CHAPTER - I

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The urban-rural relations theme has constantly sustained the interest of academicians. Scholars have been conceptualising and interpreting it in terms of diverse processes like separation, polarization, opposition, domination / subordination and more recently, nexus formation. The urban-rural distinction and the inherent differentiations ("urbane and progressive" vs "rustic and backward") form the basis of many sociological theories (Merrington, 1976) wherein, the domination in relations was attributed to either the capitalist control of production or political hegemony arising from the decision-making / bureaucratic clout in urban areas (Lipton, 1977). Such characterizations, derived more from normative theory rather than empirical realities, had only marginal validation in the landscape even during their hey-days.

The urban areas draw their sustenance from rural areas and in return provide a variety of facilities and services to the rural settlements. On the economic plane, the city functions as a market centre for the agricultural surplus produced in the countryside. It also provides a common market for goods manufactured in rural household industries while rendering a variety of administrative and social infrastructural services to rural settlements (Krishan, 1991, p. 97). The city also depends on the countryside for foodgrains, perishable products (milk, vegetables, poultry goods, etc.), industrial raw material, labour and a market for the goods manufactured in urban industries. Together, they constitute a functional system of settlements in a given region. Jefferson (1931, p.453) aptly states that "Cities do not grow of themselves, countrysides set them to do tasks that must be performed in central places". Urban-rural relations have always
been interdependent even though the intensity, nature, extent and direction of
these relations have been varying in time and space.

Unfortunately, however, the rural-urban divide has widened considerably in the
current political ethos in India. Instead of a rural-urban relations continuum the
urban is said to symbolize India (the exploitator or ruling) and the rural
symbolizes Bharat (the exploited or ruled). Rural is portrayed as indigenous
while the urban connotes something exogenous that is meant to subjugate and
exploit the former (Bentall and Corbridge, 1994). Rural life is more often than
not portrayed as dull, stagnant, lacking in opportunities and achievements (Jain,
1997). The existence of this perceptional bias has resulted in the neglect of the
study of rural-urban relations in terms of their overall nature and intensity.

It is, however, being increasingly realized now that the urban and rural change
paradigm should be seen not as singular processes in themselves, but rather
as products of the deeper structural transformation in society. There is,
therefore, a need to understand the rural and urban change as part of an overall
social transformation. One way to achieve this is to analyse interaction between
the two foci of change. As is evident from the review of literature below, such a
perspective on urban-rural relations was conspicuously absent in geographic
literature constantly despite its applied importance.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

(i) Review of Literature

A perusal of available literature shows that the theme of urban-rural relations
has evoked great interest from scholars in sociology, anthropology, geography
and development studies. Sociologists and social anthropologists view urban-
rural relations in the context of rural change and transformation. Gough (1955),
Rudolph (1967), Cohn (1968), Singer (1972), Srinivas (1974) and Harris (1982)
made significant contributions through micro-level studies, which they conducted to better understand how traditional institutions were transforming to modern ones under the influence of economic and political forces? They are credited with riveting arguments on the rural-urban continuum, modernization of tradition and westernization to the empirical studies. Gough and Marriot (1955), in an early study, demonstrated to which extent the much vaunted integrity and isolation of the villages had been reduced to a thing of the past. Beals (1955) and Epstein (1978) brought the diverse impact of modern institutional inputs on to the differently endowed villages.

A national seminar on "Country-Town Nexus: Studies in Social Transformation in India", held in August 1988 at the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, School of Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, and its proceedings published in an edited volume, placed emphasis on the need to comprehend the rural-urban nexus for understanding social transformation in contemporary India. Participants in the seminar invariably pointed out the reciprocity of urban-rural relations. Also, they emphasized the vital roles played by the economic-technological, politico-legal and cultural-ideological forces in the urban-rural nexus, making them necessary inclusions in these studies.

In development studies, the scholars have actively contributed to scholarly endeavours on urban-rural interaction. In this context the important contributions include 'urban bias' thesis propounded by Lipton (1977, 1982), and 'top-down' and 'centre-out' strategies by Rondinelli (1983). Rondinelli (1985) also attempted a classification of linkages in spatial development. His classification provided a broad framework for the study of urban-rural interaction. (Table 1.1) Most of the other development literature looked upon urban and rural issues as a separate concern.
Table 1.1
Major urban-rural linkages and their spatial manifestation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linkage type</th>
<th>Manifested in</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Capital flows, labour flows, production linkages – backward and forward, consumption and shopping patterns, income flows, commodity flows, credit and financial network.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Migration, visiting pattern, kinship pattern, rites, rituals, and religious activities, social group interaction, education, health services, training and extension linkages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Administrative relationships, organisational interdependences, government budgetary flows, authority approval – supervision pattern, inter-jurisdictional transaction patterns, political decision making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological</td>
<td>Information through books, radio, television, advertising.</td>
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In 1973, a number of social scientists from different countries met under the auspices of UNESCO at Delhi to charter the specific issues relating to research on urban-rural relations. They were of the opinion that it is the historical dimension on the methodological plane, while on the conceptual side the networks and modes of production in urban and rural areas need to be examined and articulated.

In geography, by and large, the approach has remained confined to the examination of influence of urban areas on their hinterlands. In India, such a pioneer effort was made by Singh (1955) who delineated the urban influence or "umland" of Banaras city. Similar studies were later on conducted by Singh, (1956) Singh, (1961), Mukerji, (1962), Reddy, (1961), Dewedi, (1964), Krishan and Agarwal, (1970) and Dikshit, (1977). All these studies focussed on urban
dominance rather than the symbiotic relationship existing between the city and its countryside.

Later on, the focus shifted to the study of urban-rural differentials as manifested in the demographic characteristics of the rural and urban population (see Parulkar, 1934; Davis, 1951; Gosal, 1964, 1967, 1984; Schwartzberg, 1971; Krishan and Shyam, 1978; Premi, 1976, Sagar, 1990; Petrov, 1985; Reddi, 1985 and Chandna, 1986). All such studies have invariably concluded that for a healthy development urban-rural differentials should be minimized.

In December 1962, a regional seminar on rural-urban differentials in South Asian countries was held in Delhi under the direction of Ms. Ruth Glass, Director, Research Centre for Urban Studies, University College, London. The main emphasis was placed on the revision of criteria to be used for measuring the urban-rural differential. However, Glass (1962, p.5) noted that in most parts of the world, urban-rural differences are becoming inconsistent and rather faint. Besides, in the industrial world the major focus of development was not the urban growth in physical and occupational terms, but the urban diffusion in cultural terms.

With the passage of time, the theme of urban-rural differentials was taken over by that of urban-rural relations. Perceiving the importance of urban-rural relations, as a research theme, the Indo-British Geographical seminar, held in 1972, adopted it as its focal theme. At Cambridge, in 1975 this theme was highlighted again. The main message of this seminar was that the developed countries must check the growing urban influence on their countryside while the developing countries require further strengthening of urban-rural relations.

In 1982, the Human Geography Committee of Social Science Research Council sponsored a series of (four) workshops on urban-rural relations. Population mobility, resource transfer and social interaction between urban and rural areas were the focal themes chosen for discussion. In an edited volume brought out in...
honour of Prof. A.B. Mountjoy on urban-rural relations, Potter and Unwin (1989) included a number of articles on conceptual and methodological issues along with case studies from developing countries.

In India, Chapman and Wanmali (1981) analyzed urban-rural relations using the population potential technique. Krishan (1991) in a state level study examined urban-rural relations through the dimensions of rural-urban commuting, commodity and service exchange and mobility patterns. Kidwai (1991) strongly felt the need to understand and appreciate the supra local forces in analyzing country – town nexus.

Findlay and Watson (1995) studied the impact of rural enterprises on urban-rural relations in China. Bentall and Corbridge (1996) examined the role of peasant movements in urban-rural relations in North-West India selecting the Bhartiya Kisan Union (BKU) as a case study. Kabra (1997), Hajela (1997), Dubashi (1997) and Joshi (1997), while analyzing urban-rural disparities in India, invariably concluded that the rural and urban sectors are not competitive but complementary calling for their integrated development.

The planners and policy makers in different countries are now actively pursuing the theme. A transnational project, urban-rural relations in Europe, under the aegis of European Spatial Planning Observation Network (ESPON), was undertaken by Professor Christer Bengs at the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Helsinki in 2003-04. The project aims to present policy ideas for urban-rural integration and cross border and transnational relations and partnerships in European countries.

Evidently, scholars in geography have paid little attention to the theme of urban-rural relations. Potter and Unwin (1989) are right in pointing out that within the general field of the geographical study of development, the issue of urban-rural interaction is ignored by treating the developmental problems of urban and rural areas separately. This research gap is to be filled. Urban-rural relations need to
be examined comprehensively so as to understand the changes in nature and intensity of this interaction over time. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap by selecting the Inter-State Chandigarh Region (henceforth ISCR), as a case study.

(ii) Objectives

The objectives of the present study are to:

1. Study the changing nature of urban-rural relations in the study region in the broader context of India.

2. Examine the evolution of interaction mechanisms in the study region before the emergence of Chandigarh as a newly planned city.

3. Study the changing nature and intensity of urban-rural relations after the emergence of Chandigarh, and

4. Comprehend the changes in urban-rural relations at the emergence of Chandigarh as a Union Territory in 1966 and thereafter as a regional capital city.

(iii) Research Questions

In the light of the objectives outlined above, the study has attempted to answer the following questions:

1. What were the nature, extent, and intensity of urban-rural relations in the region before the emergence of Chandigarh as a planned city?

2. How were urban-rural relations reshaped in the region following the emergence of the newly planned city of Chandigarh in the role of a growth centre amidst a relatively backward region of the then Punjab?
3. What is the nature of the urban-rural relations in the region? Are they more economic, social or cultural in nature?

4. How far has Chandigarh succeeded in establishing linkages with its surroundings?

(iv) Hypotheses

In the light of the research questions, the following hypotheses have been formulated for empirical testing.

The level of urban-rural relations in a village is positively related to its:

(i) Population size
(ii) Percentage of Scheduled Castes population
(iii) Distance from the city
(iv) Accessibility by road

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

(i) Sources of Data

Data was collected both from secondary as well as primary sources. Since village is the spatial unit of analysis, village level data on various indicators was collected from Census of India, District Census Handbook: Village and Town Directory, 1971 and 1991. Villages from four districts of Rupnagar, Patiala (Punjab), Ambala (Haryana) and Chandigarh Union Territory fall in the ISCR. The data which could not be captured through secondary data was collected through fieldwork in 30 sampled villages.
(ii) Selection of Indicators

The present research work calls for a selection of appropriate indicators. There is no direct data available on several crucial parameters of urban-rural interaction; such as daily commuting, flow of commodities and service exchange. For this reason adoption of surrogate indicators becomes inevitable. Following indicators were adjudged meaningful for the purpose:

(i) Percentage of rural non-agricultural workers

(ii) Availability of *pucca* roads in villages

(iii) Proportion of irrigated land to total cultivated area in villages

(iv) Percentage of cultivated land to total area in villages

(v) Percentage of workforce engaged in livestock rearing

(vi) Availability of rural health, educational and post and telegraph services

The assumption is that the indicators (i) and (ii) represent the magnitude of rural-urban commuting, indicators (iii), (iv) and (v) take care of commodity flow and finally indicator (vi) captures service exchange.

Use of primary data was vital to capture commercialization and diversification of agriculture in favour of production of vegetables, fruits, milk and poultry. In addition, spread in social awareness, rise in mobility of population and the adoption of urban architectural forms in villages have also been gauged through the fieldwork. Both, the interview as well as the observation methods, were used for the purpose.
(iii) Selection of Sample for Field Work

A stratified sample of 30 villages was drawn from the region. Since the region was not homogeneous, a balanced representation was ensured by dividing the universe into four strata i.e. on the basis of relief, population size, distance from Chandigarh and road accessibility. Then, a random sample from each strata was drawn using the random table.

(iv) Data Analysis Techniques

For analyzing the data various statistical techniques were made use of. Simple arithmetic mean, standard deviation, coefficient of variability, coefficient of correlation and Chi square test, have been used for the analysis of data. In order to calculate the extent of urban-rural interactions the following steps were followed: (i) Indices were calculated for various indicators by using under value method i.e. taking the maximum values as 100 and then calculating the other values proportionally. (ii) Value of indices for a particular dimension was calculated by summing up the index values of various indicators of a dimension to arrive at the index for rural-urban commuting, commodity flow and service exchange. (iii) Finally, the composite index of urban-rural interaction was computed by adding up the index values for commuting, commodity and service exchange. Thereafter, three levels of high, moderate and low were arrived at, for each dimension, by identifying critical breaks in the data. The upper limit and lower limit of a category has been kept same for different periods of time in order to discern the change.

(v) Cartographic Representation of Data

For representation of data suitable cartographic techniques have been used. For mapping the various levels on different parameters Choropleth has been used.
Chapter Scheme

In line with the objectives of the study, the discussion in the study has been organised into seven chapters. In addition, there would also be summary and conclusions and bibliography at the end of the study presentation.

A framework of the contents is presented below:

1. Conceptual Framework and Methodology
2. Interstate Chandigarh Region: A Regional Setting
3. Urban-Rural Relations in India: An Overview
   I Urban-Rural Relations: A Historical Perspective
   II Urban-Rural Relations: The Regional Pattern
4. Urban-Rural Relations in the Inter-State Chandigarh Region: An Evolutionary Perspective
   I Before the Emergence of Chandigarh
   II After the Emergence of Chandigarh
5. Urban-Rural Relations in the Inter-State Chandigarh Region: A Contemporary Scene
   I Urban-Rural Relations in ISCR: 1971
   II Change in Urban-Rural Relations in ISCR: (1971-91)
6. Urban-Rural Relations in the Inter-State Chandigarh Region: A Field-Based Analysis
7. Some Hypotheses on Urban-Rural Relations: A Statistical Testing

Summary and Conclusions

Bibliography
In essence, the study examines the role of the newly planned city of Chandigarh as a growth centre in transforming the backward economy of the region where it was implanted. Consequently it also looks into, how it changed the nature, direction and intensity of urban-rural relations in the region? What were the catalytic factors induced by the emergence of Chandigarh and how the settlement system in the region responded to them? How did the urban-rural relations evolve in the region? What shape would they take in the future? These are some of the questions this dissertation poses to itself. But even before this, it is imperative to understand the geographical background of the study region. This has been accomplished in the next chapter.