

CHAPTER I
PROBLEM, METHODOLOGY
AND CONCEPTS

The Problem
Methodology
Concepts used in the study
Scheme of the study

THE PROBLEM: The problem of this thesis is to explain how different patterns of town-country networks generate different models of urban region development. For this purpose, two towns Dharmavaram and **Markapur** in the state of Andhra Pradesh have been selected. The main aim is to explain how the **socio-spatial** relations between a town and its hinterland influence and determine the growth model of a town.

The Marxian analytical framework has been adopted in this thesis to understand the dialectics of town-country networks and their impact on urban region development. Attempts have been made in the following chapters to explain how town-country networks influence generation of different kinds of surplus and different kinds of regional urban development. The chapters detail description of changes in the distribution of objects of labour and instruments of labour, commodification and non-commodification of labour-power, the element of exchange and their impact on structuring the process of *total urbanization* and *enclave urbanization*. (See pp.16-17 for definition of these terms).

Importance of the Study of Small Towns:

Various urban analysts emphasized the extensive research gaps present in understanding the growth and functioning of small and medium towns. Rondinelli says "little is known about the complex socio-economic linkages between urban and rural areas and the roles they play in regional and national development. He further says, that "secondary cities, small towns offer a new frontier for research and policy analysis into which few scholars have ventured". Agreeing with Rondinelli, Alan Turner views that though there are varieties of theoretical and practical arguments about

the potential roles of small towns in regional and national **development**, little is really known about the economic, social and physical factors affecting the growth and development of small and medium towns.²

Substantiating the above argument Gibbs, says not much is known about the conditions under which the development of small and medium towns take place and why while some towns grow others do not. Hugh E. Evans views that a better understanding of the dynamics of rural-urban growth help to determine what kind of interventions are likely to become more effective in promoting development of small settlements.⁴ Far less is known about the social, economic and geographical relations of many small centres- Similar sentiments were echoed by **UNCRD** and was critical as their programmes bypass the study of smaller and intermediate levels of urban settlements. Lubell further says that there are only few empirical studies done on the reasons behind the growth and functions of small towns.⁷ Thus, there is need for fresh inputs into answering the questions behind the role, conditions of growth, their relationship with rural hinterland and other ramifications of lower order settlements.

Studies of this kind are important in India because there are hundreds of small and medium towns in the midst of thousands of villages which hold crores of population. The understanding of the interrelationship between these towns and their surrounding hinterlands is not only crucial for the development of these towns but also for the improvement in living conditions of rural hinterlands where millions of people live.

In India though the subject of the influence of the city/town upon its region has received some attention in the earlier studies like Ujagir

Singh, 1961, **A.B.Mukherjee**, 1962, A.K.Dutt, **1963**, **N.R.Kar**. 1963, the reverse kind of relationship, wherein the region exerts its influence over the city/town has not received any noticeable attention. Moreover in recent years the agricultural revolution that has been going in the countryside has added a new dimension to urbanization which require study. Also, the impact of widespread socio-economic planning and new schemes regarding development of small and medium sized towns require investigation.

In the light of above discussion, attempts will be made in this thesis to understand growth and development of small towns by taking Dharmavaram and Markapur in Andhra Pradesh as case studies. The former is well known for its silk production and the latter for slate. The two towns are experiencing qualitatively different processes of growth.

Hypothesis:

The exploratory hypothesis of the present study is that the growth of a town depends on the vitality of its hinterland as also on the following.

- a) The type of socio-economic linkages the town has with its surrounding hinterland.
- b) The pattern of relationships that operate between various functionally related groups spread over in town and its hinterland.

Objectives:

The mains OBJECTIVES of the present study are

- 1) To identify the various types of socio-economic linkages the town

has with its hinterland.

- 2) To study the impact of the these linkages on the growth of a town and its hinterland.
- 3) To examine the complexity and nature of relationships that exist between various functional groups spread over in town and its hinterland and how these relationships influence the impact of town-country linkages and the growth models of towns.

METHODOLOGY:

The study involves first and foremost the identification of the socio-economic background of the region in which the town is located and to identify the basic economic functions of the town. This facilitates the recognition of the kind of linkages the town has with its hinterland.

Considering the nature of the study and the variedness of the categories of information to be gathered, it was felt necessary to collect data using multiple techniques and from varied sources.

The main research tools used in the present study are

- 1) Indepth informal interviewing.
- 2) Survey method.

The selection of these research tools was done after the preliminary field trips to both the fields (Dharmavaram and **Markapur**) which gave ample scope to identify the socio-economic background of the region and the various sections of the people. **Thus**, keeping in mind the socio-economic

background of the respondents and the variedness of the information to be collected indepth informal interviewing is considered as the relevant method. Also, interview schedules were used while conducting household survey.

Besides primary sources, data is also collected from various secondary sources like Municipal records, Census reports, District Gazeeter, Government administrative reports, various departmental reports, Bank records, local directories, Newspaper clippings, records maintained by some families and senior citizens, journals published in the local towns, pamphlets, etc.

Demarcation of Hinterland:

In order to study the pattern of linkages between town and country and their impact on the development of town, a thorough analysis of the economic background of the hinterland is vital and for this, demarcation of the boundaries of the hinterland of the selected towns become crucial.

Usually, in studies done by urban geographers, demarcation of the hinterland was mostly done by mapping zones of influence based on various variables such as supply of vegetables, milk, newspapers, etc. In the present study the purpose of demarcation is to map the economic activities relating the town with the hinterland. The main aim here is to demarcate the area surrounding the town which is interdependent to both basic and non-basic economic activities of the town.

Basic activities: Those activities producing goods or services for export

out of the urban area are called basic. These are economic activities of town supported by non-local demands. Here money is brought into the city/town.

Non-Basic activities: These are concerned with the maintenance of the well-being of the people engaged in those of primary nature. Homer Hoyt says that every person employed in a basic industry (activities) normally supports approximately one other person in the service or non basic activities. Non-basic activities includes local services, retail trade, professional and other services.⁹

This necessitates first the identification of the basic economic activities of the town and hinterland, interdependency between them. Thus, in the preliminary field trips efforts were made to identify the linkages between town and country in terms of basic and non-basic activities. For this, indepth discussions with various **cross-sectional** people both in town and in the surrounding region were undertaken. Discussions with industrial owners, workers, administrative personnel, doctors, trade union leaders, trade and commerce association members, **mandal** presidents, developmental officials, and others provided vital information on the extent of area which has linkages with town. Further, zones of heavy traffic density were identified through discussions with APSRTC Depot manager, traffic inspectors and railway officers. Agro-based industrial owners and other industries helped in identifying the locations from where raw materials were supplied and the area from which workers and other functional groups commutes to town. Also, attention was given to the role of the neighbouring towns in the region and the zones of their impact. This

provided the criteria for not mixing the hinterlands of the neighbouring towns with the hinterlands of the selected towns.

One important thing which made the demarcation of the hinterland and the analysis of its economic background more rich is the existence of the "mandal divisions" in Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh the erstwhile Taluk system was replaced by Mandal System in 1986. Each mandal usually has 20 to 35 villages with a total population of 35,000 to 55,000. Discussions with Mandal Praza Parishad Presidents and other mandal administrative personnel, provided details of how far each mandal in the region is interdependent with the town. These discussions enabled the decision to select mandal boundaries as base for the demarcation of hinterland.

In the present study, the boundaries of hinterland exactly fall in line with the boundaries of mandals surrounding the town. It may be noted that, some times the border villages of a mandal may interact more closely with towns located in another mandal. However, for convenience of data collection the demarcation line of the mandals was taken as the boundaries of hinterland. The assumption here is that, exclusion and inclusion of a few villages from basically the same region, having the same level of economic development will not make much impact on the findings of the study.

Having demarcated the boundaries of hinterland, extensive data on the land-use patterns, land holdings, irrigation sources and extent of irrigation, cropping patterns and other details were collected from

respective **mandal** offices, Revenue Divisional records, District **and** State planning offices. Further, discussions with various mandal officers, locally elected political leaders, and other developmental personnel enriched the collection of data and the understanding of the causes behind the variations in data during the different years.

An important objective of this thesis is to study the relationships between various functional groups spread over between town and hinterland and how these relationships **influence** the town-country linkages and the development of town itself. As already mentioned initial discussions with various cross-sectional people both in town and country not only led to identification of linkages between town and hinterland but also to list out the strength of various kinds of industrial units both in basic and non-basic activities.

After collecting information on the size of the various industrial units, sample sizes were demarcated based on the size of each type of unit. Further, a complete information on spatial distribution of these various units is obtained and units for studying are selected (within each sample) from these spatial clusters.

A Note on Comparative Method:

This thesis is a comparative study of two towns and their hinterlands. The comparative method was adopted to facilitate explanation and generalization of the growth process of small towns.

Comparative method refers to the comparison of two or more societies

or their subsystems. Here, Robert Marsh says "**the** core meaning of the comparative method in the social sciences has always been the comparison of societies and their subsystems".¹²

Most of the classical studies in sociology right from the beginning are based on comparative method. Classical sociologists like **Emile** Durkheim, Max Weber and others gave much emphasis to comparative method. It is pertinent to recall **Durkheim's** famous statement that "comparative sociology is not a particular branch of sociology; it is sociology itself".¹³ It is only by the use of comparative method that we can arrive at general explanations.¹⁴

Emile Durkheim distinguished three applications of the comparative method or the method of **co-variations**. They are

1. The analysis of variations within one society at one point of time. This involves **intra-societal** comparison.
2. The comparison of societies generally alike but differing in certain aspects (there may be different societies or the same society at different periods).
3. The comparison of societies generally dissimilar yet sharing some feature or different periods in the life of one society showing radical change.

Nadel commenting on the **Durkheim's** three applications says these three methods are used in all phases of sociological analysis.

The present study is based on the first method of **Durkheim's** comparative analysis i.e. intra-societal comparative analysis. Here

efforts are made to understand the growth process of two towns located in the same economic zone but, having different growth models by comparatively analysing the functioning of two towns with reference to their hinterlands.

The assumption here is that, a comparative study of two towns (Dharmavaram and Markapur) having different models of urban development would help in unraveling the various processes influencing these two models of urban development which in a way leads to comprehensive understanding of the growth problems of small towns.

In any comparative study, uniform variables, indicators are to be identified for comparison. Thus, in the present study, first, various variables concerning the socio-economic background of hinterland are compared. This includes

1. Land utilisation patterns.
2. Land holding details.
3. Irrigation sources and extent of irrigation.
4. Cropping patterns.
5. Demographic details related to population, working population details etc.

Extensive data on the above variables is collected and attempts have been made to compare between the two regions of Dharmavaram and Markapur.

The sources of data are **mandal** offices, revenue divisional offices, district planning office, bureau of economics and statistics. Further, first hand look at the fields, nature of the soil, crops provided a feel of the agricultural situation of both the regions. Coupled with this, discussions with local political leaders (who are also main farmers) and

other developmental officials enriched the collection of data and provided vital information where ever secondary data failed to provide.

Coming to the situation in town, attempts were made to compare the basic economic activities of the towns and their **growth/decline** over a period of time, the linkages they have with the hinterlands. Also information on various variables viz., population, literacy, medical and health facilities, transport and communication, occupational classification, commerce and trade, agro-based industries and others is collected.

Thus, in this thesis, two industrial towns located in the same economic zone but having different growth models are taken and comprehensively studied as to why one town is having a better growth than the other.

CONCEPTS USED IN THE STUDY:

LINKAGE: The term "linkage" in this thesis is conceptualized on the basis of **Albert. O.Hirschman's** theoretical formulation in his book "**Strategy of Economic Development**" (1955).¹⁷ **Hirschman's** concept of linkage is based on inter-industry and intra-industry interdependence. He discusses how linkage between different industries, particularly from the point of view of input-output relations influence economic development.

He introduces two types of linkages. They are

- 1) Forward Linkages.
- 2) Backward Linkages.

Backward Linkage: When an activity 'A' is undertaken by utilising outputs of another activity 'B', then, the activity 'A' is said to have backward linkage with that of activity 'B'.

Forward Linkage: When activity 'A', whose output becomes inputs to another activity 'C', then the activity 'A' is said to have forward linkages with activity 'C'.

Hirschman's paper initiated a series of articles in the "Quarterly Journal of Economics" during 1973-76 by a number of economists, to empirically describe the role of **inter-industry** and **intra-industry** linkages.

These various economists viz., Pam.A.Yotopouloc & Jeffery B.Nugent (1973, 161) and M.Boucher (1976, 313) and others discussing the forward and backward linkage concepts of A.O.Hirschman, developed another theoretical formulation namely "**total linkage**", which refers to the direct and indirect effects of both backward and forward linkages.¹⁸

In the present study these concepts are attributed with spatial dimensions and are utilised to study the linkages between the various productive activities of the town and its surrounding hinterland and the linkages between the various functional groups spread over in town and country.

We know that the growth of a town depends on the town-country interaction. Depending on the size and functional attributes, each town

induces varied types of linkages. Understanding of these linkages **and** their impact on town and hinterland are crucial in the analysis of the growth of a town (and its role in the regional development). It is further believed that both in structuring the linkages between town and country and in influencing their impact on town, the nature of relationships operating between various functional groups spread over between town and country are crucial. Hence for a comprehensive understanding of the growth of a town one has to not only identify the type of linkages a town has with its hinterland, but also the various relationships operating between functional groups spread over in town and country and their influence on the impact of town's linkages and growth of **town'itself**.

NETWORK:

It is defined as a pattern of linkages between various members of a particular organisation. More elaborately, it is "that set of personal contacts through which the individual maintains social identity and receives emotional support, material aid and services, information and new social contacts".¹⁹

FUNCTIONAL NETWORKS:

These are the pattern of linkages based on relationships among members who are involved in the performance of a particular task.

The concept of **"Network"** in this thesis is used to explain

- 1) The pattern of linkages between various productive activities.
- 2) The pattern of linkages between various groups of persons engaged in productive activities.

In particular, the present study focusses on the delineating of these networks (between the functional groups) so as to explain the structure of the overall development/decline of regions.

In the present study, the concept of "networks" is defined as follows.

1. Networks are the pattern of linkages existing between various activities undergoing in a town and its hinterland.
2. It is also defined as the pattern of relationships between members of various functional groups involved in different productive activities spread over in a town and its hinterland.

Thus here, the concept of networks is used to study linkages at *structural* level) and at *practical* level (i.e., actual level).²⁰

ECONOMIC IMPACT:

Economic Impact is meant the outcome generated by different sectors per unit expenditure in a growth centre and its multiplier effect on the surrounding rural areas.

In the present study one of the objectives is to study the impact of various linkages the town has with its hinterland on the development of town. To mention, in the case study of Dharmavaram attempts are made to study the impact of mulberry crop which is cultivated in its hinterland on the economic activities of the town, particularly in terms of growth of silk reeling units, twisting units, silk trading units, and how growth of these various units in turn influence the spread of non-farm activities in the countryside. Attempts are also made to study the impact of growth of groundnut crop in the countryside on the development of various **agro-based**

units in the town and their multiplier effects on the various other productive activities of the town. The impact of the growth of the basic activities on non-basic activities in the town and in the hinterland is also observed. On the same lines, in the **Markapur** region attempts are made to study the impact of the slate industrial and mine activities on the hinterland and in town.

EXPLOITATION:

Different people described the concept of "exploitation" in different forms. While Andre Gunder Frank ²²(1975) and **Battelheim** ²³(1972) describe the concept of exploitation in terms of surplus expropriation and surplus appropriation. A.Emmanuel (1972) ²⁴ and Ernesto Laclau (1971) ²⁵ describe exploitation in terms of unequal exchange.

Emmanuel says "exchange" is a concept which describes the social relationship between those who produce a product or supply a factor of production and those who purchase that product or that factor.

Functionally related groups in the town and hinterland of Dharmavaram and Markapur:

In the present study based on the above definitions of the concept of "exploitation", attempts are made to understand the nature of relationships between various groups located in town and hinterland who are functionally related.

In Dharmavaram region, the relationships between the following groups who are functionally related are studied.

1. The relations between the mulberry farmers who market cocoons and

reelers and twisters who purchase cocoons.

2. The relations between reelers, twisters and raw silk agents.
3. The relations between raw silk agents and silk weavers.
4. The relations between silk weavers and silk merchants.
5. The relations between private **financiers/pawn** brokers and silk weavers, raw silk agents, sari merchants.

On the same lines in the **Markapur** region the relations between the following groups are studied.

1. slate mine owners, sub-lease holders, pit owners, and mine workers.
2. The relations between slate industrial & company owners and slate workers.
3. The relations between slate industrial owners and slate traders

In all these relations the element of "exchange" and "flow of surplus" is studied. Efforts are made to observe the changes in these relations over time and impact of these changes on the growth of the economy of the town and thereby development of town.

ENCLAVE URBANIZATION:

The idea of "enclave urbanization" was evolved from the basic ideas of "Enclave economies"(Rhoads Murphey, 1980), "Enclave conditions" (Dictionary of Economics, 1987), and "Growth of an Enclave variety" (**Misra, Sundaram** and Prakash **Rao**, 1984).

"Enclave economies" are those which have few effective linkages with the immediate surrounding areas.²⁷ "Enclave conditions" are those wherein

28

there is absence of any substantial backward and forward linkages.

"Enclave variety Growth" is the growth concentrated in space or selected sector of economic activity without any substantial linkages with

surrounding region.

From these basic views evolved the concept of "enclave urbanization". It is a process of urbanization which functions with out any significant backward, forward or any other form of linkages with surrounding hinterland.

This concept may have relevance only in describing the urbanization process of lower order settlements.

TOTAL URBANIZATION:

The idea of "**total** urbanization" is evolved from the concept of 'total linkage' developed by **Pam.A.** Yotopouloc and Jeffery. B.Nugent (1973) and M.Boucher (1976) based on the forward and backward linkage concepts of A.O.Hirschman.

They refer "**total** linkage" to the direct and indirect effects of both backward linkages and forward linkages.

From these basic views evolved the concept of "total urbanization" which refers to a process of urbanization which has strong interlinkages with its hinterland and generates complete symbiosis between urban-rural economy leading to over all regional development.

Scheme of the Study:

The first chapter of the thesis states the research problem, outlines the methodology and reviews the various concepts used in the study. The

second chapter discusses the existing theoretical approaches on the growth of small towns and emphasizes the necessity of the present study.

A detailed account of the **socio-economic** conditions of Dharmavaram and Markapur regions is presented in chapter three and four respectively. Population growth, density, sex ratio, literacy, health and medical facilities, occupational classification, irrigation levels, cropping pattern, land distribution, industrial growth, trade and commerce are the aspects covered in these chapters.

The fifth and sixth chapter traces the origin, growth, development and changes occurring in the silk industry of Dharmavaram and slate industry of Markapur respectively. The seventh chapter describes the functional relations between various production groups spread over in town and the hinterland by presenting data and information drawn from the surveys and fieldwork done in Dharmavaram and Markapur.

The eighth chapter comparatively analyzes the nature and pattern of production relations between various functional groups in Dharmavaram and Markapur regions. The concluding chapter presents the major arguments, comparatively analyses the results of the two case study regions and weaves together the major conclusions of the thesis.

NOTES:

Rondinelli.A.Dennis, 1983, p 8.

"Ibid, pp 275-276.

³**Lubell.G.**, 1984, p 91.

⁴**Richard May (Jr)**, 1989, p 54.

Funnel.D.C., in Alan Gilbert, 1976, p 78.

Mathur **Om Prakash**. (edt) UNCRD, Nagoya, 1982.

⁷**Lubell**, 1984, op. cit.

⁸**ICSSR Report**, Vol.1, p 123.

⁹For details please see a series articles by John. W.Alexander, Victor Roterns & **Welay Calif** and **Charles.M.Tiebout** in "Readings in Urban Geography "(Edt) by Harold M. Mayer & Clyde **F.Kohn**, Central Book Depot., Allahabad, 1967.

Indepth informal interviews were carried out with the members involved in these various activities. However, while interviewing, basic categories of variables on which information and data from each group has to be collected was clearly kept in mind. Enough care was taken to elaborate the notes of information jotted down while interviewing on the same day when the entire discussion is fresh and green in my memory. Also, when ever information received from vital persons is considered insufficient, interviews were undertaken once again. Thus, indepth interviews with various cross-sectional people involved basically in the same activities and from the same region gave enough scope for cross checking the collected information and to arrive at a more reliable and precise data.

¹¹**Rober.M.Marsh**, 1967, p 257.

¹²**Ibid**, p 285.

¹³**Durkheim Emile**, 1966, p 134.

¹⁴**Radcliffe Brown.A.K.**, 1952, pp 113-114.

¹⁵**Durkheim Emile**, 1966, pp 136-140.

¹⁶**Nadel.S.E.**, 1951, p 257.

Albert.O.Hirschman, 1958, p 100.

¹⁸For details see Pam.A.Yotopoulou & **Jeffery B. Nugent**, 1973, pp 157-171.

¹⁹**Maguire.L.**, 1983 , p 22.

²⁰**Castells.M.**, 1972, p 216.

²¹**Shue Tuck Wong & Mohammad Saigal**, 1985, p 25.

²²

Andre Gunder Frank, 1975, pp 78-79.

²³

Battelheim in Emmanuel.A., 1972, p 301.

²⁴

Emmanuel.A., op.cit., p.47.

25

Laclau. Ernesto., 1971, p 22.

Emmanuel. A., op.cit.

27

Rhoads Murphey, 1980, pp 132-133.

28

John Edtwell, Murray Milgate, Peter Newman., **1987**, p 209.

29

Misra. R.P., **Sundaram. K.V**, and Prakash Rao., 1978, pp 215-216.