CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The industrial revolution in Europe, resulting in the strides of migration towards the urban centres, accelerated the transformation of the traditional social system and thus brought forth the process of urbanization as a significant factor of social change, which consequently contributed to the conceptualization of a dichotomy between the rural and urban social systems. Such a characterization of the two aspects of society was an important contribution of scholars like Durkheim (1933), Tonnies (1940) and Maine (1961).

Before the industrial revolution, the city, a birth-place of the urban economic, political and social institutions, was believed to be a self-contained entity, with little effects trickling down to the villages. Actually, the ancient fortified cities were geographically distinct from the rural population, as they mainly served the political, administrative and the military functions. On the contrary, the cities and towns which came into existence after the industrial revolution, were not characterized by such a distinctiveness and could no longer be conceived as isolated settlements.

Due to the continuous interaction and interdependence between city and its hinterland, the diffusion of urbanization towards the urban periphery gained the
attention of social analysts. Subsequently, the concept of 'urbanization' acquired a greater relevance than ever before, which placed the city and the village on a continuum. The idea of continuum developed long ago due to a disbelief among the scholars in an absolute demarcation between the rural and urban communities. Therefore, the city and the country were considered as two poles, which provided a framework to understand the changing structures of various settlements (Wirth 1938). Robert Redfield (1947) was a popular proponent of the theory of folk-urban continuum. The main characteristics of the folk society, according to him, are: simple technology, homogeneity, small size, isolation, group solidarity, simple division of labour, economic independence, informal status, sacredness, no money market and no concept of gain (quoted in Hauser and Schnore 1965:505). The opposite characteristics, however, were ascribed to the urban ideal-type. No doubt Redfield's idea of continuum was an improvement upon that of dichotomy. Therefore, the subsequent studies on social change and urbanization were carried on under this perspective.

The fact that Redfield elaborated the folk-society at length and left the urban end to the imagination of the social scientists, has created ambiguities. The wide variations which exist among the various urbanized
societies, do not allow us to generalize the characteristics of the western urban society to other societies. Louis Wirth (1938) who was the first scholar to give a sociological definition of 'city', thereby deviating from the prevailing overconcern with an ecological analysis, did a commendable job by specifying the features of an urban way of life. But his conception is also based on the evidence from the western industrial society.

While analyzing the effects of urbanization, the Indian scholars, on the other hand, have been preoccupied with the changes in caste, joint family and the occupational structure, without explaining them in the broader framework of urbanism as visualized by Wirth. Due to the important variations which exist at the behavioural level in the different cultures, it is rather inappropriate to understand the changes through a conceptualization based on a particular society.

In view of the empirical evidence, several points of criticism have been levelled against Redfield's hypothesis by various scholars (Tax 1941 quoted in Miner 1963, Sjoberg 1955 and Lewis 1965). Implicit in the continuum theory was the assumption that as one moved from rural to the urban areas, the traditional institutions of caste and joint family would be replaced by the modern institutions of class and nuclear family. However, such
a uniform trend has not been observed so far. A number of studies conducted in the peripheral villages in India have failed to observe a uniform change towards urbanism in the various aspects of rural social structure, viz., family, caste system etc. (Opler 1956, Bhadkad 1957, Bailey 1958 and Majumdar 1958). Scholars are perplexed to find the traditional social structure intact, characterized by the caste distinctions and age old traditions, despite the continuous exposure of rural communities to urbanization. The traditional social institutions have been perceived as barriers in a transformation of society from the rural to an urban end. Little efforts, however, have been made to identify the conditions under which urbanization leads to a particular kind of social change. But some empirical investigations bring out an overlapping of the two ends of the continuum. For instance, the UNESCO Research Centre in 1962 observed:

"Increasingly there are in the 'developed' countries and also in the developing countries, many localities-suburbs, more remote satellite settlements and villages which have a rural look, but a definite urban occupational structure and culture.... Thus, apparently, in most areas of the world urban-rural differences are becoming more inconsistent... In the developing countries, the very process of contemporary urban growth also produces urban
diffusion and so an even closer interaction of urban and rural influences....Thus we perceive and speak of urban villages and rural towns" (Glass 1964:5-6).

It is implicit in the above argument that the areas which are not yet urban by definition, have been continuously invaded by the currents of urbanization and industrialization as a result of the improved means of transport and communication.

The process of urbanization operates at different levels. First, through a continuous migration from the rural to the urban areas, it creates large cities and towns with a more developed infrastructure and market system, resulting in large size, density and heterogeneity of population, on the one hand, and bringing in secondary, formal and individualistic social relationships among the urban dwellers, on the other (Wirth 1938).

Secondly, urbanization spreads beyond those areas which are defined as urban. The places in a close proximity to cities receive urban impact continuously through the employment of their population in the cities. The means of transport and communication connect the rural periphery with the urban centre. Thus the rural hinterland does not remain unaffected, but comes under the influence of urbanization.
Thirdly, urbanization may extend even to the remote areas not directly, but through the contact of migrants coming from these places to the cities and towns. These migrants, while going back to their native places, carry along the urban habits, ways of dress and other elements of the culture of city. It may be argued, therefore, that urbanization as a process is not restricted to the cities and towns only. The stages of urbanization may, however, vary at different places. A continuous expansion of cities towards their peripheries and the appropriation of urban facilities by the hinterland have given rise to the concepts, such as 'suburbanization', and 'rurbanization' (Duncan 1961).

Instead of presupposing a unidirectional transformation as a result of urban impact, our task should be to conduct comparative studies and then seek uniformities in the social and demographic changes. The historicity of the area, peculiarity of the urban impact and other

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1 There has been a tendency among the residents of the big cities in recent times, to move from the central place to the outer side of the city. This process is known as 'suburbanization'.

2 "With improvements in communication and transportation and a rising rural level of living, the social and economic opportunities of the city become more accessible to rural residents in the immediate hinterland, supplementing those based on agricultural activity and focused in the rural community. Thus there ensues a 'rurbanization' of the rural population" (Duncan 1961: 557).
intervening factors like the geographical location and the demographic characteristics of the settlement, must be taken into account. It is necessary to identify how far the changes in a rural settlement can be attributed to the urban and industrial forces. Lewis has rightly argued that Redfield's conceptualization of social change considers the city as the only source of change, thus excluding or neglecting the other internal or external factors (1941 quoted in Miner 1963).

The existing literature points out another very significant assumption, primarily based on the arguments of Louis Wirth, that there is a causal relationship between the demographic and social changes in the wake of urbanization. Scholars seem to have presumed that the peripheries of all types of cities would undergo a similar kind of demographic change directed towards a higher level of urbanism (in the socio-economic sense). This assumption, mostly accepted as it is, has resulted in the negligence of a demographic analysis of the fringe villages. Further, hardly any study has looked into the relationship existing between demographic and social changes in an urban periphery in the Indian context. An overview of the various studies in this area gives an impression that urban impact as a source of change in the fringe villages has a uniform character. Little recognition has been given to the important
complexities within the urban impact. Hoselitz (1960) put forth the hypothesis that urbanization, when accompanied by industrialization, generates economic growth. Subsequently, the studies aimed at assessing the differential impact of industrialization on the urban periphery (Lambert 1962, Sharma 1974 and D'Souza and Kamra 1981) have tended to emphasize mainly the difference in the degree and not in the quality of socio-economic changes. For instance, the argument of Lambert (Ibid) suggested that the degree of structural changes in the rural periphery would be greater in the direction of an urban social system, if the process of urbanization is accompanied by industrialization. As mentioned earlier, no effort has been made to look at the qualitative differences in the patterns of social and demographic changes in different types of the peripheries. For example, the issues like: does industrialization tend to transform a rural society uniformly towards the urban ideal type or does such a change take place only in some of its aspects, remain unattempted. If industrialization results in greater economic and social changes as argued by the above authors, it is not clear which socio-economic groups gain more. Yet another question is: whether industrial forces also improve the educational aspirations of the population or is their effect limited to the economic resources only? Keeping in
view the forces that encourage and resist the process, there is the need to see how far industrialization or urbanization brings about a uniform change in a rural settlement. If the rural social structure is considered only as a dependent variable, conferring little attention to the role of values and other social structural elements as the resisting forces, it would rather be difficult to explain the discrepancies in the process of change. It becomes necessary, then, to examine how the different dimensions of social structure intervene in the demographic and social processes of urbanization. This would help us in clarifying the nature of relationship between the two aspects of urbanization.

Urban impact may be influenced by various factors, such as the size of the city, distance between the city and the rural settlement and the functional type of the city. The existing literature gives an indication that the non-agricultural occupations multiply in the rural periphery with the emergence of a city (Duncan 1961). It is implied, here, that larger the city, greater is the variety of urban occupations, thereby providing better opportunities for the peripheral population. Distance has also been found to affect the rural-urban interaction. It has been observed that the villages situated in the peripheries of cities, experience a greater degree of the diffusion effect than the remote ones (Duncan Ibid).
and Gibbs 1961). "Rural areas near cities undergo 'sub-urbanization' or 'fringe development' when urban people take up rural residences on the periphery of urban community" (Duncan *Ibid:*556).

Although every city performs certain city-serving (or non-basic) functions for its own population, it also has some city-forming (basic) functions serving the hinterland (Jefferson 1931 quoted in Alexander 1967 and Alexanderson 1967). A city may be classified as an industrial or manufacturing or as a trade or service or diversified city. While classifying the cities into various functional types it must, however, be kept in mind that classification of a city as 'industrial' does not signify a complete absence of trade (Harris 1967). Nevertheless, the predominant function of a city puts it into one of the different functional types. Since little attention has been paid to the relationship between social change and functional type of the city, the present study is a step towards this direction.

Indian sociologists have not paid sufficient attention to the spread of urbanism as a way of life in the different types of urban peripheries. Keeping in view the intervention of various factors discussed above in the process of urbanization, it is necessary to find out whether the fringe villages experience a uniform pattern of change in the values from rural
to the urban end of the continuum. The question as to how far the various economic and noneconomic dimensions of an urban way of life are scattered in the two villages as well as within them, will be examined in the present study. In short, the questions which will be dealt with, are:

i) How far the different types of urban peripheries experience uniform changes in their demographic and social aspects?

ii) Are these demographic and social changes unidirectional?

iii) Are the demographic and social aspects of urbanization positively related?

iv) Does industrialization result in a greater degree of change in both the aspects of urbanization in the same direction?, and

v) How far the differences between the two types of peripheries can be explained with the help of the functional types of the cities?

Since the main objective of this study is to assess the role of the functional type of a city in the socio-economic transformation of the fringe villages, two villages, viz., Mullanpur and Gill were selected on the basis of their proximity to the two cities of differential functional type, i.e., administrative/service and industrial. The former was represented by Chandigarh and the latter by Ludhiana. The cities of Ludhiana and Chandigarh are not exclusively industrial and administrative
respectively, though predominantly they may be designated as such.

Table 1.1.

Percentage of Workers in Manufacturing and Services in Ludhiana and Chandigarh Urban Agglomerations in 1971*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the city</th>
<th>Percentage of workers in services</th>
<th>Percentage of workers in manufacturing</th>
<th>Percentage of workers in other categories</th>
<th>Total (other than Household)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ludhiana (U.A.)**</td>
<td>20.16</td>
<td>43.60</td>
<td>36.24</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh (U.A.)</td>
<td>60.71</td>
<td>12.85</td>
<td>26.44</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the city</th>
<th>Percentage of workers in services</th>
<th>Percentage of workers in other industry</th>
<th>Total (Household and other industry)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ludhiana (U.A.)</td>
<td>20.16</td>
<td>46.11</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh (U.A.)</td>
<td>60.71</td>
<td>13.31</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India for 1971.

*Information on the different industrial categories for 1981 census was not available.

**U.A. denotes Urban Agglomeration.

Approximately, 61 per cent of the total workers in Chandigarh were employed in the category of services in the 1971 census, while Ludhiana had only about 20 per cent in this category (See Table 1.1.). Further,
the category of workers in other than household industry contained approximately 44 and 13 per cent of workers in Ludhiana and Chandigarh respectively. However, it made very little difference in the above fact, even if both the categories, viz., the household and other industry were combined. In the light of the aforementioned data, Ludhiana and Chandigarh may be categorized as manufacturing and service cities respectively. The two cities also vary in size, Ludhiana having a much larger population than Chandigarh.

The villages were selected due to their proximity to the cities of different functional types. Distance from the city, however, was kept approximately the same. Mullanpur and Gill are situated at the distance of 6 kms and 8 kms from Chandigarh and Ludhiana respectively. About 20 per cent of the total households were selected for each sample. A sub-sample was derived from each of these two, in order to obtain the responses on the caste and occupational hierarchies. Each sub-sample comprised 20 per cent of the larger sample. The respondents in these sub-samples were asked to rank the various castes.

3The total population of Chandigarh (U.T.) and Ludhiana District according to 1981 Census is 451,610 and 1,804,420 respectively.
and occupations on the basis of their social prestige (See Tables 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix III). Secondary data were also obtained from the Census Reports and the village Patwaris. The hypothetical assumptions to be examined have been presented in the relevant chapters. The samples consisted of 140 respondents in Mullanpur and 130 in Gill.

Since the pattern of urban impact is bound to be influenced by the endogenous factors of urban peripheries, their brief description has been attempted in Chapter 2. The demographic aspect of urbanization discussed in Chapter 3, has been analyzed through a number of indicators. The concept of urbanism and its spread, both at the inter-village as well as the intra-village levels, have been explained in Chapter 4. Keeping in view the peculiarities of the Indian rural society, changes in the caste and occupational structures, which constitute a major area of analysis, have been discussed at length in Chapter 5. The last chapter sums up the findings on the various issues raised here.