CHAPTER V

A QUEST FOR AN APPROPRIATE THEORY ON GROWTH OF THIRD WORLD CITIES
Before embarking on a search for an appropriate theoretical explanation of the growth of Third World cities, it would be worthwhile to first summarise the major proposition of the three macro-level paradigms prevalent in the field of urban sociology which claim to have an explanation for the growth of present day cities. These three major theoretical perspectives are the Human Ecological, the Marxian and the Weberian approaches. After summarizing these theories, an outline of the peculiar features of Third World urbanization and city growth would be presented and the relevance and explanatory potential of the above mentioned theories in understanding the process of growth of Third World cities would be tested against it. During this endeavour the attempt will be to point out the lacunae in the explanatory potential of these theories and to provide, if possible, an alternate explanation for growth of Third World cities.

The Human Ecology: \(^1\) The Traditional Approach:

From its very inception, there were certain ambiguities regarding the scope of applicability of human ecological school and part of it stems from its shifting objectives and the diverse methodological techniques accompanying them. On the one hand, human ecology claimed to present a theory of the city offering an explanation of the pattern of city growth and urban culture, on the other hand it claimed to be a science dealing specifically
with the theoretical problem of how human populations adopted to their environment. This constant shift of focus between a concrete physical reality and a theoretical abstraction exacerbated by ambiguity inherent in Park's concept of 'community'—the term being employed to both the physical community and to the ecological process. Park's approach was based on the Darwinian concept of struggle for existence and this led him to conclude "that order emerged in the human community through the operation of 'natural' (unplanned) process such as competition, dominance, succession and segregation". (These processes were later termed the 'ecological processes').

For Park, there are two aspects to any human society. While one aspect deals with the utilitarian character of human relations where competition for survival is the basic motive force (a view Park finds in the work of Herbert Spencer), the other deals with the subordination of individual will to the 'collective mind' of society and is manifested in consensus and common purpose (a view he traces to the Comtian notion of moral order). The first level, Park terms 'community' and the second, 'society'. He therefore distinguishes between community as the biotic level of social life and society as its cultural level. The biotic level was earmarked by him as the study area of human ecologists. This biotic level was based on competition and division of labour and was derived from Darwin's concept of 'the web of life'. Competition between
individuals, he argued, gave rise to relations of competitive cooperation through differentiation of functions (division of labour) and the orderly distribution of these functions into areas where they were best suited. This functional (or economic) and spatial differentiation of activities was caused by the 'dominance' certain functions had in human community. The dominance of industrial and commercial activities helped them to out manoeuvr other activities from the city center. The pressure for space at the city centre forced up land values there and this in turn determined the pattern of land values in every other area of the city. Differences in land values are thus the mechanism by which different functional groups are distributed in an orderly efficient but unplanned manner in space. McKenzie one of Park's colleagues at the University of Chicago has explicated in detail the modus operandi of the ecological processes of invasion, succession and domination and the resultant formation of natural areas, while Burgess has presented a model of the spatial manifestation of these ecological processes. He suggested that the city could be conceptualized ideally as consisting of five zones arranged in a pattern of concentric circles. The expansion of the city occurred as a result of the invasion by each zone of the next outer zone.

The operation of the ecological processes described so far resulted from the natural and spontaneous reaction of
the human community to changes in their environment. However, human population which differed from the plant community because it had the characteristics of mobility and purpose, was also organised at the cultural level through communication and consensus.

According to human ecologists, the cultural aspects of human society which they dubbed as 'society' as opposed to community appeared only when the biotic struggle for existence had reached a natural equilibrium. To quote Park "In short, society, from the ecological point of view, and in so far as it is a territorial unit, is just the area within which biotic competition has declined and the struggle for existence has assumed higher and more sublimated form." However, this does not mean that there is no competition at the societal level, for it becomes conscious and collectively organised as it is shaped by cultural norms.

Park is not methodologically clear about the definition of the terms community and society. On some occasion he refers to them as empirical categories which have a definite territory and are visible objects. On other occasions he treats them as analytical constructs. According to this definition, community is not a thing but a unorganized and unconscious process whereby human population adjust to their environment through unrestricted competition. Park also attempts to reconstruct the complexity of social reality by taking into account the additional factors
of human technology and cultural values. He states that the four elements of the 'social complex' i.e. population, artifacts, customs and natural resources help to maintain the biotic balance. He takes the analysis further and suggests that it is possible to conceptualize of a hierarchy of constraints on the individual in terms of operation of the ecological, economic, political and moral orders, each being progressively restricting on the individual. "The individual is more free upon the economic level than upon the political, more free on political than the moral." 

Lastly the concept of 'natural area' is very important for human ecologists because it helps to overcome the problem of the conceptual division between the biotic and the cultural level by presenting visible objects like the ghetto, red light area, suburb, etc. where the two levels fuse. A natural area is not characterised merely by division of labour and competitive cooperation, as a moral area it is also characterised by consensus and communication.

The traditional Human ecological school has been criticized on four counts. First, accepting the basic assumption of the ecological school regarding the role played by competition. Davie and others have criticised Burgess's concentric zone theory pointing out that there is no uniform pattern of residential location and the pattern of industrial location determines
the shape, the city growth will take. Secondly Robinson\textsuperscript{13} has observed that the human ecological school does not draw a distinction between ecological correlations and individual correlations. Ecological correlations between illiteracy rates and the proportion of blacks in a given population unit says Robinson, does not necessarily justify the deduction that blacks are illiterate.

Thirdly, Alihan and others have criticised the ecological school for not maintaining the biotic-cultural dichotomy in their studies and often fusing the two levels in their descriptions. Saunders\textsuperscript{14} defends the ecologists against this charge, stating that it was the very intention of Park to differentiate the two levels analytically, and to fuse them in empirical discussions and the concept of natural area was used exactly for this purpose.

Similarly, Firey\textsuperscript{15} was very critical of human ecology for overemphasizing the role played by economic maximisation in locational decisions and neglecting the equally crucial role of sentiments and values.

One can defend ecological school by pointing out that Park never denied the significance of cultural factors and had included both technology and non-material culture as two of the four elements of the 'social complex' discussed above.
The central problem of contemporary ecological inquiry is to understand how a population adapts to a constantly changing yet restricting environment. This adaptation is considered to be a collectively organised phenomenon.

Hawley's analysis of the process of adaptation can be understood with the help of the four ecological principles of interdependence, key function, differentiation and dominance. Unlike the traditional ecological approach which emphasised upon competition, contemporary ecological enquiry is primarily concerned with interdependence. In any human population group, the process of adaptation to the environment involves the development of interdependence among its members. Interdependence may take the "form of either symbiotic relations (i.e., complementary relation between functionality dissimilar groups) or commensulistic relations (i.e., aggregation of functionally similar groups). While the symbiotic union enhances the creative power of the group (for it enables specialisation), the commensulistic union enhances their defensive powers (for it increases numerical strength)." The symbiotic unions which are therefore 'productive' have been labelled by Hawley as 'corporate groups' while the commensulistic unions which are 'protective' are labelled as 'categoric groups'. The main corporate groups in modern society are familal, associational and territorial while
the main categoric groups are based on common occupation (for eg, the trade unions;). These two axes of interdependence are not mutually exclusive and corporate groups may sometimes function as categoric groups, (for example when faced by an external threat), while categoric groups may develop corporate characteristics (when for example a specialised leadership stratum is developed).

The next important ecological principle is the concept of 'key function' developed by Hawley. By 'key function' Hawley means that certain units within the system play a very crucial role in the adaptation process than others, these units being specially concerned with adaptation to the external environment. Although Hawley does not elaborate on the exact nature of these key functions. Peter Saunders states that one can infer from his arguments that in a capitalistic society the key functions are performed by the private enterprise firms which mediate both between the population and the natural environment (through material production) and between the population and the social environment (through trade).  

The role played by the other two ecological principles, differentiation and dominance depends on the performance of the key function. When the productivity of the key function is low as in hunting and pastoral societies, there is very little of differentiation and functional specialisation, whereas in modern industrial societies the scope for functional differentiation is infinite.
The last ecological principle, dominance also depends on the key function, for the dominant positions are occupied by those units which contribute most to the key function of adapting to the external environment. According to Hawley, dominance is attained by the unit that controls the flow of sustenance into the community. Therefore the dominant units are economic rather than political. To quote Hawley:

"It is commonly assumed that government assumes the dominant position... Yet its dominance is not without qualification... government especially in the United States, plays a passive part in the sustenance flow to the community."

The functional dominance which business exerts within the ecological system is expressed politically through the influence it has over community decision making process. Hawley himself did a study of the power which business exerts in relation to urban renewal programmes.

This functional dominance is expressed not only politically but also spatially and temporally. The functional dominance gets manifested spatially by the occupation of central sites by those units performing the key functions and the spatial distribution of the other units depending on the relative importance of their roles when compared to the key function. The functional hierarchy is therefore expressed in the form of a spatial gradient and Hawley in fact confirms Burgess's concen-
tric zone theory. But he stresses on functional dominance rather than on dominance *per se*. Thus when business performs the key function, it will occupy a spatially dominant site while in a pre-industrial society, the central locations will be occupied by household units performing crucial tasks.

The temporal dimension of dominance is expressed in the way the rhythm of the activity of the key function structures other community activities, an example being the 'rush hour' in modern industrial society.\(^{24}\)

The four ecological principles: interdependence, key function, differentiation and dominance as described above explain how the human population adapts itself to the environment, with a tendency to move towards an equilibrium position.

This equilibrium is accomplished: (1) functionally, when the various functions are complementary to one another and collectively provide for the integration of the system (2) demographically, when the number of units engaged in each function is sufficient to maintain the function and (3) distributively, when the units are arranged in space and time in such a way that accessibility between them is in direct relation to the frequency of exchanges.\(^{25}\)

But equilibrium is an analytical construct and can be possible in only a closed system. Theoretically equilibrium
remains only a tendency, first because of imminent changes occurring in the environment and secondly due to the cumulative changes occurring in the system due to the growing productivity of the key function. System change is therefore an evolutionary process involving expansion and readjustment of the ecological system.

This emphasis on evolutionary change can be found in the work of Ottis Dudley Duncan, one of the leading exponents of Hawley's framework. Duncan conceptualizes the ecological system as a functionally interdependent 'ecological complex' consisting of population, environment, human technology and human organization. He explained system is growth with the help of the formula: technological accumulation at an accelerated rate; intensified exploitation of environment, demographic transition or population explosion and organizational revolution.

The contemporary human ecological school has been criticised on the following counts.

First, the neglect of the cultural level by the ecological school and its stress on the biotic level as an area of study has been criticised by Firey and others who represent the socio-cultural school. This is because values, sentiments and motivations play an important role in determining land use changes. Secondly, Michelson and others have criticised ecological theory for the incomplete conceptualization of the environment.
where the physical environment takes a secondary role and space is used as a medium over which different natural areas are formed rather than a variable with potential effects of its own. Thirdly, the ecological complex (population, organization, environment and technology) has been criticised by Sidney Willhelm for being used tautologically i.e., not only to furnish the data but also to analyze it. The fourth point relates to the deterministic nature of the ecological theories and the problem of 'teleology' i.e., interpretation in terms of purpose. Ecological theories are criticised by Willhelm, Robson and others for not taking into account the subjective values and purposes of individual actors within a social system. Finally, ecological theories have been criticised for being ideological, i.e., reflecting the economic value orientation of the capitalist society. Castells, the marxist urbanologist is very critical of the ecological school and states that the apparently 'natural forces' identified by Park must be explained as forces specific to the capitalist mode of production. Saunders says that the concerns of the ecological school are the concerns of the dominant groups in society for "it talks of maximising efficiency but has nothing to say about optimizing social justice, it talks of maintaining equilibrium through gradual change and readjustment and rules out even the possibility of fundamental restricting... At best it is mildly reformist, at worst it is crushingly reactionary."
The Marxist Perspective on City Growth:

The 'city' has become an object for study for Marxist scholars because of the vital role it plays in the accumulation of capital. Many Marxist scholars now stress on the need for a spatial interpretation of the growth of the capitalist economy because space is not only the medium on which capitalism engraves its pattern but is also the object of conflict between different classes. Enzo Mingione states that the main focus of study in Urban Sociology is the relationship between territory (or space) and the dominant productive and class system. To study this relationship one has to look at the three aspects of territory. These are:

a) Territory is a map of social relations of production which are usually exploitative in character. For example, the contradiction between city and country in the stage of primitive accumulation, between centre and periphery during capitalist accumulation and between development and underdevelopment during imperialist accumulation.

b) Territory is itself a means of production directly in agriculture and indirectly in towns for building whose ownership and control determines class relationships. Therefore land speculation and land use planning exerts monopolistic control over housing market and agricultural produce.
c) Territory is a consumer good in short supply and its unequal distribution among various social classes leads to stratification of the population, high housing costs and neglect of certain areas.

The city therefore becomes the arena where the activities of production, reproduction, consumption and the social and political activity organised around them takes place.

In the advanced capitalist countries, cities emerged as a consequence of industrial capitalism and its institution of commodity production. This institution may be characterised as a general social process in which capitalist firms take material and equipment, combine these with live labour and sell the resulting output at prices which fetch them a profit. This incessant profit maximising drive of commodity producers leads to a spatial concentration of industrial firms because proximity cuts down transportation costs.

The city grows under the propulsion of industrial development. The existing industries attract other industries leading to additional economic development in the secondary and tertiary sector, infrastructural development like roads, ports, warehouses, railway yards, banks and a concentration of labour force migrating from the countryside. For example, in the West, the industrial city had as its core, the inner city where industries were concentrated along with working class housing. The upper
classes moved away from these congested areas as the transport web developed outwards creating residential segregation and hierarchy. 37

A capitalist city growing under the propulsions of commodity production was shaped to a considerable extent by the need to streamline and strengthen the productive process (access to labour, raw material and finances) and to permit a quick turnover of capital by reducing the indirect costs of production and circulation of capital. 39

According to Marx, value is created in the process of production and not in that of circulation. The production process can be controlled, the time span shortened with the help of technology and labour management techniques but the period of circulation of capital is not technically reducible as it is contingent upon purchase, transport, storage, market and financial support. 39

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Lamarche states that in order to reduce these circulation costs, there emerges a specialized form in the circulation sphere called 'property capital'. Property capitalists select certain advantageous sites for development and equip these with buildings which are then let out to different commercial, financial and administrative institutions. The builders are able to charge high rents from the tenants because of two advan-
tages they provide. First, these buildings offer situational advantages because they are located in already developed areas and second, these buildings are let out to tenants who are engaged in mutually benefitting activities like commerce, finance and administration. The result is that high rise buildings for administrative, commercial and financial activities are encouraged because of the profitability involved and residential housing specially for middle and low income groups suffers.

Harvey\(^4\) states that cities also grow because of over accumulation of capital in the primary circuit (i.e. production process) which leads to investment in the secondary circuit (comprising the built environment for production like factories, warehouses, etc., and built environment for consumption like houses, hotels, etc.) and the tertiary circuit (comprising of investment in science and technology and social investments for reproduction of labour power).

The city cannot however spontaneously serve the need of capital as the contradiction in the system of commodity production also manifests itself in the urban sphere. The urban structured by rent maximising land market and the land use is primarily geographical pattern that develops is of a dense commercial core, a tendency for ever widening peripheral scattering of industries and the appearance of socially segregated residential neighbourhoods. This complex pattern can be explained in terms of a juxtaposition of interdependent
production space (in which accumulation of capital takes place) and reproduction space (in which regeneration of labour is achieved), mediated by a third subjacent space devoted to circulation needs. 42

Breakdown or crises occurs in the urban sphere in two significant areas, the first is in the sphere of collective consumption and second is in the complex interdependent system of land use explained above.

According to Lojkine, 43 collective consumption goods have the following characteristics: (a) They produce services like shelter, healthcare, etc. (b) They are inseparable from their means of production, (c) They are consumed collectively and (d) They are not destroyed in the act of consumption. These goods according to him are the material supports of the activities devoted to the extended reproduction of labour power.

In the sphere of collective consumption one finds that—many of the outputs like streets, subways, bridges are both capital intensive and highly indivisible and frustrate the profit motives of capitalists because of the long ammortization time involved. Further, as Harvey points out, they are immobile in space and value incorporated in them cannot be moved without being destroyed. The state is therefore forced to intervene through urban planning and produce the items of collective
consumption, financing them through direct and indirect taxes. Secondly, some of the items of collective consumption like cheap housing, cultural and recreational facilities, garbage collection can be privately produced but not being viable for large scale production, they are not taken up by private investors and require subsidy or direct investment from the State.

In the second instance, since the urban land use exists, in the form of integrated system of inter-dependent production and reproduction space, any breakdown has deleterious impact. The incursion of commercial activities into residential neighbourhoods disturbs the reproduction pattern and the intensification of business land use in the central city leads to congestion, parking problem, pollution, etc., and hence distortion in production space pattern. Secondly property relations restrict access to land. High rents and land speculations lead to artificial scarcities resulting in spatial distortion like unproductive wastage of land in some areas and shortage of land, which leads to congestion in another. These problems are further complicated by what Harvey sees as the contradictory dynamics of accumulation (provoking urban growth and change) versus the inertia and slow convertability of the built environment (resisting urban growth are change).

The emergence of planning as an institution therefore becomes important. But because planning makes its appearance
from the very womb of capitalist structure, its actions are essentially palliative in nature and cannot transgress the very social relationships from which it has emerged. It acquires and changes its specific goal, emphasis and contingent ideology (planning theory, planning education, professional codes) in response to specific development in urban civil society. As problems arise, urban planning tries to deal with them with measures like urban renewal, infrastructural development, massive public housing scheme, zoning, etc. But each specific intervention leads to further escalation of the crises. Urban renewal means resettlement of displaced population at another place, infrastructural development leads to spread of built up areas at the expense of others and the institutionalization of the planning practice within a complex bureaucracy leads to re-politicization of urban planning which in the first place was a political intervention. The capitalist state is thus caught up in a constantly escalating spiral of urban interventions where the more it acts, the more it gets caught in the mesh of urban crises.

As the working class is made to pay the cost of accumulation - insufficient social facilities, higher commuting costs, squalid and ecologically dangerous housing, rising land rents, environmental decay and overcrowding, it becomes restive and tends to challenge the system. Capital accumulation, Mingione, points out "creates and reproduces a territorial social order
which is contradictory in itself and incompatible with the interests of a large majority of the population." Urban life as a result becomes progressively invaded by political controversies and dilemmas which manifest themselves in the form of urban social movements.

Trends in the re-structuring of capitalist cities:

The capitalist system has tried to overcome this crises in the urban sphere in two ways: (a) by resorting to high technology in the production process, introducing automation, standardising product so as to cheapen constant capital input and enable product innovation and diversification; (b) by relocating industries in low wage, non-unionised areas like rural areas within their countries or setting up industries in Third World countries.

This 'geographical disarticulation' of production has been made possible because of (1) concentration and centralisation of capital in giant multi-dimensional firms and concentration of finance in major banks and (2) the technological revolution that is occurring in western countries which has led to a shift from a mechanical to programmable electronic technology.

This technological revolution and the accompanying revolution in communication is making superfluous the need for concen-
tration of production, labour, transportation facilities, and other related activities for industrial growth. The circuit of capital has been made independent of space specificity and surplus value is extracted by combining constant and variable capital from various advantageous positions. It also permits greater leverage in bargaining with labour for the labour process has been broken up and spatially dispersed. The base of the contemporary city is the service economy and the urban landscape is dominated by office towers, high rise luxury apartments, shopping arcades, office, parks and recreational facilities. Large investments are made in Research and Development which has become the core of capitalist restriction.

The geographical disaggregation of industries has been achieved at higher human and social costs. The communities which had grown up around these industries face the crises of disintegration. The traditional blue collar workers who had won concession in the sphere of housing, health, wage, sanitation face the threat of displacement in the workplace and residence and this is creating considerable resentment. Manuel Castells's book 'City at the Grass Roots' provides insight into these struggles at the community and household level which are taking on the character of multi-class coalition arranged around urban issues like collective consumption goods and control over urban space.
The Third World City;

Although a genealogy of Third World cities is complex, a common feature of all these cities is that they developed out of the interaction of indigenous social relations with its colonial counterpart. This resulted in the integration of the colonies through these cities into the global division of labour. The foundation of Third World cities was therefore based on their role as centres of administrative and political control or as port cities, unlike in the West where the base was industrial capitalism.

In the post-colonial period, most of the governments of Third World countries welcomed multi-national investments in collaboration with domestic capital. These cities then developed pockets of affluence which were surrounded by sprawling squatter settlements of the urban poor. These urban poor live in environmentally degraded conditions and work in the informal sector, most often excluded from the ambit of 'collective consumption' goods which the state is obliged to provide for the organised labour force. They play a vital role in helping the multi-national companies which extract surplus value from their Third World projects who indulge in sub-contracting, casual labour and piece work in order to evade social security obligations and high wages and at the same time extract surplus value from their Third World projects.
These contradictions get reflected in the spatial profile of Third World cities which are marked on one hand by the physical expansion of the capacity to accumulate - flyovers, office spaces, good roads, private transport, five-star hotels, upper class housing, etc., and on the other hand by dilapidated buildings, blight, congestion and slums on every available space. The poor bear the brunt of the escalating costs involved in providing services to the capitalist sector in the form of fewer or no services, cut back in cheap transportation and environmental degradation.48

The situation is further worsened as the upper classes invest their surplus in land rather than in the productive sector being unable to compete with the multi-nationals.49 The speculation on land inflates the prices on land and housing, further worsening the conditions of the urban poor.

Such deteriorating conditions have forced the urban poor in Third World countries to become volatile and assert themselves through protests like squatting on prime land, tapping water and electricity, demanding paved roads, sewerage and regularisation of their squatter settlements. A more direct and volatile assertion has been in the form of food riots (also called IMF riots) which have become common in some of the Latin American, African and Asian countries caused by the stringent austerity measures of the governments fighting a losing battle against the burden of IMF debts.49
When faced with these ever burgeoning problems, transnational capital which had come to Third World countries because of problem in their own countries, are now relocating their industries in their own advanced capitalist world trying to solve their problem through technological innovations. Flight of these multi-nationals leave the economies of the Third World in disarray. Therefore the contradictions of the capitalist economy can be found in their most intense form in cities of the Third World.

The Weberian Perspective:

The foundation for the Weberian approach to the analysis of the city was laid by Rex and Moore in their analysis of the housing and race relations in an inner-city area of Birmingham called Spark Brook, published in their book Race, Community and Conflict (London, Oxford University Press, 1967). Later Pahl refined the analytical thrust of their argument and presented a conceptual framework for the study of the urban system which had remained implicit in their work.

Rex and Moore were influenced by Burgess's work on the spatial segregation of different communities into various zones also known as natural areas and the successive migration of different migratory groups from the zone of transition.
Central to Rex and Moore's theory is their assertion that the move to the suburbs is an aspiration that is common among all groups of residents. However, although suburban housing is widely desired, it is not widely available. It is a scarce resource which is unequally distributed among the population. Therefore, first, an analysis of the criteria used for allocation of housing to different sections of the community becomes necessary in order to understand the distribution of life chances in the city. They studied how both the bureaucratic (state) and market (private) mode of allocation of housing affected the access to housing of different population groups. Second, because suburban housing is unequally distributed, it becomes the source for potential conflict and struggle over housing could be analysed as class struggle over distribution of life chances in the city.

The significance of Rex and Moore's study is two fold. First, by emphasising housing as an important, and analytically distinct, area in which individual life chances are affected, they located the theoretical concern of urban sociology firmly within the ambit of the traditional concern of mainstream sociology with sources of inequality and class conflict. Second, they brought out the relation between the spatial structure of the city and the social structure through their analysis of the system of housing allocation.
According to Pahl, "the urban is to be conceptualized as a socio-spatial system which generates patterns of inequality in the distribution of life chances over and above the inequalities generated in the sphere of production."

There are three main implications of his treatment of the urban as a socio-spatial system. First, there are fundamental spatial constraints on access to scarce urban resources and facilities. This happens because space is inherently unequal since no two people can occupy the same location in relation to the provision of any facility. Spatial constraints on life chances will therefore always operate to some extent independently of the mode of economic and political organisation. Such constraints are expressed in time/cost distance. Second, there are fundamental social constraints on access to scarce urban facilities. These reflect the distribution of power in society and are illustrated by bureaucratic rules and procedures and power of other social gatekeepers who help to distribute and control urban resources. The task of urban sociology is therefore to study the goals and values of various social gatekeepers in order to explain the resulting pattern of distribution of urban resources.

The third implication of Pahl's approach is that conflict is inevitable over the distribution of urban resources because such resources are crucial in the determination of individual's
life chances and yet they are inevitably scarce and unequally distributed.\textsuperscript{57}

In this initial formulation as has been delineated above Pahl had defined the urban managers as the independent variable and the population groups dependent on the allocation system as the dependent variable. But empirical research carried out guided by his formulations encountered two problems. The first concerned the identification of urban managers i.e., whether the public sector gatekeepers were more important or the private sector agencies. The second problem concerned the autonomy of the urban managers selected for study.

These two problems of identification and autonomy led Pahl to introduce two important changes in his later work on urban managerialism. First, he distinguished between managers in the public sector and those in the private sector and stressed on the role played by former. Second, he recognized that local bureaucrats are constrained in their operation by their relation with the private sector and the central government. He now conceptualized the urban managers as 'intervening variables mediating, on the one hand, the contradictory pressures of private sector profitability and social needs, and on the other the demands of central government and the local population.'\textsuperscript{58}

The urban managers are therefore no longer the independent variable and in order to identify the persons or groups acting
as the independent variable, one has to look at the changing role of the state in an advanced capitalist country like Britain. According to Pahl, in Britain at least (for he denies the possibility of developing a single explanatory framework for all capitalist countries given the wide variation between them) there is a qualitative change in the relation between the state and private capital leading to the development of what he calls the corporatist state.

"In general it could certainly be argued until fairly recently that the state was subordinating its intervention to the interests of private capital. However there comes a point when the continuing and expanding role of the state reaches a level where its power to control investment, knowledge and the allocation of services and facilities gives it an autonomy which enables it to pass beyond its previous subservient and facilitative role. The state manages every day life less for the support of private capital and more for the independent purposes of the state... Basically the argument is that Britain can be best understood as a corporatist society."\(^{59}\)

One can explain the emergence of the corporatist state in terms of causes for its emergence, its functions and its mode of operation.\(^{60}\)

There are four factors which explain the reasons for the emergence of corporatist state they are:

a) The growing concentration of capital in the hands of a few large oligopolies which forces the state to intervene in order to ensure an adequate return for investments and to regulate the profit, so that it does not become a license to plunder.
b) The falling rate of profit in the economy which forces private companies to seek state financial aid and in turn helps the state to exert its influence over the pattern of investment in the private sector.

c) The tremendous spurt in technological development and the escalating costs of research and development has forced even large companies to seek state aid, while the social implications of new technology in terms of pollution, public safety, levels of employment has led to more state involvement.

d) Finally, the growing intensity of international competition has led private firms to seek the support and protection of the state.

These four factors have led to a qualitative shift in the relation between private capital and the state.

According to Winkler\textsuperscript{61} a proponent of Pahl's thesis, while capitalism entails the private control of private property, and socialism entails state control of collective property, 'corporatism is an economic system of private ownership and state control.'\textsuperscript{62}

This change in the role played by the state vis-a-vis private capital entails a new set of state functions. "Corporatism replaces the anarchy of the free market system with the order of rational plan, it substitutes predictability for profit
maximisation; and it undermines traditional elements of capitalist property rights by dictating uses (such as investment) and restricting benefits."  

The mode of operation of the corporatist state is through a system of hierarchical control but essentially non-bureaucratic in the sense that emphasis is placed upon flexibility of administration. The State dictates policy but tries to find others to carry it out on a voluntary basis. For example, agreements are reached with trade union leaders over wages and it is then left on the union bureaucracy to convince its rank and file.

The corporatist state is therefore centralized, hierarchical and cooptive.

It is within this context that the role of the urban managers - i.e., local state officials is to be conceptualized. On the one hand they are agents of a centralized corporatist state, while on the other hand they enjoy a certain degree of discretion in determining how the policies are to be carried out. It therefore follows, that while they are not the independent variable in any analysis of the mode of distribution of urban resources, they certainly are important intervening variables. Urban problems cannot be therefore studied separately from the political economy of the society as a whole and the role of the urban managers in the distribution of urban resources should be studied keeping in mind the governmental, economic
and ecological constraints under which it operates. This is because they are constrained in their sections by the power of the centralized interventionist state, the decisions taken by private sector firms and the inevitability of territorial inequalities.

The urban managerial thesis has been criticised by Lamber et al. who compare Pahl's concept of corporatist state to the democratic pluralist theories and question the so-called neutrality of the state. But such criticisms are generally unfounded as Pahl's definition of the state is based on Weber's work and Weber had never talked of value neutrality in the role played by the state.

Pahl's concept of the corporatist state has also been criticized by Marxist scholars. They point out that what is important is not the extent of state involvement but the basic processes of capitalist accumulation and class relations and these have remained unaltered even under a corporatist state. Hence what is state corporatism is state capitalism according to them.

Finally, Saunders points out the methodological problems involved in Pahl's theoretical formulations. First concerns the degree of autonomy enjoyed by urban managers and the lack of precise definition which makes empirical research difficult.
Second, concerns the receding locus of power in Pahl's work. For example the actions of urban managers can be understood only in the context of the national state policy which in turn can be understood in terms of operation of the mixed economy and this turn can be understood in the context of crises of the capitalist world and so on. So a researcher analysing housing inequalities in an area may, for instance, end up analysing the international balance of trade.66
UNIQUE FEATURES OF THIRD WORLD URBANISATION

After having summarized the major theoretical formulations of the three macro-level paradigms on city growth, it would be appropriate to sketch out the peculiar features of Third World urbanisation and growth of cities. Later an assessment of the paradigms will be undertaken in the light of the above description.

The urbanisation process in Third World countries is marked by migration of greater volume of people and at a rapid pace, when compared to the migration process in the West. As part of the quadrupling of the world’s urban population during the last fifty years, the developed regions increased their urban population by about 2.75 times (i.e. from 198 to 546 million), while the Third World countries increased their urban population by about 6.75 times (i.e., from 69 to 464 million). The big city population of the Third World increased even faster by about 9 times during the period 1920 to 1960 as compared to 0.6 times for Europe and 2.4 times in other developed regions during the same period.67

This rapid urbanisation is taking place in countries with low level of economic development, low technological development, the low energy production and consumption and the lowest level of education. Secondly, most of the urbanization is taking
place in the few major cities or primate cities of these under-developed countries. The foundation of most of these major cities are based on their role as colonial port towns and administrative centres or because of their status as the political and administrative capital of feudal rulers. Urban primacy and the emergence of major cities was consequent to export expansion and the channeling of trade of colonial powers through these ports. Therefore it is no coincidence that so many primate cities are major ports.

Even after independence most of these major cities in the Third World countries are undergoing incessant growth and the primacy has further accentuated. This is happening because many of these countries trying to shrug off the colonial legacy have gone in for export oriented and import-substituted economic growth.

Although such export policies have met with limited success, a distinct result has been the further depredation of the rural economy of these countries and growing prosperity of the primate cities. Specialized export production has generated little in the way of multiplier effects since the harvest was shipped directly to the ports and the profits flowed to national urban centres. Secondly, expansion of the export sector has weakened the political autonomy and economy of provincial regions and thereby undermined the growth of major provincial centres.
The policy of import substitution led to economic development but the majority of the population failed to participate in the benefits of that growth. Throughout the Third World industrial growth occurred most rapidly in the largest cities and encouraged the accentuation of metropolitan and primate city development. In Mexico it led to the increase in the share of the national capital of Mexico city of manufacturing employment from 35% in 1950 to 47% in 1975, while in Brazil the State of Sao Paulo increased its employment from 39% in 1950 to 49% in 1970.  

In fact, all industrial companies, irrespective of the source of their capital seek access to the national government bureaucracy located in the metropolitan centres. In Third World countries, the state controls the exchange rates, industrial prices, import licences, wages, provision of infrastructure, etc., and consequently access to government machinery is an often quoted rationale for industrial location in Third World countries.

In many Third World countries it is the location of government along with the paraphernalia of modernization which dictates the growth of cities, rather than industrialization per se. In many African and Caribbean countries, the well paid government bureaucrats constitute an important market for imported manufactured products, for the shops which sell these goods, for the construction industry and for the domestic services.
This concentration of development in a few major cities has led to problems like rising land prices, traffic congestion, heavier urban taxes, pollution and this has led both new and existing companies to move away from the central city areas. But most of them have moved no more than a few kilometers away from the metropolitan centre. In fact these industries reduce the costs arising from urban diseconomies while retaining the advantages of being near metropolitan centres. This kind of deconcentration has further strengthened industrial growth around metropolitan centres. For example, in the case of Hyderabad city, most of the industrial growth is taking place in the Medak and Rangareddy districts, in areas beyond the area demarcated as the Hyderabad Metropolitan region but within a few kilometers from its boundaries.

Although accelerated industrialisation is taking place around the primate cities, the rate of immigration is much higher and the rapidly increasing labour force of the cities is not being absorbed into full and productive employment. With urban growth rates being frequently in excess of 5% per annum (see table 22) but with industrial employment increasing at 4.4% per annum, the bulk of the new manpower is absorbed by the large informal sector consisting of small-scale enterprises, personal services and open unemployment. Moreover spurts in urban investment tend to attract further migrants to the city. The resulting over urbanisation creates acute shortage
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Urban Population as percent of total population</th>
<th>Annual rate of Urban growth</th>
<th>Per capita income (US dollars)</th>
<th>Annual growth in per capita income</th>
<th>Total population (millions)</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
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<td>5.2 4.6</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
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<td>1,480</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low income Asia</td>
<td>30 19</td>
<td>4.2 4.3</td>
<td>459</td>
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<tr>
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<td>90</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3.5 3.6</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>4.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>22 18</td>
<td>3.3 3.3</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>643.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>China People's Republic</td>
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<td>3.1 3.4</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>952.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korea Republic</td>
<td>55 28</td>
<td>4.8 6.4</td>
<td>1,160</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>36.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>China Republic</td>
<td>77 36</td>
<td>4.1 3.3</td>
<td>1,400</td>
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contd.
Table 22 contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Urban Population as percent of total population</th>
<th>Annual rate of Urban growth</th>
<th>Per capita income (US dollars)</th>
<th>Annual growth in per capita income</th>
<th>Total population (millions)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>390</td>
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<td>39.9</td>
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<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
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<td>9.2</td>
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<td>26.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>83 67</td>
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<td>2,910</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a: Countries with more than 5 million are included; b: World Bank (1980: 748-9); c: World Bank (1980: 110-11).

Source: Adapted from 'Cities, Poverty and Development', Allan Gilbert & Josef Gugler, New York, Oxford University Press, 1982.
of housing and the bulk of the migrants find marginal employment in the informal sector and live in unauthorised peripheral or spontaneous settlements. For example in India, about 23% of the urban population live in slums, the figure being much higher for industrial cities, Calcutta-29%, Bombay-48%, Madras-23% and Hyderabad-30% (see Introduction).

This process of overurbanisation occurring in the cities of Third World countries is much different from the urbanisation that had taken place in the west. In the developed countries, urbanisation had involved a gradual process of innovation and interdependent economic and social change occurring over a period spanning more than a century. The thrust for the concentration of population in cities was provided by technological innovation and the strong economic drive towards capitalist accumulation. This was accompanied by increased division of labour and increased specialization of occupations. New institutions were created and the functions of the oldest institutions radically altered or specialized. In the economic sphere, the appearance of capital intensive industries led to a "related shift downward in relative importance from own account to employee status, from small unincorporated units to large impersonal corporations, from self-employed or family employed to employee or worker status." 74

In contrast the urbanisation process in the underdeveloped nations has been rapid with massive influx of low-skilled migrants
from the poverty stricken rural hinter land. As industrialization has not been able to keep pace with the urbanization process, one finds what is often called a dual kind of economy in the major cities of these countries, with the co-existence of both the formal and the informal sectors. Many of the rural institutions, values and behaviour patterns have persisted or have been adapted to the specific requirement of the urban setting. Social organization and mutual aid networks continue to function and flourish in the urban scene, apparent especially in the informal sector.

T.G. McGee states that the urban economy of underdeveloped countries can be divided into three sectors:

a) **Individual Enterprise Sector** Comprises of the unemployed workers of the 'street economy' of the city. Street hawkers, casual construction workers, prostitutes, professional beggars, etc. It accounts for between 25% to 40% of the urban labour force. Few of them earn more than the subsistence minimum.

b) **Family Enterprise Sector** or the traditional bazaar type economic sector. They comprise a major chunk of the informal sector and account for 35% to 45% of the labour force engaged in small trade and service establishments like hotels and in industrial workshops. By and large, traditional commodities are produced for the low-income mass market and activities are labour intensive.
c) **Corporate Sector** is made of the capital-intensive business, the government and the professions. Depending on the kind of city and country, this sector provides between 15% to 50% of the urban employment. The economic units in this sector are large, people work regular hours, capital-investment is large and levels of technology and productivity are high. Education is required for entry into this sector and employment automatically conveys middle class status as a minimum and produces the professional-managerial urban elite at its upper echelons.

The informal sector contrary to the general belief plays a very important role in the urban economy of the Third World countries. The small artisan and manufacturing firms require less capital, are housed mostly in homes or small sheds, use home made or second hand tools, are geographically dispersed and require little public investment. While productivity per worker may be low when compared to the larger firms, the direct and indirect costs of each unit of output is also low.

Similarly, while in the industrialised nations, the small grocery store at corners are fast disappearing under the tide of suburbanisation, automobiles, supermarkets; the family run retail stores in the cities of the Third World countries still have a big clientele, which must buy frequently and in small quantities, simply because it lacks money, refrigerators and other storage facilities and must carry home purchases on foot or by bus.
Even domestic service has a strong rationale in Third World countries. In many of these nations, the expanding upper middle class housing has very few built in conveniences and equipment of advanced societies. Therefore the labour involved in cleaning, cooking, laundry and marketing is many times greater than in advanced countries and domestic servants become a necessity.

One can extend a similar line of argument for the role played by peripheral or spontaneous settlements in providing housing for the urban poor who are otherwise left out of the urban housing market due to their inability to pay the minimum rent or construct authorised housing structures. These peripheral settlements also absorb the fresh waves of migrants who flock to the city and act as the launching pad for the more dynamic segment of the migrants. According to F.C. Turner all families living in cities have three basic needs of security, identity and opportunity. In the context of housing, the poor value proximity to unskilled jobs (opportunity) much more highly than either ownership (security) or good quality standard houses (identity). He differentiates three different segments in the economic conditions of spontaneous settlements consisting of (1) the low income bridge heads, comprising recent arrivals with few marketable skills and the need to obtain work for survival. Modern standards have low priority and access is important, (2) the low income consolidators who have achieved
a degree of permanancy in income. Access is no longer important though standard housing is still out of their reach. Many such settlements are organised and undertake efforts to upgrade their environment and living conditions, (3) the middle income status seekers who have a steady income and are seeking social status. Upgrading of housing has a high priority along with education and improved services.

In the underdeveloped countries of the Third World, the problems of over urbanisation and low level of economic and technological development gets manifested in unemployment, a large informal sector, squatter settlements, chaotic land use pattern, congestion, blight, lack of social and physical infrastructure. This forces the state to play a much larger role in underdeveloped countries than in the West.

In the developed countries of the West, the thrust towards urban growth was provided by technological innovation and the desire for accumulation of capital under laissez-faire conditions. The state had a very minimal role to play like maintaining law and order, legitimizing the various social, economic and political institutions which appeared because of increasing division of labour and specialization of occupation and in providing certain basic infrastructural facilities like electricity, transport, water, etc. This stress on privatism in economic development and minimum interference from the state still remains
the policy in most developed countries. This becomes apparent from the speech of former U.S.A. President Nixon who while presenting the Domestic Council Report on National Growth in 1972 stated that the:

"Patterns of growth are influenced by countless decisions made by individuals, families and business -- aimed at achieving the personal goals of those who make them -- (such decisions cannot be dictated --) In many nations, the Central Government has undertaken forceful, comprehensive policies to control the process of growth. Similar policies have not been adopted in the United States to several reasons. Among the most important is the distinctive form of government which we value so highly -- it is not feasible for the highest level of government to design policies for development that can operate in all parts of the nation."\(^78\)

In contrast the government in the Third World countries have a very important role to play in the modernization of their economies and the consequent growth of cities. This happens mainly due to two reasons. First, most of the Third World countries are ex-colonies and have inherited an intentionally centralized administration in which the government plays a major role in all policy matters. Secondly most of these countries after independence are trying to catch up with their developed counterparts and have gone in for the capitalist system of economic development of the First World but undertake massive welfare measures having adopted the socialist ideology of the second World.\(^79\) The government is therefore forced to play a major role because of the dual necessity of setting up highly capital
intensive basic industries for economic growth to take off and to provide welfare measures like housing and land for the poor, job opportunities for economically and socially backward classes and various other protective measures.

Then unlike in the West where the state steps in to alleviate urban crises arising due to the unbridles competition of the capitalist growth process, the state in Third World countries is itself the initiator of urban growth. This happens because many of its policy decisions like the industrial location policy, policy on slums and housing, declaration of certain areas as backward have spatial implications. In addition, the State has control over large tracts of urban land which it gives away liberally to public sector industries, to research institutes and universities and to government developmental agencies for projects like satellite townships, commercial complexes, office complexes, residential apartments, industrial estates, etc. Each of these projects become the nucleus around which further urban growth occurs. Although one cannot deny the private developers in the growth of a city, one finds that they undertake projects in already well developed areas or take up sites where the basic infrastructure like roads, transport, water, electricity has already been provided by the government. For example, rows of old houses in and around the CBD are often pulled down and multi-storeyed residential flats and commercial complexes are being constructed by private developers who want to reap benefit from the acute shortage
of housing and the accessibility provided by the city centre.

However the State is unable to undertake long term rational plans for the development of the city and for controlling the urban chaos because of lack of adequate resources and due to the general contradiction that exists between rational planning and interest group politics.

Any major development plan for the city is highly capital intensive and cannot be properly implemented by the state because of inadequate financial resources. The State therefore resorts to adhoc measures and major schemes are undertaken only when international funding is readily available. For example, the drainage and sewerage system of Hyderabad city is very old and was initially laid to cater to a population of 3 to 4 lakhs. No attempts were made to upgrade the system till recently though the present population of the city stands around 30 lakhs. Only new plans are being drawn to improve the drainage system because of the availability of World Bank loan of about Rs.223 crores of which Rs.140 crores is to be spent to augment the drinking water supply and the remaining Rs.83 crores will be spent in improving the sewerage system. Similarly slum improvement programmes are being undertaken in Hyderabad city because of availability of about Rs.50 crores from the Overseas Development Corporation of the British government to improve the environmental condition of the 660 slums of the city.
Then there are inherent contradiction between rational goal oriented planning and interest group policies of the political elite. Rational long term plans demand that clear cut goals and action schemes are drawn out and strictly adhered to and there is coordination, consensus and communication between the different spheres engaged in the implementation of the plans. On the other hand interest group politics demands that the interest of the various pressure groups be taken in account by the political elite in order to remain in power. Ad-hoc measures and dispensing of patronages resorted to by the ruling political elite are in clear contradiction to goal oriented planning. Due to this inability to implement rules and legislations, governments in Third World countries are often labelled as 'Soft States'. This has been discussed in detail in the concluding chapter.

If one summarises the peculiar features of Third World Urbanisation, the following features stand out. First, rapid urbanisation is taking place in these countries which have a low level of economic and technological development and low educational level. Second, the urbanisation is taking place in the few major or primate cities of these countries, resulting in problems like congestion, blight, unemployment, squatter settlements, inadequate resources, etc. Third, the government plays a very important role in the growth of Third World cities being both an initiator of the growth process and also the one who provides relief and succour. Finally, this role of the government is often arbitrary and particularistic leading to it being labelled as a 'soft state'. 
Assessment of the Theories

The Human Ecological School:

Within the human ecological school, the traditional approach of Park and the present structural functional approach of Hawley can be taken up separately while assessing their potential in explaining the growth of Third World cities.

In the traditional Human ecological approach, the concept of dominance shows how the overall land use pattern in the city is structured by land values. This concept can explain to a certain extent the land use pattern in Third World countries. The dominance exerted by commercial activities outmanoeuvres other activities from the city centre and push up land values. This in turn pushes up land values in other areas because of the pressure for space and activities tend to get distributed on space depending on their ability to cope with the rising land values.

However, although to some extent land values structure land use the "free flow of the ecological process of competition, invasion and succession, which sifts and sorts people and activities into natural areas in the West" does not occur in most Third World countries. This is because implicit in such conceptualization is the view that technological innovation and strong economic forces are the determining factors and the State plays
the role of a regulating body. Urban growth takes place under *laissez-faire* conditions (similar to Darwin's Web of life). In the Third World countries one finds that the twin factors of underdevelopment and socialist ideology makes the State a very powerful organ. A complex network of relations develops between those political elite who are either in control of the State or want to capture power and the various interest groups who have either economic resources or the numerical strength important in democratic elections. The urban landscape is therefore shaped to a considerable extent by the decisions taken by the State which are shaped in turn by interest group politics.

Similarly it can be argued that the neo-ecological school's proposition that adaptation to the environment is a collective phenomenon and the concept of ecological complex used by them to explain urban growth are derived from the Western experience and influenced by capitalist ideology. The State is given a negligible role as is clear from Hawley's statement:

> It is commonly assumed that government assumes the dominant position... Yet its dominance is not without qualification... Government, especially in the United States plays a passive part in the sustenance flow to the community. In effect, government shares and is in competition for the dominant position with associational units whose functions enable them to exert a decisive influence on the community's sustenance supply.81
One can therefore state that the proposition of the Human ecological school based essentially on the Western experience where technological innovation and drive towards profit maximization structure urban landscape, lack the conceptual tools necessary for explaining urban growth in Third World Countries.

The Marxian Perspective;

The Marxist paradigm, when compared to other theories, explains to a large extent the growth and predicaments of cities in the Third World countries.

Marxist theories explain the underdevelopment of Third World countries by tracing out historically the evolution of cities in Third World countries through their interaction with their colonial counterparts and the resultant integration of these countries into the global division of labour. (For reference see Paul Baran’s and Andre Gunder Frank’s theories on under-development of Third World countries.) More importantly, these theories have an explanation for the increasing primacy of Third World cities, the depredation of the rural economy due to the advent of capitalist agricultural farming and the resultant exodus of large volume or rural migrants to the cities.

Marxist urbanologists like LaMarche can also explain
the intensive land use around the CBD, where the landscape is dominated by office towers, highrise luxury apartments, shopping arcades, etc. and the general neglect of housing for the urban poor. Finally, these theories also explain the predicaments faced by urban planners and their inability to solve the ever escalating urban problems.

The problem with Marxian framework appears regarding the explanation of the role played by the State in the urban sphere. According to Marxist theories, the State appears because of certain contradictions in the capitalist economy and essentially its role is to alleviate urban crises and help accumulation of capital. Every action of the State is interpreted in terms of this role it plays in the capitalist system. The political sphere is not differentiated from the economic system and it is asserted that those in control of the economic resources have control over even the instruments of power.

Although there often are empirical examples of this kind of a linkage, one feels that a differentiation of these two spheres, as has been done by Weber, is necessary in order to explain the role played by the State in Third World countries. According to Weber these two spheres of domination are analytically distinct. While economic power is achieved through control of commodity or labour markets, political power is achieved through the control of the State. Political domination is
therefore achieved by individuals through access to the instru-
ments of State power.

This analytical distinction is necessary because one finds that in the Third World countries the relation between the State and the various interest groups is much more complex, and to interpret the decisions of the State in terms of interests of the capitalist class would be rather simplistic. Those who have access to the instruments of power develop their own interests (as can be seen from the discussion which follows in the concluding chapter on the State and interest group politics in Third World countries) and their decisions are shaped by their political interests and by the pulls and pressures of interest group politics.

Recent Marxist writings like those of Poulantzas and Miliband have tried to overcome this problem with the concept of "the relative autonomy of the State". Put simplistically this concept says that the State in its commitment to ensuring capitalist accumulation may indulge in policies which are in support of non-capitalist interests. Such policies help the capitalist system 'in the long run' by ensuring stability and smothering potential conflicting situations. Such theories seem to explain any contradiction in its explanatory potential in terms of the long term interests of the capitalist class. Consequently they are not theoretically falsifiable. But one can question the veracity of such theories.
Unlike in the West, where the State intervenes to alleviate urban crises, in the Third World countries, the State is often itself the initiator of urban growth and urban crises. Its industrial location policy, policies on housing and slums, its control over large tracts of government land gives it enough leverage to control and guide urban growth. However more often the control of these enormous resources make the State authorities vulnerable to pressures of political processes. Thus instead of controlling and guiding urban growth, the State becomes the creator of urban crises which are germane in ad hoc policies under pressure. One can then conclude by stating that although Marxist theories do explain to a large extent the growth of cities in Third World countries, the inadequacies in its definition and role of the State leads to lacunae in its explanatory potential.

The Weberian Perspective:

While assessing the Weberian approach one finds that the main assumption of Rex and Moore, -- that the move to the suburbs is an aspiration common to all groups of residents, -- is a Western concept. In most Third World countries, the level of technology is low, the transportation network is poor and the highways are few. Therefore people prefer staying near the centre of the city because of proximity to urban resources.
Secondly, Rex and Moore state that one's life chances depend on housing and it is important to study the criteria adopted by both private and public sector in the allocation of housing. In Third World countries, one finds that although the cost of housing and the criteria adopted by private and public sector organisations filters out a large section of the population who are generally poor, the number of housing projects undertaken are far too few when compared to the large urban population. A large chunk of urban housing stock comprises of spontaneous settlements and therefore the role played by public and private sectors agencies in determining one's life chances (in the sphere of housing) is negligible.

Pahl provides a more complete conceptualisation for the study of the urban system. He points out that there are spatial constraints on access to urban resources, constraints which are independent of the mode of production. This is specially so in Third World countries, where the technology is low and the transportation system poor.

Secondly, he brings out the predicament of the urban managers who are caught between the pressures of private sector profitability, Central Government decisions and the needs of the general population. This problem is common in Third World countries and the pressure on the urban planners is all the more intense because of the piquent situation arising out of
underdevelopment, limited resources and rising demands and expectations.

Third, and most important of all is the stress he lays on the increased role played by the State in the urban economy. Pahl points out that the State no longer plays a role subservient to capitalist class interest and its policies are dictated by its own independent purposes. Therefore in order to understand the criteria used for allocation of urban resources one must study the goals, and values of those individuals who are in control of the State. This is analytically very important in order to understand the major role played by the State in Third World countries.

However the type of State which Pahl analyses is different from the one found in most Third World countries. 'State Corporatism' as defined by him appears because of concentration of capital in the hands of oligopolies, falling rate of profits, problems of new technological development and international competition in the economic sphere. These are problems of a highly industrialised capitalist city. In contrast, the State plays a major role in Third World countries because first, historically they have inherited a centralised administration from their colonial rulers and secondly, they need a strong state in order to meet the twin demands of rapid economic development and social justice and equity.
Finally, Patil does not analyse the values and interests of those individuals who are in control of the State (as should have been done according to his thesis). He focuses, instead, on the role played by urban managers prompted probably by Weber's proposition that the growing rationalisation and complexity of modern capitalist or socialist societies must increasingly be reflected in the rationalization of State administration. Besides, the power of expertise must generally prevail over the powers of ideals. In Third World countries one finds that the interests of those in control of the State determines policies and bureaucracy is often used to rationalise such ad-hoc measures.
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14. Saunders, op.cit., p.64.


17. Saunders, op.cit., p.68.
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20. Ibid, p.70.
21. Amos Hawley, op.cit, p.221.
28. The Socio-cultural group is represented by Firey (op.cit), Allihan (op.cit) and Getty (Human ecology and Social theory', Social forces, 18: 469-476, 1940).
32. Saunders, op.cit, p.77.
38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.


43. Jean Lojkine, "Contributions to a Marxist theory of Capitalist Urbanization", in Pickvance (ed), op.cit, pp.119 to 146.

44. Neera Chandoke, op.cit, 1756.


46. Adapted from Chandoke, Ibid, p.1756 to 1760.

47. Manuel Castells, City at the Grass Roots, Berkley, University of California Press, 1983.


51. Adapted from Saunders, op.cit, pp.110 to 148.


56. Saunders, op.cit, p.118.


58. Ibid, p.121.


69. Ibid, p.46.

70. Ibid, p.47.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid, p.46.

73. Brain, J.L. Berry, op.cit, p.91.
74. Ibid, p.4.
78. Quoted in Brain, J.L. Berry, op.cit., p.71.