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FACTORS INFLUENCING URBANIZATION

The process of urbanization—the growth of towns both in numbers and physical configuration as well as the urbanscape or locational pattern over time—is related to a series of interrelated factors. Though no single cause can explain the urban phenomenon which has engulfed our world today, the multiple factors bringing about urban development do change in the priority in which they affect towns and cities within a region at different points of time.

Generally, three major factors have been recognized as shaping the development of cities or urban settlement. Firstly, environment—the degree to which a given climate, topography, and set of natural resources can support the urban system and which is constantly changing to some extent. Secondly, technology—the degree to which man’s tools and inventions can make use of the resources of a given habitat. Urban settlement requires a high technological competence to produce enough food and other necessities for a population living permanently at a fixed place. Thirdly, social organization—the extent to which man’s culture, institutions, and attitudes are consonant with a given community pattern. It cannot be over emphasized that all three factors—environment, technology, and social organization—are necessary for urban development, no single factor is sufficient. It is the pre-urban phase of man’s existence that technology and environment loom large because man’s skill at coping with nature was so limited.¹

Some forty years ago, a theory of urbanization put forth by an American sociologist, Louis Wirth included three necessary factors: physical structure, social organization and collective behaviour. By physical structure Wirth meant population, technology and the ecological or geographical environment. By 'Social organization' he meant the institutions and the status and power groups within the community and by 'collective behaviour' he meant the group attitudes and ideologies that confronted one another within the communal environment.²

A more recent generation of scholars principally the human ecologists, have rearranged and expanded Wirth's scheme into what they call the POET framework. They have argued for a study of the processes of urbanization based upon the variables of population, social organization, physical environment and technology. This theoretical construction assumes that the urban structure results from a societal process that alters the balance between population and environment in ways, mediated by technological innovations and changing social organization. This process of urbanization has a ripple or feedback effect upon the larger society. As people congregate together in population and concentrations within limited geographical environments that process itself eventually produces societal-wide changes in the levels of technology and in the types of social organization existing in both urban and rural areas. The POET model takes into account a number of variables. In population it studies - size of population concentration, rural-urban-rural migration, composition of population among ethnic, social and linguistic lines, fertility - mortality ratios, age sex ratio's and rate of literacy. In organization it focusses on percentage of work force engaged in non-agricultural activities, diversity of occupation structure, open or closed nature of occupational opportunities, methods of recruitment for

employment, both external and internal to the community, nature and means of economic exchange, transitions from handicrafts, patterns of communal residence in both geographical and social space. The aspects in environment include - kind of geographical area inhabited, physical dimensions of the area, physical spacing (distance) of communities within a given geographical region (here the central place theory and rank size rule of geographers may prove useful). While technology takes up model transportation, communication facilities (in formational net work), inventiveness.3

In addition to these theoretical explanations, historians have elaborated on the causes which bring about urban phenomena in different time frames. Causative factors behind urbanization varied from time to time, leading to not one but several urbanization processes at different points of time. In the pre-historic time the cultural process seems dominant in urbanization, from the early medieval period up to independence of India the political process seems more significant, while in recent times it is largely the economic process which plays the important and dominant role in the process of urbanization.4

For the ancient world, the Childe model lists monumental buildings, large settlements with dense population, non-food producing, classes, (including rulers, artisans and merchants) and the cultivation of art, science and writing as traits of the urban revolution that took place. In these Childe laid great stress on the presence of craft specialties and the role of the surplus which supported non-food producers, living in cities.5 Increased size and density of population are crucial to urbanization and the contribution of the specialized crafts to the primary urban needs is negligible.6 These

6. R.S. Sharma, Urban Decay in India (c.300-c.1000), Munshi Ram Manohar Lal Publisher Pvt. Ltd. 1987, 4.

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ideas are largely useful even in the context of iron age towards the early historic India. The major cities of the Indus civilization Mohenjodaro and Harappa met Childe’s urban criteria.\(^7\)

The geographical system of an area plays a significant role in the emergence of urban centres. This can be better understood in terms of fertility, rainfall within the area, availability of agricultural land, scope for natural irrigation as well as natural fortification. The record shows that some of the important towns have developed on account of their geographical situation as they were located on important trade routes. In this category, we may place the coastal towns and those situated on the mouth of the river. Irrigation too, played an important role in the growth of towns. This has been suggested by those who regard power as the main proto-urban criterion which ultimately lead to the genesis of urban centres. This view might suggest that irrigation on one hand leads to better production and more surplus, while on the other hand it will lead to better control over the countryside by the king. The very existence of an urban community pre-supposes the existence of surplus food production. The production of this surplus depends on the technological know how of the people. By extending their knowledge to the field of agriculture society, could produce surplus food and could also be processed either by barter system or by coercive methods, by the ruling class. One of the important factors in

\(^7\) The two cities were 350 miles apart or the Indus river and appear to have been the twin capitals of a huge empire covering a territory 950 by 700 by 550 miles. Each of the cities covered at least a square mile and probably contained a population of 20,000. The civilization they headed is, characterized as, having been highly controlled and planned and very stable for a period of thousand years, for e.g. a standard system of weights and measures existed and was applied to bricks, pottery and other items which were uniform over the whole territory of the empire. Mohenjodaro and Harappa themselves are built on identical plans or the western edge of a city a citadel about 1,2000 feet by feet was located, built stop a raised mud-brick platform roughly feet high. The complex inducts ceremonial and public buildings such as a public better, a large pillared hall, a large building suggesting study action by and another building probably a temple: Allchin R., B. Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civiliztion*, Penguin 1968 among others.
urbanization is the existence of a rural population, skilled or unskilled, who have an urge to migrate to industrial and commercial centres for training as apprentices in various crafts and industries or to work as mere labourer. The development of art and crafts also brings about urbanization and in turn the urban units act as trade centres for marketing such products. The greater the development of cottage industries dealing with art and craft the faster is the process of urbanization. Yet another important factor which contributes to urbanization is trade and marketing. The very growth in specialized production entails the necessity of a mechanism of a distributive system which leads to the development of trade and marketing centres. Some scholars believe that the prime motivating factor for the growth of urban centers is the existence of the political system including the ruler, a bureaucracy and a coercive system. An important aiding factor in the development of towns was the city defence system, especially the seat of royal power. This required all sorts of people skilled/unskilled for digging of canals and erection of ramparts necessary as defence mechanism. Warfare, too, has been regarded as one of the important factors affecting urban transformation. One of the favourite themes of the early urbanists had been the notion of the early city as an archetypal fortress, the refuge, within whose protecting walls trading to the constraints of mutual proximity combined together with the imperatives of war to restructure simple aggregations of tribesmen into class oriented territorially based polities, which made the urban transformation possible. The existence of a class system and social stratification in Ancient India, also sustained the growth of urbanization. The growth and sustenance of towns in Ancient India was also aided by the landlords, or big agricultural magnates who although basically attached to land, preferred to live in towns because of the easy going and luxurious life of urban centres. These
landlords to a great extent controlled the economy of the villages and thereby also exercised significant control over the urban economic setup. Besides the above mentioned factors, religion has proved to be an all important causative factor for the growth of towns. The setting of religious institutions and sacred places like temples, sacrificial places and centres for religious technique have attracted many people who were interested in learning more about religion and those who needed work as artisans, labourers clerks and priests. The emergence of educational centers linked to these religious centres, or independent of them, also played a consistent role in the development of certain important towns like Taxila, Sarnath, Banaras Nalanda, Vikramshala, where people from all walks of life including members of royal family used to come for intellectual attainment.

The ancient world thus, under a variety of influences had an urban network with a number of urban units. No single factor can be considered responsible for urban development in Ancient India, rather a combination of more than one factors resulted in a particular pattern and process of urbanization. Geographical location and individual initiative; irrigation, an increased food supply, increase in population and rural unemployment, craft specialization, marketing and trade, administration and defence, warfare, social stratification, activity of landlords and retainers and contribution of religious and education centres have been listed as the causes influencing the urban environment and pattern in this phase.  


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The urban population of Mughal India possessed an economic and cultural significance far exceeding its actual size.9 Cities and towns of the sub continent fulfilled diverse and overlapping roles at this time. The great expansion of commerce during the Mughal period can be seen more conspicuously in the manufacturing and marketing of textiles to meet both an external and internal demand, which inevitably brought increased wealth to the major urban centres of the country and especially to those cities whose location made them natural entrepots, whether by land or sea. In the Mughal empire those urban centres prospered where there was presence of people engaged in weaving and those ancillary crafts inseparable from the manufacture of textiles. In medieval India some urban centres which could benefit from river communications and access to the new and important markets of the down-river and coastal ports, which fed the insatiable European demand for Indian goods, prospered more than others. A number of metropolitan cities derived their prosperity partially from their role as political centres and administrative headquarters, as capitals of the empire or at least temporary residences for ‘peripatetic court’.10 In addition, if a predominantly commercial and manufacturing character was attached to the administrative functions it ensured a phenomenal development. Cities and towns in Mughal times had a sacral significance which complemented or transcended their economic or political importance. Irrespective of their individual characteristics, the cities and towns of the sub-continent served as repositories of higher culture and learning both as reservoirs in which were preserved the Sanskritic and Indo-Islamic ‘Great Traditions’ and as conduits, through which those traditions could be transmitted to society as a whole.

During this period there was both expansion in the size of pre-existing cities and towns and proliferation of new foundations. Among the factors that contributed to this process must be mentioned the political circumstances favorable to expanding economic activity which resulted in the expansion of both long distance trade with India and outside India. Some of the most flourishing cities in the Mughal empire were unmistakably centres of Muslim political and cultural hegemony. The nature of Indian society at that time was pluralistic. Nevertheless, a Muslim urban component expressed in terms of both form and function was a factor to be reckoned within some of the largest and most prosperous cities. The main features of these cities are — strongly defended palace forts which served as the focal points for imperial power and regional administration, often located close to the river for greater security as much as for comfort. Such structures frequently incorporated in their design features of military architecture of non-Indian origin and open area for military parades and equestrian exercises. The political unification of so vast an area under a single ruler inevitably stimulated commercial and therefore, urban life. Above all the Mughal rulers and high ranking provincial officials recognised the advantages to the gained from supporting mercantile activities and the merchant classes in general showed personal involvement in trading and at establishing monopolies. Those towns and cities grew in this period which were regional centres since in effect every suba headquarters functioned as a regional capital, serving the subadar's courts and administration attracting entrepreneurs to exploit its commercial potential and acting as a magnet for local political and cultural life. The same was true for mutadis mutandis of the sarkar headquarter and the qasbas and townships. In the Mughal period there was a substantial growth in the urban population, partly as a result of an inexorable drift from
the countryside into the towns, such as was clearly discernible to some contemporary observer. The reasons for this were not the same everywhere at all times, but the need for manpower to meet the imperative demand of the textile industry was certainly the commonest while as Bernier commented: ‘...Many of the peasantry driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny (i.e. the rigor with which the land revenue was collected), abandon the country and seek a more tolerable mode of existence either in the towns or camps’.

The Mughal Government, especially under Akbar, started the substitute of cash payment of revenue for payment in kind which greatly stimulated the growth of the qasbas at least in the core province of the empire, where perhaps alone such a policy was enforceable.

In the Mughal Hindustan there were four types of towns. First, primarily administrative centres where industry, commerce and even ecclesiastical sanctity developed in its wake such as capital cities though in the course of time their administrative significance was sometimes, over shadowed by their non-administrative significance; the example of Agra may be cited here. Secondly, commercial towns, such as Patna where administrative aspect followed the commercial activities. Thirdly, centres of pilgrimage, such as Benaras or Mathura, where proximity to rivers facilitated commercial intercourse and constant crowding of pilgrims attracted craftsmen and service personal from the neighbouring districts or even further off regions. Here again, the administrator though essential, did not assume any pre-eminence in the general activities of the towns. Finally, there were towns, which had risen because of some distinction achieved in the practice of some particular industry, example Samana., Khairanad which fostered the growth of towns and looked after their proper administration. The state


seldom took direct measures towards the progress of individual non-metropolitan towns, except the newly founded capital cities. The classical anarchy reigning supreme, in Hindustan during the later Mughals, could not allow the normal urban life to continue unaffected. In fact, the towns, as noted before bore a deep impress of these unfavourable conditions, so that the pace of decline of each of them was in proportion to the local political disturbances.

The factors identified in bringing about urbanization during this period are the growth in manufacturing, marketing, banking, entrepreneurial activities, expanding communications, role of administrative headquarters, sacral significance of towns, emergence of centres of learning and culture, political developments, composition of society, contributions of the ruling class, administrative organization of the town, migration and policy of the state.

The process of urbanization in the colonial period too, was influenced by a number of factors - growth of new industry, decay of traditional handicrafts, increase in trade, creation of new trade centres, diversion of trade routes, railway and road construction,

social stratification, creation of land less labourers, migration, famines, floods, epidemic, insanitary conditions, bad housing in towns and location and places of pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{15}

The growth of industry has been at any rate in all countries the most important cause for urbanization. The decay of handicrafts is an even more potent. The industries of old Indian towns were in main luxury or art industries and these depended for their prosperity on the demand from the nobles and the courts. With the abolition of the courts the demand for the greater part vanished leading to the decay of handicrafts. The decline of old handicrafts led to the decline in the population of the towns which were seat of courts and were places of pilgrimage. One of the most important factors determining the growth of towns in India in the colonial period was the construction of railways. This construction was taken seriously by the British at the close of the first quarter of 19\textsuperscript{th} century. The improvement in transport routes helped in promotion of trade and was useful for military purposes and also gave a fillip to the process of urbanisation. The advent of the railways to a town led to the increase in trade. If the town was already an important trade centre, the railway greatly enhanced its importance. It also had the effect of creating new centres of trade in the tract through which it passed. However, the diversion of trade

routes as a consequence of railway expansion among other causes has been a very conspicuous factor in the decay of many old towns. In the colonial period we find towns growing mainly due to its favourable position on the trade route on fairly big railway centres. The tendency of wealthy land lords and others to settle in towns on the other hand promotes urbanization. The creation of a class of landless labourers as a result of famines, floods or a result from the steady movement towards the dispossession of old peasant proprietors affects urbanization negatively. The town having better economic and trade facilities attract people from the surrounding small towns to those cities. The need for the concentration of people for administrative purposes, specially people connected with justice and revenue, leads to the growth of district headquarter, due to migration. Famine is another factor influencing urbanization. During famine time the rural population is out of work, indeed an Indian famine might be described as a time of national unemployment and the country population goes to the towns in search of it leading to the increase in non agricultural population and having therefore, a negative effect on the process of urbanization. Floods also effect the process of urbanization in a similar way. Epidemics and insanitary condition and bad housing conditions are causes which led to the decline in town population. Epidemics like famines in the opposite case, drive people away from the congested urban area to the open country. In an explanation of the rapid urbanization in the post independence period, certain factors like influx of refugees, creation of administrative centres, emergence of new industrial townships, growth of the cities, increase in slums, introduction of town planning, new state capitals, opportunities for educational employment and health facilities have been identified as the main factors influencing the process of urbanization.16

16. According to him the plans to develop a city are made by the town planner but are not implemented: R. Ramchandran, Urbanization and Urban Systems in India, Mumbai, 1997. 69-73.
Systems of cities thus, emerge, expand spatially and grow or decline at the individual level broadly due to geographical, economic, political and socio-cultural factors. These factors are interrelated and interdependent, creating a varied and complex process of multiple forces acting within the urban arena.

In geographical factors the physical factors, fertility of land, well cultivated or uncultivated area, climate, effect of natural calamities like drought, floods, earth quakes, remain basic consideration for urban development. Site and situation factors like, location near a river, near important transportation routes and communication centres, near capitals cities, centrality and extreme location within the region also effect the growth of towns. It has been sensible for cities to expand along the lines of least topographic and geologic resistance, in areas of relatively flat or rolling well drained line and filling deltas. In locational advantage has no doubt been an influential factor. Towns have sprung up around important transport junctions or along the major arteries of the country’s transportation and communication net work.

The basic mechanism of urbanization however, is the increase in population through migration. Migration can be of three types, rural-urban migration known as macro urbanization; migration from a small town to a city is known as metropolitization; and over flow to the urban fringe known as sub-urbanization. Migration usually takes place from an economically depressed or suppressed region to an economically prosperous region. In other words, the migration flow is usually pronounced from backward and stagnant regions, characterised by inferior economic opportunities to advanced and prosperous

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areas, characterised by superior economic opportunities. The most important economic factors that motivate rural urban migration are poor agricultural conditions, or primarily push factors, urban economic conditions, or primarily pull factors and the general economic conditions. The apparent motive for migration is to improve the economic conditions of the migrant and his kith and kin. Besides economic motives, geographical, political, demographic, social and personal factors also have an impact on migration.20

Economic factors establish market towns in order to provide adequate facilities for marketing agricultural produce. Thus, market centres have sought to provide the farmers with a lot of facilities, such as storage, warehousing, credit and other services, besides improved and standardized marketing practices. Trade has by far been the most important of the existing channels through which the interaction between the urban centre and the surrounding area has been effected. The growth in secondary and tertiary activities leads to better economy and thus, influences urbanization. The setting up of an industrial base for building up towns has also been an important phenomenon. This has helped both to draw on the pool of surplus labour and to provide the needed consumption and distribution centres and the growth of the urban network.21

Political factors, include various political developments at international, national and state level; administrative arrangements and changes their in; creation of capital towns and role of various Governments in policy making at national and state level. However,

20. Personal motives may include sensitiveness, intelligence and awareness of conditions elsewhere, situation at the place of origin and of the knowledge of the situation at the place of designation, personal contacts or sources of information, attitude to change adventurism, emotional factors, ambitions etc. also affect the decision to migrate. It may be mentioned here that in a large number of cases migration is associational migration like the wife migrating with the husband or children migrating with the parents: Francis Cherunitam, Urbanization in Developing Countries: A Socio Economic and Demographic Analysis, Himalaya Publishing House 1984, 46.

political factors provide an initial stimulus for urbanization but is not substantive to maintain urban status under changed political-administrative circumstances.

Social and cultural factors include degree of heterogeneity, in terms of language, class, occupation, religion, race, ethnicity, etc., as the indicators of urbanization by some scholars. Demographic factors are also an indicator of urbanization through statistics on migration, growth of population, density of population and percentage of non-agricultural workers, sex ratio, and level of literacy. Growth of towns has also been witnessed around religious centres and campus of learning. However, most of the scholars are of the opinion that there is a causal relationship between demographic and social changes in the realm of urbanization and that a complete and comprehensive study of the urban impact is unfeasible without linking the demographic and social aspects. The socio-cultural factors also include the cultural interaction, new society, transformation of rural areas, language, literature, architecture, dress, manners, and values.

The study of urbanization by its very nature involves several dimensions – time, spatial, socio-cultural, economic and political processes that have shaped and continue to shape the basic character of urban life in India.

The present aim is to study the effect of the variety of factors influencing the process of urbanization in the post-independence period in Punjab and Haryana in an attempt to understand the variations in the pre-1947 and later phase, the urban pattern, the change in morphology and the process of urbanization over time. An overview of these various

facto\textsuperscript{24} active in the urban dynamics of Punjab and Haryana would underline their role in the ensuing urbanscape.\textsuperscript{24}

In Punjab and Haryana, geographical factors have played an important role in influencing the process of urbanization. It has been noticed that the areas which were more fertile and were well cultivated had more, and rapidly growing urban units, as compared to the areas which were less fertile and less cultivated. We can take the example of towns like Gurdaspur, Batala, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Abohar, Fazilka, Moga, Muktsar etc. All these towns are located in fertile areas of Punjab and are growing more than the towns situated in less fertile tracts of south west like Malerkotla, Sangrur, Ahmedgarh, Dhanula, Dhuri etc. Malout, Abohar, Fazilka, Moga are well laid out markets which are the biggest in India for cotton and also for other agricultural produce. Infact, Abohar has been styled as 'California of India' with some 10,000 acre devoted to citrus plantations, within a radius of ten miles from the town. The annual sale of raw cotton in Malout is to the tune of one and half million maunds, dealt by one dozen \textit{pacc\textsuperscript{a} artias} and some 20 \textit{kacha artias}. Infact, about one-fifth of the entire cotton produced in Punjab is raised within a radius of 20 miles from Malout. Almost all the towns of Haryana especially those which were located in west and south west of the

region and were sandy and dry, showed less growth, example Sirsa, Bhiwani, Jind, Mahandergarh, Kanina, Ateli, Rewari etc.

It has also been noticed that some towns which were fed by a perennial river were more fertile and seems to have flourished better than the towns which did not have a regular river flowing through them. “The towns of Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Abohar, Moga, Muktsar, Fazilka in case of Punjab and Ambala, Karnal, Panipat, Sonipat, Faridabad, Ballabgharh, Palwal in case of Haryana had rivers located nearby. The towns which were away from by a perennial river were Faridkot, Bhatinda, Bereta, Buchomandi, Sangrur, Malerkotla, Ahmedgarh, Dhanula, Jaitu, Patiala, Sanaur, Banaur, etc. in case of Punjab and Sirsa, Mandi Dabwali, Hissar, Jind, Bhiwani, Mehendergarh, Narnaul, Ateli, Kanina, in case of Haryana. Such towns, though small in number, show marked differences in their urban development, when compared with the towns with a regular river. Yamunanagar for instance, has grown as a big timber market due to its proximity to the Yamuna river, as timber is floated down the Yamuna from Himachal Pradesh, Tehri and Chakrata and then diverted to the western Yamuna Canal from Tejwala.

The presence of a regular water supply by river was not always a boon. The town of Narot Jaimal Singh was surrounded by water on all four sides and when approached from Dinanagar, one has to cross the main current of Ravi and its tributaries Bhaytia and Masto. During the rainy season the approach to the town becomes very difficult. Infact, in the year 1950 a large portion of the town was wasted away by the swirling current of the tributaries of the Ravi. Even though pucca embankments have been provided for the protection of the town and the neighbouring countryside yet it has failed to evoke
confidence among the local population. The residents therefore, are consequently shifting to other places giving the town a deserted look. Jalalabad is also one such example. Though it is a well laid out town but is not doing well owing to water logging having effected the surrounded areas. In certain towns of Sirsa, Hissar, Gurgaon, Sohana, Nuh, Ferozepur, Jhirka, Bawal and Rewari in Haryana, we find that the water is frequently bitter or brackish and thus is a positive discouragement for the process of urbanization in these places. Rahon's proximity to a big marsh and the possibility of periodical out breaks of malaria in an epidemic form, have considerably declined its demographic figures and have a bearing on the process of urban growth.

Natural calamities in specific areas also contribute to a lack of urbanization. Despite having all the advantages, Ambala, Sonepat and Rohtak have not grown as much as their potential as these towns are prone to earth quakes. Not only this in Ambala there are certain areas which are located on the bank of river Ghaggar and are susceptible to floods as well.

Locational advantages seems to be an obvious boost to urban development. All the towns which were located on the G.T. Road in both Punjab and Haryana grew very well because of their situation on National highway No-1. Towns like Dhariwal, Amritsar, Jandiala, Phagwara, Jalandhar, Kartarpur, Phillaur Ludhiana, Samrala, Khanna, Doraha, Sirhind, Gobindgarh, Rajpura and Dera Bassi in Punjab and Ambala, Ambala Cantonment, Kurukshetra, Karnal, Nilokheri, Gharunda, Panipat, Samalka, Sonipat, Faridabad, Ballabhgarh and Palwal in Haryana have grown tremendously due to their location on the G.T. Road, the main axial cutting across both states and linking them to the capital, Delhi. The proximity to the G.T. Road also helped many towns to grow as in case of Dhariwal,
Dhillwan, Nakodar, Nawanshahr, Rupnagar and Patiala in Punjab and for Haryana we can see a similar position of towns like Kaithal, Rohtak, Bahadurgarh, Pehowa and Palwal, among others. All these towns have grown well due their proximity to the G.T. Road.

The towns located near the National Capital Delhi have also grown and have urbanized at a very rapid pace for example Sonepat, Ganaur, Gohana, Rohtak, Jhajjar, Bahadurgarh, Gurgaon, Hodal, Faridabad, Ballabgharh and Palwal. In fact, all these towns form a part of National Capital region scheme which has influenced the migration from and to the small towns thereby contributing the particular pattern of urban development in this area. The importance of location can also be seen from the fact that the towns located in the extreme corners of the state generally do not progress at a fast pace. In Punjab, examples like Ramdass and Khemkaran which are located in the extreme north west of Punjab, Hariana and Gardiwala in extreme north east, Narot Jaimal Singh and Sujanpur in extreme north, Sangat in the extreme south west. Samana in the extreme south east and Budhlada and Lehergaga in the extreme south are such cases. In Haryana, by way of illustration are towns like Chhachrauli, Sadhura, Sirsa, Mandi Dabwali, Mahendergarh, Narnaul, Ateli and Rewari, Chhachrauli and Sadhura are located in the extreme North and Sirsa and Mandi Dabwali, are located in the extreme west, Rewari, Mahendergarh, Ateli and Narnaul are located in the extreme South of the state.

The towns which are located in the centre place of Punjab seem to have grown the maximum for example Ludhiana and Jalandhar are both centrally located. However, this is

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25. The National Capital Region (NCR) set up in 1985 extends over an area of over 30,000 square kilometers and comprises of Delhi, six districts of Haryana – Panipat, Sonipat, Rohtak, Faridabad, Gurgaon and Rewari – six tehsils of Rajasthan and three districts of Uttar Pradesh. Haryana accounts for over 13 percent of the urban population in this area which is located in 27 towns: Information collected from HSIDC – Haryana State Industrial Development Corporation, Panchkula; Town and country planning office Haryana; Amda Newspaper, Quarterly Newsletter of Amda, Volume 6, No.3, July 1994.
not true in the case of Haryana where centrality does not seem visible in the urban scheme.

Migration which took place due to economic reasons affected the fortunes of a number of towns. People from small towns located close to the larger towns have migrated to these cities due to economic needs as seen in the cases of Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana in Punjab and Rohtak, Faridabad and Gurgaon in Haryana. Such towns have seen sizable in-migration from smaller towns around them due to economic need. Majitha, a small town, lost its population in 1951-1961 mainly due to the large number of inhabitants migrating to Amritsar in pursuit of work. Amritsar was badly affected since a lot of migration took place from this border town to other safer areas.

Economic development and viability play a prominent role, which is amply reflected in the process of urbanization in our area and period. There are a number of towns which reveal the effect of economic factors on the process of urban development. Greater economic activity leads to higher production of primary, agricultural goods which results in setting up of mandis and markets for purchase and sale of such goods. Development of such markets has played an important role in the process of urbanization, mainly in Punjab. Situated in the south Punjab away from the main heart land of the state, the district of Bhatinda is studded with flourishing mandis. Infact, at every 20 kms or so there is a mandi providing an important centre to the sellers from within the district and the purchasers from outside the district. Towns like Jaitu Mandi, Rampura Phul, Goniana Mandi, Bucho Mandi, Kot Fateh, Maur Mandi, Raman Mandi, Bereta Mandi, Mandi Dabwali, Samana, Narwana, Safidon, emerged to meet this market
requirement. Infact, all the towns in the district are built on these mandis as a nucleus during this time.

Industrial activity also influences and aids the process of urbanization in an area. Infact, industrialization has a close relation with urbanization. Towns like Dhariwal, Phagwara, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Gobindgarh, Rajpura, Jagadhari, Yamunanagar, Panipat, Sonipat, Rohtak, Bahadurgarh, Gurgaon, Faridabad, all mainly owe their growth to the establishment of industry. Just as Dhariwal had came into prominence because of the new Egerton Woollen Mill which was established here in 1880 the town has flourished due to the industrial growth. Phagwara too, gained importance due to the establishment of various industrial units in it such as Jagjit Cotton Textile Mill, Oswal Sugar Mills, Sukhjit Starch Mills both in the pre 1947 and post partition period. Ludhiana today is renowned for small scale industries not only in Punjab but also through out India. Owing to its premier position in hosiery manufacturing, engineering goods, cycle and sewing machine industry, Ludhiana city is called a small scale industrial capital of India. It is also called the ‘Manchester of Punjab’ as it has come to occupy a high position in industries of the state.

Gobindgarh, a town of recent origin, is known as the ‘Steel town of Punjab’, as a large number of iron and steel re-rolling mills have come up in and around this town. It is the main supplier of iron and steel products to the state and some neighbouring states. Now there is so much concentration and expansion of the industry that the place is euphemistically called the “Birmingham of Punjab”. Rajpura town has gained in importance due to the establishment of an industrial estate in it. The three main industries in town are the Bharat Commerce, the Road Master and the Cable Industry. Rajpura is fast developing into an important industrial town. The main reason for the growth of
Jagadhari town was the establishment of brass utensil industry in this town, since it is known for its brass utensils all over India, and is the biggest centre for this industry. The paper mill established on the outskirts of Jagadhari in 1925 and the sugar mill constructed after few years of the paper mill laid the foundation of modern Yamunanagar. These mills built staff quarters in their respective areas. Gradually, shops were established in the vicinity and people from neighbouring villages and towns started coming to seek employment. Thus, the industrial base of Yamunanagar led to its development. A similar situation can be seen in towns like Sonipat which is developing rapidly in industries of different types, the most important among them are the Atlas cycle company engaging some two thousands workers and producing about two lakh bicycle in a year. Rohtak again has grown due to the establishment of large and medium scale units. The important industrial unit are the Sri Krishna Paper Mills, Hindustan Sanitary Wares Industry among others there are also two industrial estates at Rohtak and Bahadurgarh. Another industrial estate is also coming up at Gohana. The main reasons for the growth of the silent and sleepy town, Faridabad is also the enormous growth of industry in the town. Faridabad town has grown at the phenomenal rate due to its industrial development. Faridabad industrial complex has an edge over other industrial areas of the country. This district ranked first in the state in regard to registered working factories. Like Faridabad, Gurgaon has also grown enormously due to the extensive industrial development in this area. At present more than 45 non-resident Indians from Europe, USA, UK and Canada have set up their industrial complex located at Dundahera. This industrial complex ha...
external electrification, roads, public health services etc. A good number of large and medium industries are coming up at Rozka Meo where an industrial estate has been developed on 120 acres of land and an additional 200 acres of land has been acquired at Rozka. The industries in Gurgaon were estimated to be 27 earlier but now according to the statistical extract of Haryana (1990-91) there were 4843 registered working factories in Haryana out of which 293 were in Gurgaon district. Some of these units are Maruti Udhyog Limited, Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Limited, Indo Swiss T Limited and Enkay (India) Rubber Company (P.) Ltd. Industry and their growth thus, is an important ‘action’ on the ‘stage’ of urban development in the region. The town of Charkhi Dadri is important mainly due to the Dalmia cement factory which has a capital investment of over Rs.2 crores and employ nearly 700 workers. Limited industrial development in Goraya, Shakot, Mullanpur Dhaka, Macchiwara, Samrala, Patron, Kurali and Murinda among others is noticeable in these towns. Absence of industrial activity in Tarn Taran, Patti, Jagraon, Zira, Jalalabad, Jind and Narnaul undoubtedly would have adversely affected the development in these urban areas.

Trade again, is one of the economic factors which influences the pattern of urbanization in an area. The growth of trade activity in Pathankot for instance, which has grown tremendously in services and serves as the main market of trade for adjoining areas of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. It is probably the largest center for the export of timber which comes from the forests of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. It is famous for three T’s i.e. timber, tourism and transport. Similarly, Kalka town serves as the gateway of Himachal Pradesh and most of the traffic and trade between the hills and plains passes through it. The town serves mainly as a trade centre.
which is the main stay of its growth. Dera Baba Nanak suffered in urban importance due to the partition since the previous traffic to Sialkot had come to a halt after the partition. Before Partition, Fazilka was one of the biggest wool markets in India, but thereafter the trade has been hard hit, with the major portion of the supply area going to Pakistan. Amritsar had been a very important trade centre but due to the Partition this town ceased to be a major trade centre. It was number one in the field of industry too, but after partition it has been relegated to the second position and a prominent status has been occupied by Ludhiana which now lies in the centre of Punjab.

Political factors seem to have played a major role in influencing the process of urbanization in Punjab and Haryana during our period of study i.e. 1947 to 1991.\textsuperscript{26} The major political development during the period at the international level were the partition of India in 1947 and the three wars in the region - with China in 1962 and with Pakistan in 1965 and in 1971.

At the national level the formation of Pepsu in 1948 and its dissolution in 1956, the creation of Chandigarh in 1950 and its declaration as a Union Territory, creation of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh in 1966 and the militancy in the Punjab in the 1980’s also contributed to urban developments in the region.

For the independence of India, the Punjab had to pay of heavy price. It was divided in two halves. One of its portion was given to Pakistan and only half of it remained in India. This bifurcation affected towns like Sujanpur, Qadian, Khem Karan,

Patti and Sultanpur which suffered on account of the mass migration of Muslims to Pakistan. The Muslims here were in majority before partition but left the town en block and only such refugees from West Pakistan settled here as were allotted lands, otherwise its proximity to the border and absence of any type of industry discouraged its development. Tohana’s population too decreased considerably during partition due to the exodus of Muslims in 1947.

Not only this, the first political change i.e. partition in 1947 led to the mass migration of Hindus from western Punjab to the eastern Punjab and that of Muslims in the reverse direction which in turn brought in its wake the problem of the settlement of refugees leading paradoxically to construction activity in many towns and eventually the emergence of new colonies and towns, as seen in Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Rajpura and Patiala in Punjab and Karnal, Pehowa, Rohtak, Faridabad and Gurgaon in Haryana. In Jalandhar new Colonies like Bhargav Camp, Model Town, Adarsh Nagar and Industrial Area sprang up and ‘imparted’ a new look to the city. In Ludhiana, a new and modern colony sprung up near Civil Lines. Some residential areas emerged in Karnal after the partition namely Model Town, towards the north-east, Prem Nagar in the west, Krishan Nagar and Ram Nagar in other directions. A Canal Colony has sprung up in Pehowa after the partition. Not only this few of the areas were fully developed into townships in order to adjust these people, this encouraged the progress of urbanization. Rajpura township was started by the rehabilitation department of the Government of India in 1949 to rehabilitate refugees from Bahawalpur state, now in West Pakistan. Gurgaon, Faridabad and Rohtak of Haryana were sleepy towns with no industry. However, large number of displaced persons from West Punjab and North-West Frontier Province came to settle down in these areas.
areas. These people were given shops and workshops in lieu of the land which they had left in West Punjab. Yamunanagar was a village named Abdullapur before partition the addition of refugees led to the establishment of Model Town and few other colonies in the town. Khanna had a similar growth where the government constructed a model town with single storey residences sold to refugees at subsidized rates. Nilokheri 11 miles to the north of Karnal on the G.T. Road was a vast stretch of swampy jungle covered with dark trees and bushes under growth and was offered by the Punjab government to the Government of India for re-settlement of refugees uprooted from West Pakistan. Soon, a new town came into being.

Secondly, due to partition those towns which were located in the centre of 'United Punjab' and served as trade centres progressing at a fast pace, now become border towns. The strained relations with Pakistan hindered the growth of these towns further. Narot Jaimal Singh, Dinanagar, Dera Baba Nanak, Gurdaspur, Hargobindpur, Majitha, Amritsar, Jandiala, Tarn Taran, Khem Karan, Patti, Ferozepur, Moga, Muktsar, Fazilka, Malout and Abohar fall in this category. Towns which were located away from the international border grew very well both industrially and economically - Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Gobindgarh, Rajpura and Patiala are some instances. Haryana however, seemed to be less affected by the drawing of international boundaries.

The formation of Pepsu in 1948 was the second political change which took place during this period. On the 5th May 1948 eight Native states of Kapurthala, Faridkot, Bhatinda, Nabha, Melerkotla, Dhuri, Sangrur, Sunam, Samana, Sanaur, Banaur, Jind, and Charki Dadri were amalgamated into the state of Punjab and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU). PEPSU was a placed under a caretaker Chief Minister, Gian S. Rarewala. Soon
however, Presidents’ rule was imposed from 1949-1951, followed which a Congress/United Front power was established for 2 years, only to see another years imposition of central rule. In 1954, a Congress Government took over, lasting up to 1956 when PEPSU was finally merged in Punjab. It is important to mention that in 1948 PEPSU had 8 districts and by 1953 the number was reduced to 5. Thus, along with administrative changes the political boundaries of these districts underwent frequent changes which had its effect on the growth of towns in Punjab especially those towns which were in the previously independent states - Kapurthala, Melerkotla, Bathinda, Jaitu, Sangat, Sangrur, Barnala, Dhanaula, Ahmedgarh, Samana, Banaur, Sanaur, Patiala, Jind, Narwana, Julana, Uchana, Bawal, Loharu, Mahendergarh, Kanina and Ateli.

The urbanization process in Punjab was also influenced by the war with China in 1962 and Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. Though the entire country underwent a trauma, however, Punjab was one of the worst hit states of India because it borders Pakistan on its west and north, as a result the western and northern Punjab suffered economically, industrially and demographically. Towns like Narot Jaimal Singh, Dera Baba Nanak, Dinanagar, Gurdaspur, Batala, Ramdass, Majitha, Amritsar, Jandiala, Tarn Taran, Patti, Khemkaran, Ferozepur, Gurla, Jala, Bhadra, Muktsar, Fazilka and Abohar were affected in the process. Urban units in the centre, east and south of Punjab suffered somewhat less on account of wars - Hoshiarpur, Nangal, Anandpur Sahib, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Gobindgarh, Rajpura, Patiala, Kharar and Dera Bassi since they were away from the border areas. All the towns of Haryana remained relatively unaffected by this political activity - Karnal, Panipat, Sonipat, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Faridabad continued on their urban path. Some migration took place due to the wars and people
shifted from border towns to safer areas. Infact, in this category we can include all the
border towns.

The formation of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh in 1966 accelerated the growth
of towns in the east and south of Punjab which constituted the area of Haryana. While a
part of Punjab, Haryana remained a neglected and backward area, drought was a
recurring phenomena, so were the floods in some areas because of lack of proper drainage
facilities, agriculturally it was in deficit, social welfare activities were negligible, hospitals
were few and badly equipped, drinking water was scarce and civic conditions were
appalling. Industrially too it was 'backward'. Besides this, the region had little political
say in the affairs of the ruling party. The new state in order to raise its economy started
development projects in the state. Industrial activity and tourism industry were set rolling
and the peaceful conditions in Haryana gave further impetus to such development. Areas
which were hitherto considered totally 'useless' now become highly 'useful'. Towns like
Mandi Dabwali, Fethahabad, Sirsa, Hissar, Hansi and Bhiwani served an economically
challenged new state which started producing cotton, wheat and gram in larger quantities
with the provision of irrigation waters by Bhakra Canal, leading to migration to these
places. The Government employees allocated to the state of Haryana also had to shift
their residence to Haryana. Thus, the formation of Haryana led to the reconstruction of
the backward economy in which the urban centres had a major role to play. 'Haryana was
no longer a vision but became a resplendent reality' and an urban reality as well.

The militancy in the 1980's also influenced urbanization in Punjab and Haryana.
The abnormal conditions in Punjab from 1980-1990 retarded the growth of urban units to
quite an extent. Though each and every town of Punjab was effected by the terrorist
activities, but the borders areas and nerve centre of terrorists activities were the worst sufferers. Batala, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Khem Karan, Ferozepur, Jalalabad, Fazilka, Muktsar and Abohar, were some of the most affected towns as far as the trauma of terrorism is concerned. Many industrial units were closed and were shifted to places like Faridabad, Panipat, Gurgan in Haryana and Gaziabad and Noida in Uttar Pradesh. In Kapurthala there where certain pockets among the Beas and Sutlej river in the Bet areas where terrorists frequented and made their hideouts. The town of Ferozepur was one of the worst hit areas due to the border crossing of terrorists on one hand and their operation from the Mand areas near Harika on the other side. Other towns which were hard hit by militancy were Narot Jaimal Singh, Dera Baba Nanak, Dinanagar, Majitha, Amritsar, Jandiala, Tarn Taran, Patti, Khemkaran, Faridkot, Muktsar, Fazilka and Abohar etc.

During militancy in Punjab people too migrated from border areas and areas which were the centre of militants to other safer areas in the centre and south of Punjab. Many Hindus migrated from Punjab to Haryana and other places in other states like Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan. Similarly, many Sikh families migrated from Haryana to Punjab fearing ‘reprisal’.

In addition to general political conditions, the working of the central government also influenced the urban programme by their specific policies and activities. President rule was imposed in number of instances, 1951-1956, 1968-1969, 1971-1972, 1980, 1983-1985 and 1987-1992. Central intervention was more pronounced in Punjab than in Haryana, which was briefly under president rule twice. Between 1947 and 1991 the Congress governed the country for more than three decades being temporarily edged out by the Janta Party in 1977-1980 and 1989-1991. One overall policy was therefore, more
or less constantly followed in the political agenda with reference to urban matters though in intermittent way.


From 1947 to 1951 there were many changes in the government at the state level due to party strife which resulted in President’s Rule for five years and thus, Punjab showed hardly any political stability during this period which is a necessary condition for the progress of urbanization. However, Pratap Singh Kairon came into power in 1956 and remained in power till 1965. Punjab progressed well agriculturally. Firstly, there was a stable government which is essential for the progress of any area. It goes to the credit of Kairon that he brought about a revolution in agricultural field known as the Green Revolution which in return earned Punjab state the name the ‘Granary of India’. Punjab however, could not progress industrially during this period and the process of urbanization which is directly linked with industrialization would no doubt, have been seriously affected.

The Akali party which remained at the helm of power in the Punjab from 1967 to 1970 came to associated with agrarian prosperity again and not much could be achieved by them in the field of industrialization either. Due to the frequent changes in their government. President Rule from August 1968 to February 1969 and June 1971 to March 1972 also hampered political stability of this region. Gyani Zail Singh of the Congress party who came in power from 1972 to 1977 set up a new satellite town of Sahibzada Ajit
Singh Nagar and established some industrial units. The Congress central government did not intervene, inspite of the fact that the venture was in violation of the provision of capital project which says that no construction should take place within 10 miles from the boundary of Chandigarh. The Akali party which remained in Punjab from 1977 to 1980 adopted measures and policies framed to benefit the peasantry, not much interest was taken in the field of industry. From 1980 to 1984 again Congress party returned to power and Darbara Singh become the Chief Minister of Punjab. He launched a programme of industrialization by giving a boost to power generation and tried to stimulate industrial development. However, from 1984 to 1991 Punjab witnessed long stints of President Rule which once again hindered the process of economic development and urban growth.

In Haryana the Congress and Janta Party showed power in the state, the former from 1966-67, then 1968-77, 1980-87 and 1989-91 and the latter in the intervening years. In Haryana, too instability was the order of the day, from 1966 to 1968. The politics of defection was rampant and Haryana become a byword for intrigue and unprincipled politics. After 1968, Bansi Lal of the Congress party came at the helm of power and his innovative idea of developing tourism in Haryana gave a boost to the process of urbanization. The state also witnessed some progress in the field of agriculture and industry. Devi lal of the Janta Party remained in power from 1977 to 1978 and then Bhajan Lal of the same party formed the Government in 1978. However, he finally joined Congress party in 1980. Due to excessive party strife not much attention was paid to developmental progress in the state. Bhajan Lal was in power from 1982 to 1987 and contributed towards the progress of Haryana, but again the Janta rule for a year followed by President Rule and party politics kept the government occupied and no real attention
was paid to social and economic development. Bhajan Lal's return to power in 1989 as the Chief Minister once again put the state on the road to progress.

Administrative arrangement made by the Government of India soon after the partition had a basic influence on the urbanization of the region, as evident from the PEPSU experiment and its consequent administrative changes discussed above. Variation at the district level further affected the growth of urban units. Punjab had 11 districts at the time of partition, by 1961, there were 5 new districts of – Kapurthala, Sangrur, Bhatinda, Patiala and Mahendergarh – and new districts headquarters as well, thus bringing about a stimulus to the growth of these towns. In 1971 two more districts were created – Rupnagar in Punjab and Jind in Haryana. At this time there were 11 districts in Punjab and 7 in Haryana. By 1981 the number of district had risen considerably in Haryana, being 12 with the addition of Bhiwani, Faridabad, Kurukshetra, Sonipat and Sirsa as districts, while Punjab had 12 districts too with the forming of one more, Faridkot. Haryana added 4 more administrative units by 1991 – Kaithal, Yamunanagar, Panipat and Rewari. The state government thus, with the proliferation of administrative headquarters initiated a programme of urban growth as well. The Punjab from 11 districts in 1947 came to have 28 districts in Punjab and Haryana with a more substantial increase in the latter state. This multiplication of administrative centres filtered down to the tahsils as well. For example, Haryana had 27 tahsil in 1966, 29 in 1967 and 32 by 1968. With time this process created even more administrative units and sub-units giving a boost to the towns they were located in both Punjab and Haryana.27

27. In 1967 Naraingarh and Jind Tehsils were split into two each, the former seperating Kalka and the latter creating Safidon. In Haryana - Gurgaon had 6 tehsilts, Hissar 5, Karnal 4, Rohtak 4, Mehendergarh 3, Ambala 3 and Jind 2.
The programmes of the central and state government specifically for urban areas also contribute to their development. The Government of India between 1951–1956 was occupied with housing and resettlement of refugees. In the 1960’s began the programme of preparing master plans for cities and building state capitals. The first five year plan from 1951-1956 expressed concern over urban growth; the second plan from 1956-1961 suggested strict enforcement of law slum clearance and development of housing. Under the third plan improvement of urban centres was included which expanded to a regional approach in the fourth five year plan. The early 1970’s saw the establishment of HUDCO - Housing and Urban Development Organization and the integrated urban development programme. An integrated small and medium town development was also set up in the early 1980’s (IDSMT) and later the urban basic services was initiated to deviate urban problems. In 1988 the government also set up a National Commission for Urbanization for drafting a national policy. The eight five year plan emphasized a integrated regional spatio-economic scheme at all levels for all round economic development.\textsuperscript{28} The patronage and attitude of the Central Government in the matter of Industrialization of a particular region in the state or state as a whole, contributes to the process of urbanization. The record shows that the “Central Government have not been very fair to the state of Punjab as upto 1968-69 out of the large number of central projects which have been set up in the country with the total investments of Rs. 3,400 crores an insignificant sum of Rs. 32.20 crores - 0.5% of total investment - has been spent in Punjab. Again from 1969 to 1979 the Central Government have been niggardly to the state as only a single central project viz. Fertilizer Factory at Nangal has been located in the state. Infact, barring three public sector units which have come up in the state no other

worthwhile medium and large projects have been set up by the Government of India". From 1980 to 1991 Punjab shows declining trends in its process of urbanization as President rule remained in Punjab for most of this time. However, the Central Government has promoted industry in Haryana and due to the reorganization, most of the large and medium scale units fell to the share of Haryana. Haryana as a result has progressed at a very fast pace and within a short period has shown substantial degree of urbanization. The NCR – National Capital Region scheme of the central government affected a number of small towns located near the capital in Haryana. The state governments supported urban development by setting up a town and country planning department, urban development authority, PUDA – Punjab Urban Development Authority and HUDA - Haryana Urban Development Authority and a policy of establishing industrial estates and educational centres. The state government in Punjab established thermal plants at Rupnagar and Bhatinda in an attempt to stimulate urban growth, as well as a water project, Pong Dam, which brought about the settlement of Talwara township. The Punjab government also developed industrial focal point at Khanna and Mohali to further urban development. A centre for manufacturing, gur and juice of date trees, marketed as ‘Neera’ has been set up at Sultanpur. The Haryana government in a similar way has boosted urbanization through the establishment of industrial focal points, urban estates and tourist resorts in a conscious effort to improve the level of urbanization in the state. Some towns have been declared ‘backward’, as for example Jhajjar and special incentives for their growth are given by the state authority.29

The continuation of administrative establishments of cantonment and formation of new ones, as at Gurdaspur, Jalandhar, Bhatinda, Patiala, Ambala and Chandi Mandir, also contribute to urban development. The air force station at Adampur led to the emergence of a new town.

Thus, political factors have a direct bearing on the process of urbanization in both Punjab and Haryana and remains a significant cause in the resultant urban pattern of the region in the post independence period.

Socio-cultural factors also have a bearing on urbanization though in the priority of causes it may not dominant. This category includes aspects like movement of socio-cultural groups, religion and education.

The movement of a specific socio-cultural group would affect the fortunes of a particular town as illustrated by Sujanpur, which until partition had a colony of Kashmiris Muslims producing woollen items such as carpets, Pashmina Chadars, blankets and Pattus. This industry disappeared from the local market as all the Kashmiri is migrated with the out going Muslims. Similarly, Qadian the headquarters of the Ahmadiya sect was fast developing as an industrial centre. Its main products were glass wares, electrical goods, torches, precision manufacturing, compasses for aeroplanes before 1947. After the partition the sect shifted to Jhang in West Pakistan and with the out migration of Muslims, the industrial activity ceased.30 Shamchaurasi is another town which suffered due to the migration of qawal families to Pakistan, who are known as Sham Chaurasis.

Urbanization also seems to be stimulated by the establishment of religious and educational centres. Anandpur Sahib and Sirhind are the important religious centre of the

Sikhs which is the prime reason for their growth. Kurukshetra is an important place of pilgrimage of Hindus and is thus growing as an important centre of learning culture and civilization. The coming up of Kurukshetra University in 1965 gave a further boost to the development of this town. This University was established as a unitary teaching and residential university. Phagwara for instance has made a name in the field of education due to the initiative of the local Ramgarhis biradri. Patiala too developed as an important educational centre with the establishment of the Punjabi University in 1962 which has further accelerated its growth. Rohtak, too saw the establishment of Maha Rishi Dayanand University while Amritsar extended with the founding of the Guru Nanak Dev University in 1969.

The contribution of socio-cultural factors in urbanization however, needs detailed, indepth sociological analysis before its significance in the urban process can be underlined. At present, we can only suggest a close link between the various socio-cultural aspects and the pattern of urbanization in the region which needs further exploration in order to establish concrete and specific contribution to urban development.

Thus, it is clearly evident that a variety of complex factors influenced the fortunes of urban centres in the region and created the particular urbanscape of the post independence period. Towns in Punjab and Haryana were both affected by several permutations and combinations of geographical economic, political and socio cultural factors which resulted in the existing urban pattern visible today. In the pre 1947 period the dominant factor in urbanization had been colonialism or the polity of the time, geography set the ‘stage’ for urban development marking suitable areas in which the growth of towns and cities was located, while the economy further brought out
'probables' of growth and enlarged the viability of urban units. On the whole, the deciding factor for the resultant urban pattern and level of urbanism was polity, which assumed priority over all other factors. In the post - 1947 phase too, there are some variations in the way in which these factors made an impact on both the states of the region one or the other assuming priority at a specific point of time or affecting Punjab and Haryana in different ways.

Geography influenced the location of urban units in both Punjab and Haryana. The fertile, well-cultivated areas of the central parts of the pre-1966 Punjab housed a larger proportion of urban unit compared to the arid and little cultivated south east, later Haryana portions. In the post - 1966 phase, Haryana was able to overcome its geographical limitations and greatly improved its agriculture leading to the emergence of towns in this previously less urbanized area. Even, Punjab further improved its 'cotton belt' and saw the formation of some 'new' mandi towns. The road system contributed to urban growth in both state, both before and after the formation of Haryana. The G.T. Road or National Highway 1, was the main urban axial passing through and linking towns and cities of both the states. In addition, the link roads connecting urban centres to their counterparts elsewhere also contributed to urban growth a feature specially noticeable in Haryana.

Economic factors came into play in the form of basic trading centres and inCentoj^ to development through industrial activity. In the first two decades after independence the former seems significant in the process of urbanization, by the 1970's through the introduction of industry at various levels, takes priority in the economic sphere. In the Punjab, market towns proliferated throughout this period, a feature which
seems less evident in Haryana. On the other hand industrial activity was prominent only in the Punjab in the pre 1966 phase, but extended to the entire region after the reorganization of the states. As in the pre-colonial period polity plays a significant role in the pattern of urban development in the Punjab and Haryana and the similar trend continues in the post-independence phase as well. Political conditions – the partition, external aggression, militancy – affected the Punjab in a more serious way than Haryana. Political development at governmental level and frequent change of ruling powers had a similar effect on both states. The introduction a number of administrative units brought about a greater mushrooming of small towns in Haryana, than in Punjab. Governmental policies affected both states equally, though Haryana made a larger gain of them rather than Punjab where relation to urban growth was concerned. Some socio-cultural factors remained relevant in both Punjab and Haryana.

We find therefore, that a different set of causes is responsible for the process and pattern of urbanization in the two states studied here. Punjab was largely affected by the international boundary and its implications, political conditions, road linkages and economic development within the state in relation to its urban development. On the other hand, Haryana felt the impact of geographical limitations, subdivision of administrative units, communications network, industrial development and governmental planning to a greater degree. It would be pertinent to underline however, that it is the contribution of a variety of factors that bring about urbanization and the resultant urban pattern in the region. On the whole, economy seems to be the more decisive factor in the process of urbanization in Punjab, while – as in the colonial period, polity - was the dominant and overriding cause in Haryana.

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