SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A review of studies on the fringe villages reveals three major trends. First, and the most important of these is the conceptualization of urbanization as a uniform process. This tendency may have persisted due to a deep influence of the theory of folk-urban continuum on the students of urban sociology. Second, and a related trend projects unidirectional changes due to urbanization. Again influenced by the continuum perspective, it was anticipated that the exposure of a settlement to the urban impact would result in a transformation in its demographic and socio-cultural characteristics from rural to the urban nature. A third tendency has been to link all types of changes in the urban periphery with urbanization. Such an attempt leads to the negligence of the intervening factors. In fact, all the three trends discerned above tend to underestimate the role of factors other than urbanization in the process of social and demographic changes. An attempt has been made in this study to examine, how far and in what respects, the process of urbanization has been uniform and unidirectional, and to ascertain the extent to which urban impact and the factors, such as the functional type of the cities, historicity of the villages and their demographic structures, have a bearing on the process of change.
Another shortcoming in the existing literature has been a lack of scholars' concern for the distinction made by Wirth, a long time back, between urbanization as a demographic process and urbanism as a socio-cultural concept. The distinction and relationship between urbanization and urbanism have been more or less neglected in the later studies. There has been an increasing tendency, particularly among the Indian scholars, to use the two terms synonymously and to consider them to have been positively associated. Industrialization has been normally considered to exercise a positive effect on both these dimensions. The kind of causal linkage as projected by Wirth, between the demographic and social aspects of urbanization, has empirically been verified in this study.

Operationalization of the aforementioned concepts is a difficult task. A review of the studies in this area reveals the relevance of certain indicators of urbanization for the urban periphery. Important among these are: population growth, migration, population density, sex-ratio, proportion of non-agricultural workers, heterogeneity of population and level of literacy. Out of these indices, sex-ratio, heterogeneity of population and level of literacy were not used to measure the level of urbanization in the present study, for the reasons explained in Chapter 3. However, heterogeneity among the various castes with regard to the occupational prestige was considered as
an indicator of social change and it was discussed in Chapter 5. Thus the population growth, migration, population density and the percentage of non-agricultural workers were selected as the indicators of urbanization.

An attempt was made to reduce the ambiguity involved in the concept of 'urbanism' and develop its indices. Since the concept is both universal as well as culture-specific, it was defined on the basis of universal values, e.g., individuality, equality, secularism and rationality, and on the basis of behaviour, viz., the consumption pattern, and their indicators were selected on the basis of cultural peculiarity of the Indian rural society. The selected indicators include: attitude towards religion, education of girls, inter-caste marriages, relationship between caste and occupational hierarchies, residential segregation, occupational heterogeneity, nuclear family, the basis of social networks and formal participation.

Mullanpur, on the periphery of Chandigarh, an administrative city, was found to be more urbanized demographically than Gill, situated near Ludhiana, an industrial city. The former has noted a positive rate of growth of population for the last two decades. On the contrary, the peripheral village of Ludhiana has experienced a decline in its population during the same period. This
finding owes primarily to the varying trends of migration in these villages. While a number of migrants have settled in Mullanpur, a large number of people have migrated from Gill to enhance their economic status. Thus a sort of 'de-urbanization' process characterizes Gill, the peripheral village of the industrial city. The higher population density in Mullanpur further substantiates the argument. In addition, a large majority of workers in Mullanpur is engaged in the non-agricultural professions, while the opposite holds true in the case of Gill. It must be noted, however, that Mullanpur has retained this characteristic for the last three decades, which makes it difficult to link this trend with urbanization.

On the whole, we find Mullanpur more urbanized than Gill in the demographic sense. Since approximately 64 per cent of the workers in Gill are engaged in agricultural work and the village has been undergoing a process of de-urbanization, one may assume that it would also be less urban in the socio-cultural sense. But our data do not allow us to take such a simplistic view. Contradictory results have been observed in the economic and noneconomic dimensions of urbanism. While Gill has revealed a significantly higher level of living than Mullanpur, the latter has relatively small sized nuclear households. It also has more social networks based on the non-traditional
ties in the adjoining city. The two samples, however, do not differ significantly with regard to the attitude towards inter-caste marriages, education of girls and religion. The respondents in both the villages held strong reservations against inter-caste marriages, since to their mind, these often led to maladjustment. Further, although our respondents favoured higher education for girls, yet there were very few cases where girls had completed their graduation. However, we found almost homogeneous responses with regard to the attitude towards inter-caste marriages and education of girls. There was no significant difference between the two samples regarding the attitude towards religion, too. No doubt various professional categories, viz., the priestly, landowning, trading, artisan and serving castes, had varied opinion in this matter. The landowning and serving castes were found to be more secular in their outlook. On the whole, the attitudes have been found to be influenced more by the occupational status and personal experiences, than the urban value system. Contrary to the expected trend, a strong dislike for the urban modern way of dress, a feeling of individuality among women and self-centredness were displayed by a majority of our respondents. However, this kind of an attitude varied between the young and the old respondents.
The following observations relating to urbanism are notable. Normally one expects a difference in the patterns of consumption in the agricultural and other castes, e.g., trading ones, or those employed in the formal sector. Our study reveals a significant difference in the consumption pattern within the Jats in the two samples. A majority of the Jats in Gill had most of the modern luxuries of life, while their counterparts in Mullanpur were quite backward in this respect, mainly due to their weaker economic position. It may be inferred, therefore, that economic prosperity considerably changes the whole pattern of consumption.

The household pattern has also not remained static. The rapid and significant currents of social change, which took place in the European society as a result of industrialization, made the social scientists conceive of an association between industrialization and nuclearization of family. Industrial and urban factors have been found to be powerful forces of social change in the rural society. They revolutionize the attitudes and ways of life in the rural periphery (Venkatarayappa 1973). He has also noted a general trend in the urbanizing villages towards the nuclearization of family, as well as an increased desire for smaller families. Such studies, by over emphasizing the independent role of industriali-
zation, have overlooked the discrepancies and irregularities existing within the rural societies undergoing urbanization.

Our findings, however, contradict this assumption. The village under the strong currents of industrialization is found to have more of joint and large households as compared to the other village. Since joint living has a favourable role to play in the cultivating profession, a large number of our respondents in Gill (who were cultivators) maintained joint households. The rising value of land in this village, on the one hand, and the technical assistance in farming by the Punjab Agricultural University at Ludhiana, on the other, have together encouraged the cultivating castes to retain their agricultural profession. Joint households were also a characteristic of the traders. It was observed, however, that the economic prosperity in Gill was somehow related to the joint living, while economic compulsions and the abandonment of caste professions like agriculture in Mullanpur, was quite linked to nuclear households. The functional types of the cities have affected the size and type of the households differently. For instance, while the different socio-economic groups in Mullanpur have experienced a relatively uniform impact, there has been a differential impact on the high, middle and low caste groups in Gill. In short, the nature of occupation seems to play an important role in the
household structure. The role of education in securing urban jobs at Chandigarh has inculcated a desire among the peripheral population to have lesser children. Hence the type of jobs available and the means to attain them have significantly influenced the size and type of households.

In light of the present findings, it seems difficult to agree with Goode, that industrialization would always give rise to small and nuclear households. On the contrary, it appears that a greater expansion of the service sector (or formal sector) would probably result in an inclination toward this trend. In fact, the role of occupational structure, educational aspirations and socio-cultural values in the household structure, is crucial.

As proposed by K.N. Sharma (1975), one would anticipate greater urban social networks based on the modern criteria, in a village situated on the periphery of a large city. His argument is valid, since new needs and demands arising out of the urban occupational and infrastructure call for social links in the city. But his observation is based on one village only, while the present study attempting to compare two peripheries, leads us to conclude that all types of cities may not create similar degrees of urban networks in their peripheries. For instance, although Ludhiana is bigger in
size than Chandigarh, is occupationally more diversified, and is more developed in its infrastructure, yet there are a few urban networks in its adjoining village. On the contrary, due to the jobs offered by Chandigarh and the educational facilities, the residents of Mullanpur had more social links in the city. The desire among the villagers to educate their children in good schools and, then, to secure government jobs for them, has inspired them to maintain links in Chandigarh. Our respondents working in government offices in the city were found to have better links at their work place than in the village. Many a time, these ties cut across the traditional boundaries of caste, kinship and region. The urban social networks were limited in Gill and that, too, among the higher socio-economic groups. However, our findings are in consonance with Sharma's major argument that the needs for urban employment and education of the children determine the nature of social networks.

Since formal participation was also taken as an indicator of urbanism, respondents were asked about their membership in the formal organizations. As only a few of them were members of any such organization, little change was revealed in this respect.

Taking a clue from the work of Oscar Lewis, an effort was made to examine the spread of urbanism
in different socio-economic groups. He argued that the spread of urbanism (as defined by Wirth) was not uniform in the whole of the city. He observed that the poor were generally less urban than the rich. In view of our findings, we partly agree with Lewis. Urbanism itself is not unidimensional in that its various indices may be spread in an uneven manner in a given population. We agree with Lewis that the different socio-economic groups (castes in this case) differ considerably in many dimensions of the way of life, but not in all of them. His argument that the poor are everywhere less urban, is a partial truth. For instance, the poor are certainly less urban in so far as their consumption pattern is concerned, but there is no such relationship in the other dimensions, such as the attitude towards religion, inter-caste marriages, education of girls etc. This means that different findings emerge from the attitudinal and factual dimensions of urbanism. A uniform and unidimensional impact has not been found in the two sample villages, perhaps due to the presence of factors other than urbanization and industrialization, affecting the population in their own way.

Before coming to the caste and occupational structures, it is necessary to highlight the significant differences between the two villages regarding education, since it is an important correlate of occupation. Mullanpur
has a higher level of literacy in general, but the type of education differs considerably in the two places. As discussed in chapter 5, the percentage of respondents having attained education up to matric and above, is significantly higher in Gill. Secondly, a number of our respondents and their sons in this village have secured the professional degrees. Here, the role of the city in the educational attainments of various castes, gains importance. Since the professional education requires high expenses and admission on the basis of merit, benefit in this case goes entirely to the upper castes, who can afford these means. On the contrary, simple non-professional education can be more evenly spread due to the low expenses on it. Consequently, the educational benefits in Gill have mainly gone to the upper castes, while the residents of Mullanpur have had a more uniform spread of them. It is not that the lower castes do not want their children to attain good vocational education, but their limited resources inhibit them from doing so. Some of the low castes in Gill were quite bitter on fact that the benefit of the reservation of seats in the Engineering College has been appropriated by the upper castes, owing to the donation of their land to the college, while the former could never even dream of getting admission in such prestigious institutions. Thus the aspirational level of
the underprivileged castes remains low due to their practical problems. T.K. Majumdar (1983) brings out this fact while analysing the educational aspirations of low castes. He observed that the majority of them could not visualize the type of occupations that their children would follow. He pointed out that in a social system characterized by extreme inequality, the capabilities of the children and the ways through which they avail of the opportunities for a better career, would largely determine their actual achievements. This expression of the aspirations, according to him, was practical and was not based on illusions.

The educational differences between the two villages are reflected through their occupational structures. While a number of residents in Mullanpur from all caste groups have been moving in the formal sector as clerks, peons, technicians, assistants etc., only the upper castes in Gill have had the opportunity to join the formal sector, the low castes being mainly engaged in the informal sector through self-employment. This is significant, since it depicts the role of an administrative city in the expansion of the formal sector, attracting population from the peripheral villages.

Whether the formal or informal sector recruits more people, has a direct impact on the educational aspirations of people. The fact is explicitly revealed in Gill.
It is often argued that the low castes generally have lower aspirations for their children (Sharma 1974), but there is something more to it. The present study shows that the educational aspirations of these caste groups are strongly influenced by the jobs offered in a city and the means to attain them. For instance, low castes in Gill prefer their children to earn at an age of 5-6 years, because education is not the only means for employment for them. Further, the restricted choice of lower castes to appropriate the urban occupational benefits has tended to maintain the superemacy of upper castes in the economic and occupational fields. Naturally, then, after reviewing the structural barriers in achieving the required type of education, it is not surprising to observe a well sustained caste structure in these urbanizing villages. But beneath this type of perpetuation of social positions, certain significant trend of change are visible, which have been strongly mediated by the peculiarities of Ludhiana and Chandigarh. The low castes in Gill have tremendously shifted over to the non-caste occupations and, at the same time, have been able to draw greater economic benefits than their counterparts in Mullanpur. Further, upward mobility in the occupational field has been significantly greater in Gill. This trend has occurred more prominently among higher castes, where
the sons are becoming engineers and doctors, thus rising higher in the hierarchy. Change in the caste and occupational structures has been greater in Gill in terms of occupational heterogeneity also. This has, again, been possible due to the more diversified occupations offered by Ludhiana.

The changing trends in caste and occupational hierarchies and mobility in this field point out the spread of urbanism through the values of secularism in the place of ritualism, and individual rationality instead of ascription on the basis of birth. The criterion for the ranking of castes and occupations has also changed from the ritual to the secular one. No doubt the caste status is still strongly related with the occupational, economic and educational status, yet the fact remains that a number of caste groups have been able to rise up in social prestige with the help of economic criterion, thereby lowering down the prestige of traditionally upper castes like Brahmins. The abandoning of caste occupations, the upward occupational mobility and an increasing occupational heterogeneity within the castes point out the change towards individualism, secularism and equality. The association of caste with occupation, however, is a direct outcome of the linkage between the traditional occupational skills and the appropriation of new job
opportunities. Thus change has occurred, though not manifested clearly.

The residential structures of both Gill and Mullanpur are quite segregated, as is evident from the high scores on the Index of Segregation (for details see Chapter 5). Although the degree of segregation is slightly higher in Gill, the fact cannot be ascribed entirely to industrialization. As discussed in the second chapter, the localities meant for the scheduled castes are situated on the periphery of the villages. The criteria for allotting the houses are, however, different. Since the government quarters in Mullanpur have been allotted on the basis of an economic criterion, people from the low, middle and even high castes have secured them. On the contrary, the colonies for Harijans and Sansis in Gill have been occupied only by the low castes. Therefore, the differential levels of residential segregation cannot be explained by the level of urbanization or industrialization alone. Migration may tend to lessen the degree of segregation, but only among upper and middle castes, it may not affect the scheduled castes. Our study, therefore, reveals the role of governmental measures with respect to the housing arrangement of the scheduled caste population. It may be an exaggeration to establish one or the other type of relationship of segregation with urbanization and industrialization.
The findings of this study, therefore, bring out the necessity to re-examine the existing tendencies in literature on urbanization, discussed in the beginning of the chapter. The data have highlighted the role of the intervening factors, such as the functional type of the city, the demographic, geographical and historical peculiarities of the rural settlement, the administrative policies of the city and the educational opportunities offered by it. In view of the lack of a positive relationship between the demographic and socio-cultural aspects of urbanization, the commonly held view considering a causal linkage between the two, is put to doubt. This study, on the other hand, highlights a two-way relationship between the demographic and social change. Further, in the light of our data, it seems difficult to overlook the variations existing among various dimensions of urbanism as a way of life.

Contrary to Wirth's proposition, the demographic features have been found to be greatly influenced by social values. It has been found that the peripheral population does not shift from agricultural to the non-agricultural, or from the rural to urban occupations smoothly. Instead, the pattern of shift is greatly influenced by the preferences of people. Instead of abandoning either type of the occupations completely, each family has made
an effort to combine the agricultural and non-agricultural occupations, so that it enjoys social prestige from both the traditional as well as modern sources. Thus the study points out the underestimation of the role of value system in the process of urbanization by the urban sociologists.

An urbanizing village must not be regarded as an entity completely dependent upon the exogenous forces of urbanization for its demographic transformation. It is rather impossible to acquire a complete understanding of the changes followed by urbanization, unless the interplay between these factors is recognized. In view of these arguments, the observation made by a sociologist (Sharma 1974) that the sub-urban villages are more likely to have a less dependence on agriculture, cannot be generalized for all settlements. The shift from agricultural to the non-agricultural activities has also been influenced, to a great extent, by the facilities and technical assistance available to farmers. Moreover, the study points out the difficulty in compartmentalizing all types of suburban areas in a single category. The tendency among the peripheral population to shift to the nonfarm occupations is greatly influenced by the type of education offered in the neighbouring city, job opportunities and the facilities for pursuing agriculture. As observed by another author, (Venkatarayappa 1973:213) industrialization does
not play an independent role in the sectoral change (i.e., from agriculture to non-agriculture), rather, people's values intervene in the process.

The foregoing discussion puts to doubt the ideas of uniformity and uni-directionality of both the demographic as well as social aspects of urbanization. It would, therefore, be an exaggeration to link the urban industrial impact with one or the other type of social system. The relationship between urbanization as a demographic process and social change is not a one-way relationship, the former causing the latter. The process may be the other way as well. Since the sources of urban impact vary in their peculiarities, it is not feasible to expect a uniform outcome in all the urbanizing areas.

Further, more important fact is that the factors other than urbanization may give an altogether new shape to social change. Social structure, value system, demographic composition of the urbanizing population and its historicity may pose strong interventions in the process of change.

Although the functional type of the city has been found to have a considerable influence on the peripheral population and social change, yet all the changes cannot be explained by any single variable. The various factors affecting the attitudinal, economic and other
factual dimensions of urbanism inhibit us to establish a simplistic type of relationship between urbanization and urbanism. While the functional type has exercised a greater effect on the economic and the occupational lives of the peripheral population, other factors like trends in the land values, and caste and religious composition have had a bearing on some other aspects.

The foregoing discussion suggests that a number of problems may be explored by the scholars in future. The most important of these problems is the difficulty in analyzing the present trends of social change in the urban periphery with the help of continuum theory. It is suggested that the more or less neglected intervening factors, e.g., functional type of the city, its peculiar educational and general infrastructure, and the social structure itself, may be given their due heuristic importance. Incorporation of such factors reveals that one cannot expect a uniform process of demographic change in all types of urban peripheries.

While examining the role of industrialization in the social structural change, it is essential to look at the pattern separately for economic and the noneconomic aspects. An industrial city may result in a greater degree of urbanism and modernity in some, mainly the economic dimensions, while the periphery of an educational/administrative city may be more so in the noneconomic spheres.
So the concept of urbanism needs further clarification, keeping in view the peculiarities of the Indian social system. The various factors which influence the people in taking up nontraditional activities, migrating to the rural or urban centres and preferring one or the other type of households, have to be examined. Similarly, instead of explaining the increase or decline in the degree of residential segregation with the help of urbanization, the other factors, such as the governmental measures and the extent of occupational mobility of the low castes, have to be carefully investigated.

The most important implication emerging out of the present analysis is that since urbanization is a process, its study is not feasible with the help of the ideal types as suggested by Redfield and Wirth. The intervention of various factors with this phenomenon is bound to produce different degrees and quantities of change in the various aspects of rural society. The various settlements may be at different stages of urbanization and, therefore, it is not necessary that their characteristics qualify them to occupy a fixed position on the continuum.