, even mutual repulsion, with which people regard one another in the city. This stems from the sheer impossibility of becoming socially involved with everyone in the metropolis and also from "the right to distrust in the face of the touch and go elements of metropolitan life".

Simmel identified the character of the stranger as a characteristically modern role. The stranger is someone who is physically near and yet culturally and socially distanced from others, consistent with the metropolitan personality. As Simmel

69

maintained, this is a social relation with a peculiar relationship to the formation of cities, just as the historical archetype of the stranger is the trader coming to the settlement or city to sell goods. Strangers play a special role in social organisation by magnifying the bonds that exist between others, by sometimes having the objectivity to gain special insights obscured from the members of the group, and by possessing a freedom to comment and observe that is denied to those who are part of the social group. The latter is also a characteristic of the sociologist (Craib 1997).

Thus Simmel held that the city-dwellers becomes desensitised, sophisticated and blasé. The excess of stimuli is too much for the intellect to respond to and educated city-dwellers simply accept more and more of the universal culture that surrounds them. While this distance provides the possibility of freedom from emotional bonds, it also implies a loneliness and meaninglessness in metropolitan life. This identification of the universalising of objective culture threatening individuality foreshadowed contemporary observations on the universalising of culture in our global cities. This universalisation of objective culture is reflected in the metropolis in the reduction of everything down to a money value. Money value reduces quality to quantity; it demands precision; it dispenses with individuality and reduces it to the common denomination. In Simmel's words, it changes the world into an arithmetical problem and gives life a new precision measured in time and money. Paradoxically, this lack of distinction leads to the magnification of spurious distinction to make a sense of difference. This leads to individuals engaging in eccentricities of dress and caprices in order to attract attention by being different or noticeable.

Having alienated and isolated metropolitans from one another in this manner, one might expect that Simmel would have despaired at the urban condition. That was not the case, however. If individuals were socially isolated in the metropolis, this meant that they were also set free from one another. Simmel observed that the small, tightly knit social circles that characterised non-metropolitan social conditions bound individuals to a narrow set of expectations and allowed little individualism or autonomy. In the metropolis, the division of labour provided the opportunity for the development of differences among individuals. And as the size of any 'group' grew, its inner unity loosened and individual freedom increased. Simmel argues, "The smaller the circle which forms our milieu, the more anxiously the circle guards the achievements, the

70

conduct of life, and the outlook of the individual, and the more readily specialisation would break up the framework of the whole little circle". In this context, the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesselschaft* was a liberation.

6.4   SUMMARY

In concluding remarks, it can be said that Simmel's approach to urban question is different from that of Tonnies. Simmel sees in the metropolis itself the source of at least some of the features of modern life unlike Tonnies. He does not refer to the city merely as an illustration of the rationality, impersonality and the like that characterize social relationships in the modern era, but rather sees it as a causal factor in its own right in the explanation of such social forms. What is crucial here, and what separates Simmel from the other writers discussed, is his unique emphasis on the sociology of number or size. The metropolis is above all a large human agglomeration, and according to Simmel, this fact alone should be expected to create different patterns of human association from those found in small settlements such as rural villages. Thus with regard to his emphasis on size, Simmel's essay does represent an attempt to theorize the city per se.

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THEORIES OF URBANISATION: PARK AND BURGESS

Unit-II

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

- discuss the role of Chicago school in building foundation of urban social theory.

- explain the Robert Park's ecological perspective.

- describe the Burgess' concentric zone model.

- critically examine the human ecology approach.

7.1   INTRODUCTION

Robert Park and Ernst Burgess along with their colleagues at Chicago school developed an ecological approach of urban sociology. The ecological approach of urban sociology focused on understanding the effects produced by the urban environment on social organisation and behaviour. It is presumed that life in urban space is the creation of urban space. Hence human concerned with how human populations adapt collectively to their environment. Ecology represents a fusion of different disciplines or it is an interdisciplinary study which covers the areas of economics, geography and sociology.

Park and Burgess saw the city as a social organism with individual and collective behaviour governed by the competitive struggle for existence. We see here the specific influence of Darwinian evolutionary and organic analogies and classical economics in describing the processes of formation of the city. Urban social life was held to develop in the same unplanned, natural way as plant life. Human ecology approach was very much influenced by Durkheim. Common concerns between Durkheim's approach and the work of the Chicago human ecologists (human ecology) were the issues of growth, differentiation, anomie and organic analogies. Emile Durkheim's influence is more explicit in Park's ontological assumptions regarding human nature and the relationship between individual and society.

7.2   CHICAGO SCHOOL

The University of Chicago produced an extraordinary output of social thought throughout the twentieth century. The school started in 1892 with Albion Small and founded the *American Journal of Sociology*. Its most famous teachers for the first half-century were W.I. Thomas, who argued that what men believe is real, is real and R.G. Park who introduced the ideas of social ecology, invasion and succession. Others among its many theorists were Burgess, McKenzie, Wirth, Cooley, Mead and Goffman.

The school focused its research on a series of urban studies in the Chicago metropolis. In doing so, it developed and applied ethnographic methods to the study of urban society. Developing a new perspective on the analysis of urban society and development, the Chicago school created a benchmark for urban research. It was not

73

socialism but journalism that compelled the school. Park was a journalist and a social activist. The school contributed to ideas of reform, as it was linked to new modes of professional practice in social work. It also fashioned the development of the American identity and character and the American influence on social thought.

Knox (1995) identifies three types of study produced by the Chicago school:

- Studies of competition and dominance in the city and their outcomes in spatial distribution and land use.

- Descriptive studies of the physical, social, economic and demographic characteristics of natural areas.

- Studies of the ecological context of social phenomena such as delinquency, prostitution and mental disorder.

These studies underlie the development of factorial ecology, social indicators and social area mapping exercises in geography and social policy.

7.3   ROBERT PARK'S ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The foundation of urban sociology in the United States is credited to Robert Park. Park was a newspaper reporter who came to sociology late in his career, after becoming convinced that a more scientific approach was required in order to write the 'big story' of the city. Robert Park's influence on sociology in the United States has been broad and enduring. He presided over the work of what has been described as "an army of students of cities and city life". His students, working in the great open laboratory of Chicago, produced doctoral dissertations with titles such as "The Hobo", "The Gang" and "The Ghetto".

Park developed many ideas about the ways in which spatial features of the environment influence organisation and experience. There are two nested themes in Park's work and, because of his pivotal position as a founder of urban sociology in the United States, each of these themes has had an enormous influence on the developing field.

- First, Park was interested in the evolving structure of the city itself, the physical form of the city and the way different land uses and neighbourhoods became

74

oriented towards one another. This interest laid the foundations for the school of urban sociology that came to be known as human ecology.

- Second, Park was fascinated by the different patterns of human adjustment in the city, the "ways of life" of urbanites. He urged his students to get into the streets and investigate firsthand the ways that modern city dwellers acted, thought, and felt. This emphasis gave rise to the study of urban culture, or urbanism.

He saw both of these elements, ecology and urbanism, as naturally intertwined and combined them in his own work. The ecological order was the dominant factor. The urban arena was a self-contained universe upon which a science could be based. The physical arena provided a natural order, an urban ecology that gave rise to distinctive behaviours. In this thinking, he borrowed from Durkheim's division of labour thesis and combined elements of field biology, producing a very distinctive realm of study for urban sociology.

7.3.1 THE ECOLOGY OF URBAN LIFE

The major elements of the urban arena, the different kinds of land use and the varied urban populations that occupied the city sorted themselves into distinguishable areas. These 'neighbourhoods' or 'natural areas' had particular affinities or aversions to one another, resulting overall in an urban ecology- a spatial division of the city that corresponds to the functional division of labour occurring within it. Some common examples of such specialised areas include the central business district, exclusive residential areas, areas of heavy or light industry, slums, ghettos, immigrant communities, etc. These are natural areas, Park believed, because they are the products of ecological forces that work to distribute the city's populations and functions in an orderly fashion, with respect to one another. Those who can afford to do so sort themselves away from functions or elements of the population that they regard as distasteful or dirty.

Those without the economic means are relegated to the residual areas, perhaps those neighbourhoods popularly regarded as containing criminal or 'abnormal' types. Each area, whatever its qualities, is characterised by its own

75

'moral code', which corresponds to the interests and tastes of those who use it and what they use it for residential or recreational purposes. Each district is its own moral region, and in this sense each is segregated from the others. Park says, "the processes of segregation make the city a mosaic of little worlds that touch, but do not interpenetrate". Park saw the modern urbanite of his time passing quickly among these worlds, from one moral milieu to the next, "a fascinating but dangerous experiment in living at the same time in several different contiguous, perhaps, but widely separated worlds". In his view, it is this segmentation and transience that generates the superficial quality of urban life. Although the city provides its inhabitants with these little localised, more manageable social orders, the areas do not provide stability because urbanites don't live in any one of them. Instead, every individual lives among many of them, playing roles that are only partial to one's entire self. For Park, neighbourhood or community offered little in the way of refuge from the impersonality of the city, and urbanites remained loosely integrated and even emotionally unstable in the urban environment.

7.4   BURGESS' CONCENTRIC ZONE THEORY

Ernest Burgess' concentric zone theory of neighbourhood change and residential differentiation in Chicago was one of the most important contribution of Chicago school to urban sociology. The zones, as shown in figure 1, represent areas of functional differentiation and expand rapidly from the business centre. The zones contain different communities formed on the basis of their competitive power within the city. Within each zone further areas are segregated into symbiotic natural communities based on language, culture and race. With the growth of the city, the occupants of the zones change through a process of invasion and succession. Illustrative of this in Chicago was the settlement of immigrants in poor zones of transition and their gradual upward and outward mobility to better areas. One group, such as the Germans in Burgess's example, displaces another (white Americans) as they find success and move into more desirable areas.
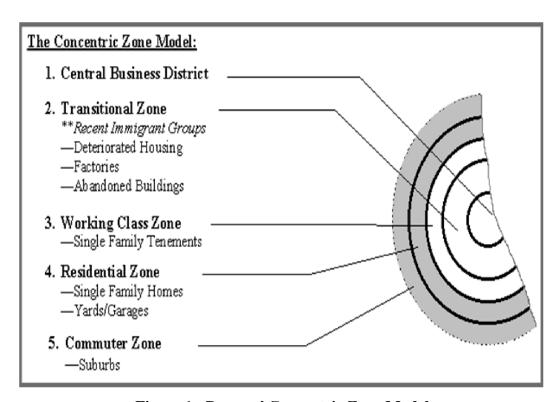
76

The Concentric Zone Model:

1. Central Business District

2. Transitional Zone
   **Recent Immigrant Groups
   —Deteriorated Housing
   —Factories
   —Abandoned Buildings

3. Working Class Zone
   —Single Family Tenements

4. Residential Zone
   —Single Family Homes
   —Yards/Garages

5. Commuter Zone
   —Suburbs

Figure 1 : Burgess' Concentric Zone Model

7.4.1 THE URBAN ZONES

According to Burgess, an urban area consists of five concentric zones. The zones are:

1. The loop or central business district

2. The zone in transition

3. The zone of working men's homes

4. The residential zone of high class apartment buildings

5. The commuter's zone

1. **The loop or central business district.** This is called as down town in American terminology. It is usually situated at the centre of the city. It is an area of business and official activity. Transportation

routes from all parts of the city converge upon it. All the activities connected with business and service such as shops of various articles, departmental stores, restaurants, cinema houses, banks, main post offices and warehouses are all situated in and around the area at convenient places.

2. **The zone in transition.** This is the area which is situated in the immediate vicinity of the market district. It is a haphazard area of dilapidated buildings and slums. It is in the process of transition from a residential area into a business area and the consequent turnover of extra and weak units into less favourable neighbourhoods. It is an area of business and light industry. It is an area of squalor, regular vice and disorganisation.

3. **The zone of working men's homes.** This is situated immediately after the zone in transition or the factory area as the workers usually prefer to live near the place of their work. This area is a near slum, congested with multifamily dwellings. It is inhabited by workers who have escaped from the influence of the area of destruction.

4. **The residential zone.** The residential zone of high class apartment buildings or exclusive residential districts are usually situated at a reasonable distance from the city centre and consist of decent single family dwellings inhabited by middle and upper middle class professionals and executives. Well planned roads, lounge spaces and beauty are the features of this area.

5. **The commuter's zone.** This lies at the outskirts of the city and is usually an area of the rural urban fringe. Hence this area reflects the characteristics of both types of habitats. This area is usually inhabited by people working in cities who also own land or by people who cannot find accommodation in cities. The inhabitants of this commuter's zone go daily to their place of work in the city through city transportation.

7.5 CRITICISM OF ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Human ecology has been criticised for its spatial determinism and its failure to recognise the macro social determinants affecting the social organisation of the

78

city. With time, the work of Park and his colleagues, who dealt with economic competition and its role in determining location of actors, moved increasingly towards a form of spatial determinism. In doing this they neglected the lessons of the culture of modernity and social change coming from the work of their predecessor Simmel.

Burgess' concentric zone theory has been criticised on the similar grounds of spatial determinism. Burgess himself was the first to point out that his proposition was not an actual description of patterns of city growth but an abstract scheme. This theory does not conform to the actual growth patterns of cities as proved by subsequent testing in relation to existing cities. It is very rare that we can find a city which has grown in well defined concentric cities.

Nature itself is a major limiting factor deciding the limitation in the shape of a city. Further, this theory does not explain the patterns of commercial or cultural cities. Researchers have shown that excess business, instead of flocking around, in the zone in transition flows away to more remunerative suburban shopping complexes which are a novelty. The concept of industrialisation insists upon the starting of factories along waterfronts or at the outskirts of the city or breaks in transportation as convenient sport on grounds of health and availability of raw material. The prominence of the loop has been greatly reduced due to the opening up of suburban shopping centres. The idea of the commuter's zone has been reduced in importance with the growth of twin cities. Contrary to expectation, new business and industry does not always flock towards the city centre or to the immediate area but move towards the convenient available area within the city for their location without touching the existing pattern. The theory does not account for the growth of satellite townships. However, the idea that the residential zone lies away from the city centre and factory area nearby conforms to facts. The theory on the whole provides a ground work for the understanding of the growth patterns of contemporary cities.

7.6   SUMMARY

The kind of spatial determinism espoused by Park and his colleagues has had an historical impact on town planning. In particular, it has reinforced the idea that social pathologies are spatially determined, thus justifying the destruction and urban renewal of some localities. Saunders (1982) argues that some of the critique of human

79

ecology's rejection of culturally determined phenomena is misplaced, as it was precisely the naturally determined and biologically determined aspects of urban life that Park was attempting to trace. For Saunders the problem was that, in the absence of any demonstrable proof that urban settlement was biologically determined, the human ecologists assumed this to be the case.

Much of the spatial determinist element of human ecology is now rejected but Burgess's simple model continues to be useful as a guide for the study of local areas and as a point of departure for remodelling the socio-spatial organisation of the city. Increasingly complex socio-spatial models of urban social organisation have been developed to represent the socio-demographic distributions of the city. The models of Homer Hoyt highlighted the concentration of functions such as manufacturing and retailing in certain areas and Harris and Ullman incorporated nodes or foci of the city. Factors such as regional business districts, transport lines, high ground, and position in relation to lakes, bays, rivers, and ocean affect the value and desirability of areas. These factors preclude the possibility that social and functional differentiation will occur in a purely concentric form.

7.7   FURTHER READINGS

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THEORIES OF URBANISATION: LOUIS WIRTH AND M. CASTELLS
Unit-II

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

- discuss the Louis Wirth's theory of urbanisation.

- understand the Wirth's criteria of urbanism.

- describe the M. Castells's theory of urbanisation.

- explain the M. Castell's political economy paradigm.

8.1   INTRODUCTION

Sociologists working in the first half of the 20th century on theories of city life emphasised the alienating aspects of the urban environment or to put it

otherwise the opposition between community and the city life. Louis Wirth was one of the first to lay stress on the social aspects of urbanism. Louis Wirth belongs to the Chicago school and he contributed immensely in building the foundation of the field of urban sociology. Louis Wirth followed the ecological approach propounded by his teacher Robert E. Park at Chicago school. Wirth in his famous essay 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' (1938) describes human ecology as one of the significant perspective of the city. He tried to synthesise Park's human ecology and Simmel's analysis of the form of association and the development of urban personality.

While the Chicago School made their theorisations on the basis of their studies of American cities, later works in urban sociology spread to other continents also. Towards the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s a new paradigm for the urban analysis emerged where the emerging body of theory based on the assumption that it is conflict not equilibrium as propounded by the ecologists, is at the center of social order. The new approach focused on the role of capitalism, the international economic order, the accumulation and concentration of wealth and power, the relation of social classes and the role of state in administering a stable social order ultimately hospitable to economic interests. To put it in other words, the urban social structure tends to be analysed in the backdrop of the Marxian theory of historical materialism. For the advocates of this paradigm, cities symbolised the inequalities of wealth and power generated by the profit system and the spatial expression of urban arenas were in terms of capital accumulation and class conflict. This approach became known as the political economy of urbanism (Flanagan 1993). Manuel Castells is a major proponent of the political economy paradigm. In his book 'The Urban Question' (1977), he offers a Marxist analysis as a viable alternative to the then existing urban thought.

8.2 LOUIS WIRTH'S THEORY OF URBANISATION

Wirth's thesis represents the capstone of the classical urban tradition. His thesis was intended as nothing less than a comprehensive, theoretical definition of the city and urban life. In this endeavour, Wirth acknowledged the efforts of

82

Max Weber and Robert Park but argued that prior to his attempt, these approximations to a systematic theory of the city fell short of providing a complete framework. In his construction, Wirth linked the definition of the urban form to its consequences for social organisation and the nature of individual experience. He identified the quality that he was attempting to capture as 'urbanism'. It was a quality that characterised life at one end of a continuum, while life at the opposite end of the continuum was occupied by rural or 'folk' society.

In an essay titled 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', Louis Wirth attempted to identify the purely urban characteristics of city-dwellers and how this urban culture was developed by life in the city. This was the high point of belief in rural-urban differentiation that had pervaded the debates of a rural-urban continuum and the move from tradition to modernity. Louis Wirth sought to explain what was different about urbanism, what constituted the distinct culture of urban life. Wirth contended that urbanism was a product of size, density and heterogeneity. It occurred in relatively large, densely and heterogeneously populated settlements (Gottdiener and Hutchinson 2000).

8.2.1 CRITERIA OF URBANISM

Wirth identified three key criteria that directly determined the degree of urbanism found in a given society. These three criteria of urbanism are:

- Size

- Density and

- Heterogeneity of the population.

He was unwilling to recognise any quantitative threshold that might be attached to these criteria in order to distinguish urban society from rural society. For example, Wirth demonstrated that any attempts to establish an absolute criteria of urban size would produce an arbitrary and, therefore, useless set of numbers. Wirth was not prepared to answer the question: How large is an urban population? The question he was prepared to deal with, however, was how urban is this place? It is because the answer had to do with the size, density, and heterogeneity of that population. Consistent with his continuum approach,

83

the answer was expressed in terms of more or less.

Wirth's observations with respect to the effect of each of his key variables- size, density, and heterogeneity- on social life in the city is as explained below:

Size

The greater the size of a given population the greater the likelihood that it is made up of different kind of people. This, in turn, tends to give rise to spatial segregation within the population. Without a common tradition or experience, there can be no common identity, and "competition and formal control mechanisms furnish the substitute for the bonds of solidarity that are relied upon to hold a folk society together". Wirth referred directly to Weber's and Simmel's observations that typical social relations must be more shallow in the city due to the sheer numbers involved.

Human relationships are highly segmented or specialised, and contact as full personalities is impossible. The city is thus characterised by secondary rather than primary relationships. Many of these relationships remain face-to-face, but they are impersonal, superficial and transitory. According to Wirth, the reserve, indifference, and blasé outlook that he believed typify the urban type are really the urbanites' "devices immunising themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others". The relationships in the city that we do take trouble to maintain are instrumental in nature, and we regard them merely as a means for the achievement of our own ends, not for the value of the relationship itself.

Wirth allowed that individuals in urban life gain some element of freedom from the control of the intimate group, but they also lose the reassurance that comes from life in a more emotionally integrated society. Along with freedom comes a social void and sense of anomie. Although the division of labour and the growth of specialisation lead to the social solidarity of interdependence, the pure market motives that bring us together, the "pecuniary nexus", lead to relationships of a predominantly predatory nature. Finally, in the vast numbers of the city, the individual counts for little politically.

Density

When numbers increase and area is held constant, specialisation must occur

84

among the population of organisms occupying the space. With this, Wirth indicated his basic agreement with both Darwin and Durkheim. The general effect of density is to reinforce that of size; thus it would appear that many of Wirth's observations regarding density also could have been made under the heading of size.

One consequence of having numerous but superficial and anonymous contacts is that people come to look for cues or symbols of who the other is and how they may be expected to act. Wirth cited Simmel's reference to the importance of the 'uniform' that identifies the role of the particular functionary, while the personality remains hidden behind it. Wirth believed that as urbanites we have become attuned to the world of artifacts and are "progressively further removed from the world of nature"

The effect of density is also evident in the spatial configuration of the city. Its surface is divided into different uses and the urban population is distributed into more or less distinct settlements, which become segregated to the degree that their requirements and mode of life are incompatible with one another. The inhabitants of the city travel among these settlements, "a mosaic of social worlds in which the transition from one to the other is abrupt" and where the result is that the participant traveller develops a relativistic perspective and a greater tolerance of differences. But the dominant spirit that emerges from the close aggregation of divergent types is that of competition and mutual exploitation in an urban world where the clock and traffic signal are the symbolic basis of the social order.

Heterogeneity

The particular consequence of this variable is that every individual in the city is in regular contact with a wide diversity of other individuals, which presents the opportunity for the development of a variety of interests, orientations, memberships and allegiances for each individual. What sets apart the urbanite is that she or he has no undivided allegiances to any particular group. It is in this consideration of the significance of urban heterogeneity that Wirth's concern for the massing of human society emerges.

Instead of enriching individual's lives, socially or culturally, these multiple

85

memberships become transitory and relatively unimportant. Rather than anchoring individuals in a stable social life, these multiple and shifting memberships pull them in conflicting and changing directions. Instead of providing modes of individual expression, "cultural institutions, such as the schools, the movies, the radio and the newspapers by virtue of their mass clientele operate as levelling influence. If the individual would participate at all in the social, political and economic life of the city, he must subordinate some of his individuality to the demands of the larger community and in that measure immerse himself in mass movements".

Thus, according to the theory of urbanism, Louis Wirth believed that the larger, the denser and the more heterogeneous the population of an area, the more urbanised will be the life style of the people. The principle elements of urbanisation according to him are the population size, population density and population heterogeneity. His view was that the city's heterogeneity, large size, high density and secular cosmopolitan atmosphere tended to be seen as contributing to people's alienation rather than affording an opportunity for richer life.

8.2.2 CRITICISM OF WIRTH'S THEORY OF URBANISATION

Wirth held that urbanism would give rise to social disorganisation as a function of the breakdown of primary relations and their substitution by secondary social relations. Wirth's contentions have not been supported by research. Rather than the concentration of cities generating more crime and social pathology than rural areas, it is simply the case that cities provide a concentration of problems generated by wider societal forces. This does not preclude the possibility that such concentrations of social problems will reinforce the behaviours and conditions associated with their formation. Herbert Gans and Claude Fischer provide a comprehensive critique of Wirth's theory which has been discussed below.

Gans Critique

In an article titled 'Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life' (1974), Herbert Gans took Wirth's contentions to task. Gans argued that Wirth's theory was not really a comparison of types of settlement, or of urban and rural, but rather was atemporal, comparing mass urban industrial with pre-industrial society. Thus all things modern became synonymous with the urban. Gans argued that if

Wirth's theory applied to anybody it was some remote reflection of inner-city dwellers, as the remainder of those who lived in the city and suburbs continued to live a life that Gans called *quasi-primary*.

Gans argued that apart from those in the inner-city, the majority of the population-particularly in the suburbs- live in relatively low-density settlements and in relatively homogeneous social groups. Gans divided the inner-city residents into five groups.

1. The cosmopolites-some are unmarried and childless; some are affluent and married with children and domestic assistance. This group includes quite wealthy and powerful inner-city dwellers. Cosmopolites resist the tug of children-friendly suburbs in order to retain their access to the culture of the inner city.

2. The unmarried childless- these include temporary residents renting in group houses and bed-sits and early married pre-children.

3. The ethnic villagers- these form congregations of ethnic groups much like their home villages. They have close association with others of their ethnic group and little contact with the wider society outside their work.

4. The deprived- for these the slum is an economic necessity or hiding-place. They have little choice in where to reside; they are the poor, the emotionally disturbed, the handicapped, and those from broken and non-white families.

5. The trapped and downwardly mobile- these have become caught in the decline or industrial redevelopment of the area and failed to move on, or have fallen on hard times.

Gans concludes that, where the pathologies Wirth identifies with the inner city occur, it is a result of residential instability rather than urbanism. Such instability can occur anywhere. Gans contends that majority of city dwellers reside in suburbia and lead what he calls a 'quasi-primary' way of life. Gans argues that ecological explanations like that of Wirth, which explain behaviour as an adaptation to environmental pressure, apply when the subject-animal, plant, or human- is unable to make a choice. In the majority of cases people's settlement is a function of making

87

choices and of the market responding to their demands. The kinds of choices they make are a function of their social characteristics.

Fischer's Response

Claude Fischer took to task the Chicago School and Wirth's negative estimation of urbanism for its reinforcement of a popular impression which, in Fischer's estimation, went back to the Bible and images of Sodom and Gomorrah. Fischer (1976) identified the popular and literary rural-urban contrast as captured in the polarised themes of:

- Nature versus art
- Familiarity versus strangers
- Community versus individualism
- Tradition versus change.

In consequence, most Americans were reluctant urbanites who sought to escape urbanity for the suburb with its blend of all that was best in country and city. The urban was governed by population size and thus one could have a degree of urbanisation. Fischer identified three different theories of urbanism:

1. Determinist theory (also called Wirthian theory or the theory of urban anomie) argues that urbanism increases social and personality disorders over those found in rural places.

2. Compositional (or non-ecological) theory denies such effects of urbanism; it attributes differences between urban and rural behaviour to the composition of different populations.

3. Sub-cultural theory adopts the basic orientation of the compositional school, but holds that urbanism does have certain effects on the people of the city, with consequences much like the ones determinists see as evidence of social disorganisation.

Fischer favours sub-cultural theory which holds that urbanism does independently affect social life but does so positively by strengthening social groups. The urban scale of organisation promotes the development of diverse subcultures. In

88

this context urbanism generates a variety of social worlds and brings them in contact with one another. By providing critical mass it attracts new adherents and intensifies the development of their subcultures and behaviours. The contact between subcultures generates friction and conflict and intensifies the members' adherence to their own social groups.

8.3   MANUEL CASTELLS' THEORY OF URBANISATION

Manuel Castells is a major proponent of the political economy paradigm. In his book 'The Urban Question' (1977), he offers a Marxist analysis as a viable alternative to the then existing urban thought. For Castells urbanism is not a concept, but a myth because it ideologically recounts the history of the mankind. He was critical of the urbanism approach in that he feels urbanism is the cultural expression of capitalist industrialisation, the emergence of the market economy and the process of rationalisation of the modern society and this same process has been described as modernisation or westernisation by others. He says urban sociology founded on urbanism is an ideology of modernity ethno centrally identified with the crystallisation of the social forms of liberal capitalism.

8.3.1 CASTELLS' POLITICAL ECONOMY PARADIGM

Castells argues that cities were historical manifestations of power and production relations under capitalism. He argued that urban analyses, such as those that studied urban elites and power relations, separated out the urban from the structures of inequality in capitalist society and thus obscured our real understanding of the roots of inequality and conflict. The notion of urban crises served the ideological purpose of defining problems, which had their roots in production relations and their resolution in class struggle, as peculiarly urban problems. For Castells, urban solutions, such as the relocation of the poor into public housing and the redevelopment of inner areas based on the urban crisis, were simply a mask for the realisation of capitalist redevelopment.

Following the theories of Althusser, Castells held that the urban system performs a particular economic function within the social structure. Within the economic order, the systems of production and exchange are organised at a

regional, national or global level. Consumption, however, is organised at an urban level. The urban system is therefore a system of consumption. Consumption underpins production, as without consumption there is no production, but it is also the means of reproduction of labour through the consumption of housing, health services, food, education and leisure. It is thus through consumption that labour reproduces itself. Reproduction is entailed both in the sustenance of the existing generation of workers and their labour capacity and in the creation of the next generation of workers, both physically and socially, through their socialisation. The means of consumption through which this process occurs, the hard and soft infrastructure of society- schools and hospitals- are specifically urban phenomenon.

Castells idea of urban space is that it is the arena within which the reproduction of labour is concentrated, that is, the urban consists, among other things, of a system within which individuals reproduce their labour power through private (self-provided) and collective (state-mediated) consumption. The urban space is a built environment, a subsystem produced by the structural system - the larger, societal order constituted by a matrix of economic, political and ideological conventions. He views urban as a distinctive spatial aggregation of the economic arrangements of wider society and the modern city is the physical expression of capitalism in particular. He also explains the segregation and expansion of urban spaces in terms of capital accumulation and class conflict.

The concentration of capital in contemporary society has been paralleled by the concentration of population spatially and the concentration of the means of consumption. Consumption has become collectivised and provided by the state. Urban problems manifest as failures of the urban system to provide the capacity to reproduce labour for capital. Individual capitalist enterprises cede responsibility to the state for the reproduction of use values such as housing, education, and health to ensure the reproduction of labour and efficient functioning of the urban order. The exchange values of many of these functions do not match their use values. That is, producers cannot produce the services at a price that workers can afford to pay, and so it falls to the state to provide them at a price workers can afford. The state, through collective consumption, reproduces the workforce,

90

appeases discontent among lower-class groups, stimulates demand and underpins the profitability of the private sector through public investment.

It is around struggles for collective consumption that the new urban politics revolves. It is around urban problems that inequality and structural contradictions of capitalism unite different groups from different strata of society in a way that cannot occur in production relations where occupational groups are highly differentiated. While greater wealth may enable some groups to escape the problems of traffic and pollution, all can see how the oppressions of urban crises affect other classes in the city, creating an objective community of interests and welding an ensemble of classes and social agents into the urban struggle. Castells contends that efforts by the state to create citizen participation are an attempt to create social integration and community in response to this urban struggle.

Though most of the political economy theorisation's in urban sociology in the 1970s operated within the Marxist paradigm, there was a move away from this in the 1980s as works of most of the urban sociologists formulated mixing both Marxist and non-Marxist elements. Since the 1980s the urban analysis in political economy have expanded to incorporate an ever greater emphasis on the role of the state and public policy, the various features of local history and other circumstances that require to recognise the uniqueness of each city as a case history and the attention to the operation of elites or even coalitions of common citizens in shaping the future of the locality (Flanagan 1993).

Castells (1983) in his work 'The City and the Grassroots', shifting from his former Marxist view that class struggle is the prime mover of social change, argues that social class is just one of the bases for the urban coalition, along with many other bases for the formation of interest groups that struggle to impart a particular meaning to a given city or part thereof. He establishes that the meaning or symbolic significance that a particular urban area takes on is in part the outcome of a struggle among different interest groups that compete to control urban space. The autonomous role of the state, the gender relationships, the ethnic and national movements and the movements that define themselves as citizens movements are other alternative forces of urban social change.

91

In 1990s Castells investigates the transformation of the urban economy and society under the restructuring and globalisation of capitalism. Castells argues in 'The Informational City' that capitalism in the US and the advanced economies has been restructured to deal with inflation and the falling rate of profit. This has resulted in the concentration of knowledge for profit and the export of factories and jobs to cheap-wage, non-unionised developing nations. This new, flexible organisation of production is conducted through loose networks governed by elite experts utilising new communications technology. This spatial concentration of information and communications technology is called by Hall technopoles.

In the late 1990s Castells has published three volumes on the information age. In the first volume, he addressed the speeding-up of time and contraction of space as a function of new information technologies and the internet, which he describes as the 'space of flows'. In his second volume, Castells argues that feminism has opened employment opportunities and brought an end to patriarchy in the family. It has not resulted in equality, but has led to increased isolation between men and women in the information economy, erosion of the family and neglect of children. Castells returns to his concern with social movements and argues that these movements are not class-based but are an outcome of individual isolation in the networked society. He also recognised the importance of the global environmental movement, describing the rise of ecological consciousness as one of the major political transformations of the past three decades. In the third volume, Castells addresses the social polarisation arising from differential access to information technologies and the emergence of a global criminal economy.

8.4   SUMMARY

City life and urban space had been a matter of concern for social thinkers even before urban sociology was accorded the status of a distinct discipline in early 20th century with the studies conducted and theoretical formulations made by the Chicago School. The ecological paradigm of Robert Park and colleagues and cultural perspective of Louis Wirth gained widespread attention of social scientists. Unlike earlier Chicago school thinkers like Robert Park who were mainly concerned with spatial configurations of cities, Wirth focused on the quality of urbanites called

'urbanism'. Louis Wirth attempted to identify the purely urban characteristics of city-dwellers and how this urban culture was developed by life in the city. Though these approaches predominated the urban studies in the beginning, later on there had been attempts to explain urban phenomena from different perspectives. The late 1960s and 1970s saw increased interests on the part of scholars in applying the mainstream theory of historical materialism for examining urban conditions. Manuel Castells was one of the important thinkers who used Marxist framework to study urban phenomena. Manuel Castells sought to refashion the field of urban studies through the critique of existing approaches to and conceptions of 'the urban'. Although Castells has subsequently rejected much of his earlier work, his writings during this period were enormously influential in laying the basis for what became known as 'the new urban sociology', and it is difficult to over-estimate the significance of his legacy for the later development of the field.

8.5   FURTHER READINGS

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URBANIZATION IN INDIA - A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
Unit-III

CONTENTS

9.1   Introduction

9.2   History of Urbanization in India

9.3   Summary

9.4   Further Readings

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you should be able to :

- understand the urbanization in India

- discuss the history of urbanization in India

9.1   INTRODUCTION

Urban areas have been recognized as "engines of inclusive economic growth". Of the 121 crore Indians, 83.3 crore live in rural areas while 37.7 crore stay in urban areas, i.e approx 32 % of the population. The census of India, 2011 defines urban settlement as :-

All the places which have municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee

All the other places which satisfy following criteria :

a)   A minimum population of 5000 persons;

b)   At least 75 % of male main working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits;

94

c)   A density of population of at least 400 persons per square kilometre

The first category of urban units is known as Statutory Town. These towns are notified under law by respective State/UT government and have local bodies like municipal corporation, municipality, etc, irrespective of demographic characteristics. For example- Vadodara (Municipal corporation), Shimla (Municipal corporation)

The second category of towns is known as Census Town. These were identified on the basis of census 2001 data. Cities are urban areas with more than 100,000 population. Urban areas below 100,000 are called towns in India.

Similarly Census of India defines:

Urban Agglomeration (UA): An urban agglomeration is a continuous urban spread constituting a town and its adjoining outgrowths (OGs), or two or more physically contiguous towns together with or without outgrowths of such towns. An Urban Agglomeration must consist of at least a statutory town and its total population (i.e. all the constituents put together) should not be less than 20,000 as per the 2001 Census. In varying local conditions, there were similar other combinations which have been treated as urban agglomerations satisfying the basic condition of contiguity. Examples: Greater Mumbai UA, Delhi UA, etc.

Out Growths (OG): An Out Growth (OG) is a viable unit such as a village or a hamlet or an enumeration block made up of such village or hamlet and clearly identifiable in terms of its boundaries and location. Some of the examples are railway colony, university campus, port area, military camps, etc., which have come up near a statutory town outside its statutory limits but within the revenue limits of a village or villages contiguous to the town.

While determining the outgrowth of a town, it has been ensured that it possesses the urban features in terms of infrastructure and amenities such as pucca roads, electricity, taps, drainage system for disposal of waste water etc. educational institutions, post offices, medical facilities, banks etc. and physically contiguous with the core town of the UA. Examples: Central Railway Colony (OG), Triveni Nagar (N.E.C.S.W.) (OG), etc.

Each such town together with its outgrowth(s) is treated as an integrated urban area and is designated as an 'urban agglomeration'. Number of towns/UA/OG 2011, according to Census 2011 Census are :

1   Statutory Towns — 4,041

2   Census Towns — 3,894

3   Urban Agglomerations — 475

4   Out Growths — 981

At the central level, nodal agencies which look after program and policies for urban development are Ministry of housing and urban poverty alleviation (MoHUPA) and Ministry of Urban development. Urban development is a state subject. At state level there are respective ministries, but according to 74th Constitutional Amendment act,1992, it is mandatory for every state to form ULBs and devolve power, conduct regular election, etc. Under 12 schedule of Indian constitution , 18 such functions have been defined which are to be performed by ULBs and for that states should support the ULBs through finances and decentralization of power, for more autonomy. But this is not uniform throughout all the states and still more is need to be done to empower ULBs in India.

Urban areas are managed by urban local bodies (ULBs), who look after the service delivery and grievance redressal of citizens. There are eight type of urban local government in India- municipal corporation municipality, notified area committee, town area committee, cantonment board, township, port trust and special purpose agencies.

Migration is the key process underlying growth of urbanisation; and the process of urbanization is closely related with rural to urban migration of people. In most developing countries of the world where rate of urban growth is relatively higher the urban-ward migration is usually high. Rural to urban migration is by far the major component of urbanisation and is the chief mechanism by which urbanisation trends all the world-over has been accomplished.

After independence, urbanization in India is increasing at very high pace, but

96

at the same time there are some problems, which are becoming barriers for balance, equitable and inclusive development.

9.2   HISTORY OF URBANIZATION IN INDIA

In 1687- 88, the first municipal corporation in India was set up at Madras. In 1726, Municipal Corporation were set up in Bombay and Calcutta. In 1882, a resolution was passed and according to which, *panchayat* were to be formed at village level, district boards, *taluq* boards and municipalities also came into existence. At that time Lord Ripon was Viceroy of India, and for this Lord Ripon is known as father of local self-government in India.

Urbanization since independence has been focused through respective five year plans as follows:

First two plans focused on institution and organization building and same was instructed to the states to do. For ex. Delhi development Authority, Town and country planning organization came during this period.

Third plan (1961-66) was turning point in urban planning history, as it emphasized on importance of towns and cities in balanced regional development. So, it advised urban planning to adopt regional approach. It also emphasized the need for urban land regulation, checking of urban land prices, preparation of master plan, etc.

Fourth plan (1969-74), continued with the theme of third plan and development plans for 72 urban areas were undertaken. Regional studies in respect of metropolitan regions around Delhi, Mumbai and Calcutta were initiated.

During fifth plan, urban land ceiling act was passed in 1976. It also advised the state governments to create metropolitan planning regions to take care of the growing areas outside administrative city limits. Mumbai metropolitan region development authority (MMRDA) in 1974 and Housing and urban development cooperation in 1975 were established. It also emphasized the urban and industrial decentralization.

The sixth five year (1978-83) plan stressed the need to develop small and

medium sized towns (less than 1 lakh), and a scheme of Integrated development of Small and Medium towns (IDSMT) was launched in 1979 by central government.

During the seventh plan, some important institutional developments were done, which shaped the urban development policy and planning.

The National commission on urbanization submitted its report in 1988 and 65th constitutional amendment was introduced in Lok Sabha in 1989, this was first attempt to give urban local bodies a constitutional status with three tier federal structure. But it was not passed and was finally passed in 1992 as 74th constitutional amendment act and came into force in 1993.

During Eighth plan, the Mega city scheme was introduced in 1993-94 covering five mega cities of Mumbai, Calcutta, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad. Also IDSMT scheme was revamped through it infrastructural development programs for boosting employment generation for diverting migration from big cities to the small and medium towns.

The ninth plan, continued with the schemes of the eighth plan and also emphasized on decentralization and financial autonomy of urban local bodies. A new program called Swarna jayanti Shahari Rozgar yojna (SJSRY) in 1997 with two sub plan– 1. Urban self-employment program and 2. Urban wage employment programme, i.e. targeting for urban poverty reduction and employment. It was decided by central government to revamp SJSRY in 2013 as National urban Livelihood Mission (NULM).

The Tenth plan(2002-07) recognized the fact that urbanization played a key role in accelerating the economic growth in 1980s and 1990s as a result of the economic liberalization and also stressed that without strengthening the urban local bodies, the goal of urbanization cannot be achieved.

The eleventh plan (2007-2012) introduced some innovative changes through capacity building, increasing the efficiency and productivity of the cities, dismantling the monopoly of public sector over urban infrastructure, using technology as a tool for rapid urbanization.

In this direction major initiative launched by central government was JNNURM (Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban renewal mission) in 2005 for focused and integrated

development of the urban infrastructure and services, initially for 63 cities. This program was to be continued till 2012, but it has been extended, covering more number of cities.

Focus of JNNURM was on provisions for urban poor, including housing, water supply and sanitation, urban transport, road network, and the development of inner/old city areas, etc. The earlier programs, as mentioned above like Mega city, IDSMT, etc. were merged with it.

Under JNNURM it was made mandatory for each cities to formulate City Development Plan (CDP) for long term vision of development. It also aimed to make private players part of urban development through PPP (Public private partnership)

Rajiv Awas Yojana, was launched in 2011 for creating "slum free India" as a pilot project for two years. But now it has been extended till 2022. It is applicable to all slums in the city whether notified or non-notified. It is also applicable to urban homeless and pavement dwellers.

The 2011 Census was the first one that collected data on people living in slums that have become commonplace in a rapidly urbanizing India. It found that around one out of every six households in urban India (17.4%) is in a slum, and that well over one-third of all slum households in the country (38%) are in cities with a population in excess of a million.

The twelfth five year plan (2012-2017) proposed to consolidate JNNURM and envisaged its wider role in urban reforms. During twelfth plan , the components of JNNURM are :-

• Urban infrastructure governance(UIG)

• Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)

• Slum rehabilitation in cities not covered under RAY

• Capacity building

The plan has also highlighted the reasons which are acting as hurdles in the success of the program as:-

• Failure to mainstream the urban planning

99

- Incomplete reform and slow progress in project implementation

- Delay in securing land for projects

- Delay in getting approval from various regulators

9.3   SUMMARY

Urbanization has undermined old forms of political mobilization based on caste and religious identities and favours local issues to be resolved on right based approach. Urbanisation has its impact on all aspects of day-to-day life. Family structure has also been influenced by urbanisation. In the rural society the concept of family living is different from that in the urban society.

In the urban society usually the families are nuclear, a very small percentage of households' have joint families, whereas in rural society most of the households have joint families. This change in family structure is a direct result of urbanisation. In urban areas, especially in the metropolitan cities, people of extremely divergent cultures live together. This has a positive impact. People come to know about each other's culture and they exchange their ideas, breaking the barriers which earlier used to exist between them. This results in cultural hybridisation.

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DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF URBANISATION

Unit-III

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, you will be able to

- discuss the Urban growth in India

- describe the demographic trends in India

10.1   INTRODUCTION

Rapid growth of urban areas is the result of two population growth factors: (1) natural increase in population, and (2) migration to urban areas. Natural population growth results from excess of births over deaths. Migration is defined as the long-term relocation of an individual, household or group to a new location outside the community of origin. In the recent time, the movement of people from rural to urban areas within the country (internal migration) is most significant. Although very insignificant comparing the movement of people within the country; international migration is also increasing. International migration includes labour migration, refugees and undocumented migrants. Both internal and international migrations contribute to urban growth. Internal migration is often explained in terms of either push factors—

conditions in the place of origin which are perceived by migrants as detrimental to their wellbeing or economic security, and pull factors—the circumstances in new places that attract individuals to move there. Examples of push factors include high unemployment and political persecution; examples of pull factors include job opportunities or better living facilities. Typically, a pull factor initiates migration that can be sustained by push and other factors that facilitate or make possible the change. For example, a farmer in rural area whose land has become unproductive because of drought (push factor) may decide to move to a nearby city where he perceives more job opportunities and possibilities for a better lifestyle (pull factor). In general, cities are perceived as places where one could have a better life; because of better opportunities, higher salaries, better services, and better lifestyles.

In India out of the total population of 1027 million, in 2001, about 285 million persons lived in urban areas. The proportion of urban population has increased from 19.9% in the year 1971 to 27.8% in the year 2001. The decadal growth of urban population was 31.2% in 1991-2001. At the country level, natural increase has been principal source of urban population growth.

Increasing concentration of urban population in larger cities is one of the key features of urban India. The number of cities over 1.0 million population, in 2001, was 35 and population share was over 37 percent. The salient aspects of urbanisation in India in recent decades are:

a) The trend of concentration of urban population in large cities and agglomerations is getting stronger;

b) Slowing down of urbanisation during 1981-1991 and 1991-2001 as compared to 1971-1981 and 1961-1971; and

c) Large variations in patterns of urbanisation in various states and cities.

10.2   PROJECTED URBAN POPULATION

The Registrar General of India has projected total and urban population for India and states. It is interesting to know that 67% of total population growth in

India in next 25 years is expected to take place in urban areas. Urban population is expected to increase from 286 million in 2001 to 534 million in 2026 (38%)

The United Nations estimates indicate that at mid 1990s, about 43 per cent of the world population lived in urban areas. With the urban population growing two and a half times faster than its rural counterpart, the level of urbanisation is projected to cross the 50 per cent mark in 2005. United Nations projections further show that by 2025, more than three- fifth of the world population will live in urban areas (U. N. 1993)

The sources of urban growth comprise natural increase in urban areas, migration, reclassification of rural areas into urban areas and the change in the boundaries of existing towns. The migration data and the information on reclassification of rural areas into urban areas are available from the census. But the information on emigration is not available in the country, although its effect is likely to be negligible. The data on natural increase are available from Sample Registration System (SRS) published by Registrar General of India annually. Indicators

In order to understand the demographic and geographical dimension of urbanisation in the country, the following indicators of urbanisation can be considered:

1) Percentage of urban population to total population – This shows the level of urbanisation in an area.

2) Decadal growth rate – This provides the change in urban population in percentage related to base year.

3) No. of towns per ten- lakh rural population – This indicator shows the extent to which rural areas are served by urban centres.

4) Percentage of population in Class I cities/ towns – This indicates about the dominance of large towns in the process of urbanisation compared to medium and small towns.

India's Place in World Urbanisation: The urban population of the world was estimated to be 2.96 billion in 2000. It was estimated that nearly 50 million people are added to the world's urban population and about 35 million to the rural population each year. The share of world's population living in urban centres has increased from 39 per cent in 1980 to 48 percent in 2000. The developed countries have higher urbanisation level (76 per cent in 2000) compared with the developing countries (40 percent). The urbanisation level has almost stabilised in the developed countries. In India both civic status as well as demographic aspect are taken as criteria for declaring a settlement as urban. The recent census of India defined the urban places on the basis of the following criteria:

1) All places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee etc.

2) All other places which satisfy the following criteria:

a) Minimum population of 5000

b) At least 75 % of male working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits and

c) A density of population of at least 400 persons per square Km.

Besides, the directors of census operations in states/ union territories were allowed to include in consultation with the concerned with state Governments, union territory administration and the census commissioner of India, some places having distinct urban characteristics as urban even if such places did not strictly satisfy all the criteria mentioned under the category (b) above (Census of India 1991)

10.3   SUMMARY

Although rapid growth of urban areas is the result of two population growth factors: natural increase in population, and migration to urban areas, Push and Pull factors remain chief determining forces in urban demographic trends. In general, cities are perceived as places where one could have a better life; because of better

opportunities, higher salaries, better services, and better lifestyles. All these are contributing towards changing dynamics of urban demography.

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URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Unit-III

CONTENTS

11.1   Introduction

11.2   Class relations in Cities

11.3   Summary

11.4   Further Readings

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- discuss the concept of Class as system of Social stratification in cities

- analyse different class relations in cities

11.1   INTRODUCTION

Class is a system of social division that maintains hierarchies and ranks, reinforcing inequalities of economic, cultural, and political power. Most influential perspectives on social inequality and social stratification can be traced back to the work of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Max Weber (1864-1920).4 Marx's work was wide ranging, multi-faceted, sometimes impenetrable, and set in the context of broad debates over the nature of the economic transformation shaping Europe and the rest of the world in the nineteenth century. But his analysis of class was sharp and clear: as peasants were separated from their land (often forcefully) and moved to the cities to take up work in expanding factories, new relations of production were being made.

Feudal relations between rural peasants and landlords were being replaced by urban-industrial relations: wealthy capitalists or the bourgeoisie invested in factories and determined what was produced, how it was produced, and how much the workers would be paid. Those whose only asset was their labour — the proletariat — were forced to accept the terms dictated by the capitalist class.

11.2   CLASS RELATIONS IN CITIES

At the inter-urban scale - between cities - contemporary class relations shape the opportunities for elites as well as wage labourers.

1) Capitalists and investors whose fortunes are tied to particular cities (especially those who built or inherited locally-oriented businesses) are more vulnerable to recessions and declines in profit rates than those able to spread investments across multiple regions. The ongoing process of uneven development and the widening disparities between growth centers and areas of decline, therefore, tends to privilege some capitalists while hurting others.

2) Those with only their labour to sell are particularly vulnerable in the process of urbanization, whether it involves rapid growth or general decline. In declining cities, such as long-established industrial regions buffeted by repeated economic shocks and job losses, workers are faced with difficult choices. Finding a job may require moving to a distant city, and leaving behind multiple generations of friends and relatives. Moreover, for those workers who were able to save enough to buy homes during the good economic times, recession exacts a double penalty: you lose your job, and your home becomes virtually worthless. On the other hand, in rapidly growing cities, the weak position of contemporary labour laws and collective bargaining rights have muted the effects of labour demand on wages: in other words, rapid growth does not always mean rising wages, particularly for those without extensive formal educational credentials. But low-wage workers in these fast-growth areas must cope with extremely expensive housing markets, making it difficult to accumulate assets, or to invest in one's own education and skills development.

3) Class relations across different cities are also shaped by contemporary

processes of globalization. Many prominent analysts believe that 'global' cities – New York, London, Tokyo, and other large cities positioned at strategic 'command and control' sites for the global economy – act to concentrate and magnify both wealth and poverty. As cities globalize, they become ever more polarized. There is some evidence, however, that class inequalities are increasing in many different kinds of cities as well as in rural areas. Polarization may simply be more visible and vivid in large 'global' cities. Nevertheless, it is clear that urban class relations are changing dramatically elsewhere in the global urban system. The emergence of "postindustrial" society only applies to the wealthy economies of the core (particularly Japan, Western Europe, Canada and the United States). Manufacturing and industrialization remain crucial to economic growth and urbanization in China, India, and many other countries. The urban proletariat that Marx saw in Germany and Britain in the nineteenth century is now found in the expanding industrial cities of China and India

For class relations inside the metropolis,

1) Urban spatial structure serves to conceal or justify class inequality.

2) Urban structure helps to reinforce and reproduce unequal class relations.

3) Housing, always a key axis of inequality in the capitalist city, became even more polarized when integrated into volatile transnational debt and investment markets.

Urbanists have studied how urban structure itself contributes to class inequality. Put simply, urban space does not simply reflect class structure — it reproduces class relations. The Marxist geographer David Harvey developed a comprehensive theory of how urbanization helped to reproduce class relations that, over the long term, tended to mute opposition to capitalism. The expansion of homeownership and suburbs, for example, helped to displace class identities from the workplace to the home and the residential neighborhood — so that different groups of workers would find themselves at odds over neighborhood differences, and would find it harder to see their shared interests against wealthy capitalists. Moreover, political and economic

108

variations across urban space help to reproduce class relations: growing up in a working-class neighborhood is likely to increase the chance that someone will be socialized into becoming a member of the working class, while growing up in elite bourgeois privilege gives children in these places a running start at becoming members of the capitalist class. This "social reproduction of class" argument inspired considerable debate. Feminist-socialist theorists refined the theory, drawing attention to the fact that many women occupy contradictory class positions. In Weberian terms, and when considered in terms of the neighbourhoods where they live, many upper-middle-class women have very favorable opportunities and life chances. But in the labour market, many middle-class women continue to face discrimination, and thus they may face even more exploitative labour situations than working-class men. The rising share of women in the workforce, therefore, changes the picture of class divisions in the metropolis — creating a greater diversity of identities across working-class as well as upper-middle-class neighborhoods.

11.3 SUMMARY

Political and economic variations across urban space help to reproduce class relations. Nevertheless, it is clear that urban class relations are changing dramatically elsewhere in the global urban system. Feudal relations between rural peasants and landlords have been replaced by urban-industrial relations. Besides, the rising share of women in the workforce is also, changing the picture of class divisions in the metropolis — creating a greater diversity of class identities.

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M.A. Sociology   **Lesson -12**

HUMAN MIGRATION

Unit-III

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- explain the concept of Human Migration

- describe the role of Push and Pull factors in Human Migration

12.1   INTRODUCTION

The quest for a better and humane life has led to mankind dispersing over the surface of the earth in pursuit of different livelihood options. Human history is replete with mass movement of people from places with fewer possibilities for enhancing well being to potential zones of maximum welfare. Migration is the result of the interplay of political, social, economic, legal, historical, cultural, and educational forces at both ends of the migratory axis (Mejia et al. 1979). These forces can be classified as either 'Push' or 'Pull'.

The push factors are those life situations that give one reason to be dissatisfied with one's present locale; while the pull factors are those attributes of distant places that make them appear appealing (Dorigo and Tobler 1983). Both forces must be operating for migration to occur, and in addition, facilitating forces must be present as well, such as the absence of legal or other constraints that impede migration (Kline 2003).

In the past, facilitating conditions were physically related, such as crossing tortuous mountains, crocodile infested rivers, and lion infested forest, hostile territories and the high seas, which demanded some amount of technology. Discoveries of the means of overcoming these barriers constitute the facilitating conditions which enabled individual and mass movement. In today's world, visa restrictions, social arrangements and economic means tend to dictate the ability of people to move even in the presence of overwhelming push and pull factors.

The literature on push and pull forces often ascribes reasons for migration to singular causes or forces such as demographic, ecological, economical, political and social. The combined desires of mankind transcend these categories with one major aim, which is, 'aspirations towards a better and humane life' which encapsulates the notion of development. Development is the process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom such as poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance of repressive states (Sen 1999). Sen argues that what people can achieve is influenced by economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, and enabling conditions of good health, basic education and the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives.

Migration should therefore be seen as a holistic process reflecting the aspirations of people and places imbued with shortfalls/abundance in criteria for a good life. Population pressure and land fragmentation per se will not make people migrate, rather, the totality of circumstances that transcend land availability through social relations, income from non-farm activities, employment guarantees by the state,

level of oppression and the functioning of markets will define the possibilities for making a good/bad life. These determine whether a person moves to a desired location with better possibilities for enhancing personal capabilities or not.

12.2   SPATIAL INEQUALITIES IN DEVELOPMENT AND MIGRATION

Development does not occur equally everywhere, but is manifest more in some places than others. The world is composed of rich and poor countries, developed and developing countries, great opportunity zones and less opportunity zones. The process of growth and development in most developing countries during the colonial and post-colonial periods has been characterized by the process of areal differentiation. This process has led to the emergence of core and dependent peripheries (Friedman, 1961). The essential geographic characteristic has been a spatial imbalance in both economic and welfare opportunities within these countries; employment and income opportunities, schools, health facilities, and clean piped water all tend to be concentrated in urban places, especially in the dominant primate cities (Riddell 1980).

At the global level, developed countries have become the foci of migration from less developed countries. Europe, North America and Australia have become magnetic poles for migrants from Africa, Asia and the Arab world. The desire to improve and enhance individual capabilities lies at the heart of international migration. International migration is expensive and mandates facilitating conditions that poor people often cannot meet such as visa requirements. Enormous amounts of money are therefore spent by these migrants with the hope of improving themselves and enjoying the range of freedoms that exist in advanced democracies. There is a huge gulf in development between developing and developed countries on all spheres of life.

A range of educational, employment, technological, infrastructural, political and social conditions in existence in the advanced countries constitute the pull factors of migration. While, the poor economic, educational, technological, basic services, infrastructure, oppression and social constraints act as push factors in developing

113

countries. Though people move for a variety of reasons, their ultimate aim is the realisation of their potential freedom from oppressive regimes, war, servitude and hunger.

12.3 ECONOMIC VERSUS SOCIO-POLITICAL FACTORS IN MIGRATION

Within the economic-oriented view of migration, the individual is conceptualised as having made a rational and free choice, and a voluntary action on the basis of knowledge of alternative opportunities based on the appreciation of certain better chances for survival and/or perhaps self-advancement. Rural farmers are assumed to make comparisons between earnings on-farm in rural areas and off-farm in urban areas and make rational decisions based on which has higher returns. A mix of strategies involving circular migration whereby farmers seek jobs in urban areas during low activity periods in farming and return home when farming season is in vogue. Similarly, permanent migrants make economic calculations involving their earnings at origin and destination and the possibility of remittances catering for their families and kin. The arguments of wage-differentials accounting for migration are overly simplistic.

Migration seen in the light of core-periphery relations indicates that at the initial stages of development the core will overwhelmingly attract migrants from the periphery. But as development 'diffuses' over time due to the shift in understanding from development as economic growth to that of distributive justice, the strength of the core diminishes. The erosion of traditional values and the equalisation in values between the core and the periphery is important in the reversals. Educational facilities and other infrastructural services increases wellbeing in the peripheries and open up economic opportunities for employment. These in conjunction with diseconomies of scale developing in the old cores acts as a disincentive for migration or creation of reverse migration. Migration is therefore a reflection of the degree of diffusion of development into old peripheries rather than just pull economic forces in old cores and new opportunity zones. The level of social change across space dictates the

114

cravings of people for change and the choice to move to places with better change for better living.

Social change is reflected heavily in political and civil rights enjoyed by people. Just as individuals evolve in their understanding of society and each other, the political system also matures in its tolerance of individual's rights and aspirations. Democratic states and regions tend to have fewer forced migrants than undemocratic states. Where people's rights are not guaranteed or are trampled upon will result in escape from persecution and this stifles local economic activities.. Visa restrictions are relaxed for many categories of people in democratic countries where the rule of law operates because of the low possibility of non-return. Similarly, in traditional rural areas poorly permeated by western values, some traditional norms and practices tend to drive people to migrate. Social change has the tendency to marry enabling traditional norms with western ones for the benefit of local areas.

Massey (1988) contends that, in the process of economic development, nations are transformed from rural, agrarian societies of small-scale institutions, stable social structures, and limited markets into urbanized, industrial societies dominated by large bureaucratic institutions, fluid social organizations, and strong, integrated markets. This process of transformation is inherently revolutionary and highly disruptive, as it displaces many people from traditional livelihoods and past ways of life. In the short run, however, development does not reduce the impetus for migration, it increases it. In the long term, economic growth gradually eliminates the incentives for movement. This is evidenced by emigration from the developed countries of Europe, particularly to the United States, which is now a small fraction of what it was nine or ten decades ago, when they were developing nations (Massey 1988).

12.4   SUMMARY

Migration is the result of the interplay of political, social, economic, legal, historical, cultural, and educational forces . These forces constitute push and pull factors which are instrumental in drawing people towards urban areas and hence human migration.

115

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URBAN CULTURE

Unit-III

CONTENTS

13.1   Introduction

13.2   Different Approaches

13.3   Urban Culture and Post-modernity

13.4   Types of Urban Culture

13.5   Urban Culture before the Capitalist World System

13.6   Urban Cultures since the Capitalist World System

13.7   Colonial and Neo colonial Urban Cultures

13.8   Summary

13.9   Further Readings

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- explain the cultural concept of Urban life

- discuss different approaches to urban cultures

- explain different types of urban cultures

13.1   INTRODUCTION

Research on urban cultures naturally focuses on their defining institution, the city, and the lifeways, or cultural forms, that grow up within cities. The interest in

117

urban culture has been started by the early urban sociologists from Chicago School. They have researched the social relations -that reinforce everyday life- in different segments of city and have considered them is modern urban experiences.

13.2 DIFFERENT APPROACHES

1) ARCHITECTURAL APPROACH

Different approaches should be utilized in order to understand and to read the constitution of urban culture. The first approach is the architectural approach. In this approach the variety of possible urban meaning is attributed to different architectural forms and styles. The thing which distinguishes a city from another is its different buildings and its architecture. Influenced by this approach Mumford thinks that social cultural values are embedded in architectural forms. He asserts that by researching the urban form, it will be possible to reach to the social cultural values of a society of a certain period (Mumford, 1938, cited by Savage and Warde, 1993). In this approach, emphasis is on the meaning which is located to the city by its founders and developers.

2) SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF URBAN MEANING

Another approach is "social construction of urban meaning", and says that urban meaning is constructed socially. It is accepted that the theoretical origins of this approach lie in the work of Lefebvre. Lefebvre emphasizes that the meanings are given to the cities through the social and cultural processes. He remarks that place has cultural images rather than the built environment. (Lefebvre, 1971). Under the capitalist conditions not the use value of space but its exchange value becomes primal. This also indicates -in a sense- the demolition of the spatial differences and the abstracted state of the space.

13.3 URBAN CULTURE AND POSTMODERNITY

In the late 20th century there have been many changes in economical, social and cultural life and accordingly the ways to analyze these shifts have changed. Some name this process as postmodern-times and some others sees it as the continuity of modernism. Some thinkers explain this process with the changes in capitalism (Featherstone, 1991, 8). Referring to culture, Jameson

118

(1991) considers the term of postmodernism as a cultural logic of capitalism that has generated the transformation of cultural realm in contemporary society (Jameson 1991). He connects modernism with the monopolistic stage of capitalism and postmodernism with the late capitalism stage after Second World War. He explains the great transformation in culture with the model of infrastructure-superstructure. Jameson remarks the dominant/basic role of "decentralized global network" of today's multinational capitalism in distribution of culture to all social world (Featherstone, 1991, 15). According to him we are all surrounded with signifiers and messages thus we could say that everything in our life is cultural. Jameson considers postmodernism as a general cultural frame which includes opposite trends. In this frame the old distinction between high culture and mass culture or popular culture has corroded. Postmodernism aims to demolish the borders between these cultures. At the same time for him, postmodernism is a concept that signifies a new period. Its mission is to concealingly connect the new tendency in culture with the emergence of new social life which is described as to become modern, post industrialism, consumption society, media society of demonstration or multi national capitalism. New consumption styles, gradually increasing rhythm of changes in fashion and styles, putting the television -generally media- to social life as never seen before, replacement of old urban-rural area, center periphery tensions with the tension locality and universality, the growth of motorway networks are some of the aspects that show us that modernism has broken of radically from the pre-war society by the disappearance of a sense of history, our contemporary society forgets its own history gradually. A continuous change destroys the traditions. Media consumes the stories, serves to forget and functions as a mechanism of historical amnesia (Jameson, 1991, 16-18).

Featherstone (1991, 34) says that postmodernism can be seen as the mark or a harbinger of a more comprehensive variety of the changes in the production, consumption and circulation of a more extensive postmodern culture, cultural goods and practices. He adds that as a result may be these tendencies reach to the ranges that comprise an epoch and thus shows a move towards postmodernity. According to him in order to understand the changes

119

seen in the urban culture and the urban lifestyles it is important to discuss the rhetoric of postmodernism. Lefebvre (1971) says that, in modern capitalist world cultural life submitted to the logic of commodity, exchange value became more important than the use value. Going beyond Lefebvre's view, Baudrillard mentions commodification of signs. He sees postmodern culture as the culture of consumer society.

13.4   TYPES OF URBAN CULTURES

The typology below draws a major distinction between urban cultures that existed before the development of the world capitalist system in the 16th century and those that came after. Before the world capitalist system developed, state-level societies were not integrated in an economically unequal relationship. The advent of the capitalist world system led to a specialized world economy, in which some state-level societies represented the core and others represented the economically, and often politically, subservient periphery. Before the world system, urban cultures differed mainly on the basis of internal differences in political and economic inequality. After the world system, urban cultures, in addition, differed according to their placement in either the core or the periphery.

13.5   URBAN CULTURES BEFORE THE CAPITALIST WORLD SYSTEM

The following typology of urban cultures depends on a conception of cities as centres for the performance of cultural roles found only in state-level societies. Such societies, in contrast to the nonurban cultures previously discussed, have inequalities in economic wealth and political power, the former usually evidenced by class divisions, the latter by specialized institutions of social control (ruling elites, government bureaucracies). Because cities do not occur in societies without state organization, the terms "urban cultures" and "state-level societies" are closely linked—the former emphasizing belief patterns, the latter stressing social organization in such societies.

State-level societies differ in the nature and extent of economic and political inequalities, and this variability accounts for the different types of urban

120

cultures and cultural roles adduced below. The labels for the types of urban cultures denote the predominant cultural role played by cities in this urban culture—thus, "ritual city" or "administrative city." , the label "administrative city" typifies the major (but not exclusive) cultural role played by cities in agrarian empires, whereas "industrial cities" represents the dominant urban cultural role in capitalist nation-states.

THE RITUAL CITY

Ritual cities represented the earliest form of urban centre, in which the city served as a centre for the performance of ritual and for the orthogenetic constitution and conservation of the society's traditions. Ritual was the major cultural role of such cities, and through the enactment of ritual in the urban locale, rural regions were bound together by ties of common belief and cultural performance.

The early forms of urbanism in the pristine civilizations of the Old World and Mesoamerica, Other examples of ritual cities can be drawn from ethnographies of the urban culture of the Swazi in southeast Africa, Dahomey in West Africa, and Bali before the Dutch conquest. In most areas of the world this form of urban culture was quickly succeeded by more complex types.

Ritual cities were found in urban cultures that have been called "segmentary states" or "primitive states." Such states had minimal development of class stratification and political coercion. Although segmentary states had rulers, such as a chiefly lineage or a priesthood, control over land and other means of production remained with clans, lineages, or other kin-based groups outside the rulers' domination. Political authority and economic wealth were therefore widely dispersed.

Limited political centralism and economic coordination meant that the ritual, prestige, and status functions of the state loomed large. Segmentary state rulers were symbolic embodiments of supernatural royal cults or sacred ritual ones. They—their courts and temples—provided a model of the proper political order and status hierarchy that was adhered to throughout the otherwise weakly cohered segmentary state. Through the awe they inspired, they extracted gifts from the rural populace with which to sustain their royal or priestly election.

121

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CITY

Like ritual cities, administrative cities were the habitations of the state rulers. Their major cultural role was to serve as the locus of state administration. Such cities were nodes of communication and transportation and centres of commerce, crafts, and other economic functions for the surrounding countryside.

Administrative cities occurred in agrarian empires, state-level societies associated with the early civilizations of Hindu and Muslim India, China, and Egypt, as well as the Mamlûk Middle East, Tokugawa Japan, Alexandrine Greece, and other expansive territorial states before the advent of the world capitalist system. These states had rulers with great powers of political coercion, which they used to maintain a high level of inequality in wealth between the state ruling elite and the primary producers, the peasantry.

The administrative city brought together the political, economic, transport, and communications functions and institutions necessary for this rural rapine. For just as the state elite preyed on the peasant, so the administrative city's flamboyant architecture and monumental public works ultimately rested on what could be taken from the rice paddies of the Japanese cultivator or the wheat field of the Indian peasant. There also grew up urban populations that converted the wealth taxed from the rural area into a sumptuous life-style for the urban-resident state elite: artisans and artists, of various levels of reputation.

Alongside the elaborate, the monumental, and the beautiful, which distinguished the administrative city's architecture, elite entertainments, and general cultural forms from those of the countryside, however, there was also an overwhelming poverty in the city's artisan and servant wards.

The administrative city had some of the properties commonly attributed to cities: it was a locale for cultural elaboration and monumental building, a repository of great wealth but also of extensive poverty, and a heterogeneous locale, both occupationally and in terms of ascriptive identities based on ethnicity, religion, caste, or race.

THE MERCANTILE CITY

Mercantile cities appeared at the geographic margins or at times of

122

dissolution of agrarian empires—for example, in medieval and early modern Europe, after a decentralized feudalism had fully replaced the Roman Empire. This urban type is thus a variant form that appeared, under particular conditions, in the urban cultures that also contained administrative cities. The mercantile city's links with the wider culture were disjunctive rather than, as with the administrative city, supportive. A class of powerful and wealthy merchants not completely beholden to the state rulers grew up in such cities and, left unchecked, could grow strong enough to effectively challenge the state rulers. This merchant class, and the mercantile cities it occupied, depended for their wealth and political autonomy on the profits of international trade, moneylending, or investment in cash cropping of export agricultural commodities (as, for example, vineyards and olive groves in the Mediterranean). The city produced wealth and capital in its own right rather than simply sucking it from rural agriculture. Such wealth provided an avenue for political power separate from that offered by the revenues derived from the peasantry. Often, therefore, urban magnates and state power holders or rural gentry stood in strong opposition, each trying to control—or absorb—the wealth and power of the other.

Although places of innovation, achievement, freedom, and mobility—traits that they share with industrial cities—mercantile cities were neither impersonal nor secular. The extended family was the major institution organizing business firms, political coalitions, and much elite social life. Other corporate institutions, like guilds and religious fraternities, joined city dwellers into highly personalized, ritualized associations that downplayed individualism and secularism in the city.

13.6   URBAN CULTURES SINCE THE CAPITALIST WORLD SYSTEM

Beginning in the 15th century, the Age of Discovery, Europeans carried the capitalist system burgeoning at home to distant places, whose labour and productivity were harnessed to the European core in an unequal, colonial relationship. The result was the capitalist world system, as Immanuel M. Wallerstein in The Modern World-System (1974) terms it. There was increasing economic and productive specialization among the world's regions, as a pattern of unequal exchange developed between the industrial commodities of the advanced European nations (at the world system's

123

core) and the raw materials from underdeveloped Asia, Africa, and the New World (at the world system's periphery). By the 18th century a worldwide urban culture had come into existence. It took variant forms of economic, political, and urban organization in the colonizing core and in the colonized periphery. Although the following discussion treats urban cultures in the core and in the periphery separately, it must be remembered that they—and the urban cultural roles that typify them—form an interactive unit.

THE INDUSTRIAL CITY

Industrial cities appeared after the full development of industrial capitalism in the core nation-states of the late 18th-century world system. Their urban cultural role fit well with the capitalist economic order that came to dominate all other social institutions. Capitalism depended on the production of commodities through wage labour in the interests of capital accumulation. The city became a centre of such production processes and the location for the industrial factories in which this production most typically took place. It was also the residence for the other "commodity" necessary to its productivity, wage labourers.

Rapid population increase through in-migration characterized the growth of the industrial city. The most salient aspects of urban cultural forms grew up in the neighbourhoods that housed the newly urbanized labour. Populations with very different cultural characteristics came together in the city, such as the Irish in the British Midlands or the many ethnic groups that formed the urban American melting pot. Ethnic and racial ties often provided the links for migration chains, and they helped recent migrants find jobs, housing, and friendship in a new environment. These ties often resulted in ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods among the working class. Residential aggregation helped organize large-scale working-class protest in the interests of better working conditions and wages. The other, contradictory, pattern consisted of ethnic or racial exclusiveness and competition within the working class. Ethnic or racial residential segregation often provided the base for competition among members of the working class for jobs and urban locations

124

convenient to the workplace.

The industrial city is the terminus for two conflicting processes emanating from the capitalist character of the wider society: capitalist investment in urban property for profit making, and class conflict. The former process subjects the human and natural environment to the interests of capital accumulation; the latter makes for the formation of urban neighbourhood associations, ethnic associations, and other sorts of class alliances that organize local resistance to this profit taking. The city then becomes a battleground for these opposing forces.

THE MASS-COMMUNICATIONS CITY

The industrial city, consonant with the rise and consolidation of capitalism in the western European and North American core nations, appears to be rapidly giving way to what has been termed the mass-communications city in the advanced industrial nations. Cities such as New York, London, Tokyo, and other metropoles increasingly perform a primary cultural role as centres of managerial control, based on high-technology mass communication and data processing, over far-flung manufacturing activities. The mass-communications city ceases to be primarily a habitation of the industrial working class. Instead, those working mainly in high technology industry and service (the middle class) define urban cultural forms.

For example, suburbanization and gentrification, two characteristic urban residential patterns of the middle class, become important cultural forms in such cities. Both show the emerging importance of the new social class and the provisioning of new urban spaces (the suburbs) or the renovation of old ones (gentrified inner cities) for it.

13.7   COLONIAL AND NEOCOLONIAL URBAN CULTURES

THE COLONIAL CITY

Colonial cities arose in societies that fell under the domination of Europe and North America in the early expansion of the capitalist world system. The colonial

relationship required altering the productivity of the colonial society in order that its wealth could be exported to the core nations, and colonial cities centralized this function. Their major cultural role was to house the agencies of this unequal relationship: the colonial political institutions—bureaucracies, police, and the military—by which the core ruled the colony, and the economic structure—banks, merchants, and moneylenders—through which wealth drained from colony to core.

Bombay and Calcutta under the British, the European trading cities in China and West Africa, the British East African and Dutch East Indian urban centres for the collection of plantation crops—from the 18th through the mid-20th centuries—represent this urban type.

This new combination was most in evidence in the elite population of the colonial city and its cultural forms. For example, new classes and urban lifeways appeared among the indigenous population. Most of the time the cultural role of the colonial city required the creation of an indigenous urban lower-middle class of merchants, moneylenders, civil servants, and others who were educated to serve the colonial political and economic establishment. For instance, Thomas Babington Macauley, a British Indian administrator in the mid-19th century, hoped to create an elite through Western-style education that was "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect." The colonial educated lower-middle class often attempted to reform its culture in line with that of the colonizing power, most often through new urban institutions like schools, welfare associations, and sectarian or secular reform groups. A generation or so later, this class transformed by these urban institutions, commonly formed the leadership of nationalist, anticolonial movements. Thus, the colonial city, which began as an instrument of colonial exploitation, became a vehicle of anticolonial protest through this lower middle class and the cultural institutions, schools, newspapers, and other urban cultural forms it had constructed.

After World War II many new nations in Asia and Africa gained independence. Although no longer the direct political colonies of Western countries, these urban cultures and their cities continued in a dependent economic relationship with the advanced industrial nations.

126

THE NEO COLONIAL CITY

The latest type of urban development in the periphery of the capitalist world system, or what is often called the Third World, is the neocolonial city. This urban type has arisen in relation to the development of monopoly capitalism and the mass-communications city in the core. Export capital from advanced industrial nations has created enclaves of industrial production in Third World cities, thus replicating in these urban places many of the cultural roles played by the industrial city in the core. There are urban factories and urban-resident wage labourers. There is a developing infrastructure of urban transport and communication by which these commodities and labourers are allocated. There is massive urban-ward migration from neighbouring rural areas.

The large-scale urbanization in the neo colonial city differs from the urbanization that characterized the industrial city earlier. It gives rise to what has been called the informal economy in these cities. The informal economy consists of urban services and products provided by the neo colonial city's poorest denizens, the petty hawkers, the shoeshine boys, the household help, the rag pickers, and others who form a class of petty commodity producers and sellers. The common image of these people is highly pejorative: they are marginal to the city, usually unemployed and often criminal, unmotivated and dysfunctional to urban life, characterized by a "culture of poverty" that, at the same time, makes them accept their wretched condition and keeps them in it.

To compete successfully in the world market, commodities manufactured in Third World cities have to be less expensive than the comparable items produced in the core. Wage labour in the industrial sector of these cities is considerably cheapened because many services and small commodities that wage labourers require are supplied through the informal economy. As Larissa Lomnitz indicates in *Networks and Marginality: Life in a Mexican Shantytown* (1977), recent rural migrants and shantytown dwellers act as maids, gardeners, and handymen to the industrial workers and the middle class at costs well below what would be charged if the formal sector supplied these services (comparable to domestic labour and baby-sitting supplied well below minimum wage in the core nations).

127

13.8   SUMMARY

Urban culture as a concept has its focus on the city, and the lifeways, or cultural forms that grow up within it. Urban culture is not all about architecture as shown in buildings or monuments of the city but it also derives its meaning through the social and cultural processes that sustain life of city. Urban culture shows variations as observed through different epochs in the world history, since the times cities came into existence.

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URBAN PROBLEMS

Unit-III

CONTENTS

129

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- identify problems of urban areas

- explain different types of urban problems

- critically analyse the effects of these problems on urban areas

14.1   INTRODUCTION

The world's demographic, environmental and social problems are most evident in urban places. According to the modernization theory, as poor societies industrialize and consequently urbanize, greater productivity will simultaneously raise the living standards and reduce poverty. Throughout the history, the city has improved peoples living standards more than any other kind of settlement. But cities of today are finding it extremely difficult to accommodate the increasing inflow of migrants. A large number of these migrants are rural poor, seeking employment in the formal or informal sector. Once they move towards the cities either in search of jobs or better prospects, they rarely go back to villages. Thus urban concentration is taking place consistently, many urban problems spring from the heavy concentration of population in a limited space. Urban poverty and problems of housing and slums, problem of drinking water, problem of drainage, transport and traffic problem, problem of power shortage problem of environmental pollution problem of social evils like crime of different types , problems of transport and communication etc. have drawn the attention of sociologists, anthropologists, economists, political scientists, geographers and urban planners. They feel that these problems are the result of intolerable living conditions in urban areas. Some others observe that urbanization is inevitably linked with modern development,

130

and problems are the outcome of this development, so they are a necessary burden to carry.

Let us now analyze in brief the gravity of some of the problems of urban India.

14.2   URBAN HOUSING

Shelter is the basic human requirement. Even after 57 years of independence, the country is still grappling with the growing shelter problem, especially of the poor. The problem has further been compounded by the rapid increase in urban population. Constant migration of rural population to cities in search of jobs is causing unbearable strain on urban housing and basic services.

There is a severe housing shortage in the urban areas with demand – supply gap increasing day-by-day. The National Building Organization (NBO) had estimated the 1991 urban housing shortage at 8.23 million, and had expected the absolute shortage to decline progressively to 7.57 million in 1997 and 6.64 million in 2001.

In some small towns in India, the problem is not the lack of housing facilities but the lack of adequate housing facilities. Here, there is a surplus of houses when compared with households but these houses are unfit to reside.

The people who are most likely to become homeless are those who have least resources as providing housing is a profit-oriented industry. They cannot purchase houses nor can they afford high rent, so they live in unfit accommodation, as the rents demanded for such an accommodation is much low. Some very poor people prefer to squat rather than even rent an accommodation, thus leading to the growth of slums.

14.3   DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

UN-PLANNED GROWTH OF SETTLEMENTS

A number of housing clusters have mushroomed in and around various metropolitan centres in haphazard and unplanned manner, without a proper layout and devoid of service lines and other essential facilities. These unauthorized

131

developments are encroachments on land parcels belonging to Govt. bodies, public-private-institutions or areas meant to be green belts. The removal/ re-settlement of these overcrowded un-hygienic clusters, commanding massive vote banks, is a serious challenge to correcting these aberrations for a planned growth of cities, especially in our democratic set-up. Therefore, massive concerted effort needs to be made with best of administrative actions and deft political handling for the sake of our future generations.

NON AVAILABILITY OF DEVELOPED LAND AND INEFFECTIVE AND UNFAVORABLE LAND MANAGEMENT

There is dearth of developed and serviced land parcels at reasonable rates, especially to meet the needs of most needy section of society. The slum clusters currently inhabited by these deprived sections are located in high land cost neighborhoods near central business districts of the metropolitan centres. These land parcels dotted with shanties apart from being eye sores and not properly serviced also mean in-appropriate and gross under utilization of precious land banks. There is lack of development and enforcement of master planning for long–term growth of cities with earmarked areas for different sectors of growth like light/heavy industry, commercial, Education, health, housing forests and parks etc. serviced by appropriate infrastructure and transportation system. The remedies would include ensuring that the Development Plans/Master Plans as well as Zonal Plans and Local Area Plans being made and updated regularly, so that adequate provision is made for the homeless as well as slum dwellers.

Growth of a city beyond reasonable limits imposes unbearable strain on its services. City planners should be encouraged to lay down norms for development of urban sprawls and satellite townships. Check the growth of unauthorized colonies, new slums, and unauthorized constructions, extensions of existing properties and commercialization of residential areas.

THE PROBLEMS OF HOMELESSNESS

As a complex problem; the circumstances of homeless people vary greatly. Homelessness is sometimes a product of shortage of houses, but in some cases

132

homelessness is caused due to other reasons also. Four main issues are found to be the causes for homelessness:

SHORTAGES OF HOUSING

If there are not enough places for people to live, then someone has to go without and those who are excluded are generally the poorest people.

People in these situations only become homeless if they are excluded from housing, or do not have enough resources to secure alternative housing.

CROWDED CONDITIONS

Many households in urban areas have to cope with increasingly crowded conditions. Many urban centres have very high population densities. The house owners therefore rent out numerous rooms to migrants. Poor migrants live under the most crowded conditions. They do not have access to ancestral residential land.

Therefore, they depend on the rented accommodation, which they often share with many others to save money. Some poor households of the original population also live in very crowded dwellings for two other reasons. First, many families expand and split up into multiple households, while the land available for construction becomes unaffordable. They are thus forced to fit more people into the same space or house or else to split up the existing plots and dwellings to accommodate a new household. Second, in the absence of sufficient income from other sources, some households are inclined to rent out a portion of their living space or sheds to tenants. Crowding (higher density of population) and peoples apathy to other persons' problems is another problem growing out of city life. Some homes (which consist of one single room) are so overcrowded that five to six persons live in one room. Overcrowding has very deleterious effects. It encourages deviant behaviour, spreads diseases and creates conditions for mental illness, alcoholism and riots. One effect of dense urban living is people's apathy and indifference. Most of the city dwellers do not want to get involved in others affairs even if others are involved in accidents, or are molested, assaulted, abducted and sometimes even murdered.

The problem of housing in India is a complex one requiring finances on

133

huge scale and is dependent for its solution on the concerned efforts of individuals, cooperatives and central and state governments to be planned and executed over a number of years. There is acute shortage of housing in urban and rural areas and much of the available accommodation is qualitatively of sub-standard variety. The shortage in urban areas has been largely on account of considerable increase in population since 1921, the steady shift of population from the rural to the urban areas, the haphazard growth of towns owning to lack of proper town planning and the comparative inability of private enterprises to keep pace with the growing demand.

SIZE OF THE PROBLEM

With a growing population and the steady shift of population from the rural to urban areas, the problem has become more difficult both in qualitative and quantitative terms. Housing inadequacies in India have both qualitative and quantitative aspects. The problem of housing has tended to worsen over the years due to (i) rapid increase in population, (ii) fast rate of urbanisation, and (iii) proportionately inadequate addition to the housing stock. There is a qualitative difference in the problems for urban and rural housing. Whereas the problem of urban areas is, by and large, that of congestion, slums and squatter settlements, the rural areas are characterized by the absence of essential services and poor environmental conditions. Any comprehensive solution of India's housing problem cannot afford to ignore either.

Since Independence, India has changed a great deal. Post Independence policies of providing greater employment opportunities and better health care have led to many more people having higher disposable incomes, and to a growing population which is living longer than the earlier generations. These changes are being reflected in the growing number of new households needing housing and the rising standards of expectation where housing standards are concerned. Housing policy in India thus concentrates on increasing the number of houses built and encourages people to own their own houses. Although living standards have improved for many people, it has also become abundantly clear that the fundamental inequalities have remained unaltered.

134

HOUSING FINANCE

Housing finance is the most crucial element in house construction and building activities. In the field of housing, the public sector has a marginal though promotional role to play. The bulk of the investment in housing is, however, expected to come from the private sector.

A number of specialised agencies have come up in recent times in the country yet the bulk of the finance for housing originates from a selected group of Central financial institutions comprising the Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC), the General Insurance Corporation of India (GIC), Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), the Employees Provident Fund Organisation, etc. Funds are also provided and channelized through the state apex co-operative housing societies, state housing boards and housing and urban development authorities, nationalised commercial banks, etc.

14.4   URBAN ENVIRONMENT

India is the second largest population giant in the world with current population of 1.03 billion (Census of India 2001). Of this, about 285 million people or 27.8 percent of the total population reside in the urban areas of the country. India in 2001 had 10.02 percent of the world's urban population and 21.10 percent of Asia's urban population. Infact, India's urban population is larger than the total population of small countries like France and Germany and larger than the total population of the big countries like Brazil and USA. Again it is larger than the total population of parts of continents like Eastern Africa, Western Asia and Western Europe; and larger than the total population of the whole continent of Australia.

The level of urbanization in terms of the proportion of urban population to total population is low in India, but the urban population in absolute terms is very high. Moreover, most of the urban population is concentrated in the Class I cities accounting for 65 percent of the total urban population and these cities are expanding at a faster rate than average population growth. A more disaggregated level of analysis revels that the million plus cities or the metropolitan cities of India are growing very rapidly and their numbers have constantly increased from 12 in 1981 to 23 in 1991

and 35 in 2001. The total population of these metros accounts for nearly one-third of the total population and 10.5 percent of India's total population in 2001. Again, over 50 percent of the population of these metros live in the five giant conglomerates; Mumbai (16.3 million), Kolkata (13.2 million), Delhi (12.7 million), Chennai (6.4 million), and Bangalore (5.7 million). The population in these cities grew by 52 percent higher than the growth of urban population in India, but compared to the last decade, the pace of metropotalisation has slowed down; and the 12 new cities grew at a faster rate than the existing cities, Surat recording the highest growth of 85 percent.

Rapid urbanisation marked by population explosion in the Indian cities can be largely attributed to the large scale rural to urban migration. Due to the uncontrolled urbanization in India, the quality of life is under threat particularly in the big cities. Environmental degradation has been occurring very rapidly and causing excessive air and water pollution, water shortage in water scarce regions, problems of disposal of solid and hazardous wastes, noise pollution, housing shortage and mushrooming of slums in most of the metropolises of India.

Today the social environment of the cities is also under threat. On account of peculiar problems like unchecked migration, illegal settlements, diverse socio-cultural disparities, uneven distribution of incomes, the phenomenon of urban poverty etc, the metropolitan cities are facing increased criminal activities. Organized groups, gangsters, professional criminals and even youth and juveniles find crime as a short cut for a lavish life in these cities. Moreover unabated population increase has also led to a pressure on the existing physical and social infrastructure of the cities like power supply, supply of potable water, urban transport, educational and health institutions.

Today, urbanization in India is characterized by unplanned and uncontrolled growth leading to urban urban growth. Landuse planning and the pattern of development, relationship between residential areas and industrial areas, commercial and office complexes have a considerable impact on the environment. Most of all, appropriate infrastructure provision has not kept pace with economic growth. Consequently, the environment of urban areas, particularly of larger cities, has been deteriorating rapidly.

14.5   IMPACTS ON WILDLIFE AND ECOSYSTEM

In areas where urban growth is not controlled, the concentration of human presence in residential and industrial settings may lead to an alteration of ecosystems patterns and processes (Grimm et al. 2000). Development associated with urban growth not only decreases the amount of forest area (Macie and Moll 1989; MacDonald and Rudel 2005), farmland (Harvey and Clark 1965), woodland (Hedblom and Soderstrom 2008), and open space but also breaks up what is left into small chunks that disrupt ecosystems and fragment habitats (Lassila 1999; McArthur and Wilson 1967; O'Connor et al. 1990). The reach of urban growth into rural natural areas such as woodlands and wetlands ranks as one of the primary forms of wildlife habitat loss. Roads, power lines, subdivisions and pipelines often cut through natural areas, thereby fragmenting wildlife habitat and altering wildlife movement patterns

The fragmentation of a large forest into smaller patches disrupts ecological processes and reduces the availability of habitat for some species. Some forest fragments are too small to maintain viable breeding populations of certain wildlife species.

14.6   LOSS OF FARMLAND

Urbanisation generally, and urban growth in particular, contribute to loss of farmlands and open spaces (Berry and Plaut 1978; Fischel 1982; Nelson 1990; Zhang et al. 2007). Urban growth, only in the United States, is predicted to consume 7 million acres of farmland, 7 million acres of environmentally sensitive land, and 5 million acres of other lands during the period 2000–2025 (Burchell et al. 2005). This case is enough to visualise the world scenario. Low prices of farm commodity in global markets often mean it is far more profitable in the long term for farmers to sell their land than to continue farming it. In addition, thousands of relatively small parcels of farmland are being severed off to create rural residential development. Collectively, these small lots contribute to the loss of hundreds of hectares of productive agricultural land per year. The loss of agricultural land to urban urban growth means not only the loss of fresh local food sources but also the loss of habitat and species diversity, since farms include plant and animal habitat in woodlots

137

and hedgerows. The presence of farms on the rural landscape provides benefits such as greenspace, rural economic stability, and preservation of the traditional rural lifestyle.

14.7   INCREASE IN TEMPERATURE

Positive correlation between land surface temperature and impervious surface clearly indicates temperature increase in the urban growth area (Weng et al. 2007;Wang et al. 2003). On warm days, urban areas can be 6–8æ%F (3.5–4.5æ%C) warmer than surrounding areas, an effect known as an *urban heat island* (Frumkin 2002) The heat island effect is caused by two factors. First, dark surfaces such as roadways and rooftops efficiently absorb heat from sunlight and reradiate it as thermal infrared radiation; these surfaces can reach temperatures of 50–70æ%F (28–39æ%C) higher than surrounding air. Second, urban areas are relatively devoid of vegetation, especially trees; that would provide shade and cool the air through *evapotranspiration.*3 As cities urban growth outward, the heat island effect expands, both in geographic extent and in intensity. This is especially true if the pattern of development features extensive tree-cutting and road construction.

Furthermore, dispersed metropolitan expansion involves a positive feedback loop that may aggravate the heat island effect. Urban growth in metropolitan areas, with greater travel distances, generate a large amount of automobile travel. This, in turn, results in more fuel combustion, with more production of carbon dioxide, and consequent contributions to global climate change. Global climate change, in turn, may intensify the heat island effect in metropolitan areas. Thus, not only does the morphology of metropolitan areas contribute to warming, but so may the greenhouse gas production that results from increased driving. The number of habitants is a decisive factor conditioning the occurrence of urban heat island. Increased city size with increasing number of habitants is responsible for increasing urban temperature.

14.8   POOR AIR QUALITY

Urban growth is cited as a factor of air pollution (Stone 2008), since the car-dependent lifestyle imposed by urban growth leads to increases in fossil fuel consumption and emissions of greenhouse gases (Stoel 1999). Urban urban growth

138

contributes to poorer air quality by encouraging more automobile use, thereby adding more air pollutants such as carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, ground-level ozone, sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, volatile organic carbons, and microscopic particles (Frumkin 2002). These pollutants can inhibit plant growth, create smog and acid rain, contribute to global warming, and cause serious human health problems. Apparently it seems that low-density urban growth or urban growth can provide better environmental condition and fresh air, but Kahn and Schwartz (2008) found that urban air pollution progress despite urban growth. Increased temperature in urban areas also has indirect effects on air pollution. As the temperature rises, so does the demand for energy to power fans, air coolers, water coolers, and air conditioners; requiring power plants to increase their output. The majority of power plants burn fossil fuels, so increased demand of power in summer results in higher emissions of the pollutants they generate, including carbon dioxide, particulate matter, sulphur oxides, nitrogen oxides, and air toxics. Furthermore, ozone formation from its precursors, nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons, is enhanced by heat (Frumkin 2002).

14.9   IMPACTS ON WATER QUALITY AND QUANTITY

Urban growth also has serious impacts on water quality and quantity. With miles of roads, parking lots and houses having paved over the countryside, rainwater and snowmelt are unable to soak into the ground and replenish the groundwater aquifers. Urban growth and urban growth lead to an increasing imperviousness, which in turn induces more total runoff volume. So urban areas located in flood-prone areas are exposed to increased flood hazard, including inundation and erosion (Jacquin et al. 2008). As new development continues in the periphery of the existing urban landscape, the public, the government, planners and insurance companies are more and more concerned by flooding disasters and increasing damages (Wisner et al. 2004; Jacquin et al. 2008). In the urban area, water runs off into storm sewers and ultimately into rivers and lakes. Extra water during heavy rain can dramatically increase the rate of flow through wetlands and rivers, stripping vegetation and destroying habitats along riverbanks. It can also cause damaging floods downstream and lead to an increase in water pollution from runoff contaminated with lawn and garden chemicals, motor oil and road salt. Widely dispersed development requires more

139

pavements that cause more urban runoff that pollutes waterways (Lassila 1999; Wasserman 2000). These pollutants can be absorbed by humans when they eat contaminated fish from affected water-bodies and when they drink from contaminated surface water or groundwater sources.

In addition, heavy rainstorms occurring in cities and towns with inadequate systems for managing stormwater can cause untreated human sewage to enter waterways (*combined sewer overflow*).

14.10 URBAN SLUMS

Traditionally the slum has been defined as a street, alley, court etc., situated in a crowded district of a town or city and inhabitated by people of low income classes or by the very poor; a number of these streets and courts forming a thickly populated neighbourhood of squalid and wretched character. This term is applicable to those parts of the Indian cities which may be considered unfit for human habitation either because the structures are old dilapidated, grossly congested and out of repairs; or because it is impossible to preserve sanitation for want of sanitary facilities including ventilation drainage, water supply etc., or because of sites by themselves unhealthy.

These areas with similar characteristic features are called 'chawls' in Mumbai, 'bustees' and 'katra' in Delhi, 'bustees' in Kolkata, 'abadis' and 'shats' in Kanpur and 'Cheris' in Chennai. Mahatma Gandhi visited a cheri in Madurai and described it as follows, "One cheri I visited is surrounded by water and drains on all sides. In the rainy season it must be a place unfit for human habitation. Another thing is, it is below the road level and all places are flooded during rains. The cottages are built anyhow. There is no lay-out of the streets or lanes and cottages in many places have not vents worth the name. In all cases without bending double one cannot enter them. And in all cases, the upkeep of the place is certainly not even to the minimum sanitary standard". The condition in slum areas have further deteriorated in urban centers, especially in Madurai and other cities of Tamilnadu.

14.11 KINDS OF SLUMS

There are three main types of slums in our cities. These are:

140

a) Original slum. This is an area which from the very beginning consisted of unsuitable buildings. These are usually areas around an old factory or mining site which is now given up or in the zone in transition. These sections are beyond recovery as they consist of age old structures and they need to be razed in order to be eradicated *e.g* The Mexican Slum in U.S.A.

b) Transitional Zone Slum. The second type consists of slums created by the departure of middle and upper class families to other sections. Or it may be due to the starting of a new industry or due to congestion and subsequent deterioration of the living area. These types of slums are to be found in the transition zone of developing cities such as South End Slum in Boston (U.S.A.). These are the areas which house vice and crime and where all sorts and shades of people live. In rehabilitation on the type of slum there is no **need** wholesale demolition. Only dilapidated structure must be replace by housing projects. The remaining rehabilitation is mainly a matter of administration and community organization. But vested interests act as hindrances in the clearance of these slums.

c) The third and most unpleasant type of slum is mainly a phenomenon of transition once the area around a main business district has become blighted. Physical and social deterioration spreads rapidly. This type of slum looms with flophouses, one night accommodations for the destitute, houses of prostitution and speak easies. It is populated by transients, tramps, vagrants, chronic alcoholics, beggars, homeless men and habitual criminals. Its economic activities are carried out by proprietors of saloons and pool rooms fences, pawnbrokers, dope pedlars etc. This type of slum clearly defies rehabilitation. The proper remedy is better administration and stricter zoning laws.

Slums differ physically. Thus, there are rooming house slums, tenement slums and slums of one family homes. Rooming house slums consist of structures where different rooms are let out for different persons and families. Tenement slums consist of multi- storeyed structure which house two or more families in a single dwelling. Rooming houses are let out on a temporary basis. Slums of one family houses are very rare which consists of typical small family structures.

141

14.12 INDUSTRIAL AREA AND SLUM GROWTH

With industrialization initiated cities large number of people have migrated to cities for gainful employment. In the initial stages, nothing was done by industries to meet the housing needs of the labourers. Workers wanted to live near their work places. Most of the industrialization came up in the fringe areas of the central cities on agricultural lands acquired and allotted by the Government. The tanks, canals and other common facilities of the agriculturists became government property. Government agencies did not have ready plans for these common lands (Purampokes) to be immediately implemented. Hence, there were very little resistance from any quarters and the poorer sections erected their temporary, huts as their dwelling. In course of time more and more* people came to erect their huts. These poor people did not have sufficient money to erect big huts or construct good houses. In the industrial regions of many cities, space occupied by tanks, canals and other common agricultural facilities have become slum areas. The city disowned the responsibility for these haphazard growth of hutments. No particular building regulations were imposed.

Above all no provision was made to house these people. These slums have developed on sites wholly unfit for human habitation.

14.13 OTHER AREAS AND SLUM GROWTH

When residential areas are planned, adequate provision were no made for the accommodation of the poor people the men, women and children who work in the houses and shops of the middle tint upper classes. The petty traders, hawkers and other service person like the washer man, barbers and milkmen who serve the daily need of the residents have not been provided adequate accommodation in many cases no accommodation at all in the housing programme. Once when people start settling in new housing area, developed by (In- town planning agencies along with them these poor people all come to settle either in vacant plots, space allotted for tanks, play Held, schools or other common place. Sometimes they even put up their huts on the space allotted for roads and bus stands. As the nature *of* their work in the residential localities *require*s their presence from early morning to late evening, they are forced to find their accommodation in the same area. At time when they are confronted by

142

the local enforcement authorities they organize and put up a sorrowful picture and attract political attention.

14.14 CENTRAL CITY AREA AND SLUM GROWTH

In central city areas whole sale trade is contracted in most of the cities. Hand carts, lorries and three wheelers are mostly used to transport goods in the central business districts. Skilled and semiskilled workers are employed in the loading and unloading activities as well as in lifting and transporting of industrial and commercial goods. Depending upon the seasons and intensity of activities in the central city area the services of these workers, many of them casual, may be needed at odd hours. Sometimes they have to work round the clock for a few days. Many times they may go without any work also. Under such irregular working conditions to be able to get employment, they have to reside very close to the central business area of the city. As land value is very high, relatively cheap accommodation is not available, many of them prefer to reside on the roadsides near public officers and by the sides of important transport centers in the central city area. Sometimes old and discarded building, incomplete buildings and even graveyards and other places of non-residential nature arc encroached by the poor people.

14.15 LOWER MIDDLE CLASS AND SLUM GROWTH

Various housing programmes supported by the Government have concentrated on the upper middle class and the middle class families.

In the case of organized sections like the government employees, employees of autonomous bodies, industrial concerns, etc., some housing facilities have been provided. The bulk of the lower middle class in the unorganized sector is left to find accommodation by itself. They live at the mercy of private house owners. The present rent control regulations and tenancy rules are not attractive enough to encourage private house builders to construct rental house purely for residential accommodation. The availability of houses on rental basis is slowly diminishing. The private house owners are not interested in providing basic amenities to the existing houses.

The lower middle class in the urban centers who seek rental housing in the

143

crowded residential areas find it difficult to get decent accommodation at reasonable rent. The total family income in bulk of these cases range between Rs. 250/- to Rs. 400/- with an average size of 4.5 to 5.6 members per family. They are willing to spend between 15 to 25 per cent of their income for housing. Even for such a high rent, they are not able to get decent rental housing accommodation with tap, lavatory, bath room and other barest minimum basic amenities. In many such rental houses available for the rent range of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100/- in cities like large number of householders have to share a bath room, lavatory and tap. The upkeep of such common facilities are no better than public amenities provided in slum areas. From the point of view of per capital space, common facilities and general cleanliness, these areas are no better than typical slums. These areas can be called "near slum areas". Most of the characteristics of slumliness prevail in these areas also. In recent years there is a tendency among some residents in these areas to look for opportunities to shift to actual slums where the rent is relatively low and amenities are not very bad. Thus a section of the lower middle class families in urban centers are drifting towards the slums in the absence of a reasonable housing programme.

Thus, the development of slums have taken place as a result of industrial expansion in the fringe areas: lack of imaginative integrated housing development in the residential areas; and non-availability of cheap and reasonable housing accommodation for the lower middle class people in urban centers have forced a section of this group to seek residence in slums.

14.16 PROCESS OF SLUM CREATION

Slum creation has been following a set pattern in many of the cities. One common feature of slum development has been slow encroachment into public and private plots by these poor people. After encroaching, these people try to organize themselves to put up a common defence against eviction by invoking sympathy through political, religious, linguistic and humanitarian appeals. In central city areas where such public or private plots are not available, they squat on the pavements, less used public parks, playgrounds and other places. During the last twenty yean, the number of slums and the population living in slums arc increasing at a fast rate. In 1961 Chennai city has 55 slums and by 1971 it had 1200 slums, The number of

144

slums in Madras has crossed 2000 mark. Madurai city which had 48 slums areas in 1961 had 92 slums in 1971 and by 1980 has increased to 250. The four big metropolitan cities alone account for 4.4 million slum and squatter settlements.

In cities like Chennai and Madurai, new slums are created in a systematic pattern by enterprising slum dwellers. Migrants seek accommodation in the initial stages only in established slums on rental basis. The well established slum dwellers arc on the lookout for potential plots for encroachment. Once they identify such plots, they contact some political leaders in the slums and get their informal support. Suddenly, they move into plot mark areas and put up thatched roofs with coconut leaves and bamboo poles. Then they watch for the official reactions and if there is any resistance they manage through political influence. Afterwarads they raise mud or unburnt brick walls *and* make pucca huts. Some of them even rent on the ground on ground rent after .collecting the cost of bamboo poles and coconut leaves. Thus, the initiators of these encroachments get the lion's share of the ownership and rent in slum areas. The majority of the innocent slum dwellers either pay rent for the ground or ground and hut. Some of them even pay lump sum and get huts from the promoters.

Planned urbanization has been marred in the past by the lack of proper planning in the face of huge demand for basic infrastructure and housing facilities grossly in excess of what the public agencies [provide, resulting in deterioration of the physical environment. The quality of urban life has thus suffered, especially in slums and low income neighborhoods. The lack of formal space in city master plans has also forced them to settle for informal solutions resulting in the mushrooming of slums in cities.

14.17 URBAN POVERTY

There is no consensus on a definition of urban poverty but two broad complementary approaches are prevalent: economic and anthropological interpretations. Conventional economic definitions use income or consumption complemented by a range of other social indicators such as life expectancy, infant mortality, nutrition, the proportion of the household budget spent on food, literacy, school enrolment rates, access to health clinics or drinking water, to classify poor groups against a common index of material welfare. Alternative interpretations

145

developed largely by rural anthropologists and social planners working with rural communities in the third world allow for local variation in the meaning of poverty, and expand the definition to encompass perceptions of non-material deprivation and social differentiation.

Anthropological studies of poverty have shown that people's own conceptions of disadvantage often differ from those of professional experts. Great value is attached to qualitative dimensions such as independence, security, self-respect, identity, close and non-exploitative social relationships, decision-making freedom and legal and political rights.

More generally, there has been a widening of the debates on poverty to include more subjective definitions such as vulnerability, entitlement and social exclusion. These concepts have been useful for analysing what increases the risk of poverty and the underlying reasons why people remain in poverty. Vulnerability is not synonymous with poverty, but refers to defencelessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress. Vulnerability is reduced by assets, such as: human investment in health and education; productive assets including houses and domestic equipment; access to community infrastructure; stores of money, jewellery and gold; and claims on other households, patrons, the government and international community for resources at times of need (Chambers 1995, cited by Wratten 1995). Entitlement refers to the complex ways in which individuals or households command resources which vary between people over time in response to shocks and long-term trends. Social exclusion is seen as a state of ill-being and disablement or disempowerment, inability which individuals and groups experience. It is manifest in 'patterns of social relationships in which individuals and groups are denied access to goods, services, activities and resources which are associated with citizenship' (ILO 1996).

Urban poverty is usually defined in two ways: as an absolute standard based on a minimum amount of income needed to sustain a healthy and minimally comfortable life, and as a relative standard that is set based on average the standard of living in a nation (McDonald & McMillen, 2008, p. 397).

Moser (1998) defines asset vulnerability as the limited ways in which the

146

urban poor can manage their "asset portfolio", which includes labor, human capital, housing, household relations, and social capital (Moser, 1998, p. 1). This definition differs from those described by McDonald and McMillen in that it identifies those who are at risk of being in poverty and those who are systemically stuck in poverty instead of just those who are currently "poor". This is possible because by looking at the broader range of assets that are available to the urban poor, researchers can identify their capabilities and ability to recover from crises. Using the asset vulnerability framework, Moser chooses urban research communities that were from different regions of the world but had in common a decade of economic difficulties, declining per capita income, and an increasing rate of urbanization.

Most definitions associate poverty with a "lack" or "deficiency" of the necessities required for human survival and welfare. However, there is no consensus about what basic human needs are or how they can be identified. Two main approaches are discussed here: conventional economic definitions which use income, consumption, or a range of other social indicators to classify poor groups against a common index of material welfare; and alternative interpretations developed largely by rural anthropologists and social planners working with poor rural communities in the Third World, which allow for local variation in the meaning of poverty, and expand the definition to encompass perceptions of non-material deprivation and social differentiation.

14.18 CONVENTIONAL DEFINITIONS

A) DEFINITIONS BASED ON INCOME OR CONSUMPTION

Few economists would argue that human welfare can be adequately described by income alone. Yet, in practice, income (or consumption) is the most frequently used proxy for welfare. The justification is that (in market-based economies) lack of income is highly correlated with other causes of poverty and is a predictor of future problems of deprivation. Underlying the economists' concept of poverty is the idea of merit goods: goods that society agrees are necessary, and is prepared to ensure that members of society can achieve. Income is defined as command over resources over time or as the level of consumption that can be afforded while retaining capital

147

intact.

People are classified as poor when their income (or consumption) is less than that required to meet certain defined needs. For example, the World Bank's World Development Report uses two income cut-off points or poverty lines: those with an income per capita of below US$ 370 per year(at 1985 purchasing power parity) are deemed poor, while those with less than US $275 per year are extremely poor. In 1994, 1,390 million people were estimated to fall into the "poor" category. Within countries, income and consumption data have been used by the Bank to distinguish different groups such as the "new poor" (the direct victims of structural adjustment), the "borderline poor" (those on the brink of the poverty line, who are pushed under it by austerity measures) and the "chronic poor", who were extremely poor even before adjustment began. In addition to calculating the headcount index (the proportion of the population below the poverty line), the Bank assesses the severity of poverty by calculating the poverty gap index (the ratio of the gap between the poverty line and the mean income of the poor expressed as a ratio to the poverty line).

Income-defined poverty lines are problematic for a number of reasons. Income is a useful indicator if we want to identify which people are likely to lack the resources to achieve a socially acceptable standard of living. However, it does not measure accurately their capacity to achieve access (which may be influenced by other factors such as education, information, legal rights, illness, threatened domestic violence or insecurity). Needs are equally difficult to define in a standardized way. The items which people regard as essential are influenced by culture and personal preference, and vary from individual to individual.

B) ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE DEFINITIONS OF POVERTY

If poverty is defined in absolute terms, needs are considered to be fixed at a level which provides for subsistence, basic household equipment, and expenditure on essential services such as water, sanitation, health, education and transport. The absolute definition is in common use by the World Bank and governments. However, it does not describe the extent of income inequality within society nor the fact that needs are socially determined and change over time. The absolute definition has to be adjusted periodically to take account of technological developments such as improved

148

methods of sanitation. The concept of relative poverty is more flexible, and allows for minimum needs to be revised as standards of living in society alter. It reflects the view that poverty imposes withdrawal or exclusion from active membership of society: people are relatively deprived if they cannot obtain "... *the conditions of life – that is the diets, amenities, standards and services – which allow them to play the roles, participate in the relationships and follow the customary behaviour which is expected of them by virtue of their membership of society*. " Under this definition, there could in theory be a higher incidence of poverty in London, New York or Tokyo than in Delhi, Lusaka or Rio de Janeiro.

C) DEFINITIONS BASED ON SOCIAL INDICATORS

Because many aspects of well-being cannot be captured adequately by income or consumption-based measures, supplementary social indicators are sometimes used to define poverty, such as life expectancy, infant m o r t a l i t y, nutrition, the proportion of the household budget spent on food, literacy, school enrolment rates, access to health clinics or drinking water. Again, the idea is to have a standard scale so that different population groups may be compared. Such indicators are often used to contrast the welfare of rural and urban populations since they avoid the problem of rural–urban price differences. Thus, in practice, income and consumption measures remain the key way in which poverty is defined, despite the grave deficiencies of using any single indicator of well-being. To overcome this, composite poverty indices have been developed which combine several weighted variables. For example, the UNDP's Human Development Index aggregates income, literacy and life expectancy into a single measure of the standard of living with a scale of values ranging from zero to one, along which countries can be ranked.

Moreover, they view poverty from the perspective of external professionals rather than from that of the poor people become and remain poor. Vulnerability is not synonymous with poverty, but means defencelessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress. It is linked with assets, such as human investment in health and education, productive assets including houses and domestic equipment, access to community infrastructure, stores of money, jewellery and gold, and claims on other households, patrons, the government and the international community for

149

resources in times of need. While poverty (measured by income) can be reduced by borrowing, such debt makes the poor more vulnerable. Chambers points out that poor people have a horror of debt, and are more aware than professionals of the trade-offs between poverty and vulnerability. Failure to distinguish between the two concepts is harmful because it prevents disaggregation of the experience of poverty and maintains stereotypes about the undifferentiated mass of the poor. An understanding of how people deplete household assets or resources is helpful in explaining how the well-being of urban households can decline, even when there are improvements in labour market or production opportunities. Entitlement refers to the complex ways in which individuals or households command resources.

These ways vary between people and overtime, in response to shocks and long-term trends. They may include wage labour, sale of assets, own production, reduced consumption and public provision of goods and services. Although the concept of entitlement was originally applied in the rural sector to the study of famine and hunger, it is useful in explaining how poverty affects diff e rent people – even within the same household – in different ways. This disaggregation is central to the analysis of household survival strategies during periods of stress, and their implications for the work burdens of women, men and children and intra-household resource allocation.

Participatory investigation is useful in identifying what increases the risk of poverty and the underlying reasons why people remain in poverty. It allows diff e rent types of poverty to be distinguished by drawing on the life experience of poor people. An in-depth understanding of the process by which people become deprived is not an inferior substitute for a large scale exercise to quantify poverty: it is a pre requisite to devising antipoverty programmes which address root causes of poverty and meet people's perceived needs.

14.19 CRIMES IN URBAN INDIA

Of all the parameters that are perceived to qualify a successful life in the present context, living in a city is perhaps one of the most significant and sought after. In their quest for the seemingly ideal life, people are increasingly migrating to cities causing an imbalance in the supply and demand scenario of basic resources due to overpopulation. According to United Nations (1999), long term projections estimate

150

that the world's population would probably stabilise at 9.3 and 10 billion between 2150 and 2200. This increase will occur mostly in urban areas, which will grow from 2.5 billion to more than 6 billion, with nearly all of this increase occurring in the developing world. In the shorter term, it is estimated that by 2020 the world's population will reach a 57 per cent urbanisation level.

The imbalance of available resources is marked by the dearth of space, shelter, food and basic amenities for the rising population leading to competition, rivalry and in turn insecurity. The most appalling and stark manifestation of this insecurity is the rise in crime in cities. The biggest irony of the present times is that, cities that attract economic power and foster growth are now the hub of crime and violence which drastically debilitate development. The rising crime in Indian cities may be attributed to widening inequality, poverty, improper urban planning, ever-increasing burden on urban infrastructure, proliferation of slums and poor neighbourhoods, and the not-so-perfect judiciary and legal system of the country.

Available statistics on crimes in India depict an extremely disturbing picture of the law and order situation of the country. As per National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, during 2010, a total of 67,50,748 cognizable crimes comprising 22,24,831 Indian Penal Code (IPC) crimes and 45,25,917 Special & Local Laws (SLL) crimes were reported, showing an increase of 1.11% over 2009 (66,75,217). The (IPC) crime rate has increased by 3.9% over 2009. Crime trends under major heads from 1953-2011 reveal that crimes such as Dacoity and Burglary/House breaking have been on the decline over a period of 59 years however, crimes such as murder, rape, kidnapping & abduction, robbery and riots have been on the rise. While, Burglary/ House breaking has declined by 37.2% from 1, 47,379 in 1953 to 92,504 in 2011) and Dacoity has declined by 23.2% (from 5,579 in 1953 to 4,285 in 2011), Murder has increased by 250.0% (from 9,802 in 1953 to 34,305 in 2011); Rape by 873.3% (from 2,487 in 1971 to 24,206 in 2011); Kidnapping & Abduction by 749.0% (from 5,261 in 1953 to 44,664 in 2011); Robbery by 193.8% (from 8,407 in 1953 to 24,700 in 2011) and Riots by 233.7% (from 20,529 in 1953 to 68,500 in 2011). It is evident that heinous and violent crimes are on the rise which is surely a cause for concern.

151

The real nature of our cities become clear when one probes the nature of crimes committed there. The top three crimes committed in mega cities relate to auto thefts (41.9% of the national total), cheating (28.6% of the national total) and counterfeiting (27.8% of the national total) – which stands to reason. The smartness and sophistication of our cities emerges as spectacular in the simple fact that the child sex ratio in urban India is 19 points lower (905 girls: 1000 boys) than rural India, as per the 2011 Census. The Compendium reports a rise of 59.1% in foeticide in 2012 over the previous year. The word 'female' is conspicuous in its absence, but can be easily inferred without much scope for any fallacy, since medical termination of pregnancy is not a crime in India; only sex selective abortion is. NCRB does not present an urban-rural comparison for this increase, but the sex ratio in itself is a pointer to where cases of female foeticide could be concentrated – urban or rural India.

14.20   CRIME AGAINST WOMEN IN CITIES

As far as crimes against women are concerned, the country as a whole reflects an alarming rate of 41.74 per one million population, with the rate standing significantly higher at 47.76 in the 53 mega cities. It needs to be remembered in this context that these are crimes committed specifically against women, thereby excluding women who may have fallen victim to any of the general crimes. The national and political capital of the country – Delhi – dazzles in all its glory in this sphere. It accounts for 14.2% of the national total of crimes against women. The top five crimes committed against girls and women in Delhi are: kidnapping and abduction – 23.1% of the total in mega cities; rape – 19.3%; trafficking cases – 16.5%; dowry deaths – 14.6%; cruelty by husbands and relatives – 11.1%. If these figures seem not too high, it would be worthwhile to reiterate that Delhi is only one among 53 mega cities that collectively represent only 13.3% of the country's population.

Owing to the horrifying rape incident of December 2013, the lack of safety and security for women in Delhi had been in national media focus for quite a while.

However, it is again the lesser known cities that present an even more disturbing picture. While the overall rate of crimes against women in the mega cities stands at 47.8 (as already mentioned), Vijayawada is the worst with a rate of 256.4; followed

by Kota at 130.2 and Kollam at 106.3.

The connection between crime and city size is not a new fact. Social observers have long argued that there exists a connection between cities and immoral behaviour. Criminologists have discussed the urban tendency toward crime for decades. Wirth (1938) discusses the observed connection between crime and urbanization and argues that this connection is evidence for his theory of ''urbanism as a way of life.''. According to Wirth (1964), special urban characteristics such as size, density, heterogeneity, and impersonality are responsible for a mode of living that generates more crime. He viewed, "The close living together and working together of individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties foster a spirit of competition, aggrandizement, and mutual exploitation. Formal controls are instituted to counteract irresponsibility and potential disorder" (1964, p. 74). Urbanism can be studied in his view as a physical or ecological structure, as a system of social organization, and as a set of attitudes and beliefs that lead to collective behaviour Clinard (1942, p. 203) elaborated that view by arguing that there is more crime in densely populated areas than in scarcely populated rural areas because of urban characteristics such as mobility, impersonal relations, differential association, limited participation in community organizations, organized crime cultures, and a criminal type in the life experience of offenders. The relationship between urbanization and crime rates has long been recognized by criminologists.

The descriptive studies of the cartographic or statistical school in the nineteenth century documented the empirical regularity of crime (Tonry and Bijlereid, 2007, p.457). Another perspective in criminology emphasized the opportunity structure cities offer to potential offenders (Glaeser and Sacerdote, 1999). Urban environments have more suitable targets, and people are more tempted in cities than in rural areas to commit crimes. These factors combined with a lack of informal guardianship in urban environments explain higher crime rates. Others, however, challenged these theoretical models. Johnson (1992) offered socio-historical arguments that cities are not necessarily dangerous or highly criminal-prone environments. After investigating rural-urban differences in crime during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Germany, he concluded that, the influence of factors, such as, the size of the urban population, population density, and population growth was low (sometimes even

153

negative), whereas the percentage of ethnic minorities and death and poverty rates correlated strongly with the level of crime.

Both urbanization and industrialization are dynamic societal processes which over the time lead to greater physical mobility for the individual. As individuals are displaced by change and are plunged into new social environments where new rules of behaviour prevail, traditional regulatory institutions and social sanctions tend to become ineffective making it simple and easy for individuals to adopt deviant patterns of behaviour. This high rate of migration among societies can be viewed as a source of social strain which can be associated with an increase in crime and other forms of social disorganization. Change can also result in new sets of norms and values along with new patterns of consumption that may actually provoke an increase in criminal activity

The whole theoretical discussion has lead to the conclusion that increasing urbanization causes less integration among people and as a consequence generates less informal social control. Less integration and less informal control explain higher levels of crime, disorder, victimization, and fear of crime. The impact of the process of industrialization and urbanization on the reasons of crime is more evident as it promotes changes in social structure, promotes culture conflict and a change in the space environment thereby it induces an increasing number of criminal elements. Much of the empirical studies have been conducted to establish a relation between urbanization and crime and many a times the process of urbanization has been maintained to be the cause of rural crimes also. This way the urbanization has been considered as the tipping point for creation of new crimes and amplification of existing crimes too.

14.21 URBAN HEALTH PROBLEMS

How the dynamics of urbanization affect health can be considered with examples. An influx of impoverished peoples to a city (e.g., immigration driven by food or work shortages in nonurban or other urban areas) in search of jobs and services may tax available infrastructure, including transportation, housing, food, water, sewage, jobs, and health care. Also, the population strain on available jobs

154

may result in devaluation of hourly wage rates, higher unemployment, and changing socioeconomic status for persons previously living in a given city. This lowering of socioeconomic status can result in more limited access to health care and may lead to poorer health. Therefore, characteristics of urbanization—including the intensity, rate, and duration of such changes as well as the response to these changes—may have health effects on urban residents. Common mechanisms may exist through which urbanization affects health independent of the size of the city in question. The urban context or environment can be defined as the specific characteristics or features of cities that influence health within a particular city. It is helpful to think of the urban environment as involving three distinct concepts: the social environment, the physical environment, and the urban resource infrastructure. The social urban environment comprises contextual factors that include social norms and attitudes, disadvantage (e.g., neighbourhood socio economic status), and social capital (e.g., social trust, social institutions). The urban physical environment refers to the built environment, pollution, access to green space, transportation systems, and the geological and climatic conditions of the area that the city occupies. Features of the urban resource infrastructure that influence health may include factors such as the availability of health and social services and municipal institutions (e.g., law enforcement). Features of the social and physical environment and infrastructural resources are all, in turn, shaped by municipal, national, and global forces and trends

The urban environment is associated with specific health problems to which different socio-economic strata are susceptible - in different degrees.

The priority of material considerations in urban development can adversely affect public health in spite of systematic public health measures as shown in the case of Calcutta during its rapid growth in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Klein 1983). Calcutta's high disease and mortality rates were caused directly by urban poverty, which, in turn, was caused by the economic competition which dominated housing and environ-mental development. Thus economic development has a negative side in terms of increased impoverishment and lowered health status of the urban masses. This has also been documented for Bombay by Klein (1986) who shows that Bombay city in the late nineteenth century

155

and early twentieth century witnessed a dynamic commercial expansion and fortune building on the one hand, and unlimited immigration, overcrowding, lower wages, environmental decay and higher mortality rates for a majority of its inhabitants, on the other. The 'flawed, disruptive qualities of modernization and development' were fully exhibited in this urban setting.

Health problems associated with urban poverty show a distinct pattern (Ramasubban and Crook 1985). Traditionally, water-borne and food-borne intestinal diseases have caused the highest mortality in both rural and urban areas, especially among children. However, recently respiratory diseases have also started taking an alarming toll in large cities, as shown by data from Bombay and Pune. The major cause is industrial and commercial pollution, whose effects are aggravated by the living conditions of the poor, such as inadequate and damp shelters, overcrowding, poor nutrition, and cheap fuel causing sulphurous waste. Cal-cutta's geo-medical profile, according to Hazra and Banerjee (1983), reflects the city's poverty, congestion, shortage of housing and other amenities, and general environmental deterioration. The city's disease pattern has recently undergone a substantial change, the prevalent communicable diseases have registered a relative decrease, together with an increase in diseases associated with anxiety and stress and in the 'urban syndrome', along with air pollution.

C.A.K. Yesudian's empirical study (1981) of a major Indian metropolis (unnamed) demonstrates that social inequality plays a vital role in the utilization of health services. The economically disadvantaged groups, who need health services more, have little access to them because of their inability to afford private health-care and general ignorance both of hygiene and diseases and of the availability of public health services. This general finding is sup-ported by A. Tragler's comprehensive survey (1985) of slum households in Bombay, which reveals a generally poor health status, ignorance of health problems and poor utilization of public sector health services. The unhealthy environment in the slums, created by poverty and poor sanitation is a major causal factor, and an effective solution lies in an integrated health system to meet the basic health needs of the urban poor.

Illness is a relative phenomenon, as seen from S.C. Gupta's study (1984) of

156

Ludhiana slum dwellers' concept of illness. While the upper class people tend to define illness as a state of feeling unhealthy, those in the middle and lower classes associate illness with the inability to continue work. However, social class does not significantly affect the time taken in order to seek medical care.

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URBAN GOVERNANCE

Unit-III

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- explain the need of good governance in Urban areas;

- define the concept of Urban Governance;

- describe the role of urban governance in solving urban issues.;

15.1   INTRODUCTION

As per 2011 Census, out of the total population of 1210.19 million, about 377.1 million live in urban areas accounting for 31.15% of the total population. The proportion of people living in the urban areas of country had increased from 27.80% in 2001 to 31.15% in 2011. Number of towns has also increased from 5161 in 2001 to 7935 in 2011. The fast pace of urbanization has increased pressure on the level of

services in the urban centre. Urbanization has also been accompanied with an increase in the urban poor population. On the positive side, along with urbanization, the urban economy in our country has also witnessed significant growth in recent years, contributing around 60% of the national GDP and more than 80% of the incremental job creation. It is evident that the impetus of growth in the future is also likely to come from the urban areas. Therefore, it is imperative that measures need to be taken to ensure and sustain the growth and development of our cities. The urban areas in our country have thus become areas of intense mobility, socio-economic activity and hope for a large number of the population. The 74th Constitutional Amendment has accorded constitutional status to the municipal bodies by initiating a process of democratic decentralisation with the objective of making urban governance more responsive. In order to meet the growing aspirations and expectations of people and to meet the daunting challenges of urbanization, Governance in the urban local bodies needs to become more efficient, effective, responsive, citizen friendly, transparent and accountable. Absence of these features, contributes to "governance deficit" to varying degrees in the urban local bodies. Key problems in urban governance include weak legal and institutional framework within which the ULBs operate and their poor capacity including lack of a professional and sensitised cadre, to perform their development and regulatory functions.

15.2   CHALLENGES OF URBANISATION

Most cities experience a steady decline in the quality of physical environment. One finds stressed physical infrastructure, inadequate delivery of basic services, air and water pollution, uncollected wastes, etc., exposing citizens to harmful pathogens and bacteria. Deteriorating urban health has become a critical issue because of the emergence and spurt in some of the diseases related to poor environmental sanitation and poor living conditions such as malaria, tuberculosis, as well as HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. The other serious problems include:

a)   Rapid economic activity - urban growth running faster than solutions can catch up and there is very little reliable data being generated to track this.

b)   Multiplicity of agencies with multiple institutional jurisdictions like basic services with ULB and PDS /housing with other state departments.

160

c) Weak administrative systems and human resources with minimal training, poorly designed cadre and recruitment rules.

d) Inadequate or dysfunctional internal systems – finance, land records, etc.

e) Inadequate or inappropriate technical skills.

f) Mismatch between emerging problems and the available new skills; PPPs, outsourcing, use complex contracts, etc., Urbanisation of poverty, land rights, permanent and seasonal migration, problems in beneficiary identification under different schemes;

g) Increased financial requirements for provision of basic minimum urban infrastructure – for 63cities, the CDPs tentatively estimated a need of Rs 3, 23,779 crores;

h) Rural-urban issues, extension of services to these areas, etc.

Urbanization is inevitable and needs to be considered as positive in national development. The response to increasing urbanization and growth and development of cities needs to be viewed positively, though there is no denial of the fact that it should be more balanced and more responsive to national development goals. Our cities need to be better managed and efforts are needed to improve governance.

15.3   URBAN GOVERNANCE – CONCEPT AND PRINCIPLES

The concepts of governance and good governance have become part of development literature during the last few decades. No analysis of the government – national, state or local - is complete today without a focus and full-length discussion on governance. Concept of governance is very complex. It comprises of the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Urban governance is defined as "the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting and diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and social capital of the citizens". Good urban

161

governance is:

a)   a process by which quality of life in the cities can be improved.

b)   an efficient and effective response to urban problems by accountable local government working in partnership with civil society.

c)   a process for efficient and effective way of running the cities.

d)   aims to promote civil society participation in city management along with municipal institutions.

e)   an inclusive process to achieve a quality of life as desired by the citizenry, particularly the poor and the disadvantaged.

It promotes inclusiveness, reduce poverty and involve all stakeholders in the political process of governing the city. Good urban governance, however, is not panacea to all urban problems, ills and controversies. It is inextricably linked to citizen welfare and enables the community to access the benefits of urban citizenship including adequate shelter, security of tenure, safe water, sanitation, a clean environment, health, education and nutrition, employment and public safety and mobility. Through good urban governance, citizens are provided a platform that allows them to use their talents to the full to improve their social and economic conditions. Good urban governance, like good governance, is characterised by the following criteria viz.:

i.   Sustainability - cities must balance the social, economic and environmental needs of present and future generations and this includes having a clear commitment to urban poverty reduction.

ii.   Subsidiarity of authority and resources to the closest level to facilitate efficient service delivery to facilitate community initiative and responsiveness.

iii.   Efficient delivery of services and promotion of local economic development through sound and cost-effective financial management, delivery of services, good public private- people partnerships, etc.

iv.   Transparency and accountability of local bodies to facilitate citizen's

162

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>understanding of municipal performance through information flow, active citizen participation in local affairs, etc.</td></tr>
<tr><td>v.</td><td>Civic engagement by all stakeholders including women, poor, members of civil society, etc.</td></tr>
<tr><td>vi.</td><td>Security of people and the environment to avoid conflict, crime, and disasters. This refers to security of individuals in their living environment.</td></tr>
</table>

Good urban governance contributes to sustainable urban development. It brings civil society, private sector and other actors into a political process. Sustainable cities have four important characteristics viz., good governance, liveability, competitiveness and bankability. Through good governance, urban local bodies develop competitiveness, make the city liveable and through prudent and efficient financial and asset management increase rating to facilitate market borrowings for investment on city development. Therefore, good urban governance is critical for growth and development.

A nation's economic growth is largely linked with urban centers, the capacity of a nation to pursue its economic goals becomes contingent on its ability to govern its cities. Urban governance has, therefore, assumed increasing importance as a means to ensure that economic growth is equitable, sustainable and improves the living human conditions. Today, apart from the government, private sector and civil society have a critical role to play in local governance. Good governance ensures broad consensus among the three stakeholders - the state, private sector and civil society. All three are critical for sustaining human development. In post 74th CAA, civil society is playing a significant role in urban management and development. The key urban issues viz., employment/job creation, waste collection and disposal, urban poverty, shelter and housing, water and sanitation, public transport and traffic, health and education services, civic engagement in development process, etc., cannot be addressed without good governance. The characteristics of good governance include participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strategic vision. With increased urbanisation and growing importance of cities in national economy

163

and development, conventional methods of governing the city with top down approaches have proved to be restrictive and inadequate. There has been an increasing demand for avenues for participation in urban governance, to increase transparency in civic management, modernizing administration, improved service delivery, etc. The need to adopt new systems and methods of governing the cities that are inclusive and facilitate active and effective the participation all stakeholders is being increasingly realised. There is also a realisation that the existing capacity of the urban local bodies is limited and need to be enhanced systematically, which only will contribute to good urban governance.

15.4   INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN GOOD URBAN GOVERNANCE

There are a large number of institutions at state and city levels associated with governing urban areas – cities and towns. They include:

a) State Level – Departments of urban administration, housing, water supply, public health, environment, welfare, education, health, home, planning, etc. State Finance Commission, State Election Commission, are the other institutions

b) City level - Urban Local Bodies, City Police Department, Pollution Control Boards,

c) Parastatal Agencies – Jal Sansthans, Development Authorities, Housing Boards, etc.

15.5   URBAN GOVERNANCE – REFORM FRAMEWORK

Because of the critical importance of cities in national development, efforts are being made during the last two decades to improve urban governance in India. The passage of 74th Constitution Amendment Act in 1992 was the first step. This was followed by several urban reforms in the states. Launching of JNURM - a program for promoting reforms and investments in select 65 cities by the Government of India (GOI) in 2005, has brought a paradigm shift in urban development strategy. Similarly, the GoI launched two other programs – Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) and Integrated Housing and Slum

164

Development Program (IHSDP) for non mission cities. These programs have mandatory reform component to improve city governance. Thirteenth Finance Commission also recommended several reforms- some mandatory and others discretionary- to improve municipal finances and to strengthen urban governance.

15.6   SUMMARY

In order to develop cities in the best economic interest of the nation, efficient urban governance is the solution, whereby many a problems of the urban life can be addressed, leading to a balanced sustainable development of these urban agglomerations. Good urban governance is critical for growth and development.

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EMERGENCE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY
Unit-IV

CONTENTS

16.1 Introduction

16.2 Definitions of Industrial Sociology

16.3 Scope of Industrial Sociology

16.4 Emergence of Industrial sociology

16.5 Summary

16.6 Further Readings

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

- appreciate the concept of Industrial Sociology.

- know the meaning and scope of Industrial sociology.

- gain knowledge about the emergence of Industrial Sociology and its use in an industrial organisation.

16.1   INTRODUCTION

Industrial sociology is a comparatively new term which gained currency about the middle of 20th century. As a specialized subject, Industrial Sociology is distinct from such disciplines as Industrial or Personnel Management which are concerned with the practical problems of industry and managing 'Men' in the industry. It does not exist as a separate field by virtue of a central theoretical focus. It draws its theory and

166

methods from a variety of sub-discipline within sociology.

The term industrial sociology is the combination of two words- industrial and sociology. The term 'industrial' is connected with industry, which means an entity, covering large-scale employment of labour and capital. Webster defines industry as "any department or branch of art, occupation or business; especially, one which employs much labour and capital and is a distinct branch of trade". This way, industry produces some product or service, out of some raw material, using machines, technology and skills of the people. Sociology, on the other hand, is concerned with the systematic study of social relationship, with the interaction between social structure and the behavior of individual and groups. Combined together, industrial sociology is the study of the interactions among the people working in the industry, but also the ways in which their roles are interrelated with other aspects of their lives. Thus, industrial sociology is the study of the social organisations of the industry.

Industrial sociology has acquired prominence in the field of management studies. It is the sociological study of social structures in business setting. It studies the interactions of people at the workplace, which include the study of superior-subordinate, inter-departmental and management- trade union relationships. Thus, it is concerned with the roles, processes of interaction, communication and authority in an organisational setup.

Industrial sociology began primarily as an applied field. Earlier it was concerned with establishing polices, solution of specific problems and how to improve the morale of industrial workers. Later on the emphasis shifted towards building a science of social behavior in organisations and greater specialization. India like most modern nations, has committed itself to industrial development as a necessary means to solve its economic and social problems. It is, therefore, very important to make use of Industrial Sociology to solve our socio-economic problems arising due to industrialization and development.

16.2   DEFINITIONS OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

The concerns of Industrial Sociologists have been rapidly changing during the last few decades. Sociologists are still struggling to define the field. Industrial

Sociology consists of the application of the methods of sociology to the analysis of work organisations and work roles. Some of the definitions of Industrial sociology are:

1. H. J. Smith has defined Industrial sociology as "the Study of Social Relations in industrial and organisational settings, and of the way these relations influence and are influenced by, relations in wider community".

2. Wilbert E. Moore argues, "Industrial Sociology is concerned with the application or development of principles of sociology relevant to the industrial mode of production and industrial way of life".

3. According to D.C. Miller and W.H. Form, "Industrial Sociology is a substantive area of general sociology which might more accurately be termed the sociology of work organisations or the sociology of economy".

4. According to Charles B. Splauding, "Industrial sociologists center their interests upon the social organisations of the workplace, including the pattern of interaction between people who are responding to each other in terms of their roles in work organisations or whose behaviour is being affected by these roles".

5. According to Lupton, "it is the study of the social system of the factory and the influences external to the factory which affect that system".

It is clear from the above definitions that what sociology has to offer to the student of industrial social organisations today is not a body of laws of social behavior, but rather a particular perspective of a special way of looking at the world of work.

16.3   SCOPE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

Industrial sociology is a part of general sociology. It deals with economic production in its broadest sense. Conventionally it used to cover only those studies that focus on the modern industrial system. The question of raising morale of industrial workers remained prime concern of industrial sociologists. With the advent of technological revolution the concern of

industrial sociologists shifted to the building a science of social behavior. The

168

term social behavior refers to any human behavior that is predictable with some probability.

Besides industrial organisation, there is now ever increasing interest in the study of complex formal organisations such as hospitals, schools and other governmental institutions. The major increase in research activity has taken place in area of industrialization process. Industrial Sociology also deals with industrial work. Industrial sociology is also concerned with internal structure of industry. Industrial organisations can be divided into formal and informal organisations. In the formal organisations the relationship is impersonal or abstract and the relationship between its members is regulated by rules and regulations and by collective agreements. Informal organisations of industry are made of the vast net of spontaneous relationship arising among personnel and crystallizing more or less permanently in groups. The main reason of formation of such social groups may be due to insufficient satisfaction of social needs and or exigencies by the formal organisation. This emergence of informal groups cannot be suppressed. Sometime these informal groups do hamper the functioning of industry. This area is also of much interest to the industrial sociologists.

Industrial sociology is also concerned with the functions and organisation of management. The decision making process is no doubt the focal point of planning and management action in general. It is also concerned with the supervision, coordination and other managerial functions. Formal and informal communication system prevalent in the organisation as well as the problem of communication is another important part of internal structure of industry. Studies in this area are also included in the scope of Industrial Sociology.

The relations of supervisor and subordinate are connected with each other vertically, while staff relationship run horizontally. The co-ordination between line and staff is one of the main problems faced by industry. The study of this problem is also an important scope of Industrial Sociology. With the emergence of white collar workers, who are also known as knowledge workers, the authority of the supervisor is diminishing. The decision making power of supervisor is also diminishing. Therefore, new

ways and means are brings found to improve the position of supervisors in industry. The society of the future may be called a white collar society. White collar workers are better educated than blue collar workers. They have higher expectations from the industry for their needs satisfaction. When these expectations remain unfulfilled frustration creeps in. Blue collar workers face different types of problems such as monotony and fatigue both mental as well as physical. Environmental factors such as noise, light also affect the health of blue collar workers. Studies in these areas form scope of the subject.

Organisational dimension refer to the power structure of social systems. While organisation possess an internal aspect and consist of persons behaving in according with the expectations and demands of the positions they occupy. Industrial sociology is concerned with analysis of organisation dimensions of industry. It also studies the established norms and structure which govern the behavior of large social groups in industry.

In social context study of trade unions forms scope of Industrial sociology. They function as pressure group and deal with management through collective bargaining. They are recognized as an essential part of industry. Trade unions as organisation are protecting the social forms and important subject matter and scope of Industrial sociology.

Industrial peace and harmony are desired by every society for its rapid development. Industrialization has brought class system in opposition to other system of social stratification. It also brings rapid social change, along with many problems, which affects the traditional social structure of the society. Education of all parties involved in industry is essential to solve its problems.

Thus, on the basis of above discussion, the scope of Industrial Sociology is on the following areas:

- Problems of labour commitment
- Social factors of industrialisation
- Sociology of industrial organisations

170

- Studies of trade unions

- Sociology of industrial relations

16.4 EMERGENCE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

The subject of industry and the relations between those who manage and those who works in it is as old as human civilisation. It is only in last 200 years that these matters have become objects of significant concern of government policy, and in the last century, they have emerged as a separate well recognised area of study in educational institutions and for research.

Industrial sociology has its roots in early twentieth century. Industrial sociology was born in the United States in the late 1930's and spread to other countries over the next decade. It slowly spread to other countries. However, its roots however go back to the dawn of the industrial revolution in Great Britain. The subject can be said to have emerged with the researches on small groups in industry by Elton Mayo and his colleagues at Harvard. Mayo was head of the Department of Industrial Research of Harvard University in Boston. He is identified as the father of Industrial Sociology.

Increasing industrial efficiency and productivity as well as developing democratic values of equality and justice are the main concerns of social scientists. Therefore, earlier studies in Industrial Sociology were based on increased employee satisfaction and also increased efficiency in the production system. Gradually Industrial Sociology became increasingly objective and developed a wider structural functional perspective.

The phenomenon of relationship in industry and its impact on society are found in countries where people work for others in paid employment and Industrial Sociology studies these phenomena and solves problems that arise from them. It is one of the possible ways to produce and organise knowledge and it has a unique frame of reference, its own theories and concepts, techniques and practices and ideological commitments. It attempted to study the forms and functions of the division of labour, the nature and experience of industrial work, the characteristics of large-scale bureaucratic organisations, and the changing nature of society under continuing industrialisation.

F.W. Taylor, father of scientific Management and his associates, attempted to apply scientific methods to industrial work. Their assumption was that men could be related to their work rather as machines to be made as efficient as possible. His study is limited to the physical characteristics of the human body as its responds to the routine and clearly defined job. He suggested that incentive would evoke more and more efficient work by the employee and financial rewards from the increased efficiency could be used to enhance the income of workers as well as of managers. It will also secure the harmonious co-operation of both groups. The ideas generated much controversy and opposition. Taylor's assumptions regarding human behavior were criticized. The critics said that it overlooked the effects of cumulative fatigue and variations in the abilities between workers. The human relations approach arose as a reaction against all these assumptions.

The Hawthorne Experiments, a programme of research at the Chicago plant of the Western Electric Company between 1927 and 1932. Elton Mayo, who participated in the findings of the above experiments, drew conclusions from them about the need for better human relations in industry. These experiments have probably more often discussed than any other single piece of research in Industrial sociology. Almost everybody whoever mentions 'human relations in industry' discuss the above study.

The period immediately after the Second World War, saw the theoretical basis of industrial sociology broadened and drew from the perspective of structural-functionalism and the insights of Max Weber on bureaucracy. Functionalist sociology led to the concept of industrial organisations as 'social systems'; the emphasis on technology contributed to the notion of the organisation as an 'open socio-technical system' with independent social, technological, economic and psychological dimensions.

Developments in the study of industrial organisations have placed emphasis on technology but have elaborated other aspects known as contingency theory. This advocates the need of the organisation to meet the exigencies of its environment such as the product market, technical and market change and government legislations.

The next phase came when Goldthorpe and his colleagues criticised both

172

'human relations' and the 'technological implications' approaches. They advocated the 'action approach' and emphasised the importance of 'the definition of the situation' of those involved. Blackburn and Mann have shown that only rarely do manual workers have both strong simple orientations to work and adequate knowledge and opportunities for choice, which enable them to select suitable jobs.

Critics of above approaches lamented these approaches for the total disregard of trade unions. They turned to the study of the structure and function of trade unions. They assert that conflicting interests are inherent to social relations in employment in industry. These conflicting interests led to trade unions, collective bargaining between management and unions, conciliation and arbitration, shop floor struggles, fair relationship between pay and work and so on. Many of them also studied union-management relations and the functions of social conflict. The work of Max Weber on bureaucracy influenced directly or indirectly a number of other major contributors to the development of Industrial Sociology.

16.5   SUMMARY

Industrial sociology began primarily as an applied discipline. It is not merely concerned with general sociological concepts, but those which specially refer to industry. Industrial sociology is the application of the sociological approach to the reality and problems of industry. It is also a study of social relations in industrial and organisational settings. The subject can be said to have emerged with the researches on small groups in industry by Elton Mayo and his colleagues at Harvard. He is identified as the father of Industrial Sociology. Earlier studies of Mayo and his associates were not at all concerned with industrial social structure. Initially the purpose was to observe the effects of working condition on job performance. It revealed that, while working in group, workers develop a norm of a proper day's work and continue to perform at that level even when conditions are not very conducive. Later, when it became apparent that work performance is affected by factors outside the job, various experiments were performed. The importance of social structure factors was discovered by these experiments. Thus Industrial Sociology was born.

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CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

- discuss the concept of industry and industrial organisation.

- explain the meaning and goals of organisations.

- gain knowledge about the importance of industrial organisations.

175

- understand the meaning and features of industrialisation.

- describe the causes and consequences of industrialisation.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

Industry, industrial organisation and industrialisation are important components of the subject matter of Industrial Sociology. The term 'Industry' has been used in two ways. In first usage, it refers as synonymous with factory or manufacturing unit. In another usage, it means 'any large-scale business activity'.

Industrial organisation is concerned with the workings of markets and industries, in particular the way firms compete with each other. Industrial Sociology deals with the sociological study of economic organisations. The Industrial Sociology includes the study of offices, restaurants and other economic organisations that are not factories, but will exclude the study of universities, schools, hospitals, and other non-economic organisations. Many Industrial Sociologists seem to have implicitly draw the lines of the field in this way.

Industrialisation is a process by which attention and allocation of resources shifts from agriculture to industry. Industrialisation is associated with technological advancement from domestic production with simple tools to large-scale factory based production. However, sociologically, the term implies a process of economic and social changes arising out of the change in the structure of industry. Industrialisation involves a broad range of social factors that deeply affect the character of social life. In the following sections we will deal with these three concepts in detail.

17.2 INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

Organisational sociology is potentially able to develop sound bases for a generic as well as a comparative study of organisations and it has greatly benefitted from the interchange of concepts and hypotheses among its various sub-fields. Thus, while there are many significant differences between a church, an army, a university, a factory, and a trade union, a sociologist have found it helpful to treat all these organisations as having common problems that may serve as a basis for a generalised discussion of organisations and also for differentiating the various organisational

176

structures. The various types of organisations seem to have common functional problems, but different structural problems.

All organisational structures, for example, have to face the problem of:

- Recruiting,

- Training or socialising and

- Motivating their personnel.

Every organisation functions in accordance with the organisation's regulations and norms. All organisations have to create and maintain among their personnel a motivation adequate to the role expectations of the organisational structure.

All organisations have some goals they serve or pretend to serve, and therefore are confronted with the problem of creating and maintaining some personal commitment. These commitments may be established and reinforced by:

- Coercion

- Material sanctions, or

- Social and symbolic rewards or deprivations.

17.2.1 MEANING OF INDUSTRY

The subject matter of Industrial Sociology is industry. The term 'industry' has taken over from common sense language, economics and the census of occupations, without sociological scrutiny. It has been used mainly in two ways:

- as synonymous with factory, industry is seen as the manufacturing unit. Sociologists who have used the term in this manner have called Industrial Sociology "plant sociology".

- as covering any large-scale employment of labor and capital.

The second use of the term is widespread. Industry, according to Webster, is "any department or branch of art, occupation or business, especially one which employs much labor and capital and is a distinct branch of trade", or, in economics, "systematic

177

labor or habitual employment". The census follows the same lines and classifies every field of full-time work as industry, including

- Public administration

- Professional services

- Education and

- Private household work

On the basis of Talcott Parsons' analytical scheme of four functional problems (or phases), organisations may be roughly differentiated in the following way:

- Adaptive organisations (industries, financial institutions);

- Political organisations (government agencies, political parties, trade unions);

- Integrative organisations (clubs, some voluntary associations) and

- Cultural organisations (churches, schools, universities).

While most organisations serve more than one function, one function usually dominates, and thus it is possible to classify organisations according to their primary function. For instance, though most trade unions can be seen as political organisations, because of their power element as having an economic-political orientation, and many European trade unions as political-ideological organisations. Similarly, industries can be meaningfully classified as having two functional orientations.

17.2.2 MEANING OF ORGANISATION

Organisations are rationally designed to solve permanently the conflict between collective needs and individual wants that had bedevilled social progress since the days of ancient Greece. In this view, organisations are the means by which people working together can accomplish more complicated tasks than they can as individuals acting separately. The concept of organisation involves:

- Organisations have specific goals

178

- Generally designed to outlive the participation of any individual who participates at any one time

- Having a more or less well developed set of formal rules

- A relatively fixed structure of authority, roles and responsibilities that is independent of the personal characteristics of those filling the roles at any particular time.

While the symbol of community was fraternity, the symbol of organisation was power. Organisation signifies a method of social control, a means of imparting order, structure and regularity to society. An organisation, by its most basic definition, is an assembly of people working together to achieve common objectives through a division of labour. People form organisations because individuals have limited abilities. An organisation provides a means of using individual strengths within a group to achieve more than can be accomplished by the aggregate efforts of group members working individually. Business organisations are formed to profit by delivering a good or service to consumers.

According to Huczynski & Buchanan, "Organisations are social arrangements for the controlled performance of collective goals".

According to Statt, "Organisation is a group of people brought together for the purpose of achieving certain objectives. As the basic unit of an organisation is the role rather than the person in it the organisation is maintained in existence, sometimes over a long period of time, despite many changes of members".

All organisations have goals. Organisations operate in multiple environments. The key tasks for organisations are to achieve external adaptation and internal integration. Organisations need to be 'quick on their feet' to anticipate opportunities and threats and respond wisely to unpredictable surprises. This requires understanding how the formal organisational subsystem responds to the external, internal and temporal environments. It also requires understanding the informal subsystem.

17.2.3 CONCEPT OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

What is industrial organisation? It might help to start by clarifying the meaning

of "industrial." According to Webster's New World Dictionary, 'industry' refers to "manufacturing productive enterprises collectively, especially as distinguished from agriculture". 'Industry' also means "any large-scale business activity," such as the tourism industry.

This double meaning is a frequent source of confusion regarding the object of industrial organisation. For our purpose, 'industrial' should be interpreted in the sense of Webster's second definition. This means industrial organisation applies equally well to the steel industry and to the tourism industry because as far as industrial organisation is concerned, there is nothing special about manufacturing. Industrial organisation is concerned with the workings of markets and industries, in particular the way firms compete with each other.

The economic, social and political changes that capitalist-led modernisation brought in its wake created a world that was fundamentally different from the relatively small-scale and simple forms of production and administration which had dominated earlier phases of capitalist development in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed with it the growing dominance of large-scale organisational units in economic, social and political life as the complexity and intensity of collective activity moved beyond the administrative capacity of more personal and direct forms of coordination. The rise of the 'administrative state' symbolised a new mode of governance in which rational, scientific organisation transformed human nature.

It is commonplace observation that lone craftsman plying his trade is an anomaly, if he exists at all. In his place we have a large industrial organisation, with raw materials entering at one end and the finished products coming out at the other. Within this large industrial organisation, there are large number of persons with various skills and diverse functions; there are supervisors on the shop floor, managers, clerical assistants, executives and a host of technical specialists. It is only due to diverse trades and differentiation of persons and their activities that one may speak of an organisation. The concept of organisation implies an interrelationship among parts or elements-in this case, among persons/workers/employees. Thus, industrial

180

organisation is a 'social' organisation with a social structure; a network of reciprocal rights and obligations, supported by sentiments and formal rules.

The function of any organisation is to keep its components together in a particular form and relationship in order to give it stability of the kind of organisation system in use. The development of large organisation transformed all of society, and, indeed the modern corporations may be the most significant innovation in the last 100 years.

Thus organisations are social entities that are goal directed are designed as deliberately structured and coordinated activity systems, and are linked to the external organisation. The key elements of an organisation are the people and their relationships with one another. An organisation exists when people interact with each other to perform essential functions that help attain goals.

17.3   INDUSTRIALISATION

Industrialisation is a process by which attention and allocation of resources shifts from agriculture to industry. Industrialisation has been variously defined by sociologists. Central to all these definitions, however, is the idea of a shift in economic base of a community or society from agriculture to industry. According to M.S. Gore, "the term industrialisation refers to the process wherein production of goods with the use of hand tools is replaced by production with the use of power driven machines".

Industrialisation is characterised by two factors:

1. Adoption of technologically superior techniques of production that help to transform basic raw materials and intermediate goods into manufactured goods, and;

2. Application of modern techniques of management and organisation like statistical calculations, accountancy, and various management techniques.

Thus, industrialisation denotes the transition in methods of production which has been responsible for the vastly increased wealth-creating capacity of modern

societies compared with traditional systems. It should be noted that, although industrialisation is generally thought of as something affecting the manufacturing of goods, it is reasonably necessary to apply the term industrial to modern methods of raising productivity in agriculture and other industrial sectors, and in administrative contexts.

Industrialisation is associated with the factory system. The factories have brought down the prices of commodities, improved their quality and maximised output. The process of industrialisation has affected the nature, character and the growth of the economy. It has also contributed to the growth of cities and the process of urbanisation. Industrialisation depends upon and sustains monetisation of the economy, a high degree of occupational specialization and a system of factory production based upon the individual rather than the kinship group.

17.3.1 FEATURES OF INDUSTRIALISATION

The word industrialisation denotes the transition in methods of production which has been responsible for vastly increased wealth-creating capacity of modern societies compared with traditional systems. It should be noted that, although industrialisation is generally thought of as something affecting the manufacturing of goods, it is reasonable to apply the term industrial to modern methods of raising productivity in agriculture and other sectors, and in administrative contexts. Following are the main features of industrialisation:

I. **Division of Labour-** Due to industrialisation, tasks have become complex and goods are produced in mass. Therefore, it is not possible for one individual to perform all the functions. This has added another feature to industrialisation- Division of Labour or Work. Division of work is characteristic of group effort and means that different people do different things- that an individual does one operation or a rather one set of operations. It is the sub-division of function to facilitate obtaining social goals, one of which is productivity or output per man-hour. It requires proper organisation and supervision. Work may be broken into small specialised jobs horizontally in terms of function, process and location; vertically through a hierarchy with the decision makers at the

182

top; or by intra-group relations,

II. **Factory System and Mechanisation-** Under the factory system of production, the factories bring down the prices of commodities, improve their quality and maximise the output. The whole process of production is mechanised, consequently the traditional skills have declined and many artisans have lost their work. Automation related with machines is the feature of modern industrial society which has replaced human labour and skills to maintenance, planning, distribution and ancillary work.

With the introduction of computers in the field of automation, production task can be designed, constructed and redesigned quickly. Fast development has taken place in the design of industrial robots to perform the large number of functions, performed earlier by the human beings. These programs are the examples of Artificial Intelligence- the programming of computers so that they behave in ways that could be called intelligent if they were people.

III. **Bureaucracy and Administration by Rules-** According to Weber, "bureaucracy is a particular type of administrative structure developed through rational-legal authority". The industrial organisations are characterised by bureaucracy which is a form of administration, based on rational-legal authority, characterised by impersonal written rules. It has a hierarchy of positions, a clear distinction between positions and individuals who hold them and the recruitment is done on the bases of formal qualifications. It is technically superior to other administrative forms because of its speed, precision, predictability and impersonality.

IV. **Socially and Geographically Mobile Workforce-** Another feature of industrialisation is the emergence of socially and geographically mobile workforce. People move out of their native place to the towns and cities in search of employment. As industries are located in urban areas because of the availability of transportation, electricity and such other infrastructural facilities, people are forced to migrate there leaving their home towns. Moreover, the availability of basic amenities such as medical, education, housing, banking,

183

etc. also attract the people to come to cities.

Further, certain sociological developments, such as, disintegration of joint families have reduced the restrictions on the people to stay at home and made them more mobile. Yet another factor which has given pace to this mobility is the increase in the number of working women. All this has created an environment the world over that the people are not scared of breaking the social taboo and move from one place to the other seeking better employment opportunities.

17.3.2 CAUSES OF INDUSTRIALISATION

Industrialisation has been the result of various technical and social changes which have taken place the world over since the industrial revolution. Following are the main causes that have given rise to the industrialisation:

I. **Technological Advancements-** One of the major reasons for the growth and development of industrialisation is advancement in technology. It all started with the industrial revolution whereby innovations resulted in dramatic improvements in the manufacturing process in the field of textile, mining, chemicals, etc. consequently, a number of industries were established, manufacturing large quantities of output and providing employment to thousands of people. This trend of technological advancement did not stop there, and today technology has its influence in every sphere of life. The use of sophisticated technology in the fields of computer and electronics has given new dimensions to industrial development in all the sectors whether it is manufacturing, infrastructure, automobile, communication or transportation, etc.

II. **Growing Demand-** With the increase in the population, the demand for industrial goods is also increasing. Another cause of growing demand is the availability of improved products with superior technology and features, fulfilling various human needs. Yet another reason behind growing demand is the change in the social patterns. Now a days people need comfort, ease and to a great extent, show

184

of their money- and for all this they require new, improved and quality products and services. This has accelerated the pace of industrial development all over the world.

III.   **Standardisation-** Standardisation refers to the uniformity in the shape, size, design, features and quality of the product. This has been necessitated because of the ever demanding nature of the customers. Even the services being provided to the customers need to be standardised. The examples are the food chains like McDonald's and Domino's Pizza and the services provided by other organisations like banks, travel agencies, airlines, etc. all this has given rise to the industries in various sectors.

IV.   **Specialised Mode of Production-** We live an era of specialisation and super-specialisation. The entire manufacturing process is carried out through various specialised tasks, where each task requires specialised knowledge and skills. This has given rise to the different kinds of industries and each industry specialises in manufacturing specific components. Business Process Outsourcing is an example of such specialised activities. Here, we can take the case of automobile industry where different components of the vehicle are manufactured in different factories, and the main manufacturer assembles the parts and sells the product by his name.

V.   **Internationalisation of Business-** internationalisation of business has also played an important role in the growth of industries. Business is crossing international boundaries and becoming globalised. The products manufactured by one country are available all over the world, giving customer a choice to select the best product.

17.3.3 CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALISATION

Industrialisation has immense affect on the society the world over. A lot of changes in the social values, living standards, working patterns, along with changes in the way of carrying business and economic and political systems have taken place.

185

Following are some of the significant consequences of the industrialisation:

I. **Social Stratification**- Social stratification refers to the different levels of class in a society. It can further be understood as the division of people socially and economically into layers or strata. Social strata are formed due to the unequal positions occupied by the individuals in the society. This feature of the of the society can be attributed to the industrialisation, as people having better education, knowledge and skills get better jobs and thus, enjoy better position in the society in terms of wealth, property and access to material goods, in comparison to those people who do not have these qualities.

II. **Disintegration of Family**- One of the most significant consequences of industrialisation on society has been disintegration of the family. A number of people have moved from their native place to other places seeking employment. Different members of a family move to different places, causing disintegration of the family. Further, due to growing urbanisation, less living space is available in the cities, which, coupled with high cost of living, has made it difficult for the people to take their parents and other family members with them, because of which the concept of nuclear family has emerged.

III. **Emergence of the Middle Class**- Due to industrialisation, the middle class was the most affected section of the society. It emerged as the most benefitted class enjoying rising standard of living, increased prestige and growing influence on many social and political aspects. But the effects of industrialisation on this class are not only positive, there are negative effects also. This class is facing a number of urban social problems such as, overcrowding of the cities, poor sanitation, inadequate social services and a host of other social and economic problems. Nevertheless, the role and significance of this class cannot be ignored in igniting various other socio-economic changes the world over.

IV. **Consumerism**- Industrialisation has given birth to consumerism. The availability of lots of products and services has given to the consumer opportunity to select the best option. Today, many products are customised to suit the requirements of the individual customer. The customers and the service providers try to attract the customer by using various means to buy their products and services. Another feature of the consumerism is the growing significance of advertising. Various means of advertising, such as television, print media and internet are there to make the customer aware about the product or service available in the market.

V. **Emergence of Female Power**- With growing industrialisation, females are gaining more and more prominence in the society. Females perform almost all kinds of work in the industry and in some fields they have excelled over their male counterparts. Even now a day, women also head some of the big multinational companies, for example, Ms. Chanda Kochar is CEO of ICICI and Ms. Indra Nooyi is the CEO of PepsiCo.

Recognising the growing participation of females in the industry, the government provides them certain privileges and benefits in India. The females enjoy the advantages of the Maternity Benefit Act and some provisions of the Factories Act of 1948.

VI. **Increase in Living Standard-** Industrialisation has provided good standard to the people. It happened because industrialisation generated lot of jobs not only in the factories, but also helped a number of other supporting businesses to develop. In the industrially developed areas, various businesses like suppliers of raw materials, transportation, real estate, trading, banking, hotels and restaurants and in recent times shopping malls also flourish, because of the concentration of the population working in industry, and with a reasonably good amount of disposable income.

VII. Pollution- Along with prosperity and positive effects on the society, the industrialisation has brought with it many types of pollution which are hazardous to health. The factories emit toxic fumes, drain hazardous chemicals into the rivers, and create a lot of noise and many times leakages take place from the chemical plants. All these are negative consequences of the industrialisation which are dangerous to the health of the human beings.

VIII. Trade Unionism- Trade unionism is among the most important outcome of industrialisation. A trade union is group of workers in an industrial establishment, the main purpose of which is to promote and protect the interests of the workers against the exploitation of the employer. The trade unions when registered acquire a legal status and pursue for the interests of the workers in terms of working conditions, terms of employment, fair and just wages and security of job.

17.4   SUMMARY

In this lesson we dealt in detail with the concepts of industry, industrial organisation and industrialisation. Industry in the present discussion means any large-scale business activity. A big manufacturing unit as well as tourism sector are industries in this sense. Industrial Sociologists have treated the concept of industrial organisation as its core area. Organisations are the means by which people working together can accomplish more complicated tasks than they can as individuals acting separately. It is commonplace observation that lone craftsman plying his trade is an anomaly, if he exists at all. In his place we have a large industrial organisation, with raw materials entering at one end and the finished products coming out at the other.

Further we explained the process of industrialisation and its causes as well as consequences. Industrialisation denotes the transition in methods of production which has been responsible for vastly increased wealth-creating capacity of modern societies compared with traditional systems. Industrialisation has been the result of various technical and social changes which have taken place the

world over since the industrial revolution. Industrialisation has immense affect on the society the world over. A lot of changes in the social values, living standards, working patterns, along with changes in the way of carrying business and economic and political systems have taken place.

17.5   FURTHER READINGS

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LABOUR IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL SECTOR

Unit-IV

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

- understand the situation of labour in formal and informal sector.

- examine the impact of economic reforms on labour in formal and informal sector.

- gain knowledge about the social security provisions for workers in informal sector.

- compare the formal with informal sector.

18.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a growing awareness of the existence, importance and needs of the unorganised sector. Organised sector workers are distinguished by relatively regular salaries, jobs with well-defined terms and conditions of employment, clear-cut rights and obligations, and fairly comprehensive social security protection. The unorganised sector, on the other hand, has no such clear-cut employer-employee relationships and lacks most forms of social protection.

The bulk of the country's labour force is in the informal sector. The 2001 Census showed that around 27% of the population resided in urban areas and the rest in rural areas. The labour force in the country is about 400 million. Of this a mere 7.5% (around 30 million) was engaged in the formal sector while 370 million were engaged in the informal sector. Women constituted one-third of those engaged in the informal sector and one-seventh of those employed in the formal sector.

18.2 LABOUR IN THE FORMAL (ORGANISED) SECTOR

The formal sector consists of the organised sector and can be defined as the sector consisting of activities carried out by the corporate enterprises and the Government at the Central, State and Local levels, solely with the help of wage paid labour which in a great measure is unionised. The formal or organised sector plays an important role in the country's development. As compared to the informal sector, this is a much smaller sector in size.The formal sector employs only 7% of the total labour force. The rest are in the informal sector. A major section of the workers in this sector are engaged in agriculture, even so, at a conservative estimate there are around 100 million workers in the urban informal sector. Though this sector has been in existence for long, it gained formal recognition only in the mid 1970s by the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

The distinction between the formal and informal sectors is crucial for understanding employment relationship. Workers in the formal sector are engaged in factories, commercial and service establishments. Around 70% of the workers in this sector are employed in government, quasi-government and

191

public sector enterprises. The private sector provides employment to only 30% of the labour in the formal sector. The wages of formal sector workers are substantially higher than those engaged in the urban informal sector. Moreover, a range of labour laws, guaranteeing permanency of employment and provision for retirement benefits, protect their jobs.

Organised labour came under a lot of pressure after the Industrial Policy Statement of 22nd July 1991. This laid the basic blue print for liberalisation. The policy envisioned a greater and significant role for the private sector. The public sector came under fire and it was expected to withdraw from all areas except the core sectors. The liberalisation policy had some important effects on labour in the formal sector. The policies adopted led to down-sizing of large industries by shifting production to out of the urban-industrial centres and by offering voluntary retirement schemes to workers. These new processes led to new dilemmas for the trade union movement which had till then operated almost exclusively in the formal sector.

18.2.1 EFFECT OF THE ECONOMIC REFORMS ON THE FORMAL SECTOR

The marked acceleration of employment growth in organised sector according to some scholars can be attributed to the process of major economic reforms that was initiated in India in 1991. It has been pointed out that the favourable effects in employment was due to greater labour flexibility and increased trade orientation to changes in the structure of industries in favour of labour intensive industries and techniques of production (Singh1993).

On the other hand, it has been also pointed out by scholars that in some other ways the new economic policy is expected to have adverse effect on industrial employment. For instance, economic reforms have resulted in increased competition, improved access to foreign technology and imported capital goods. This has resulted in a drive by industrial firms towards the adoption of advanced technology, which is likely to lead to increasing capital intensity of production (Ghose1994). Also, as competition intensifies, industrial firms may try to save cost and become more competitive by cutting down on employment, particularly those firms (e.g. public sector units) that are characterised by overstaffing.

18.2.2 REGIONAL VARIATION IN ORGANISED INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

In India, employment was almost stagnant during the pre-liberalisation decade at the national level. The industrially developed States recorded stagnant employment while the industrially underdeveloped States showed a significant employment growth during this period. However, during post-liberalisation, all the regions experienced a marked acceleration in the employment. The trends in formal sector employment in India are discussed as below.

Pre-Liberalisation Period (1980-81 to 1991-92)

Average annual growth rate in organised industrial employment in India during this decade was very small, about 0.6 percent per annum. However, there were four States in which the absolute level of employment declined during this period: Bihar, West Bengal, Gujarat and Maharashtra. The biggest single decline was in the State of West Bengal, which accounted for 75 percent of the total decline in these four States. The States showing not marginal but significant increase in employment were Haryana, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, while Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh also showed some gains compared to their industrial employment level in 1980-81.

At the regional level, the biggest gainer was the Southern region, due mainly to Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, while the biggest loser was the Eastern region due to West Bengal. Indeed, the major gaining as well as the losing States amongst industrially developed States were: Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Haryana, Punjab and Delhi were the gaining States, while the major losing States were the industrially developed States of West Bengal, Gujarat and Maharashtra. The industrially underdeveloped States that showed major gain were Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and even Orissa showed some gain.

The conflicting movement amongst industrially developed States left the size of their total industrial workforce nearly unchanged while that of the industrially underdeveloped States distinctly improved. The industrially developed States lost in employment in agriculture-related industries (AGRIND) but gained in non-agriculture

related industries (NAGRIND). The industrially underdeveloped States on the other hand showed stagnation in agriculture-related industries, but distinct gain in non-agriculture related industries.

All in all, both in agriculture-related and non-agriculture related industries, the decline in employment in the 80s appears to have been quite State specific. No across the board explanation can be provided for this.

Post-Liberalisation Period (1991-92 to 1997-98)

The growth in employment in the organised manufacturing sector in India during the post-liberalisation period was distinctively higher, 4.15 percent per annum as against 0.6 percent in the preceding decade. All States except Bihar and Delhi recorded positive growth. The States that recorded higher than the all India growth rate was Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Haryana, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Maharashtra.

The Southern States recorded the highest growth rate (5.88 percent), the Western region coming next (4.7 percent), with the Northern and Eastern regions far behind (2.2 and 1.5 percent respectively. The result was that the Southern region, which had 28.01 percent of the total industrial labour force in 1981 and 32.71 percent in 1991-92, came to have 35.7 percent of the total industrial labour force by 1997-98. The Western region's share declined from 34.12 percent in 1980-81 to 32.48 percent in 1997-98, though this was a slight improvement over 31.17 percent to which the share had declined in 1991-92. The share of the Northern region remained unchanged. Clear and sharp decline was seen in the Eastern region which had 21.26 percent in 1980-81 but declined to 14.98 percent in 1997-98, despite the fact that both Orissa and Assam recorded 3.69 percent and 3.33 percent growth rates during the post-liberalisation period. The reason for the worsening position of the eastern region was the sharp decline of West Bengal as an industrial State. This State had incidentally more industrial workers than the entire Northern region and had the second highest industrial labour force next only to Maharashtra in 1980-81 (13.2 percent) saw a decline to its share to 8.69 percent by 1997-98 thus becoming the 5th among the States, Tamil Nadu now taking its earlier position. In fact, the absolute decline in the size of West

Bengal's labour force, which occurred in the 1980s, could not be made up in the 1990s; its rate of growth being lower than even Orissa's and Assam's. There is a clear indication of industrial shift of the formal labour force to the south of the Vindhyas.

During this period, there has been a slight increase in the share of the agriculture related industries (AGRIND) of India. Two States Bihar and Delhi, registered an absolute decline in the labour force in this sector. There was a near stagnation or a very small increase in a few other States, like Assam and Uttar Pradesh. The real large increase however was in the States of West Bengal and in the States of the Southern and Western region. In the Western region, the total number of employees increased by about 1.5 lakh, in West Bengal alone by more than a lakh, and in the four Southern States by about 4.5 lakh. Indeed the Southern region alone showed significant rise in the share of total employees in this sector, from 18.99 percent to 20.85 percent in seven years. The result was that the share of this labour increased in the industrially developed States and declined in the industrially underdeveloped States.

Thus, while organised employment in the formal sector remained virtually stagnant in the 1980s, there has been a marked acceleration in the growth of employment in the 1990s. Acceleration in employment growth is found both at the aggregate level and for most industries; even though there had been considerable inter-regional differences. This may be partly explained by changes in the size structure in favour of small and medium sized factories. Another important explanation for the acceleration in employment growth seems to lie in a slow down in the growth in real wages.

Finally, it must be said that special employment and anti-poverty programmes of the Government of India had been mostly targeted towards the rural areas. Mention must be made of the programmes that may have an impact on the urban formal sector, viz., the Nehru Rozgar Yojana and Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme (PMIUPEP). The Rozgar Yojna is a scheme aimed at helping educated unemployed youth in establishing self-employed ventures, which may not necessarily be formal. The scheme was in operation in urban areas in 1991-94.

195

The Nehru Rozgar Yojana is aimed at creating employment opportunities through three schemes such as wage employment, micro enterprises and shelter upgradation for the urban poor. Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme (PMIUPEP) was launched during 1995-96 with the specific objective of effective achievement of social sector goals, community empowerment, employment generation, and skill upgradation, shelter upgradation and environmental improvement with a multi-prolonged and long term strategy. The programme is said to cover 5 million urban poor living in 345 Class II Urban Agglomerations, with a population of 50,000 to 100,000 lakh each.

18.3   LABOUR IN INFORMAL (UNORGANISED) SECTOR

The term 'informal sector' was coined by Keith Hart. It refers to workers outside labour market, large migrants who had to satisfy with the low income jobs, fluctuating demand for work, seasonal changes and pseudo work. This was found in Ghana and later on in most of third world countries and to some extent even in first world countries. Hart was unable to place the large number of workers who did not have permanent employment and who floated around, changing their occupations. For lack of a more appropriate word, he called them the informal sector as opposed to the well regulated and legally protected formal sector.

International Labour organisation (ILO) provides definition for the first time as, "informal sector where entry is easy, reliance is on individual resources, small scale operations largely unregulated, labour intensive technology and informally acquired skills". Jan Breman, who has conducted research on informal sector in India also developed similar definition. He says, it is not the type of economic activity but the way it is practised. It includes economic activities characterised by small scale, low capital intensity, low productivity, inferior technology, family based resources. Most of the skills are acquired on job only. Breman talks about dualism in urban economy.

1. Organised sector carefully controlled by government, strict rules regarding wages, taxes, working hours, provision of amenities.

2. Parallel/Unorganised economy consisting of informal sector. They are deprived

from access to space, does not provide them water, electricity. So often, they are forced to act in violation of law. So there is no quality control. But Breman says it is incorrect to call them totally unregulated because lower rung bureaucracy uses it as a private hunting ground. There is little or no task differentiation, the skill could be picked up by daily practice.

Formal and informal sector have interconnection and interdependence. Even in informal sector, there is a sector which caters to the rich i.e., formal sectors. Fragmented and unregulated is the nature of informal sector.

Why does the informal sector exist? It is fundamentally rooted in flawed strategy of development. Industrialisation was not followed by corresponding growth of agriculture and education. In addition to this, absence of rural industrialisation leading to lack of employment during offseason in agriculture. Premature mechanisation in agriculture also has led to loss of jobs that further create migration. Such labour do not have education and hence end up taking odd jobs catering to needs of urban population. Employment potential even in Nehruvian strategy was very limited followed by jobless growth in liberal economy.

As far as employment modality in informal sector is concerned, study by Sanyal showed most of people are self employed. There is no clear demarcation between employment and unemployment. There is an employment-unemployment continuum rather than a clear cut demarcation. As far as social identity of people in informal sector is concerned, overwhelming majority is illiterate. They had not any formal training and mostly either they are from traditionally lower class (small marginal farmers and landless labourers) or from poor families (muslim, tribals and dalits). Credit available to them is at usurious rates. So they try to minimise consumption expenditure. Participation of women and children is quite high in informal sector. Breman says they should rather be called unprotected sector rather than informal sector. Attitude of government employees to informal sector is often uncooperative, rude and exploitative. House maids subject to sexual abuse.

As long as their composition is concerned, Breman classifies them into three groups.

1. **Petty Bourgeoisie:** At the top of the layer are petty bourgeoisie, small traders, small shopkeepers, skilled artisans, etc. They sometimes also act as moneylenders for other poorer sections. It is called breeding ground of entrepreneurship, earning equally comparable to organised sector.

2. **Sub-proletariat**: They are hired usually by first group. It is reserved labour hired and fired at will. Largely unskilled or semi-skilled vendors/workers who often operate in open air. This group is the largest of the informal sector.

3. **Paupers:** They are lumpen whose activities often border on the breach of law. They may not even have fixed accommodation. They are not socially integrated unlike the other two groups. Often they lack even continued employment or work. They include single men, widowed/divorced women, disabled/handicapped, old and hence cannot be employed in other categories. Second and third groups lack the entrepreneurial skills as the first group.

In India after globalisation and reforms, there is trend towards growing informal sector. This trend towards hiring contract labour instead of permanent employees both in public and private sector. So in every field informalisation is growing due to two reasons. First, abysmal rate of agriculture and second globalisation demand only highly skilled and contract labour.

Unorganised sector has always been regarded as a residual sector. It was believed in the 1970s and 1980s that with the expansion of industrialisation, this sector would be drawn into the formal sector. This appeared as wishful thinking because far from being absorbed, it grew in size and established its own identity. Unfortunately in India, despite the large numbers involved, this sector remained invisible. All benefits that were given to labour were in fact given only to the organised sector. It was only after 1991, when a large number of companies went in for downsizing and labour from the formal sector were forced to join the informal sector that government started noticing this sector.

The size of the unorganised sector has been growing over the last few decades. In 1971, the unorganised sector comprised 89 per cent of the workforce, whereas in 1995 it was 92.5 per cent. This increase is the result both of 'casualisation' of the

existing organised sector workers and the lack of growth of employment opportunities within the organised sector. Women, particularly, are confined to unorganised sector employment, with 96 per cent of all female workers being in this sector.

Given the nature of employment in the unorganised sector it is to be expected that the returns from their work tend to be low and uncertain. Most workers do not have year-round employment, and even when employment is available, the income is low. They do not have access to most mainstream markets, whether those of labour, capital, commodities, land or services. Social security- such as health care, old-age benefits, maternity benefits, child care and housing- that is taken for granted by organised workers is not even dreamt of by the unorganised sector.

18.3.1 SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE UNORGANISED SECTOR

The size of the unorganised sector indicates its importance as a major force, both economically and politically. Additionally, the unorganised sector is a major contributor to the gross national product of the country, contributing about 63 per cent of the country's national income in 1994-95. These numbers point to the urgent need to deal with issues of social security for these workers and producers.

Historically, the system of social security in India, as elsewhere, was started with the organised sector. The first social security legislation was the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, which provided the worker with financial compensation in case of an accident in the course of his work. This was followed by the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948, which covered medical costs and risks of the workers; the Employees' Provident Fund and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952, which provided for some security after the working life was over. These Acts were followed by the Maternity Benefit Act, 1961, to compensate for loss of earnings during maternity, and the Payment of Gratuity Act, 1971, to compensate for loss of employment. All these Acts are applicable to certain occupational groups in regular employment in comparatively large establishments such as factories, mines and plantations employing 10 or more persons. In course of time, while the application of the Acts was extended to more and more such groups, the large mass of workers tended to remain uncovered by any social security. In recent years, however, due to pressures brought on the state and society by the growing awareness within the unorganised sector, concern is

increasing being expressed and attention being given to extending legislative and social security protection to this sector.

At the international level too, the International Labour Organisation recognised, for the first time in 1986, the need to address 'the question of how better to assist in all respects, the masses of the unorganised workers lacking adequate social protection'.

However, it soon became apparent that extending social security to the unorganised sector was not merely a matter of extending existing organised sector schemes to new groups. First, it was found that the unorganised sector is not a homogeneous category. Employment relations vary considerably and are in any case very different from those of the organised sector. They comprise the following categories:

- Those who are employed on a more or less regular basis, in establishments which are outside the scope of the existing social security legislation.

- Those who are employed as casual labour, intermittently on contracts, with uncertainity regarding employment and income.

- Those who are own-account workers and producers, including small and marginal farmers, who may occasionally hire the labour of others.

- Those who do a variety of jobs from day to day, from season to season, and often even within the same day.

- Those who are seeking work, like migrant labour.

- Those who can no longer work.

Second, a major obstacle to introducing contributory social insurance schemes for the unorganised sector is the difficulty in identifying the employer.

Third, unlike the organised sector where steady and regular employment is a given fact, unorganised sector workers need employment security, income security and social security simultaneously.

Fourth, the needs of these workers vary from those of the organised sector. For

example, since a large proportion of the unorganised sector are women, child-oriented needs become increasingly important.

18.3.2 COMPOSITION OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR

The above discussion brings out certain aspects of the informal sector. There are two aspects of this sector. Firstly, a large section of the informal sector comprises the self-employed. These include street vendors, home-based workers, mainly women, who do not always know who their employers are, rickshaw pullers, taxi and auto-rickshaw drivers etc. These form a large section of the informal sector. They are in fact a part of the informal economy.

There is another section that is found within the formal sector. There are workers in the informal sector who are previously employed in the formal sector. These people are engaged as temporary or casual labour in industries or establishments in the formal sector. In large factories or undertakings one can find permanent workers and also workers who are employed as temporary or casual labour. In many such organisations, there are sections where casual labour is employed.

Hence if we talk of the informal sector as a separate and distinct sector that is different from the formal sector then we could be talking of two distinct sectors that are separated from each other. However in this case (informal sector within the formal sector) we find that the two sectors overlap. Hence we could think of talking about informal employment in this case. This would cover employment in the small scale sector and within the formal sector. Similarly the term 'informal economy' captures the small traders, self-employed etc. in the informal sector. We can hence say that the informal sector comprises two parts, namely, informal economy and informal employment.

18.3.3 COMPARISON BETWEEN FORMAL SECTOR AND INFORMAL SECTOR

The distinction between the formal and informal sectors is crucial for understanding employment relations. Workers in the formal sector are engaged in factories, commercial and service establishments and their working conditions,

wages and social security measures are legally protected. The wages of formal sector workers are substantially higher than those engaged in the urban informal sector. Moreover, a range of labour laws, guaranteeing permanency of employment and provision for retirement benefits, protect their jobs.

What is noted above is the formal sector, hence the question is: *what is the informal sector?* One way of answering this question is: *workers who are not in the formal sector are in the informal sector.* This may not be a satisfactory explanation as far as we are concerned because it is identified through exclusion. We do not know what the characteristics of this sector are. Interestingly, this is precisely how this sector was described when it was "discovered" by academics and policy makers.

The major comparisons between these two sectors can be summed up as follows:

1. **The Market Structure:** The large manufacturing firms in the formal sector operate in markets where prices are controlled by few sellers, which are protected from foreign competition by high tariffs. They sell products mainly to middle and upper income groups. On the other hand the unorganised sectors consist of a large number of small producers operating on narrow margins in highly competitive markets. The products are sold to low-income groups.

2. **Credit Facilities:** The organised sector has greater access to cheap credit provided by various financial institutions while the unorganised sector often depends on the money-lenders who charge a high rate of interest.

3. **Technology:** The formal organised sector uses capital-intensive technologies and imported technology while the unorganised sector uses mainly labour intensive and indigenous technology.

4. **Role of Government:** The organised sector has a privileged position as far as the Government is concerned because it has an easy access to and influence over Government machinery; it can build lobbies and pressurize the Government on an issue, while the unorganised has no political pull.

5. **Protection:** Lastly, the organised sector is protected by various types of labour

legislations and backed by strong unions. The unorganised sector is either not covered by labour legislation at all or is so scattered that the implementation of legislation is very inadequate or ineffective. There are hardly any unions in this sector to act as watch dogs.

18.4   SUMMARY

The above discussion shows that in most Indian cities the urban poor survive by working in the informal sector. Poverty and lack of gainful employment in the rural areas and in the smaller towns drive large numbers of people to the cities for work and livelihood. These people generally possess low skills and lack the level of education required for the better paid jobs in the formal sector. Besides, permanent protected jobs in the formal sector are shrinking hence even those having the requisite skills are unable to find proper employment. For these people work in the informal sector are the only means for their survival.

The important point noted by various thinkers and planners on the informal sector was that they viewed it as a transitory sector. It would sooner or later be absorbed in the formal sector. The present situation shows that this did not happen. On the contrary this sector has grown tremendously. In fact we find that the new sources of employment are only in the informal sector.

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M.A. Sociology Lesson -19

TRADE UNION

Unit-IV

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

- • discuss the concept of trade union.

- • explain the objectives and types of trade union.

- • gain knowledge about the importance of trade unions in India.

- • describe the growth of trade unionism in India.

19.1   INTRODUCTION

Trade union is an organised association of workers in a particular trade or

205

profession. Trade unions are funded by membership subscriptions and are usually run by an elected executive and full-time officials, and elected workplace representatives; their main economic objectives are to attain:

- Good wages,

- Good working conditions and

- Secure employment for their members.

Trade unions aim to achieve their workplace industrial relations objectives through collective bargaining, supported when necessary by industrial action. A significant development since World War II has been the increasing participation of trade unions in government and tripartite bodies at national or industry level.

The trade unions are an outcome of the factory system. They are based on the labour philosophy- "united we stand, divided we fall". Industrial development in India has changed the traditional outlook in the labour management relationship. With the introduction of the modern factory system personal relationship between employer and employee disappeared and gave rise to many social and economic evils which made it imperative on the part of the workers to devise effective means to contact employers and to bargain with them. This gave rise to the trade unions.

All trade unions have certain objectives to be achieved which are stated in their constitution, and every trade union has its distinct way of achieving its objectives, keeping in mind the circumstances in which it is functioning. The trade unionism in India developed quite slowly as compared to the Western nations.

19.2   DEFINITIONS OF TRADE UNION

Under the Trade Union Act, 1926, the term trade union is defined as "any combination, whether temporary or permanent, formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workers and employers, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business and includes any federation of two or more unions".

Beatrice Webb says, "A trade union, as we understand the term, is a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining and improving the conditions of their working lives".

Clyde E. Dankert says, "A trade union is a continuing organisation of employees established for the purpose of protecting or improving, through collective action, the economic and social status of its members".

G.D.H. Cole says, "A trade union means an association of workers in one or more professions carried on mainly for the purpose of protecting and advancing the members economic interests in connection with their daily work".

19.3 OBJECTIVES OF TRADE UNION

The failure of the individual worker to seek solution to his problems, while discharging his duties, led the workers to form trade unions. Thus, the main objective of the trade union is to protect the interests of the workers in an industrial establishment. However, the workers' interests is a broad term in various issues, such as wages and salaries, working conditions, work hours, transfers, promotions, recruitment, training, discipline, leave and holidays, allowances, incentives, bonus, employee welfare, etc. are included. Thus, a trade union is meant to conduct negotiations on behalf of the individual workers in respect of several issues. However, the main concentration of the trade unions is to achieve the following objectives:

1) **Wages and Salaries-** Wages and salaries are the major area of concern for the trade unions. Although, this issue relates to the policy matter of the organisation, but the differences may arise on the implementation part of it. Particularly, in the case of the unorganised sector, trade unions play a vital role in the fixation of wages and salaries.

2) **Working Conditions-** Trade unions aim at safeguarding the health of the industrial workers. For this purpose, they demand from the management to provide all basic facilities to the workers such as, sanitation, lighting and ventilation, safety equipments, removal of hazardous materials, drinking water

207

and rest rooms, etc.

3) **Welfare-** Trade unions also look after the welfare of the workers. They work as guide, consulting authorities and cooperate in overcoming their personal problems. It may bring to the notice of the management, through collective bargaining meetings, the difficulties of the workers in their family and social life.

4) **Employer-Employee Relations-** Pre-requisite of sustainable industrial peace is harmonious relationship between the employer and the employees, and the trade unions always strive to achieve this objective. Trade unions, as the representatives of the workers, carry out continuous negotiations with the management with a view to promoting industrial peace.

5) **Negotiating Machinery-** Negotiation refers to the proposals made by one party and counter proposals by the other party. This process goes on till the concerned parties arrive at an agreement. Trade unions, being a party to the negotiation, protect the interests of the workers through collective bargaining. Thus, the trade unions work as negotiating machinery.

6) **Safeguarding Industrial Health-** The industrial health can be diagnosed by the methods evolved for grievance redressal and techniques adopted to reduce the rate of absenteeism and employee turnover and to improve employee relations. By their effective work methods, the trade unions can enhance employee satisfaction with their jobs, thus, help in reducing the rate of absenteeism and employee turnover and developing systematic grievance handling procedure. All these led to harmonius industrial relations.

19.4   TYPES OF TRADE UNION

On the basis of their functions and organisation, trade unions can be broadly divided into three categories:

1) **Craft Unions**

A craft union is an organisation of wage-earners engaged in a single occupation

208

or craft. Such a craft union may cover all workers engaged in that craft, irrespective of the industries in which they are employed. Thus, electricians, though working in different industries, may form a union of electricians only. Sometimes, workers employed in allied crafts also come together and form a union which may also be called a craft union. It is the skilled workers requiring a long period of training to develop their skills who are generally keen to form craft unions. Looking from the historical perspective, it was the craft unions that lent stability to the trade union movement because of their relative stability in employment and higher earnings.

**2)	Industrial Unions**

An industrial union is organised on the bases of an industry rather than a craft. The industrial union attempts to organise into one homogeneous organic group, all the workers- skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled- engaged in a particular industry or industrial establishment. Such unions may be formed at the plant, region or industry level. Majority of trade unions in India are industrial unions, such as *Mazdoor Sangh* and Indian National Textile Worker's Federation.

**3)	General Unions**

A general union is one whose membership may cover workers employed in many industries, employments and crafts. It requires a very high degree of consciousness among the workers merging their separate industrial and occupational status to form such unions.

**19.5	IMPORTANCE OF TRADE UNION**

Trade unions, as a large organised group in civil society, can bring a unique contribution to development community. They are directly involved with:

- Economic systems of production and distribution;

- They can influence the course and content of employment and social and economic policies;

- They are representative and accountable;

209

- They have considerable experience in organising the more vulnerable sections of society;

- They have the experience and standing required to access national legal systems and public facilities.

- They can contribute through their long-standing relationships with such development institutions as consumer co-operatives, housing societies, health funds and social security organisations.

19.6   GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONISM IN INDIA

The growth of trade unionism in India can be divided into three phases. During the initial stages of industrialisation, the working and living conditions of the labour were poor and they were made to work for long hours. Capitalists were interested only in their productivity and profitability. Moreover, the wages were low and general conditions were poor in the industry. All this gave birth to the trade union movement in India, when in 1877 the workers at the Empress Mills at Nagpur observed strike following a wage cut. In 1884, five thousand Bombay Textile Workers submitted a petition demanding regular payment of wages, a weekly holiday, and a mid-day recess of thirty minutes.

In order to regulate the working hours and other service conditions of the industrial workers, the Indian Factories Act was enacted in 1881. The Act prohibited the employment of the children below the age of seven. The Act also limited the working hours of the children below the age of twelve years. Many strikes took place in the two decades following 1880 in all industrial cities, and these strikes made the workers realise the power of united action, although, there were no unions in real terms. The Bombay Mill-Hands association was formed in April 1890, which was the first workers' organisation in India. This provided the much needed momentum to the trade union movement in India.

In the second phase, the Madras Labour Union was founded in 1918. Although it was primarily an association of the textile workers in the European owned

210

Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, it also included the workers in many other trades. The major grievances of workers at this time were the harsh treatment meted out to them by the British supervisors and unduly short mid-day recess. The union managed to obtain an extension of the recess from thirty minutes to forty minutes, and also started other welfare activities for the workers.

In 1919, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) was established which inspired the workers to become politically conscious. Between 1918 and 1923, many trade unions come into existence in the country. India was recognised as a founder member of the ILO. India's membership of ILO exerted great influence in the formation of the First National Trade Union Organisation of workers in 1920, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC). The purpose of this organisation was conducting and coordinating the activities of the labour organisations. In 1926, the Trade Union Law came up that became operative from 1927. In 1928 All India Trade Union Federation (AITUF) was formed.

The third phase began with the emergence of independent India, in 1947. The working class movement was politicised along the lines of political parties, for instance, Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) is the trade union arm of the Congress party, and likewise, the AITUC is the trade union arm of the communist Party of India. Besides workers, white-collar employees, supervisors, and managers are also organised by the trade unions. Today various trade unions are functioning in India. Each trade union is affiliated to some or the other political party and looking after the interests of its members.

With the changed political atmosphere in the country and the spreading of ideas about democracy, socialism, the right to a living wage, etc., a steadily increasing number of workers, particularly in large metropolitan cities, began to realise that a trade union organisation was very essential for the protection and advancement of the working classes and their interests. The more important factors that have led to this development are the creation of new central organisations, the growth of political parties at the national and regional levels, the encouraging labour policies of the

government after independence and the propagation of the philosophy of trade unionism.

The important Central Trade Union Organisations (CTUOs) along with their political affiliations in India are given as below:

- All India Central Council of Trade Unions (Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation)

- All India Trade Union Congress (Communist Party of India)

- All India United Trade Union Centre (Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist))

- Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, indirectly Bharatiya Janata Party)

- Centre of Indian Trade Unions (Communist Party of India (Marxist))

- Hind Mazdoor Sabha (Unaffiliated)

- Indian National Trade Union Congress (Indian National Congress)

- Labour Progressive Federation (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam)

- National Front of Indian Trade Unions (Unaffiliated [5])

- Self Employed Women's Association (Unaffiliated)

- Trade Union Coordination Committee (All India Forward Bloc)

- United Trade Union Congress (Revolutionary Socialist Party)

19.7   SUMMARY

Trade unions are a major component of the industrial relations system. They are voluntary organisations of workers formed to promote and protect their interests through collective action. They have also become an integral and powerful factor in the contemporary system of production and distribution of goods and services. They are now exercising a strong influence on the methods of production of goods and

services, their distribution, the allocation of economic resources, the volume of employment and unemployment, the character of rights and privileges, policies of governments, the attitude and status of large masses of population and very nature of economic and social organisations.

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WOMEN, WORK AND TECHNOLOGY

Unit-IV

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

- understand the presence of women workers in unorganised and organised sectors in India and challenges faced by them.

- examine the impact of technological changes on women workers.

- learn the impact of technology on women workers in agricultural sector.

- gain knowledge about the historical changes technology brought regarding women workers.

214

20.1 INTRODUCTION

Earlier man was considered as bread winner and women was considered as home maker but today everything has changed. Women in India now participate in all activities such as education, sports, politics, media, art and culture, service sectors, science and technology, etc. So there arises a need for maintaining a healthy balance between work and family. Today many Indian women are allowed to work in different fields; still they face many challenges in work place and family.

In India, the major studies regarding women and work were undertaken by sociologists in the 1990s. This perhaps indicates that though the subject of women and work in the urban-industrial sector was not given its due importance earlier, its importance has been increasing since 1990s. A large section of the research is concentrated in the informal sector. It is because of the fact that women workers form a third of this sector and hence it is natural that it should attract interest of researchers. We have little information on how women in formal sector industries fare, except for the fact that their numbers are dwindling. In the following sections we will discuss the situation of women workers and impact of technology on them.

20.2 WOMEN WORKERS IN UNORGANISED SECTOR

A majority of women work in unorganised sector for low wages due to low level of skills, illiteracy, ignorance and surplus labour and thus face high level of exploitation. The unorganised sector is characterised by the presence of factors like long hours of work, wage discrimination of men and women, lack of job security, no minimum wages, lack of minimum facilities at work place, ill-treatment, heavy physical work and sexual exploitation etc.

The labouring women generally work in unorganised sector. They are outside the reach of protective labour laws and trade union organisations. They are not offered fair wages and decent terms of work. There are hardly any opportunities to improve

215

their income because in this sector, females work generally as labourers in unskilled occupations, do traditional work as domestic servants. The process of globalisation, export oriented industrialisation and relocation of industries from the developed to developing countries also lead to increase in women workers in unorganised sector. The nature of women's work ranges from wage employment and self-employment to family labour. The prevalence of women workers in urban unorganised sector is significant in number. They are engaged in activities like domestic work, construction work, small trades like brick making, coir and basket weaving, household industries etc. In rural unorganised sector women are engaged in agricultural activities, animal husbandry, dairy, fisheries etc.

The challenges in unorganised sector for women workers are:

- Gender discrimination in the amount of wages.

- Seasonal employment

- No job security

- Non sympathetic attitude of employee

- Lack of benefits.

There are various reasons for the existing deplorable state of affairs of women in unorganised sector. Besides lack of organisation in terms of forming trade unions among female workers, adverse impact of technological growth on women labour, absence of purposeful human resource development policy on improving women's employability through training, inadequate legislation and ineffective enforcement of safeguards to protect female workers, particularly in terms of their working conditions, etc., are few of the major causes leading to pitiable condition of women workers.

20.3 WOMEN WORKERS IN ORGANISED SECTOR

Employment of women in organised public and private sector has been increasing since last two decades. One of the significant changes witnessed in the labour markets in India in the last decade has been the entry of women professionals

216

is rapidly growing in all sectors. Organised sector workers are distinguished by regular salaried jobs with well-defined terms and conditions of employment, clear-cut rights and obligations and fairly comprehensive social security protection. Still women working in organised sector face many challenges.

The main challenges faced by working women in organised sector are:

- Gender discrimination

- Work-family balance

- Role conflict i.e., multiple role responsibilities

There are several challenges that are currently plaguing the issues of working women in India. A few of these challenges are mentioned above. The women contribution to the economy by and large remains unrecognised yet their services are valuable. One of the key implications for organisations is the need for human resource departments to design and implement policies that enable women to balance their work and personal lives in a manner that is sculpted within the family lives of the women rather than as a standalone policy.

20.4 THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY

It is not only how women do science which matters but what science does to women; not simply women's lack of power to shape technologies but also the effect of existing technologies upon women's lives. Though there is a growing literature on both production and consumption, our focus here is on production. Feminism has had an impact on several relevant disciplines, bringing scholars to ask questions which had been generally ignored. Industrial sociologists, development economists and labour historians have all contributed in engendering their accounts of the effect of technology.

The initial consensus was one of general gloom. Many socialist feminists were influenced by Harry Braverman's 'Labour and Monopoly Capital' (1974) which argued that technology tended to intensify the labour process and deskill workers. Feminists writing on the organization of production observed women's lack of power

217

to determine how technology was designed and applied. In development literature too, Ester Boserup's influential 'Women's Role in Economic Development' (1970), was to be the basis for a socialist feminist literature demonstrating how technology and capitalist industrialisation was displacing women from production.

Pessimism has also marked the work of feminists who have prioritized gender as the crucial determinant of the context in which technologies were imposed. For example, Rosemary Pringle in 'Secretaries Talk' (1989) said that new technology enhanced men's power. She argues, "If men are represented as the masters of technology, women are its servants. Technology does not empower them but reinforces their powerlessness and dependence on men".

There have been, however, some dissenting voices. In 'Labour Pains', for example, Pat Armstrong modified the prevailing pessimistic attitude towards new technology with the view that while it did imply increased productivity and control over workers, it also presented new possibilities for women workers (Armstrong 1984).

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, absolute positions, whether optimistic or pessimistic, about the impact of the development process upon women's employment patterns came to be questioned. With this came an awareness that a new theoretical perspective on the relationship between women and technology was needed (Bhaskar 1987). This does not mean an unquestioning acceptance of the extreme anti-modernist critique of science and technology. For as B.N. Bhaskar observes, "the Achilles heel of this perspective is in translating its ideas into concrete reality". On the other hand it does not return us to viewing technology as a neutral force completely apart from culture. A valuable starting point is the growth of concrete studies of technology and gender in recent feminist historiography, particularly in the United States.

20.5 IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON WOMEN WORKERS IN AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

The shift from subsistence to a market economy has a dramatic negative impact on women. The Green Revolution, which focused on increasing yields of rice

218

and wheat, entailed a shift in inputs from human to technical. Women's participation, knowledge and inputs were marginalized, and their role shift from being "primary producers to subsidiary workers." Where technology has been introduced in areas where women worked, women labourers have often been displaced by men. Threshing of grain was almost exclusively a female task, and with the introduction of automatic grain threshers-which are only operated by men-women have lost an important source of income.

Combine harvesters leave virtually no residue. This means that this source of fodder is no longer available to women, which has a dramatic impact on women's workload. So too, as cattle dung is being used as fertilizer, there is less available for fuel for cooking. Commercialization and the consequent focus on cash crops has led to a situation where food is lifted straight from the farm to the market. The income accrued is controlled by men. Earlier, most of the produce was brought home and stored, and the women exchanged it for other commodities. Such a system vested more control with the women.

Women are unskilled that leads to their unequal access to resources. Extension services tend to reach only men, which perpetuates the existing division of labour in the agricultural sector, with women continuing to perform unskilled tasks. A World Bank study in 1991 reveals that the assumption made by extension workers is that information within a family will be transmitted to the women by the men, which in actual practice seldom happens. The male dominated extension system tends to overlook women's role in agriculture and proves ineffective in providing technical information to women farmers. Women are employed only when there is absolute shortage of labor and for specific operations like cotton-picking.

20.6 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ABOUT IMPACT ON WOMEN OF TECHNOLOGY

Contemporary debates have generated historical enquiry into the actual consequences of the impact of technology. These question the original hypothesis of a uniform debasement of labour and skill. Feminist work has revealed many examples

219

of the introduction of technology which is accompanied by the exclusion of women from the new skills required, and the displacement of their labour and reclassification of their jobs as low-skilled. However, evidence has also been found of benefits because of a general expansion of employment. Sometimes a mixed situation of loss and benefit has occurred. For instance, the typewriter helped to establish secretarial work as a female domain, which saw a loss of status for secretaries from the 1880s. Frieda S. Rozen (1987) describes how the increasing size of airplanes contributed to the organization of women flight attendants in the period 1974 to 1978.

Moreover, recent historical work is demonstrating that women are not all affected by technology in the same way. Mary H. Blewett (1988), for example found that in the New England shoe industry, mechanics tried to train women homeworkers to use the new sewing machines introduced to factories in the middle of the century, but the women resisted the transition from hand to machine work. Interestingly, it was not until sewing machines were made for home use and a new generation of young women were familiar with them that women began displacing men in factories as sewing machine operators.

Not only differences between generations but ethnic, racial and class segregation are being shown to have interacted with gender to produce hierarchies among women. Gender cannot be regarded as a distinct unchanging category. Examining the American printing industry's response to technology between 1850 and 1930, Ava Baron has argued that "we need to scrutinize how class and gender are constructed simultaneously" (Baron 1987). Gender itself is shaped by circumstances of class, race, and ethnicity. She also cautions against an undifferentiated concept of 'patriarchy' as an unchanging structure.

This recent historical examination of gender and technology has been mainly concerned with the first world, not the third. However, there has been a growing awareness of the need to extend the boundaries of women's labour history through exploring the social histories of work and community in the third world. A picture is beginning to emerge of a gendered class experience in, for example, Japan, India and

220

China from the late nineteenth century (Hershatter 1986; Kumar 1993). The specific structures of the family, the dynamics of class struggle and ideas in the workplace or in communities, as well as state policies have all affected the impact of technology upon third world women.

20.7   SUMMARY

The above discussion revolves around the role of changing technology on women workers. The studies on this subject cover different aspects of the consequences of changing technology on work. The more important ones are on workers response to new technology and the impact of technology on women workers. Although new technology opens new opportunities for women in different fields but women workers still find it difficult to enter into a gainful formal sector. Women workers are mostly got jobs in unorganised sector. The introduction of new economic reforms from 1990s failed to improve women numbers in formal sector jobs. Even the Information and Communication Technology sector that has attracted a large number of female workers does not improve situation of women workers to a large extent. In most cities where this type of outsourcing is done, females predominate in the labour force. These may be better paid and skilled jobs, but given the fact that the jobs are insecure, the workers hardly have any rights at their workplace and no post-retirement benefits, these holders of such jobs are actually in the informal sector.

The feminist movement has presented new questions about the relationship of women to technology. These have stimulated interest in the manner in which women have been excluded by the social construction of science and technology. Historical studies of the western scientific tradition have revealed how the process of exclusion has not simply been a matter of external obstacles but has been embedded within the cultural assumptions of mainstream science. These approaches within feminist scholarship have converged with a powerful current of disillusionment, not simply with the results of technology, but with science, reason and the claim that objective assessment is possible.

221

Recent historical work has shown that women have not been excluded completely from science and technology. It also questions the idea that technological transformations simply happen to women, showing them instead as struggling to shape and exercise some control over these. Rather than a monolithic interpretation of gender, male/female relationships have been, to use Ava Baron's phrase, "multi-dimensional and internally inconsistent" (Baron 1987). The historical evidence suggests that men are not omnipotent nor indeed completely concerted in their effort to exclude women from scientific and technological knowledge.

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