CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION
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Human community is an expression of the traits of human nature and the needs of human beings. Man cannot live alone and needs association with others in addition to shelter and protection. The earliest towns were the outcome of man’s need for protection against natural calamities and against other men. But the keen desire for a settled and comfortable life instead of nomadic one leads to the development of urban areas and the consequent realization of close dependence of individuals and social groups (McCrosky, Blessing, and McKeever, 1951: 107-116 cited in Smith and McMohan, 1951). The size of such settlements depended upon the type of production system which could adequately meet the basic necessities of human beings.

With the development of agriculture and domestication of new types of plants and animals, production increased raising thereby the farm efficiency. Extensive mechanization, widespread use of commercial fertilizers, superior methods of tillage, and improvement in seed stock have further increased the farm production. This has led to the accumulation of farm produce and the need to dispose it of has in turn led to the establishment of market centres which provide a number of goods and services for exchange. Gerald Hodge (1966: 183-196) concludes that as the farm size and farm mechanization increase, the market potential of small
trade centres decreases and that of the large trade centres increases. Further, the centres benefited by transportation system provide a wide range of specialized goods and services. The institutions of health and education and a large pool of non-agricultural jobs provide a definite base for the survival and growth of these centres. The availability of diverse occupations make the rural population migrate to such places. The process of migration is accelerated with the establishment of industries. Ehrlich, Ehrlich, and Holdren (1973: 40-46) believe that the actual impetus for the development of cities may have been the necessity to have centres for storage and distribution of food. Medieval towns owe their development to the centres of trade and modern cities to technological development determined by the means of transportation and communication (McCrosky, Blessing, and McKeever, 1951: 107-116). The large size of population demands more facilities for public health and education. On the other hand, mass production makes the population swirl around the production centres resulting in the development of slums. The high density leads to overcrowding, poor housing, malnutrition, air and water pollution, crime, juvenile delinquency, and similar problems which have been found to be concomitant with large urbo-industrial centres. Had these things been thought of at the time of their growth, the situation would not have been so grave. This has led the social scientists and planners to look at those growing centres which are
still at lower levels of production. Roy Burman (1961: 8) and Ranjit Gupta (1961: 87-88) observe that small urban centres do not face the above pathological constraints. For this reason the focus of this study is on such small towns.

In India, the number of small urban centres having population below 20,000 in 1961 was 1936 (764 with population above 20,000) constituting 71.7 per cent of the total number of urban centres and their percentage dropped to 70.36 in 1971. An understanding of the bases of growth of such towns and the patterns that emerge would be of immense value to the planners.

Growth of small towns helps in checking the haphazard growth of bigger towns caused by heavy influx of migrants. No wonder, such centres have in the past functioned as buffer-zones between rural hinterland and bigger towns or cities (Trivedi, 1976: 156-159). Further, the medium and small towns are potential growth points though their growth has been lower than that of the larger urban centres (Emrys Jones, 1970: 36; Vatsale Narain, 1975: 239). Also, if the standard of living of the rural population is to be improved, concentration has to be made on small towns for they serve as sub-stations for the spread of technological order and as centres of sublimation and modernization of traditional way of life a part of which is transmitted to the central cities contributing to the variegated national culture (Roy Burman, 1961: 8; Trivedi, 1976: 159). Small
towns are the focal points of social and economic activities for the surrounding areas and also the places of residence and location for the investment of many people (Gerald Hodge, 1966: 183-196). The growth of urban centres takes place in response to their hinterland. This response diverts the flow of migration to metropolitan centres bringing about balanced urban growth in the country (Rao, 1976: 3-7). On the other hand, the small urban settlements exert tremendous influence on the hinterland which they serve (Gutkind, 1964: 260-264). The dependence of a small town on its hinterland is well exemplified in Fiji where the urban concentration is the outcome of cane cultivation in its hinterland. Chauhan (1965: 1-24) finds more dependence in the case of Fiji than that of India. He concludes that this is because of a variety of things grown in the hinterlands of India. He further says that the transmission of urban way of life is more in Fiji than in India. This shows that there is more commutation between hinterland and town in the case of Fiji. Small towns provide facilities for storage, marketing, and such other activities along with the services required for improving agricultural practices in respect of agro-industries and small scale industries. This enhances the importance of small towns not only in the field of agricultural and rural development but also in the field of industrialization. The migration from rural areas due to economic and developmental activities leads to unplanned growth of settlement. Thus small centres which serve as
sub-stations for cultural and developmental activities cannot be ignored and that is why an attempt has been made to analyze such centres from the socio-ecological perspective.

Socio-ecological studies are concerned not only with the direct response of human beings to environment but also with the distribution and imposition of groups necessary for the exploitation of natural resources and the consequent indirect relationships which spring from these groupings within specific habitat (Duncan, 1973: 62). The field of social ecology includes the study of man's social structure as well as functions and that of the processes of interaction in region, occupation, and society — the sociological equivalents of environment, function, and organism which give rise to various social phenomena.

Social ecology has developed as a biological science despite the fact that relationship of organism to environment has pronounced geographical and social aspects. Park, Burgess, and McKenzie (1967: 63) introduced the term 'Human Ecology' which deals with the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment. The stress of Park et al has been on organism in relation to environmental factors but man can mould his environment reducing thereby its importance. On the other hand, when individuals are living in aggregate,
they form a system. The base of such a system (structure) lies in its function which is the driving force behind any concentration. This study of small towns is therefore concerned with the structure, the function, and their interaction which leads to spatial distribution of human groups and their activities.

To have an understanding of the structure of a town where population is spatially separated and territorially distributed, the socio-cultural approach becomes vital as all the feelings, knowings, and willings of human beings are the consequences of their cultural background. Mohsin (1964: 113) has applied socio-cultural approach to study the settlement pattern of small urbo-industrial town, Chittaranjan. He states that growth pattern is, to a lesser or greater extent, directly or indirectly, embedded in the socio-cultural matrix and group values. Maheshwari's study of Jharia town (1978: 35) also emphasizes the cultural approach. Kulkarni, who has done the same in case of Aurangabad town, reaches the conclusion that the nature and characteristics of settlement depends upon the cultural configuration of the population within a city (1976: 339-361 in Ferreira and Jha, 1976). Max Weber, Firey, and Kolb et al also stress cultural or social values in accounting for ecological structure of cities and since an individual is born and socialized in a particular culture, he has very little choice beyond his culture, set of beliefs, and so on. This approach seems
to be appropriate in the Indian context because of its variegated cultural heritage. So, socio-cultural approach has been applied here to study the structure of small towns.

A few scientists have departed from socio-cultural approach. Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, who are the pioneers of such studies, emphasize that relationships are the product of competition and selection, that is, social interaction. Although Park (1967: 1-46) highlights the impersonal, sub-social aspects of group structure, he concludes that these relationships arise and operate through ecological interaction and depend principally on social interaction. He has ignored the political and moral aspects of group structure. This indicates the influence of Biology on Park's thinking. Human beings as against plants and animals can make their choices about the interaction, and even the selective forces are moulded so as to suit the society. These selective forces are social sanctions, taboos, tariffs, and taxation. Thus cultural values sift and sort the social interaction pattern. Schnore (1958: 620-634) also holds that ultimate sources of human interaction are limited by cultural prescription and social control. That is why the stress of the study is on socio-cultural approach.

Socio-cultural factors change as society moves from rural to urban and industrial form. These changes are described as changes in the distribution of skills, in the
organization of productive activity, and in the composition of population. These changes are viewed as increasing in scale by Shevky and Bell (1955, cited in Johnston 1973: 78) who have used them to demarcate different social areas.

The structure of urban population in India is marked by an excess of men over women and an overall preponderance of people aged 20-40 years. Education is regarded as an important factor because towns show a great spread of literacy and education. Pethe (1964: 13) reveals that the requirements in getting jobs might lead to a great spread of education and literacy. Also, opportunities of employment and earning attract young persons particularly young males who gradually reduce the percentage of old persons as well as females in the total urban structure. Trivedi (1976: 17) find changes in the traditional form of family but not in the substance of the family as an institution. New forces of change have encouraged formal partition of joint family (though sentimental ties are still strong), diversification and specialization of occupations, appearance of community leaders, and factions. Desai (1964: 725) and Karve and Randive (1965: 114-120) suggest changes in intercaste relationship and diversification of occupational pattern. Govind Gare (1976: 220) who has found drastic changes in the traditional associations, says that city life may influence their (population) behaviour, customs, values, and beliefs. The residential pattern shows affiliation by
caste, religion, language, and such other criteria which draw a man towards the group he belongs to more or less by birth. He further states that the same factors may also form the basis of stratification. In fact, caste still remains the traditional form of social stratification as existence of a stratification order of higher and lower valuation of social positions is inherent in all societies (Lipset and Bendix, 1959: 203). According to Gist (1968: 183), the residential segregation is on the basis of racial, cultural, religious, or ethnic preferences or prejudices. Even Bose (1965: 604-605) observes the same. D'Souza (1977: 201-212), in his study of Dandeli, reaches the conclusion that people have grouped on the basis of their caste, religion, language, and regional differences and this tendency is more marked in the lower socio-economic categories whereas people in the higher prestige occupations and higher socio-economic categories pattern their social relationships on the basis of occupational prestige differences. The access to higher occupations is controlled by education. The high caste people have greater opportunities to attain specific skills and education and as a result, they are over-represented while lower castes are under-represented (D'Souza, 1975: 285-291). Mohsin (1964: 145), on the basis of the study of Chittaranjan, concludes that industrial order has not loosened the hold of caste in the matter of occupational choice. Thus the urban social structure has its distinct and unique feature.

Social structure has a base which may be termed as
the life/function of the urban settlement. Functions are the driving force of city life and, to a large extent, influence its growth and morphology (Amrit Lal, 1959: 12-24). Also, the form and growth of the urban areas are affected by its function (Singh, 1959: 121-148). Cities with different functions have different patterns of location (Hawley, 1950: 224). The trade centres will be located along the transport routes whereas the industrial ones at the place of easy access to raw material, the availability of man-power, and marketing facilities. Freund (1978: 226-232) argues that lack of industrial concentration, high quality transportation system, and a skilled labour force may effect the establishment of an industrial base. The functional importance has been stressed by many scientists as Guha (1962: 91-96) points out that Calcutta has attained its present size for being the biggest trade and manufacturing centre. The commercial and mining function of Jharia town has resulted in its growth to its present size (Maheshwari, 1978: 35). Similarly the manufacturing function of Fiji towns has resulted in the growth of population around factories (Chauhan, 1965: 1-24). Therefore, the function of a town not only draws the population but also determines the size of the population.

Towns with different kinds of major economic functions have varying potentialities for growth and industrial towns have the highest growth potential (Suri, 1968: 1247-1251). Modern towns have developed from the centres of commerce
to the centres of industry (Reimer, 1953: 36). Characterized by transport and industry, they have grown faster than other towns. The towns of West Bengal have grown because of rapid industrialization especially of western type though, on the other hand, total residential towns are nothing but over-grown villages (Bhattacharya, 1969: 103-116). This shows that industrial towns have greater potentialities for growth. Weber (1899: 170) states that no city or town can come into existence without trade and commerce. So these two functions - industry as well as trade and commerce - are important factors for the growth of urban areas; hence the stress of present study is on towns of such type.

Further, D'Souza (1976: 349-365) testifies that the area/region served by the town is more important for its growth. Ramana and Sarma (1975: 25-32) are also of the opinion that growth and development of urban centres is in response to the demand of its hinterlands. Industrial and commercial functions result in mass production, transfer, and distribution of goods and services for the city's hinterland. This justifies the need of studying industrial and commercial towns.

As their functions are the basis of existence and growth of towns, it is possible that the towns will vary in their social structure because the social organization of the population and that of their activities are related with the economic function of an area (Freund, 1978: 226-232). In the Indian context, where the division of
society is based on caste and where caste and occupations are related (Bhattacharya, 1969: 103-116), the functional character of the town will have a bearing on the structure of the society. Bhattacharya (1969: 106) observes that Ghatal is famous for earthen pots and, as such, more potter families are found in that town. Similarly, weavers around 18th century have been responsible for the prosperity of handloom trade in Serampore (Ray, 1969: 256). Such relationship is also observed by Bagchi and Sen (1963: 243-250). They state that commercial activities to a great extent are a result of the pioneering efforts of Marwari community whereas religious and cultural activities have taken shape under the inspiring leadership of Brahmo-Samaj. Mohsin (1964: 145) further substantiates by stating that industrial order has not loosened the hold of caste in the matter of occupational choice. The close association of caste with occupation is also emphasized by Trivedi (1976: 55) when he finds that Grain and Gur market towns are strongholds of Bania merchants. So under Indian circumstances, caste has a relationship with occupation and it will be explored how far this relationship exists in the towns under study.

Other kinds of structural differences have also been found in populations of towns. Schnore and Winsborough (1972: 124-151) conclude that manufacturing towns tend to be inhabited chiefly by persons with lower level of education and retail trade centres with higher level of educational
attainment. A similar study in Punjab (Prabha, 1979: 47) reveals that towns dominated by secondary activities have the largest number of literates whereas those by primary activities hold a very poor literacy rate. Also, Reiss (1957: 565) observes that manufacturing towns have substantially a large proportion of craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers as compared with other functional towns. Mukerjee (1940: 149) finds that urban economy has raised the social status or position of traders and manufacturers over that of the landlords. Weber (1899: 159) argues that traders play influential role in the local power structure. As a result, traders and manufacturers have raised their position by replacing the landlords. Hence the two functional towns under study will be examined for variation in their social hierarchy and local power structure.

The interaction between structure and function gives a spatial pattern which depends upon economic or cultural factors. Alonso (1964: 227-231) argues that the choice of the individual family to live in the inner or peripheral part of the town is determined by the assessment of the importance of land inputs as against community inputs (rent against transport charges) and the income level. The classic analysis depends much upon the free market forces in determining the residential structure (Robson, 1969: 235-252). But, for Johnston (1973: 77-89), the basis of city structure lies in human values. As the city increases in population, the subtler influence of sympathy, rivalry,
and economic necessity tend to control the distribution of population. The social and economic organization based on family ties, association or culture, caste, and status changes with the division of labour. As a result, an organization based entirely on occupational and vocational interests emerges. Thus, for Johnston, cultural and economic forces determine the spatial pattern.

Mukerjee (1968: 145) has, no doubt, stressed the cultural rather than the economic factors which govern the spatial distribution of commodities and services. Mehta (1968: 496-508), in his study of Poona, concludes that social, economic, and cultural forces sift and sort population groups in such a manner that a characteristic residential pattern emerges. Besides religion, the regimentation of castes and sub-castes has affected the ecological pattern of cities (Mukerjee, 1940: 149). So the social, cultural, and economic forces provide a spatial pattern. The spatial pattern of the towns under study will be analyzed on the basis of what McKenzie (1968: 23) describes as the ecological factors that control the direction of urban growth and structure.

Ecological factors are (i) geographic including climate, topography, and resource conditions; (ii) economic which comprise a wide range and variety of phenomena such as the nature and organization of local industries, occupational distribution, and standard of living of the people; (iii) cultural and technical which include, in
addition to the prevailing conditions of arts, the moral attitudes and taboos that are effective in the distribution of population and services; and (iv) political and administrative measures such as tariff, taxation, immigration, laws, and rules governing public utilities.

For Weber (1899: 157-158), concentration is primarily a product of economic forces. Tilly (1968: 89) has also emphasized the economic importance as he states that the concentration of the medieval period is marked by commerce and that of nineteenth century by mass production. Between 6000-4000 B.C. (the period of Neolithic culture), diverse technological innovations such as ox-drawn plough and wheeled cart, the sail boat, metallurgy, irrigation, and the domestication of plants facilitated the concentration to a great extent. The concentration in Mesopotamia, India, and Egypt was primarily around agricultural economy. Handicrafts had only a secondary role. Most of the North American urban centres owe their growth to the means of transportation especially the automobile. The growth of harbour cities is the result of geographical factors. Such cities acquire trade and industrial character due to the availability of resources which facilitate trade among different regions. Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta in India are the urban centres where the concentration is marked by geographical factors. Similarly the concentration effected by the cultural values leads to the growth of university towns, the centres of dispersion of ways of life.
The church, the mosque, or the temple have also been the concentrating points. The growth of Mecca is mainly due to its cultural values and the main mosque is the point around which population concentration has taken place. This indicates that each of the ecological factors has its importance and the resultant concentration is due to the interplay of these factors.

Hawley (1950: 238) finds that the orderly arrangement in space is determined by (i) inter-dependence among men (ii) the dependence of activities or functions upon various characteristics of land and (iii) the friction of space. The first two account for the tendency for a pattern to develop while the third affects the size and the specific shape the pattern acquires. All these factors are not independent of each other; under differential factor combination, different types of human settlements and their activities come up. Historical background of a settlement provides a clue to its growth and development and it is, therefore, imperative to have this knowledge in order to understand the development of its socio-ecological pattern in a systematic and conceptual manner.

The processes which give a definite form and structure to an urban area are termed by human ecologists as 'Ecological Processes'. These are Concentration, Centralization, Segregation, Invasion, and Succession. Concentration implies the tendency of an increasing number of persons to settle in a given area or region; it is more
dynamic and unpredictable under the modern forms of transportation and communication. Within such concentration, people centralize in a pattern that suits their cultural matrix and interests the best. Such interests develop according to specific need satisfaction, namely work, education, health, and the like. Through centralization, population is dispersed in different areas within a given territory. Segregation refers to concentration of population types within a community. Forces of selection play a dominant role in the segregation of population. This segregation leads to a hierarchical order in such a way that a relationship of super-ordinate and sub-ordinate emerges. Further, it is always the super-ordinates who command prestigious places and also the privileges thereof. Being in a commanding position, they start the invasion of other places to their own advantage thus over-riding other economic activities or groups. Such invasion results in a conflict which is again resolved at the level of authority vested in the hands of super-ordinates. When the group or an activity is completely removed, another group or activity succeeds, which is called succession. Invasion and succession go hand in hand. The interplay of these ecological processes gives a definite shape to the urban area; it is described by Hurd as star shaped, by Burgess as circular, and by Harris and Ullman as sectoral. These are called 'Ecological Models'.

The first theory of ecological processes known as
'Star theory' is attributed to R.M. Hurd (1903 cited in Wilson and Schulz, 1978: 42). It suggests that city grows from its centre along major transportation arteries resulting in a star-shaped configuration. The population concentrates within a walkable distance of the transportation routes. This theory explains the spatial location of the population with the help of areal typology.

Concentric zone theory (Burgess, 1925: 51-55) contends that the development of city's activities, its residence, business, and industries in its beginning stage are concentrated in a central area taking a circular form. Expansion results in another circular zone. The first becomes 'the down town or loop' where economic and social activities are centred. The second zone becomes a zone of transition, that is, an area in which industry and business are gradually occupying the space and from which residents are moving out into the developing outer-zones. The second zone often becomes a 'zone of deterioration'. As industry and business gradually occupy more space, deterioration of buildings takes place and general neglect of the area results in slums. With development and expansion, another 'zone of working men' develops for those who want to live within the easy reach of their work-place. Encircling this zone is the 'residential zone' occupied by exclusive apartment houses and residences of the wealthy. Surrounding it is 'sub-urban' or 'commuter' zone where middle class people, businessmen, and white collar workers reside. These zones are constantly
pressing and encroaching upon one another. Burgess identifies this tendency as 'Succession'. The process is cyclical in nature.

The theory of Hoyt (1939) is, however, different from the above spatial theories because his analysis is based on rental value from three points of time. He stresses that the spatial development takes place along the axis of transportation. The dependence on transportation destroys the symmetrical development of cities. High rent residential areas tend to drift away from the point of origin, either along travel routes or already existing buildings or market areas (cited in Thomlinson, 1969: 146-147). But changes in the mode and the network of transportation have changed the trend towards an even distribution of population.

Harris and Ullman (1945) point to the possibility of poly-nuclear cities. Their approach is based on the fact that modern industrial cities usually develop several business centres, industrial centres, and residential centres. The poly-nuclear centres act independently and population growth takes place along these centres. The reason for the development of various nuclei is that certain activities require special resources and are concentrated in areas where such resources are located (cited in Hatt and Reiss, 1957: 237-247).

All these theories are based on the spatial development pattern of big metropolitan industrial cities of the United States. Obviously, they suit a particular stage of history reflecting a certain level of technological growth,
socio-economic organization, and cultural complexes. Such patterns are ideal types and no city follows them exactly.

Chicago, on which Burgess's theory of concentric zones is based, is situated on the shore of a lake which acts as a barrier for the exact circular shape to develop. Zoning pattern does exist in that metropolitan city, but another industrial metropolitan city, Houston, does not exhibit the same pattern (Coppola, 1979: 24-29). In most towns in the Middle-Eastern countries, it is difficult to trace a clear pattern. Kuwait and Beirut have been able to develop concentrically because of their physical location but their zoning patterns are not clear; commercial zones are half commercial and half residential (Breese, 1969: 111). Hoyt sees city as a circle, various areas as sectors radiating from the centre. But the presence of central business district or loop is stressed by every social scientist. Tokyo, one of the largest cities in the world, depends mainly on its role as the capital and a commercial-centre. But imperial palace is the nucleus around which the city has grown (Tilly, 1968: 88). Life seems to swirl around it rather than any other focal point. In China, a fundamental type of city has three contrasting zones - a small enclosure which is aristocratic and administrative centre, industrial and commercial quarters with residence in a large enclosure, and farm-land immediately beyond the city wall (John and Eyles, 1977: 141). So it is not necessary that central point should be a commercial one; it can be administrative, religious,
In the light of the above theories, studies were conducted on Indian cities. Most of the studies indicate a pattern somewhat similar to that described by Burgess. Most of the traditional Indian cities owe their development to religious places and, as such, the religious seat is the core or loop around which population concentration has taken place. Banaras, for example, comprises three zones: inner zone which is the religious centre and is thickly populated, middle zone which is the transitional area, and outer zone which has open space, good residential houses, and kachha (mud) dwellings. The middle zone is commercially important but the central zone has not only maintained the tempo of trade and commerce but also recorded expansion in business activities (Singh, 1955: 46-48). In Madurai, the temple is the nucleus and the growth tended to be concentric in its earliest stage (Sunderam and Chandrashekhara, 1968: 55-63), but with further development, growth started around a number of nuclei. Venkatarayappa's study of Bangalore (1957: 123-146) indicates the presence of different zones typifying a particular activity in preponderance though its total distribution may be scattered. Commercial activities tend to be in the heart of the city. Middle class areas are nearer to the business zone. Ujagir Singh (1959: 67), in his study of Allahabad, states three zones – central business district, middle zone, and outer zone. In the central and the middle zones, most of the business activities exist along with
residence. But the spatial growth of Giridh (Bagchi and Sen, 1963: 243-250) depends on its nodality by way of offering facilities for gathering raw material like coal, mica, and copper etc. from the neighbouring regions. Kar (1960: 54) observes that the spatial distribution of population in Calcutta shows a concentric pattern. The city life of Gorakhpur (Mukerjee and Singh, 1965: 1-7) is focussed on the central business district and the pattern of the areas adjacent to it is constantly changing due to infiltration of business and industry from the zone of transition. In accordance with Hoyt's generalization regarding residential growth, the upper, the middle, and the lower class residential areas in Hyderabad city are grouped in different sectors and expanded outward in the same sector (Manzoor Alam, 1976: 470). Residential segregation is significantly influenced by linguistic factors, and within any one of these groups, further segregation takes place by income levels. But in most of the urban areas, segregation is found to be on the basis of clan or kindred, occupation or caste or community rather than on economic basis. Mohsin's finding (1964: 85), however, runs contrary to this observation. According to him, instead of caste, creed, and ethnic considerations, income level is the main force behind the spatial groupings of population. The elite groups reside in the farthest residential zone from the centre whereas workers' bustis (colonies) have sprung up adjoining the central business district and industrial areas (Mukerjee and Singh, 1965: 2). An urban survey of Bangalore (Singh, 1964:
65-81) reveals that the main activities are located near the commercial centre but different concentrated points are found to be depending upon the social and economic utility of the function. Jindal's study of Nathdwara (1976: 439) reveals that the entire social structure and economy of the town have been made to rotate around the temple. Similarly the entire concentration of Nabha (Kamra, 1982: 111-119) revolves around its fort, temple, and main market (Sadar Bazar). The study shows the absence of multiple-nuclei pattern and sectoral growth and at the same time, it substantiates the dominance of city centre. A study of Ludhiana in Punjab shows that in the growth of the town, the central zone is associated with the development of the core of the city (Auluck, 1980: 30-31). All these studies relate to large and medium urban centres. In the present study, an attempt has been made to find whether small towns follow the same zoning pattern as the big towns do or develop around different nuclei.

Although different studies indicate the importance of Burgess's concentric zone theory, yet Indian cities which have grown due to religious or military activities do not conform to the same zoning pattern. Moreover, they have agricultural base and the role of industry is not effective to the extent that a complex industrial character may emanate. Although Tilly (1968: 92) says that the industrial form is practically superseding all others in most parts of the world, yet, Indian urban centres have pre-industrial characteristics in preponderance.
Sjoberg's hypothesis that position in the social structure determines access to scarce resources such as power and wealth, which in turn influence the spatial structure and access to spatial resources, still holds good. The pre-industrial city mainly consists of elite residences—palaces and large houses associated with centres of power, religion, and government. The underprivileged fan out towards the periphery with the poorest and the outcastes living in the suburbs farthest removed from the centre. Such cities are small owing to limited productivity of agriculture and means of transportation (Sjoberg, 1960: 91-103) and are encircled by a wall. The access to the city is through gates. Almost all the economic, commercial, and trade activities are confined to the centre which is the main marketing place. The socio-economic profile is directly proportional to the distance from the city centre. The segregation is on the basis of caste, kinship, race, and ethnic status reflecting their occupational status. There is generally no difference between place of work and place of residence. All these characteristics are depicted in one or the other form by the Indian urban centres (Kamra, 1982: 112; Auluck, 1980: 87-93).

Contrary to the pre-industrial cities, the industrially growing cities depend on advanced industrial urban base. The industrial cities revolve around a commercial and/or industrial focus. There is a high degree of specialization in land use. Residential and occupational sites tend to
be separated. The upper and middle socio-economic groups tend to reside beyond the city core leaving central area to various low status groups besides the elements of the elite. The secular rather than sacred or traditional values prevail (Sjoberg, 1965 cited in Hauser and Schnore, 1965: 213-253). As the studies on Indian towns do not depart from the pre-industrial character, it becomes imperative to see this spatial pattern in the light of pre-industrial and modern industrial type.

The study of Punjab towns reveals that the urban areas are expanding horizontally rather than vertically. Also, the urban dwellers are not facing the usual horrors of city life in terms of environmental pollution, over-crowding, crime etc. (Prabha, 1979: 5). Further, small towns of Punjab have more characteristics of rural areas. The study by Gupta (1976: 2) points out that socially small towns are closer to rural areas linking the urban complex with the rural hinterland. He goes to the extent of saying that small town is a socio-geographic extension of the village. Further, the small towns of Punjab located on the main road or railway routes have relatively higher densities than the distant towns.

The discussion so far underlines the importance of small urban towns. In order to have an insight into their socio-ecological development, focus has to be on their structure, function, and spatial pattern. With the help of socio-cultural approach, this comparative study
endeavours to explore the following assumptions:

a) that a town has a distinct structure and it (structure) varies with its predominant function;
b) that a town draws various socio-cultural groups in accordance with its predominant function;
c) that the interaction between structure and function gives it a definite spatial pattern; and
d) that this spatial pattern varies with the predominant function of the town.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will help in understanding the growth of small towns and the emergence of their spatial pattern. It will further highlight the functional importance of towns especially the changes in structure that arise out of different functions. It will also signify the role of caste in determining the function of the town.

The study may lead to certain generalisations which can be of help in understanding urban growth pattern. Hence useful to city planners, human ecologists, and geographers in designing their plans for future urban growth so as to avoid such pathological problems as are concomitant with large urban centres.

Further, the study being comparative in nature, it will find better applicability with planners.