(i) Focus of the Study:

Broadly, there are two types of studies: (a) Studies based on first hand data involving field work and (b) studies based on the analysis of secondary data, specially census and NSS data. Most of the urban studies in India belong to the first category. This to some extent is inevitable on account of the paucity of data on cities but the fact remains that even when massive data were made available as in 1961 census, very little efforts have been made to utilize these data fully and effectively. Even in U.S.A. Hamilton points out it is to be regretted that more use has not been made of the extensive migration data of the 1950 United States Census. Possibly too few social scientists are aware of the research potentials of these data, and even less aware of the methods available for blasting scientific truth out of them.¹

The data on cities over the world, though uneven in quality and inadequate on many counts, are nonetheless increasing. New materials are constantly being amassed by social scientists. Unfortunately, these data tend to be ignored by Indian sociologists. Considerable data are accumulating on the familial, economic, educational, governmental and other structures. As new societies enter the industrial urban orbit, the data on urban centres can be expected to multiply still more rapidly. As Reiss has
observed, sociologists have been more interested in studying and theorising about segment of urban social and ecological structure than in dealing with the totality; and they have tended to use the city as a laboratory for testing theories and hypotheses. With increased specialisation these trends are likely to persist. Nevertheless, one that views technological advancement, rural to urban migration, people engaging in non-agricultural activities are urbanization process or the urban community in its totality has much to offer.

A number of sociologists have examined the impact of the city upon human ecology and social structure. Celebrated German Sociologist Max Weber and his colleagues George Simmel and Spengler in Germany had initiated the study of city. In America, Park and Burgess and their colleagues and students, mostly Wirth and Redfield, have been instrumental in developing and popularising the theoretical perspective. They drew heavily on the writings of Simmel, Tonnies Durkheim, and Max Weber. The 'urbanisation school' has addressed itself, in its own fashion, to an issue of central concern to most leading sociologists namely, "what are the patterns and processes involved in the transition from a pre-industrial or agrarian or feudal way of life to an industrial or urban or capitalist order"? Within modern urban sociology, Wirth's "urbanism as a way of life" is perhaps the most widely cited theoretical orientation. He takes the city -
characterised by size, density and heterogeneity - as the key determinants of many kinds of social actions. Redfield too, in his 'Folk culture of Yucatan' utilizes the city as a key variable, however, he considers heterogeneity and lack of isolation as the chief characteristics of city. The Wirth-Redfield perspective, though sharply criticised, continues to claim some staunch supporters among students of urban sociology. A research by Smith on pre-industrial Tokyo, lends support to Wirth's position. But very interestingly, many of the ideas of Wirth and Redfield are today being analysed and researched not by urban sociologists but by those sociologists who speak in terms of "loss of identity", 'alienation' or 'anomie' in mass societies.

Considered against western experience where rural urban differences have been eliminated largely by introducing a high degree of mobility in the population, India still has vast regions that must be termed rural and traditional not only because the inhabitants are mostly subsistence farmers, but they are also isolated from exposure to modernization. But despite its essentially rural orientation, India is changing and the impact of urbanisation is being felt frequently even at great distance from the cities. Rao has identified four different situations in which urbanisation exerts an influence upon rural areas. The most obvious urban impact occurs in the case of rural villages generally known as
satellite or hinterland, are often absorbed as the city grows with village land sold off for urban development. The agricultural village itself is incorporated into the city as an outlying neighbourhood nucleus but not a suburb in the western sense.6

A second urban impact occurs in those villages where some industrial unit is set up. In such instances an influx of workers occurs, demand for housing increases sharply, the social life of the villages ruptured, markets are reordered, prices and living costs rise sharply and the fundamental stability of the villages is upset. Bhilai is an example of this category. Under such cases urbanisation is thrust upon the villages.

The third situation in which urban influences take place in rural areas is much more widespread. In most of Indian villages a sizeable number of persons, mostly male, have sought employment in cities often at great distances. Some even migrated to overseas but seldom relinquishing their village ties. In many cases the family remains behind in the village supported by remittances. Village migrants have built fashionable houses in their native villages; invest money in land and industry and have donated liberally to the establishment of educational institutions and trusts. Whether the emigrants reside in India or foreign countries, the feedback effect of urbanisation remains significant in these villages. In this situation urban impact is felt in the villages even
though they are not physically situated near a city or town.

Lastly, villages situated at a shorter distance from cities and properly connected by the means of transport, are affected in two ways. One, by the inflow of rural commuters to cities who work during day hours at urban centres in industrial units and establishments and return back to their native villages daily in the evenings. These commuters serve as the host to carry the urban culture to rural population. It has a deep imprint on the family structure in village society. 'Urbanism' moves from its boundaries to traditional villages. And the second, though less frequent in our case, by the outflow of urban dwellers who flee the congestion of city for the calm, quite and low cost of villages. The communities most affected by this form of urbanization are those which lie close to cities on bus and rail routes.

The present work proposes to examine and analyse certain aspects emerging out of the increasing urbanization in India during the period of a decade from 1981 to 1991. The time coverage may appear inadequate while looking to arrive at any conclusion on the trends of urbanisation. As a matter of fact certain studies have been conducted which tried to analyse the census data on urbanisation in India upto 1981. The idea behind the present attempt is to extend the analysis upto 1991, the next point is the availability of published data; when the
problem had been thought to be attempted. Now the 1991 census is also done, and a very late arrival of such an important document many times poses the problem of quality and timeliness of research.

The problems emerging out of rapid development of urbanisation may be explained in two forms. One, as the rural population expands, the demands and pressures on rural resources also grow. Rural economic opportunities usually do not keep pace with population growth and migration to urban areas impelled by the 'pull' of urban economic and cultural opportunities and the 'push' of rural over-population, land shortage, and economic stagnation is the rural response. The influx of rural migrants to cities and towns has resulted in the enlargement of urban population. These migrants with their specific socio-economic and cultural background create as well as face multiplicity of problems in urban settings. The pattern of migration and the structure of migrant population have been analysed in following chapters of this work. Second, with the increasing 'urbanisation' the process of social change become fast operating Kingsley Davis remarks, "Urbanisation represents a revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social life. Itself a product of basic economy and technological development, it tends to turn, once it comes into being, to affect every aspect of existence". 
One of far reaching consequences of urbanisation has been on the structure of the family. Traditionally the family in India, has been oriented towards agricultural occupations which encourage the joint or extended family structure. Urban migration from rural areas cut to the very basis of joint family system by upsetting its economic stability. Although the cultural pull of a tradition of joint families is still strong, the hold is no longer absolute.

This aspect of social change in the area of family living has also been attempted to analyse under the head 'Social aspects of urbanisation'. Aileen Ross has taken this problem in urban setting. She observes,

"Economic hardship even in the more favoured conditions of city, the augmented level of expectations produced within more sophisticated atmosphere of urban environment and the increasingly independent younger, better educated brides, all are contributing currently towards a tendency to elevate the nuclear family as the ideal family organisation in the city".  

The present work has also given focus on education and literacy of urban population of India. In course of analysis attempt has also been made to discuss the income expenditure pattern. Because much of the mutual inter-dependence of family members is challenged in the urban environment. Cooperative labour is replaced by individual effort which is bound sooner or later to bring comparison in the earning capacity of individual family members.
As the present study is based on secondary data, caste - an important aspect of social life in India - could not be analysed. However, the urban population is dealt in terms of occupation. A detailed description is to follow in the chapters ahead.

Although the degree of urbanisation is not a complex, mathematical variable, its treatment poses some technical problems. This becomes apparent when one realizes that the percent of total population who reside in urban units is relative to the definitions employed and the methods utilized to delimitation of urban units. "It is observed that measures of the degree of urbanisation in different countries are not comparable unless based on the same type of urban units and similar methods of delimitations". ¹⁰

In the present study we have taken the 1991 census definition of 'urban' as the standard one and the rest of the measurement follow the same definition to avoid any confusion.

**Census Definition of Urban**

The village or town is recognised as the basic area of habitation. In all censuses throughout the world this dichotomy of rural and urban areas is recognised and data are generally presented for rural and urban areas separately. But the difference between urban and rural population is yet not applicable to a single definition which would be applicable to all countries.
In India the smallest area of habitation is village. It generally follows the limits of revenue village that is recognised by district administration. The revenue village is not necessarily a single agglomeration of habitations. It may include one or more hamlets. But the revenue village has a definite surveyed boundary and each village is a separate administrative boundary with a separate village accounts.

It is in defining the urban areas that the problems arise. The definition adopted for an urban area for 1991 which followed 1981 pattern was as follows;

a) All places with a multiplicity, corporation, cantonment or notified town area;

b) All other places which satisfied the following criteria:

   i) a minimum population of 5,000
   ii) at least 75% of the male working population being non-agriculture.
   iii) a density of population of at least 400 persons per sq.km. i.e. 1000 person per sq.mile.

The directors were however, given some direction in respect of some marginal cases in consultation with state government to include some places that had other district urban characteristics and exclude undeserving cases.

**Standard Urban Areas (SUA):**

A new concept had been developed for 1971 census and used also in 1991 census for the tabulation of certain
urban data was the standard urban area (SUA). The essentials of a SUA are:

i) it should have a core town of a minimum population size of 50,000;

ii) the contiguous area made up of other urban as well as rural administrative units should have close mutual socio-economic links with the core town; and

iii) the probabilities are that this entire area will get fully urbanised by 2001. This replaced the 1961 concept of 'town group'.

Urban Agglomeration:

In several areas, fairly large railway colonies, university campuses, port areas and military camps have come up around a core city. Though these may be outside the statutory limits of town they fall within the revenue boundary of the place for which the town itself is known. Such areas are treated included with the town and are being called 'Urban Agglomeration' (UA) at 1971 census. The same followed in 1981 and 1991 censuses respectively.

Although of great theoretical and practical importance, the percent of total population residing in cities is only one characteristics of urbanisation in a country or state. Some of the others that require recognition are:

(1) the number of people in the urban population;
(2) the total number of urban units,

(3) the number of people residing in urban units of specified size e.g., one lac and above or cities between 50,000 and 1,00,000 inhabitants, and

(4) the number of urban units in a specified size range.

Configurations of these and other characteristics may be said to form an urban structure.

For operational purposes such classifications are quite useful and practical. But while discussing the problem of urbanisation our limits are more penetrating and deep. A student of urban sociology is not only interested in examining the nature and type of territorial extension of a city or town. It is a case of horizontal urbanisation. Another type of change in the social configuration of a town occurs due to vertical urbanisation. Multistorey buildings, apartments, and 'towers' change not only the physical structure of the city rather these introduce multi-dimensional changes in the social organisation and socio-cultural life of the city. This is rather, of more interest to a student of the society.

(ii) Hypotheses and Research Design:

"There is no genuine progress in scientific insight through the Baconinian method of accumulating empirical facts without hypothesis or anticipation of nature". Any scientific investigation of fact is not possible to be
researched in the absence of a hypothesis. A hypothesis may be in the form of a proposition, condition or principle which is assumed in order to draw out its logical consequences and thereby to test its accord with facts which may be known or may be determined. J.N. Kerlinger in 'Foundations of Behavioural Research' maintains that a hypothesis is a conjectural statement of the relations between two or more variables. It is a declarative form and related to variable to variables. As a statement it may be proved or disproved but in both the cases it helps in proceeding further. It is with clearly formulated hypothesis that the scope of the study is limited and relevant data to be collected and organised in a systematic way.

As far as the classification of hypothesis is concerned, there may be several types of hypotheses. On the basis of level of abstraction it may be divided into three categories.


ii) Complex Ideal type Hypothesis

iii) Relation of Analytic Variables.

In the formulation of hypotheses to conduct the present study stress has been given on the first category mentioned above. Such hypotheses, by and large, represent scientific examination of common sense propositions. There may be persons disagreeing and perhaps not accepting such common sense propositions as hypotheses. For them it may
be a simple statement of facts and the whole study is oriented towards affirmation of these facts. But these may be taken as just simple objections. What is wrong if something is known to all. Science aims at specificity and precision on logical basis. So to put common sense idea into precisely defined concepts and test the proposition is in itself an important task.

Keeping these considerations in mind working hypotheses have been proposed to conduct the present research aiming at the investigation of major trends emerging in the urbanisation process of India. Gibbs and Martin in their study, 'Urbanisation, Technology and the Division of Labour', set forth the following propositions:

IA The degree of urbanisation in a society varies directly with the division of labour.
IB The division of labour in a society varies directly with the dispersion of objects of consumption.
IIA The degree of urbanisation in a society varies directly with technological development.
IIB Technological development in a society varies directly with the dispersion of objects of consumption.

Another proposition tested in an earlier study - namely, "the degree of urbanisation in a society varies directly with the dispersion of objects of consumption" can then be considered as a theorem derived from the Duncan and
Schnore and other Chicago Ecologists, have used their so-called ecological approach. But later they felt inconvenience, specially in the matter of values. Gibbs and Martin write:

It may even be true that socio-cultural values and ideologies influence urbanisation. But we do not reject these phenomena as possible explanation of the particular relationships observed in this study. This would be the case even if a spatial association between urbanisation and certain types of mines could be demonstrated. It is entirely possible that as urbanisation comes into process certain values will come to prevail".

This was ecological (Chicago School) approach to urbanisation. Likewise there are many other theoretical orientations in urban sociology. Important among these are the economic school dominated by Russian and Marxist Sociologists, environmental school of Lewis Mumford, the technological school led by Hawley and William Ogburn, the value-orientation school of Max Weber's tradition and the social power school advocated by W.H. Form.

The inter-relationship among the variables employed by different schools needs careful attention. Thus the expansion of technology particularly industrialization not only gives impetus to urbanisation but is itself spurred by the growth of cities. Also, definite ties exist between the technological advancement and the dominant ideology
and power-structure. Again, a society's value-orientation or ideology determines to a marked degree the manner in which the social power is applied.14

The logical query is: what next? Because sociologists still have so much to learn about comparative analysis, it is likely that their energies in the years to come will be devoted primarily to formulating more adequate propositions. Keeping all these theoretical and operational aspects of urbanisation, the present work proposes to test the following set of hypotheses:

IA There has been an increase in the degree of urbanisation in India from 1981 to 1991.

IB Rate of urban growth has been less than the net population growth of the country during the period of 1981-1991.

IIA Increase in the degree of urbanisation is more due to migration than due to internal population growth.

IIB Rate of migration from rural to urban areas has increased from 1981 to 1991.

IIC Migration is largely towards industrial centres and majority of the migrants are the persons from far distant places.

IIIA Occupational diversification in urban India has increased from 1981 to 1991.

IIIB Ratio of working females in the total working population has gone up.
IIIC Higher the rate of literacy higher is the sex ratio.

IVA Small urban areas are developing due to the movement of population from the surrounding rural areas in search of market.

IVB There is an inverse relationship between density of population and the literacy rate of the population.

Research Design and Collection of Data

A research design is the arrangement for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. According to F.N. Kerlinger, 'it is the plan, structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions and control variance. It may incorporate the following purposes:

(i) To get familiarity with the phenomenon or to get new insight to formulate a more precise research problem.

(ii) To portray accurately the characteristics of a particular individual, situation or group.

(iii) To determine the frequency with which something occurs.

(iv) To test a hypothesis of a causal relationship between variables.

Looking at the nature of the problem under consideration a descriptive analytical research design has
been suggested. As the descriptive studies portray the characteristics of a particular group, communities or situation so in the present study a focus is given on the urban population residing within a legally defined territory. It is analytical in approach as we move from macro to micro level for generalisation. It is a 'Time Dimension Enquiry' because the variable of family size, density, literacy and migration have been put to analysis on the basis of data collected at two points in time in the same universe. Census data of 1981 and 1991 for India pertaining to above mentioned variables have been collected. It is, therefore, a trend study. It is obvious that in such a time-dimension research there is no way of observing internal changes.

Success or failure of any research very much depends on the availability of data and the degree of the reliability of data. Present one is a secondary data based research, therefore, at the original point their reliability could not be assessed. However, it is a well planned and established exercise formulated by experienced and expert people and conducted by trained investigators. Therefore, the chances of bias are the minimum and the reliability the maximum. But even in case of secondary data the investigator should be clear that he should not take everything in secondary sense of data as for granted. It is linked with the hypothesis of the research problem and definitions or concepts being used in the research
design. It is hypothesis which will decide as to what data are relevant and what are not relevant.

As it has already been mentioned, the present study is based on secondary sources of data. These secondary data as we know may be in the form of personal document or public documents. Life histories, letters and diaries are some of the examples of personal documents. On the other hand, parliamentary debates, recorded speeches, census reports and annual reports etc. are the examples of public documents. In India we have a huge amount of published data. Most of these are generated by central and state governments. Data pertaining to urban studies in India are generally available from the following sources.15

(1) Census reports and monographs based on census data. Important among these is the Town Directory.
(2) National Sample Surveys.
(3) Socio-economic Surveys.
(4) Demographic Surveys.
(5) Ad'hoc committee reports
(6) Ph.D. theses
(7) Findings and reports of seminars and conferences
(8) Long term research on urbanisation.
(9) Other surveys on urban areas.
(10) Organisations connected with urban research in India.

Census in India:

After every ten years in India census is conducted which gives information covering all the social, economic
and cultural aspects of Indian population such as total population, increase or decrease in population, sex ratio, educational standard, family and income, occupation, language, migration etc. From 1971 census special stress is given on tabulation of data on cities specially cities with population of 100,000 or more. Special reports were also prepared for cities with population of one million and above. From 1961, separate chapter on urban population was added in the general reports for different states. Prof. Ashok Mitra, the 1961 Census Commissioner, has discussed at length the general features of internal migration, functional classification of towns, and the urban industrial outlook. It was this specific stress of census on urban population which started from 1961 census. This is why present work has taken up the trend of urban growth in India more elaborately because it has selected 1981 and 1991 census reports for its data.

Besides census, important information are made available on cities by socio-economic surveys, National Sample Surveys, and techno-economic survey of India.

Problems of Data and Data Collection:

Now we shall briefly comment on the data on growth of urban population as a whole in India. Looking at the voluminous census report one may have the impression that everything is very clear and definite and therefore any information can be collected without any confusion. But
the case is not so simple. There are certain hurdles with census data also. Such as:

(1) The new definition of urban as adopted in 1971 census and subsequently accepted in 1981 census calls for certain adjustments.

(2) The concept of 'town group' sometimes renders difficulty. Every time the growth rate is calculated for a city or town, it is necessary to check if the data are for 'census town' or for 'town groups'.

(3) The Indian census has not so far collected data on the place of work.

In view of the increased commutation to urban areas, specially to big cities, it has become increasingly essential to have data on this aspect to understand better the problem of cityward migration.

Besides these theoretical issues, there have been certain practical problems in the collection of data. Most important of these is the late availability of census data in published form. A complete published census is usually made available after four or five years. In most of the cases our libraries do not pay much importance to have an upto date information about census data. Census reports are perhaps the most neglected material in libraries. These are hardly arranged systematically and it usually takes lot of time to reach to proper volumes for the collection of data. In case the library staff is helpful and cooperative, the problem is eased to certain extent.
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