



Dynamics of Urban Sociology

**Asha Rani
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Editors



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Preface

The quality of city life depends on many factors, but one of the most important factors is a person's social background: social class, race and ethnicity, gender, age, and sexual orientation. These dimensions of our social backgrounds often yield many kinds of social inequalities, and the quality of life that city residents enjoy depends heavily on these dimensions. For example, residents who are white and wealthy have the money and access to enjoy the best that cities have to offer, while those who are poor and of colour typically experience the worst aspects of city life. Because of fear of rape and sexual assault, women often feel more constrained than men from traveling freely throughout a city and being out late at night; older people also often feel more constrained because of physical limitations and fear of muggings; and gays and lesbians are still subject to physical assaults stemming from homophobia.

The type of resident we are, then, in terms of our socio-demographic profile affects what we experience in the city and whether that experience is positive or negative. This brief profile of city residents obscures other kinds of differences among residents regarding their lifestyles and experiences. A classic typology of urban dwellers by sociologist Herbert Gans is still useful today in helping to understand the variety of lives found in cities. Gans identified five types of city residents. The first type is cosmopolites. These are people who live in a city because of its cultural attractions, restaurants, and other features of the best that a city has to offer. Cosmopolites include students, writers, musicians, intellectuals, and writers. Unmarried and childless individuals and couples are the second type; they live in a city to be near their jobs and to enjoy the various kinds of entertainment found in most cities. If and when they marry or have children, respectively, many migrate to the suburbs to raise their families. The third type is ethnic villagers, who are recent immigrants and members of various ethnic groups who live among each other in certain neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods tend to have strong social bonds and more generally a strong sense of community. Gans

wrote that all of these three types generally find the city inviting rather than alienating and have positive experiences far more often than negative ones. In contrast, two final types of residents find the city alienating and experience a low quality of life. The first of these two types, and the fourth overall, is the deprived. These are people with low levels of formal education who live in poverty or near-poverty and are unemployed, are underemployed, or work at low wages. They live in neighbourhoods filled with trash, broken windows, and other signs of disorder. They commit high rates of crime and also have high rates of victimization by crime.

The final type is the trapped. These are residents who, as their name implies, might wish to leave their neighbourhoods but are unable to do so for several reasons: they may be alcoholics or drug addicts, they may be elderly and disabled, or they may be jobless and cannot afford to move to a better area.

The book presents the key concepts of rural and urban sociology in the form of evaluation and analysis made by eminent sociologists.

—*Dr. Asha Rani*
Dr. Gajanagar Alam

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Chapter 1

Urbanisation and Industrialization

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. The growth rate of urban population of developing regions has been declining recently. It was estimated to be 3.9 per cent per annum during 1980-85, which declined to 3.79 per cent per annum during 1980-85, 3.62, and 3.43 during 1990-95 and 1995-2000 respectively.

The decline in the rate of urbanisation is also continuing in developed regions of the world. As a result, some of the European countries have experienced negative urbanisation during 80s. However, the continued absence, namely, adequate data on rural to urban migration in most developing countries as well as on natural increase in rural and urban areas separately precludes attribution of the slowing down of urban growth in most of the countries to any single demographic process. It reflects the effects the host of factors like the relatively weak expansion of urban industries and price shifts unfavourable to manufactured goods, population aging, policies to alter migration and spatial distribution patterns in some countries, and no doubt other forces.

The arguments of Kelly and William that the slow growth of agricultural land stock and high growth of population of labour force in developing countries are factors that presumably push rural population towards urban areas are not correct for the recent past. The sluggish performance of manufacturing remains largely responsible for the observed slower pace of urban growth in developing countries, and may have decelerated urban growth from what other wise would have been higher rates in the 1980s and 1990s by curbing net rural to urban migration. Even though manufacturing is performing well but can not

generate adequate employment being capital intensive is unlikely to accelerate rural to urban migration. The likely deceleration of rural to urban migration could be the important reason for the slowing down of urbanisation in the developing countries in recent times. The fertility decline could also be the another important factor for lower urban growth in several parts of the developing world particularly in Latin America where total fertility rate declined from 6 in the early 1960s to 3 in the early 1990s. The push factors like population growth and unemployment etc. and pull factors like opportunities in the urban areas are debated in the studies of India's urbanization. The National Commission on Urbanisation has termed them as factors of demographic and economic momentum respectively.

The main objectives of the study are as follows:

- To study the level, trend and regional pattern of urbanization.
- To examine the relative contribution of natural increase as well as rural to urban migration in urban growth in the recent past.
- To examine India's future urbanisation in the light of new economic policy.

Sources of Data and Method

Census is the main source of data on urban population for not only India but also most of the countries of the world. Census defines urban areas based on certain criteria.

In India since 1961, two important criteria namely:

- Statutory administration and
- Economic and demographic aspects have been adopted to declare certain settlements as towns.

The former includes civic status of towns such as municipal corporations, municipality, cantonment board, notified area committee, etc., and the later includes criteria like population size, density of population and percentage of work force in non-agricultural sector. The former is also known as statutory town and the latter as census town. These two types of town based on two different criteria have added complexity to the urbanisation process in India.

For example, the predominance of non-agricultural activities is expected to be found in urban areas, but surprisingly we have significant number of towns in the country which are predominantly agriculture oriented. Such paradoxical development creates doubts about the quality of urbanisation in India. Further, the definition of urban had changed

from time to time. Although, the definition of urban areas of 1961 census continued in later censuses, but it has been slightly modified in constituents of non-agricultural activities since 1981 census. In 1981 census, 75 per cent of male workers in non-agricultural activities is required for a settlement to be declared as urban. In addition to it, at a town level the change in boundary has been frequent, and in several cases adjustment for it is impossible due to lack of relevant information.

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 published by Registrar General of India annually. The contribution of migration in the urban growth could be estimated directly from the data available in Migration Tables. However, it underestimates the contribution of migration due to several inadequacies. Alternatively, therefore, the residual method could be preferred in case of India.

Indicators

In order to understand the demographic and geographical dimension of urbanisation in the country, the following indicators of urbanisation have been considered in this study:

- *Percentage of urban population to total population:* This shows the level of urbanisation in an area.
- *Decadal growth rate:* This provides the change in urban population in percentage related to base year.
- *No. of towns per ten-lakh rural population:* This indicator shows the extent to which rural areas are served by urban centres.
- *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.

The indicators of urbanisation have been analysed at the state level for the period 1981-1991. Smaller states and union territories are excluded from the study. Socio-economic variables like per capita net domestic product, literacy, work force in non-agricultural activities and infant mortality rate have been taken to examine their association with different indicators of urbanisation.

India's Place in World Urbanisation

The urban population of the world was estimated to be 2.96 billion in 2000

Table. Percentage of Population Residing in Urban Areas by Region, 1980-2010

World/Region	1980		1985		1990		2000		2010	
	%	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%	,000
World	39.4	1752	41.2	1997	43.1	2282	47.6	2962	52.8	3779
Less Developed Region	28.8	954	31.5	1159	34.3	1401	40.3	1993	46.8	2717
Africa	27.3	130	29.6	164	32.0	205	37.6	322	44.2	493
Asia	26.2	678	28.6	813	31.2	974	37.1	1369	43.8	1845
Latin America	65.0	233	68.4	273	71.5	315	76.6	400	80.4	482

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 per cent in 2000. The developed countries have higher urbanisation level compared with the developing countries. The urbanisation level has almost stabilised in the developed countries.

There was about 3 per cent increase in the level of urbanisation in the developed countries during 1990-2000. On the other hand the increase in the level of urbanisation was faster in developing countries. Table shows that the level of urbanisation in India was 25.7 per cent in 1991 which was lower than the average level of urbanisation in the developing countries.

Table. India: Indicators of Urbanisation

Census Towns per 10 lakh	No. of UA/ Population	Urban Population	% Urban Towns/UA of Population	Number of Growth Rate Rural	Decennial (%)	Year in Million Population
1901	1827	25.85	10.84	8.6	—	
1911	1815	25.94	10.29	8.0	0.35	
1921	1949	28.08	11.18	8.7	8.27	
1931	2072	33.45	11.99	8.4	19.12	
1941	2250	44.15	13.86	8.2	31.97	
1951	2843	62.44	17.29	9.5	41.42	
1961	2365	78.93	17.97	6.6	26.41	
1971	2590	109.11	19.91	5.9	38.23	
1981	3387	159.46	23.34	6.4	46.14	
1991	3768	217.17	25.72	6.0	36.10	
2000	—	286.20	28.54	—	31.50	

In south Asia, India has an edge over some of the neighbours in urbanisation. The countries like Bangladesh (18 per cent) Sri Lanka (21 per cent), Bhutan (16 per cent) and Nepal (10 per cent) have lower level of urbanisation than India. But Pakistan has higher level of urbanisation (32 per cent) than India. It is however important to note that the comparison of the level of urbanisation at the world level is affected by definition of urban areas in each countries.

For example, in Bangladesh places having a municipality, a town committee or cantonment board are defined as urban; in Nepal, all localities of 9000 or more inhabitants are declared urban; in Pakistan places with municipal corporation, town committee or cantonment are declared urban; in Sri Lanka also Municipalities, urban councils and town are treated as urban. On the other hand 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:

- All places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee etc.
- All other places which satisfy the following criteria:
 - Minimum population of 5000
 - At least 75% of male working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits and
 - 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.

Correlates of India's Urbanisation

The correlation co-efficient for the indicators presented in Table shows that the decennial growth rate is positively associated with literacy and non-agricultural work force and negatively associated with infant mortality, although the correlation co-efficient are low and insignificant.

Table. Correlation Matrix of Different Indicators of Urbanisation and Socio-economic Variables, India, (N = 15)

S. N.	% Urban force in nonagricultural sector	Urban growth (1)	No. of towns (%) (2)	% Urban Per in class I Per 10 Lakh Rural (3)	% cities (4)	IMR capita Income (5)	% work literacy (7) (6)	(8)
1	1.0							
2	-0.13	1.0						
3	0.53	-0.01	1.0					
4	0.78	-0.07	-0.02	1.0				
5	0.51	-0.24	0.47	0.24	1.0			
6	0.48	0.32	0.096	0.46	0.25	1.0		
7	-0.49	-0.29	0.06	-0.56	-0.35	-0.78	1.0	
8	0.63	0.11	0.23	0.54	0.68	0.84	-0.88	1.0

The percentage of urban population is significantly positively related with non-agricultural work force, per capita income, and literacy and negatively related with infant mortality. The positive association between percentage urban population and percentage of urban population living in class I cities shows that urban population is highly concentrated in class I cities. The correlation matrix also shows that higher is the per capita net domestic product higher is the number of towns per 10 lakh rural population.

Literacy, infant mortality rate and percentage of work force in nonagricultural sector are significantly related with each of the indicators of urbanisation. While literacy and infant mortality have relatively weak relationship with indicators of urbanisation, non-agricultural work force is significantly positively related with percentage of urban population and concentration of population in class I cities.

Trend in Natural Increase and Migration

There are three components of urban growth *viz.*, the natural increase, net migration and the areal classification *i.e.*, addition of new towns minus declassification of existing towns. Besides the extension of boundaries of towns also tend to influence the urban growth. However, sometimes it could of small magnitude.

The natural increase reflects the role of demographic momentum, on the other hand migration is sensitive to economic growth. Table presents natural increase per thousand population at all India level for the years 1971 to 1999.

Table. Trend in Natural Increase in Rural and Urban Areas, India, 1971-1999

Year	Rural Natural Increase	Urban Natural Increase
1971-80	19.99	19.27
1981-90	21.64	19.49
1991-99	19.57	15.75

Although the rural and urban difference in birth rate has remained significantly large in the early years of 1970s which narrowed down in the later 80s, the difference in natural increase between rural and urban areas was not significantly large and remains almost constant both in 1970s and 1980s. This is due to the fact that level of decline in death rate in both rural and urban areas were not uniform. The urban areas have advantages than the rural areas. The average natural increase was 19.99 per thousand during 1971-1980 for rural areas compared to 19.27 in the urban areas.

The natural increase has increased during 1981-90 in the rural areas and remained constant in the urban areas during the same period. This shows that natural increase is not responsible for the slowing down of India's urbanization during 1980s.

Therefore, the share of natural increase in the decadal growth has increased and the share of migration has declined substantially. In the decade of 1990s, the natural increase in urban areas has declined substantially from the level of 19.49 during 1980s to 15.75. This could lead to further slowing down of India's urbanization during the 1990s. As it has been noted that urban growth at all India level has declined during the last decade, this trend is also visible for most of the states of India for the period 1981-1991. Further, it has declined both in better off as well as poorer states. The poorer states like Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan have shown very high growth rate during 1971-81 which declined to below 40 per cent in these states.

It has also declined in better off states like Maharashtra and Gujarat which are industrially advanced and agriculturally developed states like Punjab and Haryana also have registered decline in urban growth during 1981-91. The natural share of increase is very high in the urban growth in relatively poor as well as relatively rich states of India.

This clearly shows that the urbanisation in India in recent times is predominantly led by demographic momentum. On the other hand,

the role of economic momentum in terms of pull factors are largely restricted to the large cities only where also the new entrants are finding difficult due to over increasing size of informal sector and growing nativism.

Evidences of Declining Trend of Migration

There are several ways to examine the contribution of migration to the urban areas depending upon the availability of data. One of the ways could be to examine the share of net decadal migration to urban areas to urban growth, but the census data have some limitations in estimating the net decadal migration to urban areas directly from Migration Tables as separate information in the wake of change in the area and population due to extension of municipal boundaries during the inter-censal period is not available either for the total or for the migrant population.

Secondly, the migration data for new and declassified towns are not available separately and this could introduce error in estimating the contribution of migration in the share of urban growth over a period of time. It is found that share of migration estimated directly from Migration Tables underestimates the contribution of migration grossly. For example, Premi estimated 33.6 per cent contribution of net rural to urban migration along with increase due to changes in municipal boundaries compared with 39.4 per cent estimated by Jain and 36.1 per cent by Pathak and Mehta for the year 1971-81 using the residual method.

Table presents share of migration in urban growth along with natural increase and reclassification of towns for the census year 1971 to 1991 based on residual method.

Table. India: Components of Urban Growth 1971-1991

Per cent Share	1971-81	1981-91
Natural Increase	41.7 (45.1)	59.9 (58.7)
Net Migration + Changes in Municipal Boundaries	39.4 (36.1)	22.6 (23.7)
Reclassification	18.8 (18.8)	17.4 (17.5)

It may be seen that the share of migration along with changes in municipal boundaries was around one-third of the urban growth during 1971-81 which had declined to about one-fifth during 1981-91.

Table. Urban Growth and Share of Natural Increase in Selected States of India

States	Urban Growth (%) Natural			Share of Increase
	1961-1971	1971-1981	1981-1991	1981-91
Relatively Rich States				
Industrial				
Maharashtra	40.8	40.0	38.7	57.0
Gujarat	41.0	41.4	33.6	69.9
Agricultural Punjab	25.3	44.5	29.1	81.5
Haryana	35.6	59.5	43.1	62.1
Relatively Poor States				
Bihar	43.9	54.8	30.4	85.5
Rajasthan	38.5	58.7	39.2	65.3
Orissa	66.3	68.5	36.1	60.7
Uttar Pradesh	30.1	60.6	38.9	62.8

The share of new towns adjusted for declassified towns was estimated to be around 19 per cent during 1971-81 compared to nearly 18 per cent during 1981-91. The estimates clearly show that migration to urban areas had drastically declined during the 1980s. This is also reflected in the share of migrants in the total urban population as well as the share of decadal migrants to total migrants at the all India level as well as for the different states of India. Table shows that the percentage of migrants to total urban population as well as decal (0-9 years) to total urban migrants for the census year 1981 and 1991.

Table. India: Trend in Migration into the Urban Areas, 1981-1991

State/Country	Percentage of -censal urban migrants to total		Percentage of inter censal urban Population		Percentage of inter- Total urban urban migrants 1981			
	1981	1991	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
India	38.8	32.2	48.7	45.2	46.9	43.1	40.2	41.6
Andhra Pradesh	38.6	34.5	57.3	54.1	54.9	49.3	46.0	47.5
Assam	-	38.6	-	-	-	44.1	42.2	43.2
Bihar	38.5	31.8	53.1	42.3	47.1	42.1	32.3	35.9
Gujarat	39.6	38.1	42.1	44.7	43.5	42.6	41.8	42.2
J&K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Harlan	46.8	43.6	51.5	46.7	48.9	46.3	42.0	43.9