CHAPTER-1
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Urban-rural relations have greatly attracted the attention of policy makers, social scientists and activists because urban and rural areas together, constitute a functional system of settlements. While on the one hand, urban areas depend on rural areas for their supply of food grains, milk, vegetables, poultry goods, industrial raw materials as well as provide a market for the goods manufactured by the urban industries; on the other hand, these function as a market for agricultural surplus produce and provide several infrastructural facilities and administrative services to the rural settlements. According to Jefferson (1931, p. 453) “cities do not grow of themselves, countrysides set them to do tasks that must be performed in central places.”

Villagers, though in differentiated forms, have had always connections with rulers, officials, leaders, merchants and craftsmen living in towns/cities. The traditional Indian cities throughout history had a near-symbiotic relationship with countryside. Their economic relationship was complementary. Colonialism disrupted this pattern of interdependent relationship. The fiscal, industrial and political policies pursued by the British regime in India contributed to the decline of both country and town through increasing deindustrialization. The large scale pauperization of artisans and peasantry took place as a result of massive disruption of traditional Indian economy and its social base.

The post independent India has witnessed significant change in the traditional pattern of country-town relations. The character of both countryside and urban centres has undergone tremendous transformation as a result of some very basic structural innovations. These include constitutional provisions, developmental planning, Green Revolution, expansion of higher education, new avenues of employment and infrastructural inputs like roads, electricity and irrigation. Now, a large number of urbanites are working in rural areas as school teachers, clerks, patwaris, gramsewaks, compounders, peons and ayurved physicians. A good number of villagers are also found working in banks, offices of state and central governments, colleges and...
universities. People with certain economic standing and cognition send their wards to towns and cities for higher education.

Modern agricultural practices, especially as a consequence of Green Revolution, worked as an accelerator in strengthening urban-rural relations. Based on high yielding variety seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, modern agricultural implements and tubewell irrigation, a new era emerged in rural and agricultural development (more so in the prime agricultural areas of Haryana, Punjab and Western U.P.). Successful application of advanced technology increased not only the marketable surplus from agriculture but also increased the demand for HYV seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and modern agricultural implements tremendously. It was for these inputs that rural areas necessarily depended on urban industrial inputs, banks, markets and global as well as national economy dependant price mechanisms (Sharma and Gupta, 1991).

Increased production due to Green Revolution led to cross cutting practices of commercialization and diversification in agriculture. Tubewell irrigation propagated the growing of vegetables for commercial gains. Further, newer initiatives like dairy-farming, floriculture, truck-farming and poultry-farming were also being taken up as allied agricultural activities which were burgeoning because of their increasing demand in urban centres and their vastly improved economic returns. These initiatives had a boosting effect on urban-rural relations through the establishment of numerous backward and forward linkages. Moreover, increased economic accessibility and strength enabled the countryside population to empower themselves with opportunities in education, political participation and governance alongwith political power.

Thus, urban and rural areas are necessarily interactive units and can be described as two different but interlinked structural patterns of living. The patterns of interaction are so determined that neither of them is singly privileged as the epicentre of transformation. Rondinelli (1983) also refuted the achievement of rural development goals in isolation from cities and stressed upon the significance of linkages for the mutual benefit of urban and rural areas. It can, therefore, be derived that the urban-rural relations encompass a continuum of people, goods, money, technology, information and ideas (O’ Connor 1983; Gould 1985; Dixon 1987). In this case, we have taken the
case study of Hisar District in Haryana and have seen how the nature and intensity of urban-rural relations have changed over time. An attempt has also been made in this study to gauge the role of various backward and forward linkages of agriculture in strengthening the urban-rural relations in an agriculturally developed state.

Somehow, the work on the theme of urban-rural relations has not caught adequate attention of geographers. In geography, the work is largely confined to umland delineation. There are a very few studies in geography which looks on urban-rural relations from the perspective of regional development. All this will be evident from the review of literature discussed below.

Review of Literature

A study of the available literature revealed that the theme of urban-rural relations had always attracted keen interest from scholars of the social sciences especially in sociology, anthropology, economy, geography and development studies. Sociologists and social anthropologists view urban-rural relations in the context of rural change and social transformation and have attempted to explore the assimilative and acculturative processes of multiple urban-rural interactions which are seen as complementary and integrative in nature. Considering the dynamic and complex nature of urban-rural relations, sociologists stress the need to go beyond the urban versus rural dichotomy and explore the networks of harmonious relationships between them.

Different scholars (Gough 1955, Srinivas 1960, Rudolph, 1967, Cohn, 1968 and Singer 1972.) have made valuable contributions in this field. They conducted studies to foster understanding on how traditional institutions reacted with modern economic and political forces. They have presented various arguments on the rural-urban continuum, modernization of the traditional and the impact of westernization in the form of empirical studies.

Bertrand et al. (1958) outlined the nature and type of urban-rural relations that resulted in rural social change and delineated interactions of this type as integrative in nature. Srinivas (1960) described the process of Sanskritization (a case of interaction), in which a lower cultural group tends to accept and adapt the models of behaviour of
the upper cultural group for emulation. Halpem (1967) observed the role of the modern political state in eliminating the distinction between urban and rural life leading to a simultaneous movement of peasantization of cities and urbanization of villages. Beals (1955) and Epstein (1978) put forth the idea of diverse impact of modern institutional inputs on differently endowed villages. Chauhan (1990) highlighted urban-rural interconnections in the Indian setting and outlined the need for taking into account the cultural, political and economic factors involved in the process.

Bentall and Corbridge (1996) discussed the role of peasant movements in urban-rural relations in the north-west India. Kabra (1997) and Joshi (1997) analyzed urban-rural disparities in India and concluded that urban and rural areas are not competitive but complementary, which called for their integrated development. Geschiere and Gugler (1998, www.questia.com) emphasized in the context of Africa that life in urban and rural areas should be studied with the involvement of each other as this involvement increased over time.

Economists view urban-rural relations in the context of backward and forward linkages between different sectors of economy leading to regional development. Fisher (1939) mentioned different kinds of urban-rural linkages at various stages of the evolutionary process of regional development. Leontif (1953) propounded input-output model, in which the concept of forward and backward linkages was considered for industries as well as between different productive sectors (like agriculture, industry and individual consumers) of urban and rural areas.

In the discipline of Geography, Potter and Unwin (1989) edited a volume in honour of Prof. A.B. Mountjoy on urban-rural relations having papers on conceptual and methodological issues along with case studies from developing countries. Various approaches like umland delineation, urban bias, urban-rural differentials, urban-rural symbiotic relations and regional development have been focused upon by geographers in their study of urban-rural relations over a period of time.

Scholars like Singh (1955), Mukerji (1962), Dewedi (1964), Krishan and Aggarwal (1970) and Dikshit (1977) made academic endeavours in the field of umland delineation of urban centres on their hinterlands. These studies focused on urban
dominance which favoured an urban-bias towards development i.e. urban-centres were more benefited than the rural centres due to urban-rural linkages. Studies conducted by Misra, Rao and Sundaram (1974); Raza and Aggarwal (1986) are in line with the urban bias focus and attribute it to the colonial heritage. Funell (1988) analyzed the urban-rural relationship geographically in the light of this urban bias approach and pointed out the need for a greater awareness of the problems surrounding the nature of exchange between urban and rural areas.

The urban-biased nature of development gave way to several urban-rural differentials, which in turn, were manifested in the demographic characteristics of the populations of urban and rural areas. Contributions of scholars like Gosal (1967), Chandna (1986), Krishan and Shyam (1987), Sagar (1990), Krishan and Singh (1993), and Friedman (2008) are significant in this context. Krishan and Shyam (1987) took the urban-rural differentials as an expression of the nature and quality of relationship between the two and a manifestation of the extent of development over spatial diffusion from the urban core to the rural periphery. This wide disparity of conditions reflects a stage of economic exploitation. Friedman (2008) pointed out the significance of these urban-rural differences as a critical variable in the social process and made an attempt to explore the usefulness of existing literature on urban-rural conflict.

Later, however, the focus shifted to urban-rural relations. These relations, being mutually beneficiary in nature, led to regional development. Sundaram (1987) described that the new strategy of “bottom-up development” intended to reduce the disparity in income and level of living between urban and rural areas by narrowing the gap between urban and rural amenities with the objective of integrated rural development. Singh (1995) talks about the positive relationship between diversification of rural livelihood patterns and factors like degree of urbanization, urban literacy, rural electrification, density of transport networks and diversification of agriculture in Haryana state. Similarly, Kaur (1995) studied the regional patterns of urban-rural relations in India and found that urban-rural relations are stronger in the areas which have higher levels of agricultural and industrial development, while areas having physiographic handicaps have low intensity of urban-rural relations.
Lin (2001), in his case study of spatial transformation in China’s Pearl River Delta, analyses the geographic extent and functional attributes of a zone of urban-rural interactions located outside and between major metropolitan centres and concluded that after a decade of post-reform development, this zone had moved ahead of central cities and absorbed a significant amount of the increased urban population due to industrial and commercial development as a result of the sequential urban-rural interactions. Cabus and Vanhaverbeke (2003) concluded that the mutually beneficiary nature of urban-rural partnerships acted as the basis for a rural renewal policy consisting of traditional rural elements besides manufacturing and service industries. Kaur (2007) conducted an empirical study of urban-rural relationships from the perspective of regional development to understand the variations in urban-rural relations during the various phases of emergence of a newly planned city and urban territory like Chandigarh.

Historically speaking, in development studies, the growth pole concept, top-down and bottom-up development and conceptualization of cities as either parasitic or generative (beneficial influence on the surrounding rural region) were the main concerns since the 1950s. In recent years, however, considering the complex nature of urban-rural relations, development scholars have projected them as equal partners in the process of regional development. Preston (1975) made one of the first attempts to identify different categories of interactions between urban and rural areas. Lipton (1982) propounded his renowned urban bias theory while Hariss and Hariss (1984) demonstrated the parasitic nature of urbanization with the help of a study of Arni town, in Tamil Nadu. Randinelli (1985) classified urban-rural linkages in spatial development for understanding urban-rural interactions viz., physical and economic linkages; technological linkages; population movement and social interaction linkages; service delivery linkages; as also political, administrative and organization linkages.

Lynch (2004) focussed on complexity of urban-rural relations within the developing world while examining a range of interactions between urban and rural areas considering the flow of people, money and ideas in either direction. Bowman (2008, www.spatialnorth.org) described this increasing contact of rural areas with urban ones through commuting, service consumption and recreation resulting in their partial though incomplete urbanization. He mentioned regional policy initiatives
describing cities as ‘engines of growth’ that would diffuse into the countryside and emphasized the consideration of urban and rural areas as equal partners as an essential pre-requisite to the integrated urban-rural approach towards regional development. Tacoli (2008) formed urban-rural linkages as a significant focus in recent years for research and policy making initiatives related to the local and national level of economic development, poverty reduction and governance because of accelerating urbanization and growing interdependence of the urban and rural dwellers.

Perceiving the significance of the theme of urban-rural relations, numerous seminars and conferences were held from time to time at the international level. In 1978, social scientists met under the auspices of UNESCO at New Delhi to identify significant issues in the area of research on urban-rural interactions. In 1982, the Human Geography Committee of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a series of four workshops on urban-rural relations in the Third World. In 1985 a ‘Rural–Urban Interaction Network’ was established by developing the areas research group for the Institute of British Geographers. In 1988, a National Seminar on “Country-Town Nexus: Studies in Social Transformation in India” was held at the Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi. A discussion on urban-rural relations was also held in FAO Regional Seminar (November 27-30, 2000) to indicate the significance of the theme.

Recently, a conference of the Asian Rural Sociological Association (ARSA) was held in Beijing (2008, www.nationmultimedia.com.) in which sociologists focused on the need to go beyond the urban rural dichotomy and trace the elements of harmony between them. The Urban Rural Interface Conference (URIC, 2008, www.aces.edu,) held at Huntsville (USA) discussed problems and potential solutions for developing better urban-rural relations. The “Convention for Urban and Rural Europe” (CURE, www.leipziger-messe) proposed recommendations for making a mid-term evaluation of the EU programme 2008/09 relating to concrete measures, that supported a sustainable strategy for the future of urban-rural relations in Europe. The 9th European conference on Agriculture and Rural Development in China (ECARDC IX, www.ecarde.org), which was held in April 2009 on the theme of “Rethinking Urban-Rural Interactions in China’s Agricultural Development: Beyond the Urban Bias”, also speaks of the growing significance of this theme.
Planners and policy makers in various countries are accentuating their interest in this theme. A transnational project on urban-rural relations in Europe under the aegis of the European Spatial Planning Observation Network (ESPON, www.espon.eu) was initiated in 2005. According to one of its observations, rural areas in the future will be increasingly interlinked functionally with the urban areas in terms of influx, flows, exchange processes, institutional links and interdependencies.

The following points emerge from the discussions above:

(i) Sociologists and anthropologists view urban-rural relations in the context of rural change and social transformation and find these relations to be complementary and integrative.

(ii) Economists view urban-rural relations in the context of backward and forward linkages of agriculture and industry contributing to regional development.

(iii) Geographers follow different approaches of urban dominance, urban-rural differentials, urban-rural interaction and finally urban-rural relations with a perspective of regional development.

(iv) Scholars of development studies project urban and rural areas as equal partners in the process of regional development.

It follows from the above discussion that geographers have contributed little to the understanding of linkages between urban and rural areas. While there is vast area lying unexplored. The present study attempts to fill this void.

**Research Objectives**

The objectives of the present study are as follows:

1) To study the evolutionary process of urban-rural relations in Haryana in general and Hisar district in particular.

2) To make a detailed analysis of the urban-rural relationships in the post-reorganization period of the state (1966) in light of agricultural development.
3) To comprehend the role of backward and forward linkages of agriculture in promoting urban-rural interactions.

4) To analyze the role of new initiatives in agricultural development like truck-farming, poultry-farming, dairy-farming and floriculture in strengthening the urban-rural relations.

Research Questions

In the light of the above stated objectives, the study attempts to answer the following questions.

1) How have the nature and intensity of urban-rural relations changed during different periods of history?

2) What was the impact of the state’s reorganization on urban-rural relations in the study area?

3) What role did the Green Revolution play in strengthening urban-rural relations in the study area?

4) How have the backward and forward linkages of agriculture contributed to the strengthening of urban-rural relations in the study area?

5) To what extent have the new initiatives in agricultural development contributed to the promotion of urban-rural relations in the study area?

Hypotheses

Keeping in view the research questions, the following hypotheses have been formulated for empirical testing:

1) Bigger the size of a village more will be its interaction with the urban centre.

2) Higher the road connectivity and accessibility of transport stronger will be the urban-rural relations.

3) More the Proximity of the villages to the city stronger will be the intensity of their interactions.
4) Higher the degree of commercialization and diversification of rural economy more will be the urban-rural interactions.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Sources of Data

The study is based on primary as well as secondary data. Since the village has been taken as the spatial unit of analysis, secondary data on various indicators has been procured from the District Census Handbook: Village and Town Directory 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001. The analysis has been made for two points of time i.e. 1971 (first census after reorganization of the states in 1966) and 2001 (latest census data available). To study evolution and spatial pattern of urban-rural relationship in Haryana, data on various indicators was procured from Statistical Abstract of Haryana, 2010-11. For hypotheses testing, data regarding the indicators for commercialization and diversification of agriculture was collected from Department of Animal Husbandry and Dairying. Other sources of data have also been explored to get the latest picture of urban–rural relations. The primary data has been collected through field survey conducted in identified/selected sampled villages from the area of study. In depth information was collected by interviewing key informants and knowledgeable opinion leaders.

Selection of Indicators

The study has been conducted with the help of appropriate indicators. Since there is non-availability of direct data on various important parameters of urban-rural interactions like daily commuting, flow of commodities and service exchange, adoption of proxy indicators thus becomes inevitable and has been resorted to. Selected indicators are as follows:

(i) Proportion of rural non-agricultural workers.
(ii) Availability of pucca roads.
(iii) Percentage of irrigated land in proportion to total cultivated area.
(iv) Proportion of total cultivated land to total area.
(v) Availability of basic amenities like health and education.
(vi) Availability of post and telegraph services.
Here, indicators (i) and (ii) have been used to show urban-rural commuting and indicators (iii) and (iv) represent commodity flow. Indicators (v) and (vi) take care of service exchange, and these indicators have been used to capture a particular segment of population which is engaged in these services and helps to strengthen urban-rural relations. Apart from these indicators, the Census 2001 gives information on: (i) Newspapers and Magazines (ii) Telephones (iii) Banks and (iv) Agriculture Credit Societies. These indicators have been used as assessment parameters for promoting free flow of ideas and capital while describing the spatial patterns of urban-rural relations in 2001 (these indicators are not available for 1971).

The primary data has taken care of commercialization and diversification of agriculture in favour of production of vegetables, fruits, milk and poultry farming. In addition, parameters like social awareness, population mobility and adoption of urban architectural forms in villages have been studied through the field work by the adoption of interview as well as the observation methods.

Selection of Sample for the Field Work

Selection of the sampled villages has been done by using stratified random sampling technique. To ensure a balanced representation the district was divided into various strata based on physiographic zones, population size, distance from Hisar city and road accessibility. Then from each strata the sample was drawn randomly, which is 8 per cent of the total villages.

Data Analysis Techniques

For analyzing the data, various statistical techniques have been used such as arithmetic mean, standard deviation, coefficient of variability and coefficient of correlation. In order to calculate index of urban-rural interactions the following steps have been taken:

(i) indices were calculated for various indicators by using the under value method i.e. taking the maximum values as 100 and then calculating other values proportionally;
(ii) value of indices for a particular dimension were calculated by summing up the index values of various indicators of a dimension to arrive at the index for urban-rural commuting, commodity flow and service exchange;

(iii) and finally, the composite index of urban-rural interactions was computed by adding up the index values for commuting, commodity and service exchange.

Thus done, three levels of ‘high’, ‘moderate’ and ‘low’ were arrived at for each dimension by identifying critical breaks in the data. The upper and lower limits of a category were kept the same for different periods of time in order to comparatively assess the change.

**Cartographic Representation of Data**

Suitable cartographic techniques, diagrams and tables have been employed to represent the data. For mapping the various levels on different parameters at village level, the choropleth method has been used.

**Chapter Scheme**

Keeping in view, the stated objectives of the proposed study and the research questions Section-II: Spatial raised, the research material has been arranged in nine chapters. In addition, there are summary and conclusions and bibliography in the end.

A framework of the contents is presented below:

1) Conceptual Framework and Methodology

2) District Hisar: A Geographical Setting

   Section-I: Evolutionary Process
   Patterns

4) Commuting
   Section-I: Spatial Patterns
   Section-II: Change in Levels of Commuting,
   (1971-2001)
In essence, the study gauges the impact of state’s reorganization (1966) on urban-rural relations in district Hisar. The change in nature and intensity of urban-rural relations with time has also been examined. Some of the questions, which the dissertation poses to itself, are: What role did the Green Revolution play in strengthening urban-rural relations in the study area? How have the backward and forward linkages of agriculture contributed to the strengthening of urban-rural relations in the study area? To what extent have the new initiatives in agricultural development contributed to the promotion of urban-rural relations in the study area? Moreover, how did the urban-rural relations evolve in the district in particular and in Haryana in general? What shape would these take in future in the study area? But before answering these questions, it is imperative to understand the geographical setting of the study area, which has been accomplished in the next chapter. It is pertinent to mention here that in this study the terms urban-rural relation and interaction have been used interchangeably.