Urbanization and urban systems, encompassing the complex process and the infra-institutional network, is comparatively new in the field of political science research in India. There has been few studies in this area and most of the studies on urban process have concentrated either on demographic sociological perspective, or on formal-local government perspective. Urban political process, as a dynamic interaction between changing demographic social characteristics and the community decision-making, has attracted the attention of many researchers.

The number of areas labelled as "urban" is increasing with successive census years. During the year 1901 in India there were 1,917 towns. Due to fast growing urban population in the year 1951 the number of towns shot up to 3,660. While in 1961 owing to exercise of rigorous tests, the number of towns lowered down to 2,700. Again in 1971, there has been an increase in the total number of towns from 2,700 to 2,921 and in 1981 the figure rose to 3,245. In terms of urban population we find the constant increase from time to time. It was roughly 25,616,051 in 1901 and it has risen
up to 156,188,507 during 1981. With the process of modernization, urban centres are attracting population from the rural sector, creating complex problems of urban management. Besides new urban centres are being organised as a result of setting up of new industries, creation of other 'modern' centres for educational, administrative and other similar functions. Thus, the areas which were 'rural' are increasingly becoming 'urban' and urban areas are increasing in size.

Increase in size of the urban population results in complex problems of individual adjustments, redefinition of social institutions and management of municipal facilities. Alienation of the individual in a vast city has been emphasized so often by writers. This is accentuated when the individual finds the protection of 'traditional' social institutions (e.g. joint family, corporate life in a village) replaced by a secondary group relationships, emphasizing


2. "Becoming urbanized or not is no longer a matter of personal or group choice. The rural village within the influence sphere of a city, however firmly resolved it may be to maintain its social and cultural isolation, can neither keep all of its people in nor of the unwanted influences out. If such a village cannot find employment for all who must work, some will feel compelled to migrate. Under such conditions millions are moving from villages to urban places most of them with little to offer in the way of skill or 'know-how'." Anderson, Nels (ed.), Aspects of urbanism and Urbanization, (Leiden, E.J.Brill Publishing House, 1964), p.2.
contractual multiple roles in the heterogeneous urban population. Till the time the individual gets adjusted to this changed social basis of his existence, and this period of transition may cover several generations in certain cases, he finds himself lost in the vast population. This situation creates problems in effective political participation and ultimately the very legitimacy of the System.

A large number of persons living in an urban area puts a strain on the administrative apparatus. While dealing with problems of overcrowded slums, provision of municipal facilities to ever-increasing number of people, managing the public utility systems, and other such problems. Within the constraints of resources and a generally apathetic population, management of these problems become more and more complex.

Urbanization, like other processes of modernization, is an irreversible process. The number of urban areas, as well as the intensity of urbanization, is likely to increase in future. Thus in a modernizing country like India, the urban process along with its complex problems of participation and management of facilities is of utmost importance.

3. "At front and center for most cities in developing countries today major attention is on the twin challenges: overurbanization and underindustrialization. Together in these countries they give urbanism the aspect of chaos but there is a tendency to assume that the chaos will right itself if more and more industrial work can be provided." Ibid, p.4.
Defining Urban Areas

An area is defined as urban on the basis of size and concentration of population, as well as the nature of predominant source of employment. The size of the urban areas and concentration of population are mainly due to availability of non-agricultural employment opportunities and scope for better living. Rural-urban migration is caused more by the 'push' factor rather than the 'pull' factor. This leads to excessive over-crowding and consequently unemployment, resulting in many social problems.  

An area is defined as urban in the Indian context (i) if its population exceeds the limit of 5,000; (ii) 1,000 persons reside per square mile, and (iii) three-fourth of the adult population involve in non-agricultural pursuits.

This familiar definition, however, has certain drawbacks when applied to rigorous test. Density of population leads to people living closer with each other, with possibilities of better exposure and contact with larger number of others within that limited area and in turn, makes a person "urbanized."

There is no unanimity among demographers on how many persons per square mile make an area urban. The density of

population criterion per square mile differs from country to country. In India the density of population is fixed as 1,000 per square mile by Indian census office and in South Korea the definition takes an aggregate population density of 199 persons per square kilometre.

The demographers' contention towards density of population is not the prime factor, but the real fact is that people are migrating to urban areas mainly in search of better standard of living and to seek better employment opportunities. Thus an urban area is characterised by its demographic composition as well as the non-agricultural basis of employment. The social and economic processes underlying an urban area marks a departure in terms of greater differentiation of individual roles and institutions. While a homogeneous population of a village is replaced by the urban heterogeneity, more and more secondary groups come into existence with individuals having multiple membership. These groups not only define and protect the interests of the individual, but also cover other aspects of the individual life. Thus, interest groups like trade unions and clubs are typically urban institutions.

7. Briefly the 1981 census of India laid down the criterion of a density of not less than 1,000 people per square mile, for an area to be pronounced as urban. Census of India, 1981, Op.Cit., p. 7.

The political process in an urban area is affected by these processes characteristic of urbanization. The basis of urban politics is composed of the isolated individual and the strong secondary groups depending on the interests of the individual. With higher level of literacy rate and education and urban population is also expected to be more conscious politically and hence capable of taking effective part in the political process.

Urbanization and Modernization

Urbanization is closely associated with modernization, which is a process describing the economic as well as social aspects. Increasing control over environment and resources, through the use of science and technology gave an impetus to industrialisation and opening up of fresh employment opportunities and new commercial activities. This development created centres of urban settlements, attracting persons from a far lying rural areas in search of employment and commercial opportunities. Another basic function which the cities perform is "administrative" leading again to the creation of employment and in course of time certain commercial activities. This historical process of the population pull to urban areas, has been emphasized by writers on modernisation and urbanization. Thus a study of urban politics is a study of politics of modernization.

In what way does 'modernization' affect the political process? The initial impact is on the values and social institutions, which the newly urbanized area and the people carry from the pre-urban stage. Thus the "traditional" institutions like caste in India, change in form, if not in content, and are slowly replaced by newer forms of differentiated occupational structures. Likewise, joint families are replaced by nuclear families leading to greater individualisation in place of a corporate homogeneous life. New identities are sought and created affecting in turn the behaviour of the individual. The cities act like 'melting pots', creating new values, identities institutions and behaviour peculiar to the urban existence.

The economic and commercial activities around which the urban life revolves, offer entrepreneurial opportunities, where

10. "In the Indian context this means, among other things, that caste system will change into the class system, nuclear families will emerge from joint families and religion will become highly secularized". These hypotheses assume that Urbanization in India is the same as westernization, and ignore the existence of traditional urbanization on which modern urbanization had its first impact. Rao, M.S.A., (ed.), Urban Sociology in India, (New Delhi, Orient Longmans, 1974), p. 2.

individuals rise and fall, outside the traditional social stratification, and are possible. An urban area experiences the emergence of nuclei which change the very ethos of political activities. As one 'elite' group is replaced by another, the political style exhibits a definite shift.\textsuperscript{12} Social classes and individuals organise themselves into groups, which by nature are secondary interest groups.\textsuperscript{13} Whether the group is occupational or recreational, the members are from varied backgrounds, resulting into a limited kind of group loyalty, which is different from the total loyalty as found in the case of traditional primary groups in rural areas. Thus an individual can well be a member of different groups in urban areas, and his political behaviour will be determined by his subjective evaluation of the importance of the groups in his life. The political process is affected by these groups.

\textsuperscript{12} Dahl developed the 'Pluralistic' or 'Polyarchic' model of Elite theory to study urban political decision-making. His study of New Haven Urban area provides a conceptual model to study local power structure. Dahl, Robert, A., \textit{Who Governs?: Democracy and Power in an American City}, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965), p. 11.

\textsuperscript{13} "The fundamental unit of analysis in the theory is the human group. In the words of Bentley, a group means a certain portion of the men of a society, taken however, not as a physical activity, which does not preclude the men who participate in it from participate likewise in many other group activities." Young Oran, R., \textit{Systems of Political Science}, (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. 81.
An opposite process in urban areas is the isolation of the individual, cut off from his traditional moorings. Even when he is a member of different groups, his loyalties are not compulsive. In addition, the modern industrial and organisation life keeps the individual in singularly isolated position. The political behaviour under such conditions becomes a matter of individual choice. But occupational identity, economic interest, and higher consciousness emanating from diverse processes of modernization like literacy and education, makes the individual highly prone to political activities.

The political and administrative institutions for the management of urban areas face the problem of satisfying the ever increasing demands and needs of a conscious population and effective interest groups. Besides, there are problems created by the very process of urbanization, like the over-crowded slums, juvenile delinquency, etc. The political institutions have to perform regulatory, developmental and welfare functions, typical of the rising expectations of a modernizing sector.

14. "A second pattern of isolated individuals moving from more or less permanently into psychologically and socially unprepared urban settings is likely to be far more politically dangerous. Whether the people are primarily pushed off the land or attracted to the promises of the city the result is a sense of restlessness which provides a seed-bed for all manner of anomic movements." Breese, Gerald., (ed.), The City in Newly Developing Countries: Readings on Urbanism and Urbanization, (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 402.
The politics of modernization can best be studied in a locale where the process is on-going. A small town, for instance, is such a unit, experiencing penetration of traditional loyalties and institutions into the urban life. The new entrants into the city are still bound to their rural setting, as it has been pointed out by writers on Indian urban areas.

The urban areas exhibit characteristics of overgrown villages. The transition from 'traditional' to the 'modern' style of politics can be observed in a small town, which has not become very urban.

15. The author says that between macro-level (national) and micro-level (village) a small town, as a growth centre, occupies a significant place since it had links on the one hand with the social life of villages around it and on the other, the nearest city for employment and market purposes. Gupta, Khadija, A., Politics of a Small Town: A Sociological Study, (New Delhi, Impex India, 1976), p. 1.

16. "Urbanization covers the movement of people permanently or temporarily from village to city; it refers to the effect upon village manners of city habits; in some writings it is taken to mean the extension of cities on the ground the way in which they grow from small towns or spread out to incorporate villages." Pocock, David, F., in his article "Sociologies: Urban and Rural", in Rao, M.S.A., Op.Cit. p. 19.

17. "For instance, the Indian christians coming from Goa to Bombay stay in clubs called 'Cudds' which are organised on the basis of villages from which they migrate. They maintain relations with their respective native places and often factions in the village effect the organization of'Cudds' in the City." De Souza, M., in "The Indian Christian Community - A Social Study", Ibid., p. 289.
Review of Literature

Writers on urban politics in India have been attracted to study urban government and politics from different angles. We present below a brief survey of some of the existing literature in the field of urban politics in India. Our main aim has not been to present an exhaustive and elaborate treatment of all the studies but to take account of the representative studies to explain the main themes and trends in this area of study.

Thus some writers like C.A. Bayly, Christine Dobbins, and Kenneth L. Gillion mainly focus around competition and control of urban politics. These writers adopt historical approach to describe local politics.

C.A. Bayly's study of Allahabad City (1880-1920) is a historical account which is highly relevant in understanding the phenomenon of social and political change. The author describes the social and political environment from which the Nehrus and Madan Mohan Malaviya emerged. He analyses the background and resources of the important local groups - the Hindu trading magnates, Urdu - writing Government service communities and the Advocates of the provincial High Court situated in Allahabad City. The study also shows how these magnates, and local parochial leaders were related to the various institutions like Municipality and Collectorate.

Bayley also described at length various political movements which emerged in the late 19th century. The main focus of his study is "changing pattern of non-official influence in local politics" of Allahabad city. Bayley's study as one of the detailed sound studies of Indian politics between 1880-1920 with reference to Uttar Pradesh and the work goes on to describe how conditions were created in which Indian leaders working both as a national movement of rally and protest and also as an incipient political party within local representative institutions, consolidated their power. This is a book by an urban historian relating to events and personalities of the city. A major drawback of the analysis however, is the artificially of the categories, the 'Hindu Trading Magnates' the 'Urdu - writing Government Service Communities' and the lawyers of the High Court.

Dobbin's study of Bombay City relates to political events and personalities connected with the Bombay City for about hundred years. Bombay in the 19th century was a unique city in terms of its socio-cultural diversities. It was a city of the Maharashtrian as well as of the immigrant Gujaratis, of Hindus as well as Parsis and Muslims. Bombay was a city of disorganized masses and of self-conscious competing elites. Dobbin's attention is drawn on the latter, though an emerging proletariat

was a major element of the social and political structure of the city around the time of analysis (1880s), she chooses to close her historical account. She recounts and analyses some of the events that led to this development among others including the emergence of national politics.

Dobbin's study opens with an account of major segments in the City's population - namely the Gujarati Shetias (merchant princes). The Parsis, the Jain, the Hindu Bania castes and the Muslim Bohras are included under this class. They not only dominated the city's trade and commerce but also aspired to political power. Some of them, notably 'Parsis', became very close to Britishers and they enjoyed British patronage. The main part of the city's population consisted of the Maratha labourers, Muslims and other low ups. Under these circumstances the British introduced a new educated class of the 'intelligentsia'. The main idea was to produce 'gentlemen' and 'clerks' both to serve the interests of the British empire, though Dobbins detects a tension between the two ideas. The Britishers were anxious of seeing the rich 'Shetias' adopt the new education, but the latter hardly showed any interest in it. But it was the poor people belonging to upper castes, mainly Brahmins, who took greater advantage of the new opportunity and expected the government to provide jobs to them.
Dobbin's book is a scholarly work which highlights the social and political history of western urban India.

Gillon's account of Ahmedabad is a historical account which is highly useful in understanding the urban history. Gillion's account, focusing mainly on the period of hundred years beginning with the British annexation between 1817-1916. This study re-opens the whole question of westernization in our country and places it in a fresh context.

The author is concerned not about Indian cities in general but about the unique experience of a particular city, Ahmedabad the capital of Gujarat, also a city which for many years happened to be the home for Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhai Patel. Western influence and social change were limited in 19th century and the early industrialization of the city was achieved with a society that remained socially and politically conservative. Modern Ahmedabad was the creation of Ahmedabadis themselves.

Rajat Ray's study of "Urban roots of Indian Nationalism" highlights Calcutta's role in the Indian National movement. Calcutta's urban problems can only be understood in the light of its being a British past. The author discusses at length

the municipal politics of Calcutta Corporation. Ray discusses the background of the constitution of a representative Calcutta Corporation from 1875 to the outbreak of the Second World war. The study is primarily an enquiry of municipal administration.

Pradip Sinha's book deals with the growth of Calcutta since the 17th century. It discusses the city in its entirety, by tracing the different stages of the growth of the city, from the point where it was a conglomeration of a number of villages, till a certain coalescence had been achieved which exhibited the sharp characteristics of the "dual phenomenon", derived from the pre-colonial trading settlement pattern, reflecting the concerns of the Europeans with defence and security, manifested in the fort and the fence and the concern of the 'natives' about maintaining their own mode of social and economic organization. Throughout the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century the interpenetration continued shaping both the 'Black Town' and its 'White Counterpart', resulting, in the end, in two cultures differing greatly from their originals.

Myron Weiner and John Osgood Field in their Volume III of "Electoral Politics in the Indian States" study the electoral implications of three types of modernization and social change in India:

a) The growth of urban centres in a predominantly rural society;

b) India's demographic shift as people migrate from the country-side to the cities;

c) The expansion and intensification of commercial agriculture known as the Green Revolution.23

The analysis of India's Urban Constituencies, Myron Weiner and John Osgood Field, review twenty years of urban voting trends in India. Urban constituencies have been compared with rural constituencies in an effort to explore how wide the divergence is between urban and rural India. The writers conclude that the 'difference are not as great as one might have expected'. India's Urban Constituencies are generally highly politicized, radicalized and polarized than its rural side, the work shows the similarities between urban voting patterns and the voting patterns of the rural regions in which some of the urban constituencies are located.

Indeed the study of voting behaviour in urban constituencies in India comes to the conclusion that the State context

is quite important in determining the voting of the urban voters. The main electoral differences are between states and different regions of states, but not between urban and rural areas. This conclusion is interesting in view of the electoral participation and poll verdict in the sixth Lok Sabha elections of March 1977. It throws significant conclusion about the specific characteristics of urban areas, and explodes many myths about the concept of urbanization, as related to political process.

Paul R. Brass in his 'Factional Politics in an Indian State' studied in depth the existing factions within the Congress party in Uttar Pradesh.24 His study is mainly concentrated on how factional politics works in Meerut, Gonda, Aligarh, Deoria and Kanpur districts of Uttar Pradesh. Each district has been selected by the author because it represents in a very distinct way a particular kind of problem with which the Congress Party must deal and a particular kind of environment in which it must operate. It is an analysis of the transition of the Congress organization in Uttar Pradesh. Brass concludes that factions in U.P. are more influential than Political Parties and their social base is primordial solidarities than ideological affinities.

Ali Ashraf's main concern is to study the Calcutta City Government from the point of view of its function as a developmental agency. He charged that City Governments are not in a position to put into practice the 'spirit and needs' of a country progressing towards modernization. He finds that growing industrialization may lead to greater urbanization. Hence the need for improving the efficiency of urban Government. He discusses the operation of Calcutta Municipal Corporation from geographic, economic, social and environmental aspects. He pointed out the lack of dynamic executive leadership. These deficiencies arise in the functional, organizational, financial and political fields, and result in a deadlock and inertia. The study recommends certain changes to overcome such inertia, and the most important one was to replace the ineffective political leadership by more vigorous and responsible political leadership. Our proposed study will generally follow Ali Ashraf's study in that it will be necessary to trace the historical change and development since 1876 also examining the City's legal framework and organizational structure. As Ali Ashraf has done, the proposed study will discuss deficiencies in the functional, organizational, financial and

political fields and will suggest remedial measures to meet those deficiencies.

Rosenthal's work is an intensive study of Corporate politics of Agra and Poona Municipal Corporations.26 He evolved 'municipal politics' approach to study urban politics in India. His main concern is to study the "general process of social and political change in India; the larger political systems within which the two municipal arenas operate; and the problems inherent in developing a more comparative approach to the study of local Government and politics transcending national boundaries". The proposed study will generally adopt the first two objectives of Rosenthal enumerated about as the social and political change in an urban areas as also its linkage to the larger political systems State and National, will be studied.

Rosenthal identifies that local community power in the two cities was more or less controlled by the following 'interest groups: (1) factional groups based on personal following of particular leaders; (2) Ideational groups; (3) political machines for the collection and distribution of rewards; and (4) primordial groups based on caste, kinship and religion. The above groups form unusual and fluctuating alliances on certain issues. The proposed study will also try to identify

certain interest groups. While discussing the relationship between the municipal arenas and the Indian political system, he has suggested eight variables as useful for further research on Indian urban politics. These are the following: (1) Environmental influences; (2) The Governmental context; (3) Political context; (4) Political groups; (5) Political actors; (6) Arena outputs; (7) Latent Arena functions and (8) System functions. For the purposes of the proposed study, it will be relevant to concentrate on (1) Environmental influences (2) Governmental context (3) Political context (4) Political groups and (5) Political actors. Rosenthal discusses at length the biographies of important and semi-important leaders of the two cities. His study is behavioural as well as historical. This method will be adopted for the proposed study. However, the emphasis will be more on historical and less on behavioural aspects. Rosenthal's main concern is to study the distributive functions of municipal administrators and municipal councillors. The proposed study, while, adopting the 'municipal politics' model, in that the study will be limited to the municipal boundaries, however to make the study complete, centres of and processes of decision-making will be studied. This led Rodney Jones to criticise that Rosenthal has not extended his scope of study to probe further into the local decision-making process.
Rodney Jones's study of Indore Municipal Corporation is concerned with the process of local decision-making. He identifies certain interaction pattern between City's politics and State politics and he discusses at length about the linkage of political leaders and followers, individuals and groups, bureaucrats and politicians and bureaucrats themselves which can be summarized as 'horizontal' and 'vertical' relationships. He is the pioneer in the study of urban politics from 'linkage perspective'. Jones finds that urban areas are sub-servient to State authorities largely due to dependency on State Government for financial resources. He finds that a large number of political initiatives and decisions often takes place outside the municipal arena i.e., at the 'apex of vertical hierarchies which converge in the State Government. Because of the above reasons, Jones considers City Government in terms of 'political sub-unit'. For our proposed study the concept of linkages and study of local decision-making process would be relevant. Like Rodney Jones, the proposed study will also deal with a single urban area, local community affairs.

Rosenthal's more recent edited work 'City in Indian Politics' provides three distinct models to study urban politics from behavioural perspective. These models are the outcome


of a dozen contributors in the field of urban politics. 'The politics of urbanization' model deals with kinds of political behaviour which arise due to migration of people from rural areas to urban areas and their adjustment with the heterogeneous population and diversity of cultures in cities. The second, 'Urban sub-system model' identifies city as a political sub-unit. It is concerned with actions of Governmental and non-governmental agencies on the one hand, which provides scope to local political actors to participate in government and political activities. The third, 'municipal politics model' emphasises how the "political actors (including citizens) participate in the formal and informal structures of municipal Government and seek to turn those institutional arrangements in directions which serve particular political ends". From the articles in the above work, I have selected for discussion the following:

Barnett's article on Madras city focusses attention on politics of Urbanization. She describes the origin, history and development of D.M.K., in Madras City. She claims that D.M.K. is an outcome of urban organization. It was first confined to the urban centres and later extended its roots to other parts of the State. D.M.K. party attracted many non-brahmins to join throughout the State, because of its atheistic, linguistic and regionalistic character. This led to greater mobilization of non-brahmins as a formidable
political force, to replace the ruling 'brahmin patricians' of Madras. The author contends that the political change and change of power equation in city politics was the result of migration from rural to urban sectors. Thus it has given scope for previous sub-ordinate groups to replace the dominant 'urban elite' from political power.

The second article by Rodney Jones on Indore city provides an 'urban sub-system' model to study urban politics in India. He regards the city as political sub-unit. It depends on State Government for financial resources and administrative apparatus. Thus city acts as a sub-servient unit of State Government. His theory of linkages is extremely useful for the study of urban politics. He discusses the key role played by certain urban based groups and similar type of organizations affiliated with State and national Governments.

The third article by Church on Lucknow Municipal Corporation deals with municipal politics. In this article he discusses the political participation between municipal administrator and municipal councillors on the one hand and citizens on the other. If the Municipal Corporation is not in a position to redress the grievances or to provide adequately amenities and services, people react against the municipal authorities. By and large, he holds that the citizens are co-operative, but bureaucracy is rigid and corrupt. He also finds that the municipal politicians play significant role in urban politics. The above three models are extremely useful
to study the complex urban political process. While the proposed study will be mainly based on municipal politics model supplemented by a study of decision-making and linkages as suggested by the sub-system model. Finally the urbanization model will also be followed in that the study of the socio-economic changes and the problems created by migration from rural to urban and adjustment in a heterogeneous setting will also be studied.

S.K. Lal's 'Urban Elite' deals with urban decision makers of Jodhpur City. He focuses attention on the aspects of leadership, community power and local decision-making. The central idea of the study is to test the validity of different approaches to study Indian Urban elite and the operation of elitism viz: positional, reputational and issue participation. He used the term 'elite' "as those who are regarded as superior, influential and held in high esteem by the people, they may or may not have formal positions to influence the decision-making process, set values and uphold them". Thus he has given plural dimension to the study of urban elite. He has discussed the role of elite in local decision-making process. The above study is extremely useful from the viewpoint of community power structure and local decision-making. The research questions posed in the proposed study will lead to a study of elite in various changing socio-economic situations, their role in the urban

political process and in decision-making. To this extent, the proposed study will draw on S.K. Lal's work.

Khadija Gupta in her 'Politics of a Small Town' points out that Indian sociologists have studied either 'macro-level' i.e., large cities or 'micro-level' i.e., villages. There have not been many studies on small towns. The author claims that study of small town like Ranipur in Uttar Pradesh is useful and provides valuable political, administrative, social and economic links between large urban complex and the rural complex. She concentrates on changes in social stratification in that town due to political developments like abolition of Zamindari system, adult-franchise and working of political parties and Town Area committees. Again the study also focusses attention of community power structure. It is doubtful whether her contention that study of small towns provides valuable political, administrative, social and economic links between large urban complex and rural complex is acceptable especially in cases where the large urban complex is a little distant from the small town and where there direct linkage between an urban complex and its peripheral rural sector.

Ali Ashraf's study seeks to focus upon the nature of local politics in three city Governments - those of Calcutta, Kanpur and Ahmedabad. An attempt has also been made to understand the socio-cultural milieu of the three cities, the historical evolution of municipalities and civic leadership and their impact upon the performance of the three respective corporations.

The study seeks to focus in the context of limited resources and competing demands, the quality of civic leadership assumes considerable importance to make best use of whatever is available, in the public interest. A major drawback of the analysis, however, is to single out only one variable as THE cause. But actual output of a city in terms of quantity and quality of services is the result of a complex interaction of forces and factors - historical, social, political, economic and organizational.

Philip Oldenburg's study of Delhi concentrates on Municipal Government and he describes and analyses the roles of the Councillor, Administrator and Citizen at three levels of Government - the Municipal Ward, the City Zone and the Municipal Corporation as a whole. The author calls it a study of "political ethnography". Oldenburg opines that

urban politics not only exist in India but that is also a significant part of Indian democracy. But there are some people in our country who believe that "politics" has no place in Municipal form of Government. The author believes that the way Municipal Government in Delhi operates, is comparable with other Indian cities, particularly with the various other Municipal Corporations. To that extent there is a 'theory' of urban politics in India.

The main theme of this study is to understand the politico-administrative nexus at the level of the municipal ward. The study narrates how Municipal Councillors and Administrators function in day-to-day city Government and the links of the citizen to Government are.

Vijay Laxmi Pandit has worked on the Delhi's Metropolitan Council - the most important elected-body in the political set up of the city. This book is the first to meticulously analyse the role of local political elites. She also considers at length the socio-economic and academic background of the members of the three successive Metropolitan Councils, from 1967 to 1980; their recruitment; their functioning; their political leanings; their attitudinal predilections and biases; the extent of their awareness of the City's problems and how they would resolve them; their

perception of national ideals, like socialism, secularism and democracy; the mode of their communication with their constituents; and their linkages with the political elites at the higher level.

Owen M. Lynch concentrates on finding out the role of religio-cultural groups in urban politics. The author studied the politics of untouchability and social change in Agra City. He concentrates on neo-Buddhists, a religion propounded by Ambedkar, as a remedy for the upliftment of Scheduled Castes. The formation of Republican party of India was an outcome of the involvement of neo-Buddhists into politics.

R.G. Wirsing has worked on various strategies of political bargaining in Nagpur City. The book is sub-titled "A Study of Voluntary Associations in Urban India" and defines its scope in a fairly restricted manner. Wirsing makes a study of voluntary associations in Nagpur and their influence on the process and the meaning of power-sharing in urban India, i.e., how mass voluntary action contributes to social and economic development and to political democracy.

What Wirsing has in mind are credit societies, marketing and


producers' co-operatives, educational societies, caste associations, housing co-operatives etc., which he calls "the anointed local executors of social change". Voluntary associations are fostered by the Government in accordance with its decentralized developmental strategy and funds from Government are poured into them.

The role of voluntary associations is first implicated by discussing the main groups and factions, political alignments and other important factors in local politics such as caste and community and the interaction of associations with all these. The main problem of this study is that conclusions remain suggestions.

Raymond L. Owens and Ashis Nandy analyse the emergence of a traditionally low-status cultivating caste as the dominant entrepreneurial group in an urban community in West Bengal and compare the entrepreneurial style of this group with that of traditional elite castes in the community. 36 The authors have given careful attention to the organizational and political aspects of entrepreneurial success and to the changing relationships between entrepreneurship, on the one hand, and caste, class, socio-economic status and family, on the other. The main concern of the book is entrepreneurship as it influences and is influenced by larger processes of social change in Howrah city.

There are a few studies of Municipal elections which also throw some light on the nature of political affiliations and voting behaviour in some cities in India. Sharma and Jangam in their study of Bombay Municipal elections found that community issues had better appeal to the urban voters than the civic issues. They arrived at the conclusion that the good performance of the minority parties in the elections was mainly due to communal (caste/religion) appeals. The authors also discussed the organization and functions of the Municipal Corporation. The authors approach however, remains descriptive and historical.

Bhambhri and Verma in their study of 'Urban Voter' make effort to analyse the voting behaviour of citizens in five municipal towns viz., Ajmer, Alwar, Bikaner, Jaipur and Kota in Rajasthan. The authors made a sincere attempt to analyse and understand the complex behaviour of the urban voter. The findings of the study are that political leaders occupying high positions in the Government and the party were involved in local elections. The political parties were not able to leave local elections to independent candidates. In fact political parties

wanted to extend their areas of influence and municipal institutions provided them an important base of power. The study provides an understanding of the dynamics of municipal politics.

Thomas Pantham has presented an account of the characteristics of the political parties in Baroda city since 1952, in particular their behaviour during the 1971 General Election. Pantham provides a significant analysis of party-building and democratic consensus-building in India. Pantham has tried to delineate the profile of the political parties by analysing their membership in terms of age, sex, education, occupation, income etc. On the basis of the Baroda City's analysis he has generalised the role of various political parties in India.

In the opening chapter Pantham says, "since a major concern of the present study is with the political perceptions and political beliefs of a set of political activists, it is useful to turn our attention now to some of the attitudinal ingredients and credal foundations of democratic political systems".

Satish Saberwal's edited work on "Process and Institution in Urban India" has sought to develop a perspective for interpreting urban social phenomena in India. This volume illustrates a welcome growth of interest among sociologists and social Anthropologists in the study of India's urbanism. This volume contains papers on Shiv Sena, Durgapur Steel Plant, Entrepreneurs in Faridabad and Executives in Madras. Other writers offer challenging reinterpretations of the social consequences of urbanization and higher education. It contains papers on the changing cultural traditions in a small Bengali town and a very useful long historical perspective on India's Urbanism.

Dipankar Gupta's book is the first indepth study of Shiv Sena movement in Bombay during 1966-1974 from the Marxist perspective. Shiv Sena was launched formally on June 19, 1966. Led by Bal Thackery, it gained popularity by appealing to the regional and linguistic sentiments of Maharashtrians. It won 42 seats in the Bombay Municipal Corporation elections of 1968 and became major opposition


41. Gupta, Dipankar, Nativism in a Metropolis: Shiv Sena in Bombay, (New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1982).
to the congress party. Shiv Sena had even been able to secure representation in the State legislature. The study addresses itself to explain how the Shiv Sena movement acquired a mass base. Gupta's main emphasis is on the study of social movements, on the background factors and causes of the popularity of the movement, its ideology and finally the issues over which it is most exercised.

Bhambhri and Verma studied the Municipal Finances of five major Municipalities in Rajasthan viz., Ajmer, Alwar, Bikaner, Jaipur and Kota. The resources of municipalities should be sufficient to perform its obligatory and discretionery functions. In the absence of enough financial resources the urban bodies have to depend upon the State Government for its financial assistance. A synchronisation between municipal functions and financial resources is essential to secure their efficient working.

Bhatt and Trivedi found that any study of public finance would be seriously incomplete without some consideration of the fiscal systems of local units of the Government. This book provides a preliminary analysis of the municipal finances of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation. The writers have made an effort to highlight

the main trends in municipal revenue, grant-in-aid and municipal expenditure over the twenty years period.

Besides the work reviewed above there are pieces of writings in journals and Government reports which are very valuable indeed. We have limited our review to some studies only which either indicate a trend of analysis, or are significant from our perspective.

The Problem

The phenomenon of urbanization can be reviewed from different perspectives. In terms of the demographic characteristics, urban population presents a rich area of analysis of migration patterns, as related to the capacity of the economic structure of the urban areas as well as the desired balance between the urban and rural economies from the vantage point of national planning. The quality of social life, in terms of the problems of adjustments of the immigrants to the city life, the breakdown of traditional rural social traditions and institutions and economic strains in many cases presents another perspective urbanization.\footnote{44} Urbanization thus is viewed as an agent of

\footnote{44. "The first reflects a concern with the kinds of political behaviour which develops out of the movement of people from the countryside into the city and from the existence of a city as a bounded space in which heterogeneous populations and diverse occupations are brought together. From this coming together certain political values arise which form the basis for urban political behaviour." Rosenthal, D.B., (ed.), The City in Indian Politics, \textit{Op.Cit.}, p. 3.}
social change, where the basic structure of human grouping changes in content as well as in appearance. In a developing country like India this aspect of urbanization is extremely significant. Management of these diverse problems (of immigrants to cities and their economic and social strains) is another aspect of urban development. Urban areas are managed by governmental structures responsible for municipal and developmental activities. Thus the third perspective is what Rosenthal calls the "municipal politics model", which examines the pressures and counter-pressures from diverse sources in the city life exerting themselves on the decision-making process of the governmental agencies.45

The political process, however, does not recognise the conceptual distinction between different perspectives, and is affected by, and in turn affects, all the processes

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45. The municipal politics model emphasizes "the way political actors (including citizens) participate specifically in the formal and informal structures of municipal government and seek to turn those institutional arrangements in directions, which serve particular political ends." Ibid., p. 3.
and problems of urbanization mentioned above. In order to cover the problems of urban areas in the comprehensive manner, it seems advisable to adopt the "Community approach" for the study of urban areas.

Treating an urban area as a 'community' will highlight the questions which are most important for political analysis.

46. "A study of political processes, studied in the contextual analysis, can help us in understanding (i) the individual actors, with their motivations, desires, values, expectations; etc. (ii) the relations these individuals develop with other individuals in pursuit of their base values and (iii) the background factors, political as well as non-political, historical and as well as contemporary, which shape these relations. Political processes operate continuously overtime and produce a constant stream of outcomes. As time passes, certain patterns and trends emerge from these outcomes." Varma, S.P., Modern Political Theory: A Critical Survey, (Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1975), p. 205.
of different aspects of the urban growth. Which are the 'groups' into which the community has organised itself? What is the basis for their organization? Are they different from the rural areas, where the immigrants mostly come from? What is the membership pattern of these groups? Who are the leaders of these groups? Examination of these problems will provide answers to the wider questions of political organization and also participation of the urban population. The interplay of these processes in the making of a decision for the community approach is expected to provide a richer insight into the working of governmental agencies.

47. "The two prominent American conceptual models of urban political decision-making, the 'community power structure' approach associated with Floyd Hunder, and the 'pluralistic' or 'polyarchic' model developed by Robert Dahl both deal with the question of who governs the city, but diverge in their major conclusions. Leaving the methodological disputes aside, both models have serious limitations lie in the unit choosen for primary analysis. For Hunter, it is the Urban community, and for Dahl it is the City government. Both presume that the locus of major decisions affecting the course of city politics is local. The assumption may be sound in the American context, or even if it be qualified somewhat, an argument can be made for narrowing the focus of urban politics research to local decision-making viewing higher levels of government as the source of fairly stable constraints that set boundaries to city politics, This assumption, however, cannot so appropriately be made in the Indian context. The bulk of the important decisions affecting the city's political destiny are made externally at higher level of politics." Jones, Rodney, W., Op.Cit., pp. 362-365.
The municipal agencies are authorized by the statutes enacted by upper levels of political organization like the State Government in the Indian context. The legal authorizations are overbearing. Rodney Jones refuses to treat a city and its government as an autonomous entity and makes a strong plea for analyzing a city in terms of 'political linkages'. But to view an area simple in terms of legal authorization and finances, is after all limited. In the Indian context, where there were several levels of political activities, cutting across and coinciding with one another in the same geographical area, the linkage analysis is useful not only in terms of 'vertical' network, between the levels, but also 'horizontal' linking different sections at the same level. Different social groups and the individuals in a community are connected with one another in a network of power-relationships. It will be interesting to find out the basis of these 'internal networks', and the gangplanks which connect with the vertical relationships. Analysis of


49. "Political linkages may be horizontal or vertical. The dominant structures of vertical hierarchies in Indore politics consists of horizontal and vertical linkages binding high levels political chieftains and bureaucrats with each other and with clients in formutual gain" Jones, Rodney, W., Urban Politics in India, Op.Cit., p.15.
political relationships in terms of 'linkages' helps us in understanding the process as related to different functionaries and levels of the urban communities. To be sure, we will have to identify such linkages as operating among the 'leaders' at different levels of political activities as also among the different leaders in the same community. In the municipal arena, the networks will also include the administrators, who may constitute an exclusive network having connecting links with the purely political networks. Infact for purposes of political analysis, this distinction between 'politicians' and administrators' is false, for both the sectors are equally important in the decision-making and are complimentary.

The internal structure of the system of linkages at the local level provide insights into relationship between the 'leaders' and the 'followers'. The recruitment of the elite inside the groups and factors affecting the recruitment are easy to identify in terms of small groups and the analysis of inter-relationships among different networks will give insight into the elite structure at the community level.

Every community and political group afterall organises itself in terms of some purposes which add meaning to their existence. The ultimate test of every institution is its capacity to meet the challenges and solve its problems. The municipal agency, for example can be evaluated in terms of
facilities which it provides to the urban community and the extent to which urban problems are solved by them. But solutions to community problems are not straight and simple as bureaucratic model of organization presumes it to be. Making a decision is itself a complex process affected as it is by the network of power relationships. Thus the process of decision-making provides a meeting ground for different levels of political groups, relationships and networks interacting with one another while adjusting the decision-making process to their respective interests. The result obviously is an 'optimum decision' which defines a political decision.

Perspective

Our perspective for the study of urban politics is determined by two considerations. Firstly, the 'community approach' provides a meeting ground for studying the different problems related to the urban area. The specific emphasis will be on the changes occurring in the socio-economic structure of the population, its effect upon the pattern of power distribution and the ultimate impact of these changes on the process of decision-making concerning the community problems, which themselves may follow the changes in the community structure.

For a study of Change it is necessary to add a time dimension to the field of study. A historical approach is helpful in this context. We propose to study the structure of urban society the power configuration and the decision-
making styles over a period of time. The actual span of time will be determined by the nature of data available in the particular locale selected for the study.

**Locale of the Study and Coverage**

Where can the problems and questions raised in previous sections studied in depth? We feel that an upcoming small town with a historical past, provides the best opportunity for the detailed examination of the process outlined above. Such a town will present the picture of the changing demographic feature resulting from the process of urbanization and will be a good field for the study of interpenetration of the 'traditional' institutions and values into the modern sectors. Such an area will have certain features of modernization with strong suggestions of rural characteristics, for a contact between a small town and the rural hinterland is continuous and intimate. The contact may be occasioned by commercial or administrative or political purposes. These considerations have tempted us to suggest a study of Meerut City, which is the district headquarters of the most prosperous western districts of Uttar Pradesh. This town has experienced frequent devastations from the foreign invaders, starting from Timer in (1398 A.D.) who were on their way to Delhi. The Britishers found this place suitable to make it a cantonment town, and Meerut is also known because the first sparks of the Mutiny of 1857 were struck here.
The area has been habited by the proverbially hardworking Jats and allied caste groups and the whole region is characterised by very sumptuous agricultural situation. The interesting part of the story is that while the general affluence was due to the hardworking peasantry, most of whom were small land proprietors, the district was also known for its Zamindars and Nawabs, most of whom were Muslims. The politics of the area and the city was affected by the affluent classes—the landed castes, the gentry and the Nawabs. The City faced a great change in the economic composition of its population on the eve of Independence. The well to do Muslim families migrated to Pakistan and the city was full of Hindu refugees mainly from the adjoining state of Punjab.

Meerut area has also been very prominent in the State politics of Uttar Pradesh, which will provide occasion to study linkage politics in detail.

It is also possible to cover roughly a period of 100 years starting from 1876 when the Meerut Municipal Board was first set up, as a purely administrative agency. In line with the changes in the population and the statutory provisions, the board has faced problems of civic administration with political overtones.
Research Questions

We perceive an Urban community as operating between two environments, the socio-economic structure of the Community itself experiencing changes throwing up new problems to be tackled by the decision-making apparatus, and the municipal government responsible for the administration of the city, which has evolved over a period of time, experiencing expansion both in terms of changing functions and personnel.

In the context of area of our study, that is Meerut city in western Uttar Pradesh, the following will be the specific points of our enquiry:

(1) In what manner has the population of the city changed over the period 1876-1976? What have been the striking economic and social changes in the population?

(2) How has the structure of the municipal body evolved in Meerut during the period of our analysis?

(3) How has the city behaved politically on the eve of elections during (a) General elections for State Assembly after 1952, and (b) Municipal elections, under the restricted franchise before 1953 and adult franchise afterwards? Who were the contestants? Who among them were successful in getting elected and Why? Can the electoral behaviour of the city distinguished between the wider political arena and the municipal arena? What are the determining factors of this behaviour?
(4) How have the changes occurring in the population affected the working of the municipal body?
(a) What has been the pattern of elite recruitment in the area?
This will be analysed in terms of the election to the most important position of the chairman of the Municipal Board.
(b) How has the pattern of change of population or the elite affected the articulation of popular demands?
(5) Within the elite group, what has been the nature of conflict and co-operation? In other words what determines the formation of networks of political relationships in the municipal arena.
(6) What were and are the other political groups in the City, like interest groups, political parties, and caste organisations?
(7) What is the nature of vertical power linkages, between political process in the city and the higher levels like the State level?
(8) What is the nature of linkages within the city, between the different sectors of activities e.g., political parties, District Boards, Co-operative agencies, Caste associations etc. Does the network reveal pattern of concentration of power or dispersal of power? In other words, is the power distribution in the area 'elitist' or 'pluralist'?
(9) What kinds of decisions are taken by the City's Municipal Agency? Which demands are met and how do they reach the decision-making levels? Which vehicles are used for such transmissions.

(10) How a decision is arrived at? What are the considerations entering the process? Which 'groups' or parties are influential and how do they make themselves effective at the decision-making level? What is the comparative importance of different functionaries involved in the process e.g., non-official office bearers, councillors, administrators, etc.