CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION
Sociology in general and its branches in particular are of recent development when compared with other social sciences. Nevertheless it has got its own place in the modern behavioural sciences. Among the branches of Sociology, Urban Sociology occupies a significant position and has wider applications, specially in the context of the third world countries. Third world urbanisation is peculiar in nature and has got its own character and needs a special emphasis. Urbanisation, though an interdisciplinary subject of Geography, Economics, Demography, Sociology and Anthropology, it has got wider scope in Sociology and thus 'Urban Sociology' became a centre of study for many intellectuals. Many social scientists including sociologists have made valuable contributions to this branch of Sociology. The pioneers among them include Pitirim Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, Gist, Noel P and Halbert, L A, Macder, Lee Rose Hum and Indian sociologists like M S A Rao, A R Desai, V L S Prakasa Rao, Ramachandran, Ratna Naidu, Ranga Rao and so on.

Before going into the significance of Urban Sociology, it is better we look at the basic concepts and then it will be easy to discuss other aspects. The first and most important one, often debatable, is 'Urban' and it was defined in many ways. Sorokin and Zimmermann used occupational criteria to distinguish rural from urban and described, "the principle criterion of the rural society or population is occupational, collection and cultivation of plants and animals. Though it, rural society differs from other, particularly urban, population engaged in different occupational pursuits." They have also mentioned other characters in which rural and urban societies differ.

Peter Mann  *An Approach to Urban Sociology* 1955  p 6
size, density, heterogeneity, social differentiation and stratification, mobility, environment and systems of interaction. According to Gist and Halbert, the familiar dichotomy between rural and urban is more of a theoretical concept than a division based upon the facts of community life. Every village possesses some elements of the city while every city carries some features of the village. As remarked by Mac Iver, "but between the two there is no sharp demarcation to tell where the city ends and country begins."

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Third World development is the present day focus of all the sciences and among them Sociology has also contributed its might. In this regard urbanisation in third world has gained special attention due to the gravity of the urban problem. Population growth and Rural urban migration are common trends in the developing countries and this is the underlining factor for all the urban related problems. In order to study these problems one need to make an in depth analysis of changing urban social institutions and processes and to trace out the root causes for the same. But there are a number of studies relating to third world urbanisation and also on India. Nevertheless, there are some gaps in these studies which have to be filled up.

NEED FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

There are many studies on major metropolitan cities (eg Delhi, Calcutta, Mumbai, Chennai) and Class I cities (Hyderabad, Pune, Bangalore, Lucknow, Bhopal

\[\text{Ibid}\]

\[\text{Mac Iver R M & Page Charles H Sociology An Introductory Analysis 1955 P No 89}\]
etc.) There are also some studies on small towns and fast growing towns. But there are no studies on religious towns or cities in this concern. Thus there is a need to study a place like Tirupati and the reasons for selecting Tirupati are as follows:

- It is a fast growing urban centre in the country in the category of Class I cities. The population growth rate of this city during 1981-91, is 51.24.

- It is the biggest Hindu pilgrimage centre in the country and its urbanisation is influenced by religion - specially by the location of the temple of Lord Sri Venkateswara and TTD (Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams) which has taken up many developmental functions apart from the religious functions.

- It has got the largest floating population (sixty thousands per day on average) other than the four metros (Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Calcutta).

- The city is very close to two State borders (Karnataka and Tamil Nadu) and also to two metro cities (Chennai and Bangalore) and the city is obviously under their influence.

- It is also a place of excellence for education with three universities (SV University, SPM University, Sanskrit Vidhya Peeth (a deemed university) and also other professional and technical educational institutions.
Thus Tirupati was selected for the study with the aim and objectives stated below

Aim

To study the impact of urbanisation on various social institutions and processes, and the Impact of religion on urbanisation and vice versa

Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are

1 to analyse the changing nature of social institutions, viz, family, marriage and kinship due to urbanisation,

2 to study the impact of urbanisation on social stratification, mobility and education,

3 to enquire into the changes in religious behaviour and activities due to urbanisation,

4 to understand the structure, interpersonal relations and dynamics of a neighbourhood in different localities of Tirupati, and

5 to study the pattern, type and causes of migration

No study has so far been made on the above sociological aspects of Tirupati. Therefore, this researcher has ventured to make this study
METHODOLOGY

Both qualitative and quantitative research methodology have been used for the present study. The data collected for the present study is of both primary and secondary nature.

The secondary data was obtained from various sources like - Tirupati Municipal Corporation (TMC), Tirupati Urban Development Authority (TUDA), Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams (TTD), Mandal Revenue Office (Urban) and concerned educational institutions in the city.

The universe of the study consists of all the households in Tirupati town, as 'family' has been taken as the basic unit for the purpose of present study. The field area strictly confirm to the municipal limits in Tirupati town, according to the records of the Municipal Office, 38,000 houses are located in 20 revenue wards.

Sampling

To facilitate the study further, roughly one percent of the universe, i.e. 386 families, apart from the sampling errors, have been selected as the size of the sample by making use of proportionate stratified random sampling method, the sample was equally distributed among the three income groups, viz, higher middle and lower. Due to sampling errors they have come down to 125, 129 and 132 respectively.

NSS classification and specific characteristics of the locality have been taken into consideration to classify the sample. During the field work, exception in each income group have been eliminated.
An independent schedule has been administered among the respondents for obtaining necessary information. Irrespective of sex and qualification, one adult from each family has been interviewed for this purpose. The schedule was administered by the researcher personally during January - June, 1997. Detailed conversations were also held with the elderly persons of different families to substantiate and supplement the information from the schedules.

Pilot Test

The framed interview schedule was first pre-tested on 50 families of the three income groups, viz., higher, middle, and lower. The interview schedule was modified and standardised on the basis of the results obtained from this pilot study. The pilot study was conducted in other localities so as not to disturb the actual sample study area.

Analysis

The data and information gathered have been analysed and presented in different tables and diagrams for a clear understanding of the study. Statistical tools like percentages and chi-square have been applied wherever necessary. All statistical computations have been carried out using SPSS Software.

Scheme of Presentation

The present thesis comprises six chapters. In Chapter I, the research problem has been presented. The objectives of the study, the methodology and review of literature are discussed in this chapter.
In Chapter II, a historical and demographic profile of Tirupati and also the urbanisation of the town are presented.

Chapter III details the socio-economic background of the sample.

In Chapter IV, an analysis of the impact of urbanisation on some institutions—family, marriage, kinship and caste—is taken up.

Chapter V covers some more institutions—education, neighbourhood relations, occupation, religion and also the process of migration.

The last Chapter VI furnishes the findings of the earlier Chapters in brief and general conclusions drawn from the study.

**A QUEST FOR AN APPROPRIATE THEORY OF GROWTH OF THIRD WORLD CITIES**

Before embarking on a search for an appropriate theoretical explanation of the third world cities, it would be worthwhile to first summarise the major propositions of the three macro-level paradigms prevalent in the field of urban sociology that claim to have an explanation for the growth of the present day cities. These three major theoretical perspectives are: the Human Ecological, the Marxian and the Weberian approaches. An outline of the peculiar features of third world urbanisation and city growth would be presented.

**The Human Ecological School**

Within the human ecological school, the traditional approach of Park and the present structural functional approach of Haley 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 outmaneuvers other activities from the city centre and pushes 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-fair conditions (similar to Darwin’s Web of life). In the Third World countries one finds that the twin factors of underdevelopment and socialist ideology make 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 capitalistic 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.

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, lacks 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 valuation 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. More importantly, these theories have an

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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 of rural migrants to the cities.

Marxist urbanologists like Lamarque 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 Maxian 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 the 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 on 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 market, political power is
achieved through the control of the State. Political domination is therefore achieved by individuals through access to the instruments 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 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 systems '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

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7 N. Poulantzas, *Political Power and Social Classes*, 1973

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 chances depend on housing and it is important to study the criteria adopted by both private and public sectors 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 spontaneous settlements and therefore the role played by public and private sector 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 piquet situation arising out of underdevelopment, limited resources and 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.
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, Pahl 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 power 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.

**UNIQUE FEATURES OF THIRD WORLD URBANISATION**

The urbanisation process in Third World countries is marked by 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 as compared to 0.6 times for Europe and 2.4 times in other developed regions during the sample period.*

* Gilbert, Alan and Gugler Joseph, Cities, Poverty and Development 1982 p 46
This rapid urbanisation is taking place in countries with low level of economic development, low technological development, 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 underdeveloped 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 been further accentuated. This is happening because many of these countries trying to shrug off

Although such export policies have met with limited success, a distinct result has been 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.¹⁰

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

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¹⁰ Ibid, p 47
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.\(^{11}\)

Indeed, 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.\(^{12}\)

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.\(^{13}\)

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

\(^{11}\) Ibid

\(^{12}\) Ibid p 46

\(^{13}\) Berry, J L., Brain and Kasarada Jon Contemporary Urban Ecology 1979 p 91
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 cost arising from urban diseconomies while
retaining the advantages of being near metropolitan centres. This kind of
decentralisation 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 prime 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 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, spurs in urban investment tend to attract further
migrants to the city. The resulting over urbanisation creates acute shortage 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 such as Calcutta - 29%, Bombay 48%, Madras 23% and Hyderabad 30%.

14 Ibid
15 McGee, T.G., The Southeast Asian City, 1967
This process of over urbanisation 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.  

In contrast the urbanisation process in the underdeveloped nations has been rapid with massive influx of low skilled migrants from the poverty stricken rural hinterland. 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 coexistence of both the formal and the informal sectors. Many of the rural institutions, values and behaviour patterns have persisted or have been adopted to the specific requirements 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.

16 Joan M Nelson, Access to Power, Politics and the Urban Poor in Developing Countries, 1979 p 38
URBANISATION IN INDIA

Urbanisation in India was first discussed in detail at an International Seminar held at Berkeley (California) in 1960. This seminar resulted in a major contribution to the study of Urbanisation in India. The massive data collected in 1961 census introduced a new dimension in the study of urbanisation in India.

The census data showed a slow but a great increase of Indian Urban population. India ranks second among the nations of the world in total population (after China), third in the number of people living in cities (after China and USA) and fourth in population of cities with more than one million inhabitants (after China, USA and Japan). India's Urban Population increased by approximately 25 million in the 1960s exceeding that of any other nation except China, USSR, USA and Japan. Since independence, 37 Indian cities are estimated to have first obtained a population of more than 1,00,000, 6 to have first increased to more than 5,00,000 and 4 to have first exceeding one million.

The pace of increase of urban population in India, however, is not rapid. The percentage of urban population at the time of independence was 17 which increased to 24. Among the world's ten most populous nations, India has the smallest percentage of urban population. Urbanism in India reveals an increasing growth rate of urban population rather than an increasing urban growth rate. The rapid growth of population has created the problem of the growth of urban population and the rate of urban growth may not increase unless it is brought under control.

17 Kingley Davis, World Urbanisation 1950 1970 1969
18 Ibid
19 Kingley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan 1951 p 129
Trends of Urbanisation in India 1901 - 1991

Urban population has been increasing at the rate that exceeds the growth rate for the whole population. Indeed, the statistics show that urban population began to rise in the decade of 1911 to 1921 before the general increase was under way. The next three decades saw increase of nearly 20-40 per cent in urban population. This reflects a net movement of people from villages into towns and cities associated with non-agricultural employment, especially during the Second World War. Another factor in the decade of 1941 to 1951 was the urban influx of refugees from Pakistan following the partition of British India.²⁰

Table 1 1
Trend of Urbanisation in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census year</th>
<th>Number of UAs/Towns</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Urban population</th>
<th>Urban population as percentage of total population</th>
<th>Decennial growth rate of urban population (Per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1 827</td>
<td>238,396,327</td>
<td>25,861,873</td>
<td>10.84</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1 815</td>
<td>252,093,390</td>
<td>25,941,633</td>
<td>10.29</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1 949</td>
<td>251,321,213</td>
<td>28,086,167</td>
<td>11.18</td>
<td>8.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>2 072</td>
<td>278,977,238</td>
<td>33,455,999</td>
<td>11.99</td>
<td>19.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>2 250</td>
<td>318,660,580</td>
<td>44,153,297</td>
<td>13.86</td>
<td>31.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2 843</td>
<td>361,088,090</td>
<td>62,443,709</td>
<td>17.29</td>
<td>41.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2 365</td>
<td>439,231,771</td>
<td>78,935,603</td>
<td>17.97</td>
<td>26.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2 590</td>
<td>548,159,652</td>
<td>109,113,077</td>
<td>19.91</td>
<td>38.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3 378</td>
<td>683,329,097</td>
<td>159,462,547</td>
<td>23.34</td>
<td>46.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3 768</td>
<td>844,322,222</td>
<td>217,177,625</td>
<td>25.72</td>
<td>36.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes 1 As the 1961 Census was not conducted in Assam the 1981 population figures for India include interpolated figures for Assam

2 The 1991 Census has not been held in Jammu and Kashmir. The 1991 population figures for India include projected figures for Jammu & Kashmir as projected by the Standing Committee of Experts on Population Projections (October 1989).

²⁰ Allen G Noble and Ashok K. Dutt Indian Urbanisation and Planning Vehicles of modernisation 1977 p 66
During the decade 1951 to 1961, the urban growth rate declined. The following decade, however, saw a resumption of nearly the previous rate of increase. The census results came as a big surprise to demographers, economists, and planners. Even the most pessimistic projection (i.e., the high projection) of 1961 population made by any demographer or government agency turned out to be under estimate. This fluctuation is partly due to the change in definition of "Urban" in 1961 which makes the data for that year and also 1971 not strictly comparable to the data for 1951 and earlier. Until 1961 all persons living in the jurisdiction of municipal corporations or other types of municipal or quasi-municipal government bodies, including town committees, notified areas committees and cantonment boards were classified urban. In addition, settlements not under municipal government, inhabited by more than 5,000 people, were considered urban for census purposes. In 1961, it was decided to add stipulations of density (over 1,000 persons per square mile) and relative concentration of non-agricultural employment (not more than one quarter of the population engaged in agriculture). The result of this 1961 change of definition was to declassify some 800 places, mostly in the population range from 5,000 to 10,000. Thus some 4,737,000 persons who would have been classified urban under 1951 definitions, were not counted as urban in 1961 and India's apparent rate of urban growth decreased from 1951 to 1961 and percentage of population classified as urban in 1961 was reduced.\(^2\) During 1981-91 the percentage of Urban Population is increased by 238 (2572)

\(^2\) For a full discussion of defining "Urban" in the Indian context, see Asish Bose, *Studies In India's Urbanisation*, 1961-1971-1973, pp. 27-41
In the state of Andhra Pradesh where our field area, Tirupati, is located, total number of towns increased from 252 in 1981 to 264 in 1991. The position of the State (level of urbanisation) in 1981 was at 15, whereas in 1991, it was one lower at 16. The urban population of the State in 1991 was 26.84% of the total State population.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

In a seminar on urbanization in India, eminent scholars have expressed their views concerning - urbanization in India, past and future, migration and urbanization in India and south east Asia, the impact of urban areas on the villages of India, the urban social situation in India, urbanization in Bombay State features, problems and a plan of action and also on the future of Indian cities, national issues and goals.

A book by Mukerjee Radhakamal and Baljit describes the Lucknow City. It starts with the civic amenities in the city, main trends in urbanization, size and structure of the family. It also studies the process of immigration, factors in immigration and immigrants, occupation, employment and earning, employment in organised sector, unemployment, over crowding and housing standards. It also includes a note on fertility survey.

22 University of California. Seminar on Urbanisation in India, 1960

An edited book by Turner\textsuperscript{24} comprehensively deals with the aspects such as changes in the urban population, urban structure and urban society, urbanization and economic development and government and planning. It is concluded with a survey of literature on urbanization in India.

There is also a book edited by Anderson\textsuperscript{25} on the urbanization process and patterns in different countries. Herbert Kotter discussed the changes in urban-rural relationships in industrial society. Robinson narrates the governmental framework of urban planning. Vershays has described the urbanization in South-East Asia and Brennan about the pattern of urbanization in Australia. Perry examines the engineering trends in urban Ethiopia. Ramakrishna Mukerjee speaks about the urbanization and social transformation in India. Bent focused on the ideology of the Islamic urbanization. Borje Hanssen has discussed in detail about urban activity, urban poor and urban environment in Scandinavian History. United states urbanization and urbanism has been presented by Joseph Vandiner.

Bulsara's\textsuperscript{26} survey of cities Baroda, Gorakhpur, Hubli, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Jamshedpur, Kanpur, Lucknow, Poona and Surat deals with the problems of rapid urbanization in India. The different problems covered are demographic aspects, language and religion, literacy, immigration, industries and occupations, economic and employment status, income, unemployment and under employment, housing conditions, municipal services, urban amenities and other urban aspects.

\textsuperscript{24} Turner, Roy (Ed.) *India's Urban Future* 1962

\textsuperscript{25} Anderson, Nels (Ed.) *Urbanism and Urbanization* 1964

\textsuperscript{26} Bulsara, Lal, F., *Problems of Rapid Urbanisation in India* 1964
An edited book by Turner comprehensively deals with the aspects such as changes in the urban population, urban structure and urban society, urbanization and economic development and government and planning. It is concluded with a survey of literature on urbanization in India.

There is also a book edited by Anderson on the urbanization process and patterns in different countries. Herbert Kotter discussed the changes in urban-rural relationships in industrial society. Robinson narrates the Governmental framework of urban planning. Vershays has described the urbanization in South-East Asia and Brennan about the pattern of urbanization in Australia. Perry examines the engineering trends in urban Ethiopia. Ramakrishna Mukerjee speaks about the urbanization and social transformation in India. Bent focused on the ideology of the Islamic urbanization. Borje Hanssen has discussed in detail about urban activity, urban poor and urban environment in Scandinavian History. The United States' urbanization and urbanism has been presented by Joseph Vandel.

Bulsara's survey of cities—Baroda, Gorakhpur, Hubli, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Jamshedpur, Kanpur, Lucknow, Poona and Surat deals with the problems of rapid urbanization in India. The different problems covered are demographic aspects, language and religion, literacy, immigration, industries and occupations, economic and employment status, income, unemployment and under employment, housing conditions, municipal services, urban amenities and other urban aspects.

Turner, Roy (Ed.), India's Urban Future, 1962
Anderson, Nels (Ed.), Urbanism and Urbanization, 1964
Bulsara, Lal, F, Problems of Rapid Urbanisation in India, 1964
A book by Iqbal Narain, Mathur and Varma\textsuperscript{31}, on a case study in Jaipur district examines the pattern of urbanization in India, Jaipur and its environs, peri-urban regions contrasting patterns of development, peri-urban regions forms and functions of local bodies, peri-urban regions process and problems of indirect urbanization and about the problems and problem areas.

D' Souza, Victor's\textsuperscript{32} case study of Chandigarh, tries to analyse the social structure of this planned city. In this study he focussed on the bases of social organisation, occupational structure, educational opportunities, spatial structure, housing, sectoral neighbourhood unit, community integration migration, slum dwellers and implications of planning in India.

Bose Ashish\textsuperscript{33} has discussed, in detail about the process of urbanization, concepts, definitions and sources of data, urban growth in India during 1901-2001, internal migration, land and housing a case study of urban Delhi, Urban planning and policy and a statistical profile of urban India and rural urban contrasts.

Riemer's\textsuperscript{34} book, 'An Introduction to Urban Sociology' starts with the city in western civilization. In the first part he discussed urban growth. In this part the focus is mainly on population resources for city growth and geographical patterns of city growth. The second part deals with the urban environment including ecological limits and processes.

\textsuperscript{31} Narain, Iqbal P C Mathur and P S Varma, The Pattern of Urban Rural Relationship: A Case Study in Jaipur District 1967

\textsuperscript{32} D Souza Victor S, Social Structure of a Planned City Chandigarh 1968

\textsuperscript{33} Ashish Bose, Studies in India's Urbanisation 1901-1971 1974

\textsuperscript{34} Riemer, Svend, The Modern City: An Introduction to Urban Sociology 1976
A book by Iqbal Narain, Mathur and Varma\textsuperscript{31}, on a case study in Jalipur district examines the pattern of urbanization in India, Jalipur and its environs, peri-urban regions contrasting patterns of development, peri-urban regions forms and functions of local bodies, peri-urban regions process and problems of indirect urbanization and about the problems and problem areas.

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\textsuperscript{32} D' Souza, Victor S., Social Structure of a Planned City, Chandigarh. 1968.


\textsuperscript{34} Riemer, Svend, The Modern City: An Introduction to Urban Sociology. 1976.
Das Gupta's edited book on West Bengal in detail discussed the urbanization, migration and rural change. It started with an introduction to urbanization in West Bengal. Comprehensively, it dealt with the urban concentration in West Bengal, an analysis of the growth of small and medium towns in West Bengal between 1951-1981, migration and urbanization, urban status of West Bengal, contrasting urbanization patterns of West Bengal and Punjab, urbanization and industrialization, determinants of rural urban migration and urban growth without urbanization, the experience of a border district of West Bengal.

National Institute of Urban Affairs brought out state of India's Urbanization which pictures the consequences of urbanization. It starts with an overall view of urbanization in India. The discussion continues on levels of urbanization, patterns of urban growth, components of urban growth, urbanward migration, change in urban area, morphology of urbanization and primary patterns. New towns of 1981, metropolises and cities are also covered. In the next part, the focus is on urban crowding, urban poverty, urban slums and urban population future estimates.

- A book edited by Gupta Girilal Roy has briefly dealt with the urban social structure, environment and trends and the impact of urbanization viz. the role of agricultural development in India's urbanization. Urbanization Modernization and Women's political participation, urban development and public health materialism environment and morality in Calcutta and others.

59 Das Gupta, Bipahh (Ed.), Urbanisation, Migration and Rural Change: A Study of West Bengal 1988
60 National Institute of Urban Affairs, State of India's Urbanisation 1988
61 Girilal Roy Gupta, Urban India, 1991
Rao, Bhatt and Kadekar$^{42}$ have edited a book quite comprehensive in nature dealing with aspects such as history of ‘urbanism’ and ‘urbanization’, demographic and ecological aspects, caste, class and ethnicity, urban poverty and slums and impact of urbanization on rural areas.

Mukharjee Alok’s$^{43}$ study on Howrah discusses the urban growth, urban problems, the middle class and the industrial growth and business communities in Howrah.

An edited book by Banga Indu$^{44}$ covers the city and its history. The various themes included in this are urban history in India, urbanism in early historic India, urban process in early and medieval Tamil Nadu, some aspects of urbanisation in medieval India, urbanism in South India during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and urban culture in modern India-world of the lower classes.

Jain’s$^{45}$ case study of Madhya Pradesh describes about the land and people of Madhya Pradesh, trends of urbanization, dynamics of urban population growth. Also, he made a comparative study of fast growing and stagnating towns. Salient features and correlates of population growth of the selected towns during 1971-81 of selected towns are also included.

$^{42}$ Rao Bhatt & Kadekar A Reader in Urban Sociology 1991

$^{43}$ Mukharjee Alok Kumar Howrah A Study in Urbanisation 1992

$^{44}$ Banga Indu (Ed.), The city in Indian History Urban Demography Society and Politics 1994

$^{45}$ Jain M K Urbanisation An Analysis of Census and Auxiliary Data (A Case Study of Madha Pradesh) 1994
Sethi\(^{46}\) opines that, there is need to restructure the rural urban relations and continuum from dichotomy. In this context, he discusses Urban Demographic profile, rural urban relations, spatial planning, mobility and rural-urban continuum, urbanization and urban employment, urban decentralization, the dynamics of agro-based industry and economy for rural urban linkages.

An edited book by Patel, Sujatha and Alice Thonner\(^{47}\) projects Bombay as a metaphor for modern India. It focuses on labour and enterprise, claims on land, housing and health, politics, populism and violence.

\(^{46}\) Sethi, J D. *Dichotomy to Continuum: Restructuring Rural Urban Relations*. 1994

\(^{47}\) Patel, Sujatha & Alice Thonner (Ed.), *Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India*, 1995