CHAPTER - FIVE

CONCLUSION
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gainst the backdrop of preceding analysis, it was observed that cities are relatively a recent development in the long course of human history but it is difficult to say when the term city came into being.

Jericho, a settlement located to the north of Dead sea in present-day Israel in 8000 B.C., could be called the first city as suggested by archaeologists (J.J.Macionis, 1987). Following Jericho, as archaeologists claim, other permanent settlements developed in the Middle East, including Catal Huyuk in present day Turkey. About 4000 B.C. numerous cities were flourishing in the fertile crescent region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and soon after the Nile river in Egypt.

Cities also originated independently in at least three other ecologically favourable areas of the world. Some of the large and complex cities existed in the Indus river region of present day Pakistan about 2500 B.C. Chinese cities are believed to date from at least 2000 B.C. In Central and South America, urban centres dated back to about 1500 B.C.

Urbanization in Europe as the study reveals, dates back to 1800 B.C. on the Mediterranean Island of Crete. Urbanization gradually spread through out Greece, resulting in more than one hundred city-states, of which Athens was by far the most famous and stood apart as a historical example of a positive
potential of urban life. It was followed by urbanization on large scale during the Roman Empire in the 1st century A.D., encompassed much of northern Africa, Europe and the Middle East and city of Rome, with roughly 1 million inhabitants, became the centre of this growing empire. On the decline of these two successive empires, numerous cities including London, Paris, and Vienna, were founded all across Europe. But, the fall of Roman Empire initiated a period of urban decline and stagnation throughout Europe, and it was only after 11th century, a revival of trade sparked by the Christian crusades to the Middle East gave new life to European cities such as Venice and Florence.

It was only after the 17th century and the beginning of 18th century the European cities under went tremendous demographic change. The end of 19th century experienced a five fold increase in population in almost all European cities to the population at the beginning of the century. These cities continued to grow during the 20th century primarily of large scale industrialization.

Urbanization in North America was an outcome of European civilization in the 6th century. But, the story of American urbanization actually began with the founding of New Amsterdam (later called New York) in 1624 by Dutch. Today the United States is one of the most urban societies in the world.

Examining the history of the evolution of urbanization in India, we discovered that this phenomenon shares a deep and long relation with the Indian sub-continent. The history of urbanization in India goes back to the remote past. Mohanjo Daro and Harrapa were amongst some of the oldest cities of the world which had the privilege of spoon feeding the urban civilization in its infancy. Cities like Delhi and Patna, Varanasi and Prayaga
have maintained their urban tradition through hundreds of years and still conceal in their ruins India's glorious heritage.

From around 600 B.C., one comes across towns and cities associated with the two major, but closely related, cultural streams of India, namely the Aryan civilization of the North and Dravidian civilization of the South. From this period onwards, for about 2500 years, India has had continuous urbanization though with certain fluctuations.

Cities grew in number and size during the Mauryan and the post-Mauryan periods both in Northern India as well as in the extreme south (300 B.C. to 600 A.D.), and declined and were largely neglected during the post-Gupta period (A.D. 600 to A.D. 1000) in northern India.

Under the influence of Muslim rulers, urbanization in northern India flourished on a subdued scale. The Mughal period (A.D. 1526 - 1800) stands as a second high water mark of urbanization, the first occurring during the Mauryan period.

The colonial policy of the British administrators and the modernization of transportation had two-fold impact on Indian urbanization. While on the one hand, port cities swelled beyond proportion and few more towns and cities came up as administrative and manufacturing centres, on the other hand, it reduced into insignificance the older towns. Hence urbanization entered a new and more important phase in the post-independence period. Rapid urbanization, particularly of one lakh and a million cities is an important feature of Indian society. There has been nearly a three-fold increase in India's urban population, from 62 million in 1951 to 159 million in 1981.
Coming to the evaluation of origin and evolution of urbanization in Jammu and Kashmir State, though origin of towns dates back to the remote past in 3650 BC in Jammu region and 631 A.D. in Kashmir Valley. But, because of frequent vicissitudes and unabated political disturbances, it was only in the Ilnd half of the medieval period urbanization in Kashmir region under the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin gained initial momentum and reached a remarkable phase with Srinagar as a fortified city under the Mughal kingdom.

The Jammu region was no more an exception to the political disturbances and social chaos, and it was only in medieval period during the reign of Gulab Singh, urbanization took an initial start and under the rule of Maharaja Partap Singh under went a fillip.

The major difference, the two regions experienced under Sikh rule was; on one hand, in Jammu city many developmental works took place, a number of temples, roads, canals were built. And on the other hand, Kashmir region and Srinagar city as capital was made a confused mass of urban decline (Moorcraft, 1989).

After 1947, both the cities of Jammu and Srinagar experienced uninterrupted growth and process of urbanization with ever increasing allocation of funds from the Centre and State Governments for developmental schemes. Both the Centre and State are making enormous investments in the construction of colonies, offices, institutions and in giving an attractive cosmetic design to the two cities. Besides, a large number of administrative, educational and medical institutions, recreational centres, parks and playing fields have been located in both the cities because of their centrality in their respective regions.
Moreover, the city of Jammu is quite fast on the way to urbanization leaving far behind the city of Srinagar. The reasons of this phenomenon are rooted in the disturbed social and economic conditions in the Kashmir region and therefore, an impediment in the developmental works in the city of Srinagar.

On analysing the magnitude of urbanization in developed and developing countries it was discovered that the rate of urbanization in the less developed countries is much greater than in the world on the whole. The rate of demographic growth as a main concomitant of urbanization in the big cities of Asia and Latin America, and indeed throughout the developing countries, is quite unprecedented in the history of human race. In many of the large cities of these countries, the population is growing at the rate 6 to 10 per cent a year. Some towns are witnessing two-fold increase in their size in less than a decade. This greatly exceeds what happened in England or the other industrialized countries in the 19th century.

The proliferation of big cities - defined as those with no less than one million inhabitants - is remarkable. In 1950, there were only 75 such cities in the world, and two-thirds of them were in the industrialized countries. The United Nation's estimates revealed that by 1985, there would be 273 big cities and a majority of them would be in the developing countries (U.N. report, 1957).

Migration from the rural areas is often high, or greatly exceeding, the very high rates of natural increase in the great cities of Asia and Latin America. In many cities, a majority of the inhabitants consist of migrants or the children of migrants. These inhabitants were either with little money or possessions, with little formal education and no experience of urban life.
On scrutinizing the socio-historical background of the process of urbanization in the two cities of Jammu and Srinagar, it was observed that both have political bases and historical importance. Both the cities have functioned and prospered through out ages as the regional focal centres owing to their strategic and geographical locations. Both the regions, Jammu and Kashmir can safely be characterized as city-centered regions. Both the cities have not only been the largest urban centres in terms of population size and areal sprawl, but are also the rapidly growing cities in their respective regions. These have been the central places in socio-economic life, the nerve centres of political activities, the seats of religio-cultural movements and epicentres in the spatial framework.

The urban situation in the two regions is spatially and structurally imbalanced. The urban situation has emerged in the primacy of Jammu and Srinagar resulting into the polarization of socio-cultural activities and concentration of urban population of Jammu and Srinagar cities and virtual stagnation in other urban centres of the two regions. The Jammu and Srinagar cities constitute 68.85 and 66.57 per cent of total urban population in their respective regions. Jammu city is nine (9) times larger in population size to its next urban centre Udhampur in the region. Whereas Srinagar city is seventeen (17) times larger than Anantnag (its next urban centre).

On focussing the existing social situation in the two cities, we have referred to the two orientations by Max Weber and Louis Wirth. The formulation by Max Weber, how major religions and cultural orientations and traditions of the major civilizations, as well as their carriers as they fully evolved in different societies, have influenced the various patterns of urban social relations and movements, fully elaborated in his "Gesammelte Aufratze
Cities in various cultures diverge in some facets of their ecological and social structures and only distinctive value orientations can account for certain dissimilarities among cities in varying cultures, and the other orientation of Louis Wirth "Urbanism as a way of life". Urbanism as a way of life is typified by secularization, segmented social roles, and purely defined norms: it is a world of tenuous relationships. These two orientations have been formulated, but not strictly, as the background assumptions. Our main aim in focussing on the social dimensions and implications of urbanization in J & K state was to examine that how for urbanism prevailing in the two cities of Jammu and Srinagar is a blend of the two orientations of Weber and Wirth. Besides, many theories were taken into account for consideration of formulating them as background assumptions of this study, but were dropped for being irrelevant in the prevailing social scene. However, this was only a part of enquiry, its principal object was to study the comparative dimension of the impact of urbanization in the two cities.

Urbanization as the term is used in this study involves the familiar sociological concepts of acculturation, diffusion, assimilation and even amalgamation – although it involves much more. In this study, the term implies a cultural and social psychological process where by people acquire the material and non material culture, including behavioural patterns, forms of organization, and ideas that originate in, or are distinctive of, the city. Although the flow of cultural influences is in both directions – both toward and away from city.

In the following discussion of urbanization and its impact we will draw concluding remarks about how certain reputedly urban characteristics have
been diffused, and how this diffusion, and the acculturative process associated with it, becomes a feature of social change.

City life doesn't provide the favourable environment for the joint family. Consequently, there is a tendency towards the nuclearization of the family unit. There are several reasons for change. The desire for better upbringing of children, lack of accommodation, materialistic outlook have emerged as main background forces for break down of joint family system. 61:60 per cent respondents in the two cities respectively, who had adopted nuclear families, majority expressed, upbringing of children as main reason. Quite expectingly, the majority of the respondents expressing upbringing of children as main reason for adopting nuclear families, belonged to educated and highly educated categories of respondents in both the cities of Jammu and Srinagar (60 and 57:62 and 43) respectively.

The major difference of opinion for shift to nuclear families was lying in the lack of accommodation. 30 per cent respondents in Jammu city in comparison to only 7.5 per cent respondents in Srinagar city had adopted nuclear families. The reason for this huge difference was the presence of huge migrant, unskilled manual labour in Jammu city as compared to Srinagar city.

Besides, shift to nuclearization of families, the functions like socialization and care of children, old-age care, parental authority have undergone change though insignificant. The reasons for this change were multiple. But, the impact of electronic media together with poverty among lower classes, and education among upper and middle classes were main determinants for this change in both the cities.

The findings of this study have divulged that urbanization has resulted in the transformation of the institution of marriage in both the cities, though
with certain difference. The number of respondents allowing their children to go for self choice marriages (12.5:6.6) or entering into discussion with their children and showing little or no resistance to the choice of their children (65:23.3), was more in Jammu city than in Srinagar.

In almost all spheres of the institution of marriage except caste, be itself choice marriages, inter-religious marriages or dowry, Jammu people were more liberal and flexible, under the dominant impact of urbanization. The reasons for caste rigidity in Jammu city, and flexibility in Srinagar city were religious. Caste consciousness was more deep rooted among the educated and highly educated categories of the respondents in both the cities.

The nature of the payment of *mahra* was in contradiction with prescribed norms of religion, in both the cities. 86.2:50.92 per cent respondents in the two cities respectively expressed that they used to pay only half of the *mahra* fixed at the time of marriage. 3.4 per cent in Jammu city and 46.29 per cent in Srinagar city used to pay full amount of *mahra* at the time of marriage. The reasons of this huge difference were the marked difference of religious composition in the two cities, besides, people in Srinagar city exaggerated about this phenomenon as observed.

Divorce rate in both the cities as the finding reveals was markedly low (1 to 2 per cent). Diversification of occupations is by far the most important feature of urbanization. The results drawn by this study that how for the occupational diversity exists in the two cities and what is the role of occupations in shaping the human behaviour revealed that 23.75 per cent in Jammu city and 15 per cent in Srinagar city were involved in primary sector. Some of them were additionally involved in animate jobs of chowkidars, home servants etc. Increased number of respondents in both the cities of Jammu and
Srinagar were involved in tertiary activities (42.7:38.66), an important feature of urbanization. Besides, increased number of respondents in both the cities of Jammu and Srinagar i.e., 52.5:67.5 per cent respectively had undergone occupational mobility whereas many of the migrant respondents had retained their parental occupation.

Urbanization characterises a city with a variety of residences existing within it – In every city, a number of processes operate within the framework of topographic and cultural settings to bring about an understandable spatial pattern of residences. Majority of the respondents 76:78 per cent in the two cities respectively preferred residential colonies either on the basis of education or prestige. The respondents who preferred the particular colonies on the basis of education were either the residents of these colonies or were willing to reside in these colonies. The main reason in support of this view they expressed was proper socialization of their children. Those who resided or wanted to reside in posh colonies had ‘prestige’ as basic criterion for this choice, as they belonged to educated/upper class community.

On assessing the impact of urbanization on the literacy/educational structure of the two cities, the study indicates a clear picture of tremendous effect. 72:68 per cent literacy/educational ratio existent in the two cities respectively is far more than the national average of 50 per cent.

The increased concentration of educational institutions together with mass social awareness and availability of job opportunities under the impact of urbanization has given a sharp rise to literacy/educational ratio among the people in the two cities. Employment, better marriage market and status consciousness were additional reasons for increase in education/literacy ratio.
Further the findings revealed that education and economy had a co-relation. As literacy/educational ratio was more in economically better off families, besides a stratified educational system had come into being. The children from poor families were receiving their education in government schools, whereas families from middle and upper class strata had their children in public and convent schools.

Religion, as our study revealed has undergone secularization and bears a certain co-relation with education and economic well being of the people. Though absolute majority of the respondents (86.5:87.83%), in the two cities of Jammu and Srinagar had consensus over the integrative and hormonious role of religion, but had moulded and translated the religion according to their own wishes. Religion is used to serve the wishes and desires of people instead of becoming an impediment in earning money through unfair means. Besides, the impact of religion was seen more in Srinagar city than in Jammu. This phenomenon had its roots in the huge migrant population in Jammu city than in Srinagar.

Moreover, the number of people offering *Nimaz, pooja* at the proper time as prescribed in the religious texts was more in Srinagar city than in Jammu city (27:18.25). The reasons for this difference were feelings of insecurity in Srinagar city and increased life expectancy in Jammu city.

While analysing the impact of urbanization on the shift from local indigenous languages and how for it contributes to language consciousness, it has come to the fore, that in both the cities people are shifting from local languages of Dogri in Jammu (30.75%) and Kashmiri in Srinagar (32.05%). The local languages are being replaced by Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu, English. In both the cities this phenomenon shares a co-relation with education and
economy of the people. Besides, it was observed that the economy had great role in retaining/not retaining the local language.

Besides, it was also observed that language consciousness as an ethnic element in both the cities of Jammu and Srinagar was very much present among the masses; though with certain difference (21.5:17.5%).

The impact of mass media together with urbanization had encroached upon almost all spheres of life. There was general agreement among the masses in both the cities that, besides being an element of information and entertainment, it has led to the increase in crime rate by invigorating the criminal tendencies among the people. It has also with greater intensity influenced the consumer behaviour of people, particularly younger generation, besides improving the conditions of women.

On analysing the variable of migration, the most important factor of urbanization, its determinants and cumulative impact it was ascertained that number of migrant population was more in Jammu city (56.25%) than in Srinagar (51.66%). The obvious reasons for this situation were that Jammu city had more physical proximity to other Indian states, besides being peaceful in comparison to Srinagar city. Moreover, the quality of life of the migrants belonging to lower strata was quite poor and their demographic ratio in comparison to migrants belonging to upper and middle strata was increased.

Further, it was observed that number of migrants who had altogether divorced the relations with their kins in their native places was more in Jammu city than in Srinagar city (48:38%). Rest who had retained partial or strong relations with their kins were more in Srinagar city than in Jammu city (36:32%) and (25:17.3%). The reasons for this phenomenon were religious and cultural.
On ascertaining the information about the place and quality of women in the two cities, the over all situation about this phenomenon that came into being was that in both the cities women employment was welcome at large mainly for economic reasons. These new roles have afforded women more independence, more prestige and better male selection. Besides, divorce and inheritance rights of women were favoured though by a little number of respondents in Jammu city than in Srinagar city, for which the reasons were religious. Late marriage as a problem of women connected with urbanization was reported by huge number of respondents in both the cities. Harassment and exploitation was also reported but not at large.

The situation of gender rights has also improved as the study reveals. In both the cities inheritance rights were favoured, though by a small number of people. This phenomenon has also a co-relation with education and economic standard of the people. The number of respondents favouring inheritance and divorce rights increases in relation to the higher economic and educational standard. This aspect to social life, as was felt is in transition.

The study, while analysing the disruptive effects of urban residence, highlights that both the cities, under the long term impact of urbanization have not remained unaffected by the problems which bear informal relationship with the urbanization in third world countries. Housing and poverty were the main problems which haunt the people in both the cities. Besides, drug addiction, alcoholism, fear psychosis are the problems being faced by the people in the two cities. Commercial sex though reported by a meagre number of people has further accentuated the situation.

While analysing the cumulative impact of urbanization and the comparative it has brought about in the social life of people inhabiting the two
cities, it was observed that except a minor difference in the magnitude of in certain spheres, the impact whatever, was similar.

The Jammu people in comparison to the urbanites of Srinagar city had considerably resisted the impact of urbanization on caste and endogamous marriages, whereas, in Srinagar city the element of caste and resistance to exogamous marriages were not so strong. But in either of the situations religion and culture had a dominant role.

The social aspects which have witnessed considerable in Jammu city under the impact of urbanization were Self choice marriage, Family planning, Mosque/Temple attendance and the condition of migrants. Jammu people as observed were more responsive to family planning, besides the temple/mosque attendance had decreased. The flow of migrant population was more in Jammu city and their quality of life was poor than the migrants in Srinagar city. The reasons for this kind of situation were more urban than the interference of any indigenous local force.

After this continuous struggle between urbanization and local indigenous forces to dominate each other in terms of influencing the social aspects of life in the two cities, it was discovered that in most areas of the social life the impact of both the forces was either quite similar or if dissimilar but the level of the dissimilarity was quite insignificant. These aspects included, family, marriage, (except self choice marriage), economy, religion, language, women etc.

The abstract documentation of this study revealed that urbanization in both the cities of Jammu and Srinagar has led to a visible shift of the two societies from tradition to modernity whereby people and the social world around them experienced a new perspective and broadened outlook. Yet
there was also an evidence of complete or partial rejection of certain aspects of urban culture. This was manifest in competition between sentiments and loyalties directed towards city culture or the greater social order, and those in support of the regional or local culture with its own customs and values. Many idealize the traditional and familiar, yet tend to follow the lead of the urbanized and powerful elite. The caste and joint family system, though weakened by the impact of urbanism, is still a “going concern” fairly intact so far as structural features are concerned. Independence of action has increased, but parents still select mates for their marriageable children. Secularization has occurred, but most of the people retain their religious ideologies and practise the ancient ceremonies of religious faith. Western conceptions of equalitarianism and achievements are finding acceptance, but adherence to non-equalitarian principles of rigidly hierarchical social system has not changed much. In reality, the extent of the impact of urbanization was such that the urban social situation in both the cities of Jammu and Srinagar was a result of the operation of both these orientations of Max Weber and Louis Wirth, thus a blending of tradition and modernity.