INTRODUCTION

1. CONCEPT OF URBANIZATION

Urbanization is the process whereby land and inhabitants become urban. It refers to change in both place and people. In fact, it has been measured and expressed chiefly in terms of population statistics that purport or are presumed to distinguish inhabitants of towns and cities from those of rural/country side. Urbanization means that an increasing proportion of human society become townsfolk, and as this happens, towns grow in population, spread in area, and make an ever-increasing impact on the country side, both upon its appearance and upon the life of its inhabitants. More and more landscape and people come to live in an environment that is both physically and socially urban.¹

The degree of urbanization of a nation is generally defined as the proportion of population resident in urban places. The demographic conception of urbanization, however, is transcended by many other uses of the term in which urbanization is recognized as a social process which has brought about great transformation in man’s way of life. For purposes of convenience, especially in statistical studies, urbanization is usually considered merely in

demographic sense as an increase in the proportion of urban population (u) to the total population (t) over a period of time. As long as u/t increases, there is urbanization, however, theoretically it is possible that this proportion remains constant over time in a situation where there is absolutely no rural to urban migration and both the rural and urban populations grow at the same rate. In such a case, there will be urban growth without urbanization. But, in so far as the absolute urban population will increase in such a situation, there will be problems of urbanization regardless of the fact that the rate of urbanization is zero. We shall use the expression “process of urbanization” in a comprehensive sense, not in the statistical sense of u/t. Viewed thus, the process of urbanization is a continuing process which is not merely a concomitant of industrialization but a concomitant of the whole gamut of factors underlying the process of economic growth and social change.

In a broader sociological framework, urbanization is the process of population concentration in which the ratio of urban people to the total population in a territory increases. From this point of view, an increase in both the size of individual concentration and the number of urban concentration may occur without an increase of urbanization of a territory, although these changes usually are accompanied by a rising proportion of population living in cities. Only when a large number of inhabitants come to live in cities, is urbanization said to occur. The United Nation’s report on World Social situation (1957) describes urbanization as the process whereby an increasing proportion of


country's population lives in urban localities. The degree of urbanization -- the extent to which a country is urbanized -- will be understood to mean the percentage of its population living in urban localities as of a given date. Urbanization implies profound social and cultural changes for those involved in it, particularly the less developed regions where the gulf is vast between the life in a large modern city and the life in a village with traditional living patterns. The process of urbanization is today but a part of a larger process of economic change which is affecting the country side as well. Penetration of modern (urban type) influences into the villages to some extent, though slower, tend to mitigate somewhat the shock of rural-urban transition.

Five major factors, the Agricultural revolution, the Technological revolution, the Commercial revolution, increased efficiency of transportation and the demographic revolution, as a consequence of these developments, stand out as determinants of city growth and urbanization.

While each of these had its effects upon urban expansion in various periods of history, the period beginning with the middle of the 18th century saw them intensified. In a sense, it is rapid change in these factors which has created what is loosely called "modern society" representative example of industrialization and urbanization.

On summarizing the broader connotations of urbanization, it implies four main conceptions:

6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
I. Behavioural
II. Structural
III. Demographic
IV. Spatial (TCPO 1974).

From the behavioural point of view, urbanization is considered to be adjustment of personal behaviour and change in the style of living to urban way of life.

From the structural standpoint, it implies the differential ordering of occupations within a given territorial space.

The demographic approach refers to it as a process involving an increase in the proportion of urban population to total population of the country over a period of time.

The spatial aspect of urbanization refers to transformation of the landscape with regard to utilization of space from single or simple use to a complex one.

In broader context, urbanization, in sociological terms, is understood to bring about the change in quality of life, i.e., 'the spread of urbanism' (Louis Wirth). And economically it is the increasing proportion of people depending on non-agricultural activities on the urban sector of occupational pattern (secondary or manufacturing, and tertiary or trade, commerce and other services). Moreover, it is a spatial dimension of industrial and technological revolution, or of economic or social development in general, besides, it is taken

as increasing proportion of population living in the urban areas (or settlements
defined as urban by Census department on certain criteria).\textsuperscript{10}

2. THEORITICAL BACKGROUND

Before taking up the analysis of the available data relevant to the main
theme of this work, it is necessary to examine the conceptual and theoretical
framework as also to review the historical perspective briefly so that the
background of urbanization will be more clear. A large number of books,
reports and studies are available which consider the concepts and theories, or
historical data from various angles.

“There are certain theories which discuss how the urbanization process is
a result of the generation of surplus wealth (agricultural in the pre-historic and
money wealth in the modern period.”\textsuperscript{11} There are also certain works which
analyse the characteristics or types of civilizations such as the pre-industrial,
industrial and post-industrial etc. Valuable reviews of civilizations of the past
or various phases of history by Lewis Mumford, Arnold Toynbee, Gidson,
Sjoberg, Max Weber and others, who consider the city as the major base or the
indicator or agent of civilization, are available.\textsuperscript{12} There are other several works
by Michael Dear, Allan J. Scott, David Harvey, and Thomas Chalmers etc,
which examine the economic growth from various angles and try to explain the
development patterns as capitalistic or socialistic pattern of society from the
point of view of the generation and distribution of income and its consumption.
Besides there are other works of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Karl Marx, Keynes,
Schumpeter, etc. More recently, the poverty in countries of the third world has

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
attracted the attention of many scholars and thinkers like Gunnar Myrdal, Arthur Lewis, and Hirschman. Urban growth trends or city growth in the less developed countries have also received some attention. Theories and concepts have been put forth to explain the trends in their growth, in the studies by Hauser, Breese, Westhime, Mcgee and others. Some of these concepts and theories as are relevant to the study of urbanization have been briefly discussed in this chapter.

J.C. Mitchell, Gerald Breese (1969) have described urbanization as a process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agricultural to other pursuits common to cities and corresponding changes in the behaviour patterns. Nels Anderson (1957) has also said that urbanization is more than a shifting of people from country to city and from land bound work to urban types of work. Urbanization involves basic changes in thinking and behaviour of the people and changes in their social values.

Jacobson and Ved Prakash (1971) have defined urbanization as a phenomenon describing a process of change in the situs of populations due to changing conditions in society at large. The study of urbanization, then, represents the macro-level and the study of cities and urban affairs the micro-level of the study of the inter-related phenomenon along a continuum.

1) Urbanism

Radha Kamal Mukerjee (1968), has described various facets of urbanism as follows:

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13. Ibid., p.16.
i) "Ecologically speaking, urbanism has a demographic and mechanical-technical base viz., a dense aggregation of individuals whose life, career and labour are oriented to the pre-determined rhythm and tempo of machinery and the pressure of the vast, complicated, industrial structure and finance, which operate and control mass standardized production. The natural areas of the city and the patterns of land use habitations, transportation and communications which represent the physical milieu of urban dwellers are all governed by the ecological process of competition, specialization, gradation and segregation."\(^{16}\)

ii) "Biologically speaking, urbanism is characterized by a preponderance of a heterogeneous, foreign-born, adult population with an excess of single and unattached persons and a deficiency of women and minors and exhibit low birth rate and high mortality".

iii) Sociologically speaking, urbanism is a system of superficial, transitory human relations, groups and institutions, characterized by high physical and social mobility and interchangeability, isolation of economic from all other interests, and social alignment based on economic status and power.

iv) Psychologically speaking, it is a system of ideas, attitudes and ideals, marked by formal, objective, pecuniary standards, which fit into the machine technology and rapid tempo of life but have little room for personal and emotional self expression and hence it accompanies individual and social irritation, excitement and strife.\(^{17}\)

After considering definitions and conceptions about the term 'urbanization', we can now proceed to consider the social significance of cities, and urbanization as such.

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16. Ibid; p.17.

Viewed from sociological terms, a city is often described as a system of culturally related institutions and groupings which can permit interaction and interchange among individuals with the quest for knowledge, experiences, entertainment and other satisfaction as the motivating dynamic emanating from the original concept that man is a social animal.\(^{18}\)

Today's social scientists actually tend to correlate 'urbanization' to 'modernization' through social change. As the city favours the development of intellectual life, it trains a rural man, through the discipline of the clock and mechanization and other mediums.

The international union of local authorities symposium in 1967 (Jackobson and Ved Prakash, 1971) on urbanization in developing countries, recognized that the concept of urbanization as a process of urban growth is being replaced by one of urbanization as a process or instrument of social change and development. The pacific conference on urban growth in 1967, at Honolulu, also emphasized the economic role and the social functions of a city in national development, specifically pointing out their role as agents for change, modernization and innovation (Jackobson and Ved Prakash, 1971).\(^{19}\)

II. Modernization and Urbanization

As Ginsberg points out (Norton Ginsberg, 1966), all definitions of modernization refer not only to change but also to conceptions of efficiency, increased human and spatial interaction and extra ordinary complexities of social relationships. Invariably, cities as also the process by which cities grow and societies become increasingly urbanized, are also associated with these

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ideas. Cities are associated with more efficient production and provision of heterogeneity of goods and services and with a multiplicity of contacts among peoples and places. Cities are concentrations of a large number of people and therefore, more potential contacts among urbanites are possible than thinly distributed populations. Cities in each period of history have been associated with the modernization of that society in that period. Every major change in history leading to the more rational use of resources, and to increased spatial interaction has been associated with urbanization, that is, with the growth of cities and the roles that cities have played in given societies. In the last few decades, in the western countries, a rapid pace of industrialization (using modern technologies), urbanization, metropolitanization and modernization is experienced, which is also borne out by the strong inverse relationship between economic under-development or poverty and urbanization. It is true, however, that few of the poorer countries have high concentrations of people in their cities and display rapid growth rate but are said to be suffering from over-urbanization. According to Ginsberg it is necessary to differentiate between urbanization and urbanism as also growth of individual cities and urbanization.20

Besides industrialization, other functions such as growth of trade and commerce, administration and provision of cultural and educational facilities are also responsible for modernization of the people under the influence of such cities. Infact, Ginsberg feels that the view of an 'ideal typical model' such as 'pre-industrial city' with bias towards traditionalism, rather than change, has obscured the important role of the city as a central place, a nodal point in which spatial interaction, one measure of modernization was maximised, and through

which the world view affected by it was enlarged. The modern city lies within a network of worldwide inter-connections, within which different cities tend to play rather specialized roles. Of course the division of the world into several countries does limit such specialization.

The technological changes (both transportation, generation and transmission of energy), have greatly broadened the locational choices, location of industry and other activities therefore, helped the spread of influence of modernization over a wider area and population.

The increased number of cities in Asia and other poorer countries in the world tend to be much less effective modernizing media (though they are to some degree). The proportion of population living in their urban areas is expected to increase rapidly in future. The 'colonial' nature of the cities had limited modernization of the people in the 19th century. With the spread of public health measures, transportation technology and administrative rationalization, (theoretically not possible a century ago), it is now possible to influence much larger proportion of population thus exposing it to the forces of modernization and social change.

III. Urbanization and Social Change

Eric E. Lamperd (1963) points out that social historians and others concerned with the long run have not begun to examine the social process that create cities. There are no studies of modern urbanization and urbanism nor, until recently, very pertinent studies of particular aspects and cases (except perhaps Adna F. Weber's, The Growth of Cities in the 19th Century and couple

21. Ibid.
of other volumes like that of Max Weber, Sjoborg and Mumford who mainly concentrate on historical past and try to explain the present city by contrast). Lamperd stresses that efforts should be made to conceptualize urbanization in ways that actually represent social change. For this purpose urbanization may be regarded as a population concentration that results in an increase in the number and size of cities (points of concentration) and social change as an incremental or arithmetic alteration in the routines and sequences of everyday life in human communities.

IV. Deliberate Urbanization and Social Transformation

After examining the conditions in the developing countries John Friedman has pleaded for the regional development policies to encourage deliberate urbanization as an instrument of social change. He claims that urbanization is in fact an important development tool. Because of its positive characteristics it creates development, therefore, a suitable strategy for national development could be worked out through appropriate economic policies, social policies, political actions. Friedman also points out that for over half a century the creative role of cities in civilization has been recognized and history has been reinterpreted from the vantage point of cities as agents of social change. In the works of Spengler, Grass, Pirenne, Childe, Mumford, Briden Baugh and Sehhassinger, Hoselitz, Lamperd, Red Field and Singer, the city is evaluated in terms of its role in economic development. Still other works, however, continue to view the city chiefly as a result of external forces – as a passive object of history. This later work emphasizes the problems resulting from rapid urbanization, such as shanty towns, unemployment, political-social

23. Ibid.
unrest, delinquency excessive concentration in large cities and supply problems for basic maintenance.\textsuperscript{25}

V) Characteristics of ‘space’ and other process

Experience of industrialized countries and economic and social conditions in the developing countries is compelling them to plan their economic growth but the spatial dimension and social side of it is largely unattended, thus the development does not fructify in a balanced way. Therefore another aspect to be taken into account is about the characteristics of space itself. It is observed that the ‘development of space’ confers unequal benefits on its surroundings and people involved, as it affects income distribution and therefore, different people are benefited in a different way and in different magnitude. Several types of pressure groups (having, political, economic or social importance and having financial resources or influence on them and education) are there whose activities channelize development in particular ways so that certain areas or certain people are benefited more, than others do in view of the fixed nature of space and the effects of development on it.\textsuperscript{26}

After having an elaborate discussion on urbanization and its concomitant factors which form the essential ingredients of the study, different theories regarding the process of urbanization ought to be discussed to make the study more comprehensive.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., p.24.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 32
i) **Theories**

Human ecology studies, among other things, the spatial and temporal organization of human communities.\(^27\) Like the distribution of plants and animals, man's spatial and temporal location is largely governed by ecological factors. Space and time are the major dimensions within which the functional relationships of the human aggregate are organized.\(^28\) The settlement patterns will therefore be governed by positional and distributive factors, spatial and food relations of human beings, habitations and institutions. Thus occupational and social relations will be governed by all these factors and particular patterns of settlements (on regional and local scale) will be created. The cultural patterns in relation to habitations will in this way be governed by such ecological factors. On the basis of clusterings, density, mobility and distances, urban pattern can be classified in certain types.

Places with particular natural advantages can attract people to come and settle permanently or temporarily. The attractions and pulls will vary on the basis of sizes of settlements. The 'Gravity Theory' trying to explain the settlement patterns is based on such considerations, and it has been observed that inability, accessibility and social deviations constantly modify such patterns.\(^29\)

Concentric zone theory, sector theory, and the first theoretical statement of modern importance was Von Thunen's *Der isolierte Staat*, initially published in 1826, where he postulated an entirely uniform land surface and showed that


\(^{28}\) Ibid.

under conditions a city would develop in the centre of this land area and concentric rings of the land use would develop around the central city, try to explain patterns of cities on the basis of spatial distribution of different classes of people and land uses. Other sociological concepts about cultural traditions, types of communities, way of life, rural urban continuum, sub-urbanization process etc, are more useful for explaining the changes taking place in particular communities rather than urbanization pattern as a general phenomenon.

A) Spatial Characteristics

a) Central place theory.

The first theoretical statement of modern importance, trying to explain the location and distribution of cities and settlements came from Von Thunen in 1826. Further Kohl (1841) and cooley (1894), also put forth their explanations considering transportation and trade routes.

As a working hypothesis it is assumed that normally the larger the city, the larger its tributary area. Thus there should be cities of varying size ranging from a small hamlet performing a few simple functions, such as providing a limited shopping and market centre from a small contiguous area, up to a large city with a large tributary area composed of the service areas of many smaller towns and providing more complex services, such as whole saling, large-scale banking, specialized retailing and the like; services performed purely for a surrounding area are termed “central” functions by Christaller and the

settlements performing them “central” places. Ideally, each central place would have a circular tributary area, as in Von Thunen’s proposition and the city would be in the centre.

The essence of the theory is that a certain amount of productive land supports an urban centre. The centre exists because essential services must be performed for the surrounding land.

b) Threshold Theory

This theory recently developed by B. Malisz from Poland (1963) and adopted in Britain, helps in analysing comparative cost figures for alternative locations and schemes for habitating given number of people, knowing comparative costs involved in providing the services (roads, sewers, water supply, etc.) which rise continuously in small increments with each unit of additional population but rise suddenly at certain thresholds. This analysis also helps in decisions about locating a certain given number of people on a regional scale into various settlements.

The theory can be developed further to include the aspect of ‘returns’ and utilized with advantage as a major tool in working out regional patterns for deliberate or guided urbanization and urban growth.

B) Theories/Concepts Based on Other Socio-economic Aspects

Several theories/concepts based on the observations of social scientists which have much wider application are those of push pull theory, over urbanization etc.,

35. Ibid.
a) Push-pull factors

On the basis of migration trends and the growth of urban areas, the theory of the push by the villages and pull of the urban centres was put forth. Amongst the causes responsible for the push are over-population in rural areas, too little opportunity for securing land for working to make their living, reduced opportunities in government and business which do not increase at the same rate as that of population growth. Amongst these causes, the UNESCO Publication also adds the disruption and disorganization produced by the last war and political changes that followed, the seasonal nature of work in agriculture which also adds to the trend to migrate, and the difference in the living standards in the village and the city that creates hopes and wants amongst the rural residents.

The lure or pull of the great city is generated partly from experiences of those exposed to urban influence—military and administrative service, education, refugees (temporary or permanent due to partition, war, natural calamities, famines) and partly by the ‘feedback’ about the benefits or at least the claimed benefits of city-living irrespective of their attainability. Though very useful for explaining the process of migration, this theory is regarded as an over simplification of a very complex process.

b) Over-urbanization Process

A related phenomenon is that of over-urbanization. This concept put forth by Hoselitz and Heuser and examined by Sovani (1966), Kamarchen.

Wellisz (Jakobson and Ved Prakash, 1971) and Cherukuppale (1973) has been the most widely considered concept in the context of urbanization trends in Asian and the other underdeveloped countries.

It has been suggested that urbanization has gone ahead of economic development and urban growth has proceeded with a smaller relative accumulation of industrial capital in urban centres leaving a wide ‘development gap’ which appears in two different forms (i) in the form of over urbanization-urbanization exceeding the range of economic development, and (ii) in the form of a marked deficiency of urban facilities and services, akin to scarcity of consumption goods in an economy in the initial stage of planned development. As the urban development and the provision of urban services fail to keep pace with the growth of urban population, competing demand on available resources raises the problem of choice between the provision of urban amenities to ensure tolerable living conditions for the urban population on one hand, and a faster growth rate of the economy on the other, by channeling a large part of the resources or productive investment for the creation of the capital assets.

c) **Concept of parasitic and Generative cities**

Viewing the growth of cities from the point of view of urban economy, some have studied the role of cities in economic development and divided them into two broad categories, the parasitic and the generative cities. Parasitic cities are those which drain the resources from their surrounding regions without giving much in return. The generative cities primate their influence into the

surrounding regions stimulating change and development, with the socio-economic growth in the region and the city and itself also further.\textsuperscript{40}

The general observations in this respect are that the pre-industrial cities were of a generative type and the cities in the colonial era of a parasitic type as in colonial rule in South-East Asia. Such an analysis may explain the urban growth trends in the colonial period.

C) Functional Classification of Urban

The cities and towns differ in functions is a long recognized fact. Groupings on functional basis has been attempted since very ancient times in India, this is clearly brought out in the \textit{Pali} texts dating back to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The \textit{Arath Shastra} of Kautilya, \textit{Kamasutra} of Vatsujana, the \textit{Mahashasya} of Patamjali and the Budhist texts \textit{Mansara} and \textit{Dayanadana} all divide cities and towns into different catagories.\textsuperscript{41} The village and the urban areas were classified according to their functions such as agricultural or forest village, or town, defence establishment, trading, administrative and capital towns etc.

In the modern world geographers have paid more attention to the classification of towns and cities, based on the activity of the greatest important in each city. It is observed that large cities are generally more or less multifunctional and the classification of a city as industrial does not imply absence of trade. There are all shades of gradations between and among types


proposed for classifications and some cities are on the border lines. But in general the types are distinct.

The general observation on the review of the literature or that most of the theories and works do not take into account the large perspective but concentrate on some selected aspects of the process of urbanization. Emphasis in this work being on "sociological dimensions and implications of urbanization", it was felt that an indepth study be made. There is no doubt that the various concepts, theories and historical reviews bring out the factors that have played a major role in the urbanization process and afterwards, and should be carefully examined, but one has to choose and not get lost in studies, reports and theories which do not consider the overall processes.

Most theories and historical reviews are found to be dealing with the patterns in the western world (or through the eyes of the western world). A discussion of history and many of the theories stands obsolete therefore, and attention has to be concentrated on the recent decades. These discussions and other models and experiences based on western conditions are of less relevance to the state situation or to the states of developing countries. It, therefore, necessitates to consider the characteristics of urban areas and examine the basic issues underlying the process of urbanization. Before getting involved in it, however, a brief historical resume of urbanization will be useful as background material.

3. SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION

Besides reflecting the technological change and a new form of economic organization, urbanization produces a new way of life.42 The distinctive features

of the urban mode of life have often been described sociologically as consisting of the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening bonds of kinship, the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity.\textsuperscript{43} With the influence of rapid urbanization, especially in the big cities, the traditional pattern of life, the cultural uniformity, beliefs, social relations, family behaviour etc-tend to be broken. The close living together and working together of individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties foster a spirit of competition, aggrandizement, and mutual exploitation.\textsuperscript{44} This accelerates social change. Before a new way of life or reorganization is established in the form of fresh patterns of thought and behaviour, social and personal disorganization takes place. Social and personal disorganization in urban areas is particularly noticeable in the changes in the family structure. The various changes along with their impact on urban growth are:

I) Changes from large or joint family system to the small family system

The housing patterns therefore, vary from individual houses of bungalow or semi-detached type and families around courtyards to chawls and apartment buildings. High-rise apartments are creating new psychological and social problems.

II) Changes in religious practice and beliefs

The old cities were centred around temples and shrines, now they centre around business areas. Still, the importance of religion has not diminished. Infact, a dichotomy exists with people believing in religion at home and living in western-style when they are away from home in the big cities.

\textsuperscript{43} Robert Gutman and David Popenoe, Op.Cit., p.66.

\textsuperscript{44} Hatt and Reiss, Op.Cit, p.56.
III) Changes in social stratification

Though caste and kin segregation existed in traditional settlement patterns, the economic status was not so important. Now, in big cities, localities develop on the basis of economic class segregation, and colonies of industries or new capital cities provide housing grouped on the basis of pay-scales. Area of the rich and neo-rich, being the symbols of prestige, receive more attention in the provision of facilities, improvement and upkeep from the local bodies.

IV) Dress and food habits and attitude to elders

These have lesser implications, but the increase in the number of fashion shops selling cloth and tailored goods, also luxury hotels, and beer bars are found in excessive number.

V) Emergence of New Institutions

In response to various changes, new institutions representing formal social controls and replacing the traditional controls of the well-knit, integrated traditional society, come into existence—the police, courts, penitentiaries, welfare and health agencies, social legislation substituting the protective function of the family etc.

VI) Slum Habitation

Continuation of the ‘folk society’ in the slums or bustees set in highly devastated conditions, which to a large extent, live in isolation of their urban surroundings are being noted. In the backdrop of failure of attempts to clear these hutment colonies, the emphasis has now shifted from clearance to improvement. There is always hidden hand of politicians for the continued existence of these colonies and therefore emerges as a human problem. Besides, political interests it is created by the framework of a society that is oriented to
the rich or those who control the production and distribution to their advantage rather than the need of the masses. Theoretically at least, if there is no profit motive, there is no reason why there should be no equitable distribution of houses and amenities to each according to his needs.

VII) Personal Disorganization

It is clearly seen especially in big cities in the form of mental breakdown, suicide, delinquency, crime, corruption and disorder, might be expected under these circumstances. 45

Mass poverty and low levels of living together with crime and vice produce high morbidity and mortality. Even the rich and Neo-rich consisting of the upper strata of the society have some of the evils of the modern urban life. On the face of it this is on westernized pattern, but mainly it is taking the form of luxurious living with parties, drinking and gambling, becoming popular amongst the fashionable. The impact on the poor is obviously alarming, and 'mass tensions' continue to build up.

VIII) Role of Women

Another aspect of social change is the increasing role of women in urban life. More and more women are taking to higher education, research, business, industry and politics. The only traditional role of the women as wife and mother is changing, and the effect of this on family patterns, on the bringing up of children, and higher participation ratios (the number of working people in a given population) is broadly felt both in either ways.

45. Ibid. p.61.
IX) Effect of Mass Media

The effect of the mass media such as Cinema, Television, Radio, Newspapers etc. which are essentially big city based, is also observed. Planners must not only consider them as factors in the delineation of city regions but also make allowance for their wider influence in projecting the image of the cities to the residents of small towns and villages. This induces further migration to the cities, mainly helping to change the rural poor into urban poor. The educated employed are also lured to the cities, but in the absence of adequate employment opportunities, are forced to join the mass of unemployed or underemployed or even the informal sector of the employed (hawking, petty services etc.) in the cities.

4) ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION

After considering the social aspects we can now proceed to examine the economic aspects. In economic terms a city, or an urban area in general, can be described as a system of major and minor markets and production points engaged in the creation, receipt and for transfer of goods and services both internally (within certain defined limits) and externally for the support and profit of participants operating within the system (V.K. Pathak, 1974).46

As viewed from the perception of the economists, there are certain favourable economic aspects of urbanization. Occupational diversification, greater opportunity of occupational and social mobility and greater readiness to adapt to the dynamic influence of technical progress reflected by cities through their contact with other centres of economic progress, external economies increasing productive efficiencies and internal economies of a scale made

possible by broader and more easily reached markets, higher money incomes in urban areas etc.

I) Urbanization and Economic development

The relation between urbanization and economic development especially industrialization is close but complex and little understood (United Nations, 1957). Some minimum development in production, transportation and other technologies is clearly required to permit large masses of people to live together in cities. The cities in turn provide concentrations of manpower and facilities which permit large-scale expansion of trade and industry. The reciprocal interaction of industrial and urban growth in Europe during the nineteenth century is an evident fact of history.

The cities also have many functions besides the economic ones; religious, cultural, educational, military and administrative. Such non-economic functions singly or in combination, have been the chief raison d'être of many of the world's cities. The administrative role of cities is so important that in many countries, the definition of an 'urban' area involves the concept of administrative function.

In regard to the economic function of cities, two extreme possibilities are there. On the one hand, cities may contribute greatly through commerce and industry to the per capita production and the economic development of the state, and on the other, they may drain off and consume the wealth of the countryside through the political power resident in them, without contributing anything of economic value in return - whatever may be the value of the other functions they perform - and thereby help to maintain the country as a whole in a state of

poverty and stagnation (united nations, 1957). The economic role of the city can thus vary widely from 'generative' to 'parasitic' depending upon the relation of the city to the rest of the country as described by Hoselitz. In today's world, many cities are not likely to be wholly parasitic and a number of them would appear to contribute economic value. On an average it may be less than what they receive from the rest of the country.

One other reason why the growth of cities does not necessarily reflect a healthy economic development, is that the Urban expansion may be more a symptom of distress in the country-side than of urban prosperity; the cities do serve as places of refuge to which people flock because of economic or civil conditions in the rural districts. The provision of modern welfare services in cities but not in rural areas accentuates this tendency.

II) Cities and External Economics

Tsuru Shigeto (1963), has put forth his hypothesis on the basis of evolution of cities belonging to a socio-economic system called capitalism. According to him the economic significance of cities lies in the external economies. In the early stages of capitalistic development, cities provided a large measure of external economies which could be privately appropriated and thus they had a strong economic rationale. With the development of modern technology, some of the erstwhile external economies were diluted while external diseconomies grew substantially. Thus it is becoming increasingly

48. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
uncertain whether there are still external economies or not. Society's concern with external diseconomies has become more heightened and some degree of their internationalization is expected of private firms.

The very indivisibilities which contribute to the peculiar complementarities and thus to the external economies, observed in cities, make it difficult for established cities to adjust themselves to the requirement of dynamic technological changes without incurring heavy cost.

The external economies commonly observed in the agglomeration of population in modern times are correlated to changing technological innovations and therefore, differ in relative importance according to the various phases of capitalist development in which they exist. For general purposes the following aspects are enumerated:

i. The city as a nerve centre of commercial activities.

ii. The city itself as a market.

iii The city as an industrial centre (including nearness to a political and administrative centre).

The external economies of cities become the object of 'internalization' and thus enhance the probability of private business situated in cities. As capitalism evolved, it turned the philosophy of *laissez faire*, according to which atomistic economic units were to be left free to pursue the aim of maximizing their own respective profit, untramelled by controls or interference of the Government. The invisible hand was to take care of the task of harmonising conflicting interests for social welfare.

A series of technological developments have aggravated the external diseconomies of cities, and increasing public concern over such diseconomies
has fostered the view that private firms should internalize some of these external diseconomies. These two forces combined have given rise to secondary, but no less important, consequence of exodus from cities of upper income families and of some private concerns, thereby, "increasing the complexities cities must cope with and decreasing the resources with which they must do the coping". This phenomenon is predominant in western countries and seems to be present in developing countries in a small way. In some western countries the parallel relationship in economic development and urbanization is clearly seen as shown by graphs indicating the relationship between indices of urbanization and national wealth in various countries like Finland, France, USA etc. (Jacobson and Ved Prakash 1971). On the whole however, it could be said that the relationship between economic development and urbanization is very complex and varying depending upon the socio-political condition in a given country.

5) ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF URBANIZATION

Cities are relatively recent development in the long course of human history. Although members of our biological species have inhabited this planet for some 2 million years, human beings have created the first permanent settlement only about ten thousand years ago. For most of human history, people lived in small groups that survived by hunting animals and gathering vegetation in the wild. These hunting and gathering people were constantly on the move in search of food. While some migrating groups periodically returned to favoured locations, no settlements were occupied permanently. About ten thousand years ago, however, the major factors set the stage for the first urban

revolution. First as glaciers at the end of last ice age, warm and fertile soil drew people to particular regions of earth. Second, about the same time humans began to develop the technology to raise animals and crops giving rise to horticultural and pastoral societies. Applied in ecologically favourable areas, advanced technology permitted people to produce more food than most hunters and gatherers had known. Indeed technological innovations made possible a productive surplus—more food and other resources than needed for day-to-day survival which encouraged the founding of permanent settlements. Raising crops and animals required people to remain in one place. In hunting and gathering societies, every one shared in the task of acquiring food. But, a material surplus freed some members of societies from food production, thus allowing them to engage in a wide range of other activities such as building shelters, making tools and clothing and serving as religious leaders. A surplus of food raised the standard of living above subsistence level and gave human beings the opportunity to create labor saving devices and numerous other material artifacts that were not easily transportable. Thus the founding of urban settlements was, infact, revolutionary because the concentration of population in specific locations gave rise to a social life characterized by production specialization. Human beings developed permanent settlements gradually, and it is difficult to say precisely when this form of settlement warranted the term city. Some archaeologists suggest that Jericho, a settlement located to the north of the Dead Sea in Present-day Israel, could be called the first city. About 800 B.C., Jericho had an estimated population of six hundred—barely a small town


55. Ibid, p.119.
by contemporary standards, but the presence of thick walls around it suggests the organized work of specialists that gave Jericho an urban character.

Archaeological evidence shows that, following Jericho, other somewhat large 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 in Present-day Iraq and soon afterward, along the Nile River in Egypt. Some of these contained perhaps fifty thousand people and because the centres of urban empires that exercised trade and political and military power throughout large regions. These urban empires were distinguished by highly complex social structure featuring a pronounced division of labor and rigid patterns of social life. Leaders who served as both kings and priests wielded absolute power over lesser gentry, administrators, artisans, soldiers, and farmers. Slaves, captured in frequent military campaigns, provided the labor used to build the urban empires characteristically monumental architecture such as the pyramids of Egypt.

Cities also originated independently in at least three other ecologically favourable areas of the world. Several 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 can be traced back to about 1500 B.C., significant urbanization in North America, however, did not begin until the arrival of European settlers in the sixteenth century.

56. Ibid, p.120.
57. Ibid, p.124.
I) Evolution of urbanization in Europe

European urbanization began about 1800 B.C., on the Mediterranean Island of Crete, probably as a result of the expanding trade routes between the established cities in the Middle East. Urbanism gradually spread throughout Greece—resulting in more than one hundred city-states, of which Athens is by far the most famous. Especially during its Golden Age—from about 500 B.C. to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war in 431 B.C.—Athens stood apart as a historical example of the positive potential of urban life (Levis Mumford, 1961). The Athenians, numbering some 300,000 in an area of roughly one square mile, developed many elements of culture that are still central to the western way of life, including philosophy, the arts, the principles of democracy, and an emphasis on physical as well as mental fitness, symbolized by the Olympic games.

On the downfall of Greek civilization, the city of Rome, with roughly 1 million inhabitants, became the centre of a growing empire. By the first century A.D., the Roman Empire encompassed much of northern Africa, Europe, and the Middle East. Like that of Greeks, the urban civilization of Romans profoundly shaped later western culture in terms of language, arts, and technological innovations. But, it was by the 5th century A.D., that Roman empire experienced a decline and during the millennium between the Athenian Golden Age and the decline of Rome, numerous cities including London, Paris, and Vienna were founded all across Europe. The fall of the Roman Empire.

however, initiated a period of urban decline and stagnation throughout Europe (Henrie Pirene, 1961). Cities that had once accommodated five to ten million people became mere towns of perhaps half that size. But, after the 11th century, a revival of trade sparked by the Christian crusades to the Middle East breathed new life into European cities such as Venice and Florence. The cities of Europe were not divided into commercial, residential, and manufacturing districts as our cities are at present. People from all walks of life rather people from different classes were living in one area.

In many respects, the walled medieval city was a world unto itself. But the small scale of urban living was to change with the flourishing of industrial capitalism after about 1700. Throughout the middle ages, commerce filled the pockets of expanding urban middle class or bourgeoisie. By the end of 17th century, the balance of wealth and power had shifted to the bourgeoisie and it had succeeded in consolidating its position and therefore, establishing the firms and industries and when the economic power unleashed industrial technology reached unprecedented heights, beginning in the 18th century. The population of European cities began to soar during this period. This was partly because of the natural population growth and a tremendous migration from rural areas to the expanding industrial cities as Europeans sought a better standard of living shown in the table No. 1.1.

61. Ibid, p.111.
Table: 1.1
Population Growth Selected European Cities after the Industrial Revolution (in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1700</th>
<th>1800</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>2,424</td>
<td>3,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisbon</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>6,480</td>
<td>6,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>3,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>2,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>1,662</td>
<td>1,516</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from tertius chandler and Gerald fox, 3000 years of Urban History (New York: Academic Press, 1974), pp.17-19; and Demographic yearbook 1983 (New York; united Nations, 1985), Table 8

The end of 19th century witnessed a five fold increase in population in almost all European cities to the population at the begining of the century. Cities not only experienced population growth but changed in other ways as well. Commerce-but one dimension of life in the medieval city - became the dominant cultural element in the industrial capitalist city. This was evident in the changing physical shape of cities: The irregular street pattern of the medieval city gave way to broad, straight streets able to accommodate a vastly larger flow of commercial traffic and, in time motor vehicle.63 Lewis Mumford (1961) explains that the city was divided into regular - sized plots so that land became a commodity to be bought and sold as part of the expanding capitalist economy. Moreover, the cathedral a focal point was displaced by a central

63. Ibid.
business district of offices, banks, and retail stores. Besides, urban social life was transformed. As cities became more populous, they also became more impersonal, crowded, unsanitary and dangerous. Work in the home was replaced by daily travel to large, anonymous factories and bureaucratic commercial offices.64

European cities continued to grow during the twentieth century. In response to the political demands of workers for better standard of living, legislation mandated minimal dwelling standards. Public services including water, sewage, and electricity-gradually improved worker's living conditions further. Today poverty remains the daily plight of millions of city dwellers but the wealth produced by industrialization has provided for most the better life that has been the historical attraction of the city.65

European Colonization beginning in the 16th century, gave rise to cities in North America though native Americans in North America for tens of thousands of years had established few permanent settlements. The Spanish made an initial settlement at St.Augustine, Florida in 1565, and English founded Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. Both settlements remained quite small, so that the story of American urbanization actually begins with the founding of New Amsterdam, (latter called New York) in 1624 by Dutch. Today the United States is one of the most urbanized societies in the world: more than three fourths (3/4) of all Americans live in urban places that makeup only 16% of the land area of the United States.

64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., p564.
Besides, other American cities were founded in the 17th century, including Newport, Rhode Island (1639), Charles town (latter called Charles town), South Carolina (1680) and Philadelphia (1680). By the final decades of the century, Philadelphia had adopted a grid like street pattern to facilitate commercial activities. In the 18th century American cities grew slowly, remaining small enough so that residents live within a network of personal relationships.

Colonial Era proved to be a major setback for urbanization in the United States as during this era, the United States was far from an urban society. In 1790, the first census carried out by the new government of the United States counted roughly 4 million Americans. Early in the 19th century dozens of new cities stretching from coast to coast were formally established. This was because of the transportation routes that opened up the America to the West. The National Road (now interstate 40) linked Baltimore to the ohio valley in 1818; a decade later, the Baltimore and ohio Railroad made the transportation of people and products far more efficient. The Erie Canal (1825) connected New York to the Great Lakes, sparking the development of cities such as Buffallo, Cleveland, and Detroit (Levis, Mumford, 1961). Because of the importance of water transportation at this point in American history, most cities were established on lakes and rivers. By 1860, about one third of Americans lived in urban places, and cities were coming to dominate the American way of life. What some greeted as progress and modernization, however, other mourned as the passing of a traditional agrarian life, based on self reliance. During this period of American history, rural urban tensions were pronounced; many urbanites
adopted negative stereotypes of "ignorant country cousins", while rural residents
riticized the rising number of "unworthy city slickers" in the United States.66

The Industrial Revolution that began in the United States early in the
19th century transformed the northern states for more than the states in the
largely agricultural South. Thus urbanization was predominantly a northern
development. The division of United States into industrial urban North and the
agrarian-rural South was one of the major causes of the conflict that erupted
into civil war in 1861. It was after the civil war when industrialization had
reached full intensity, cities in the United States grew as never before. By the
beginning of the 20th century, New York boasted some 4 million residents. The
city of early 19th century became the twentieth-century metropolis-a very large
city that socially and economically dominates a broad urban area.

As industrialization fueled an urban revolution in Europe, so it did in
North America. Migration greatly increased as millions of Americans moved
from rural areas to cities whose factories offered them greater economic
opportunity. In the final decades of nineteenth century, in fact, the population
of almost half of rural America declined. Not only American migrants, but also
tens of millions of immigrants, primarily from Europe, were absorbed by cities.
At the end of world war I, a majority of Americans for the first time lived in
urban places. The industrial cities of the United States continued to grow until
about 1950. The rural-urban controversy that had simmered throughout the
nineteenth century was now over: America was, and would remain, an urban

society. Today, two out of three Americans live in urban places, and over 60 per
cent of the total population live in metropolitan areas. The table 1.2 shows the
demographic change America witnessed in a century.

<p>| Table: 1.2 | Populations Growth |
| Selected American Cities (1870-1984) Population (in thousands) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1984</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>2,185</td>
<td>3,376</td>
<td>3,621</td>
<td>3,369</td>
<td>2,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>1,569</td>
<td>1,850</td>
<td>1,514</td>
<td>1,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>1,238</td>
<td>1,970</td>
<td>2,812</td>
<td>3,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York *</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>2,507</td>
<td>4,767</td>
<td>6,930</td>
<td>7,892</td>
<td>7,896</td>
<td>7,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>1,047</td>
<td>1,549</td>
<td>1,951</td>
<td>2,072</td>
<td>1,949</td>
<td>1,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* Population figures for New York in 1870 and 1890 reflect the city as presently constituted.

II) Historical View of Urbanization in India

The sub-continent shares with Mesopotimia and the Nile Valley a long
history of urbanization. The first phase of urbanization in the Nile Valley is

associated with the Harapan civilization dating back to 1350 B.C. The cities of this civilization flourished over a period of more than 600 years up to about 1700 B.C., and this was followed by a prolonged period of over a thousand years in which we have no evidence of urban development. From around 600 B.C., we again come across towns and cities associated with the two major, but closely related, cultural streams of India, namely the Aryan civilization of North and the Dravidian civilization of the South. \(^{68}\) MohenjoDaro and Harappa were amongst some of the oldest cities of the world which had the privilege of spoon feeding the urban civilization in its infancy. As far back as Ghurey writes, “we come across mention of towns with the application of ‘pura’.” According to him ‘panini’ mention of ‘nagara’ is perhaps the oldest reference ... being used to designate a large town, a city, rather than a town and further gradation is indicated by the application *Mahanagra*, great city and *Sakhanagra*, sub city. \(^{69}\)

From this period onwards, for about 2500 years, India has had more or less continuous history of Urbanization. However, we know from historical evidence that there were both periods of urban growth and periods of urban decline. Thus cities grew in number and size during the Mauryan and post-Mauryan periods (from 300 B.C to A.D. 600), both in Northern India as well as in the extreme south. Cities declined and were largely neglected during the post-Gupta period, from A.D. 600 to about A.D 1000 in Northern India. In Southern India, on the other hand, urbanization attained a Zenith during the period A.D. 800 to 1200. Urbanization on a subdued scale flourished in Northern India under the

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influence of Muslim rulers, who came to India from Afghanistan and beyond from around A.D. 1200, and attained a second climax during the Mughal period, when many of India’s cities were established. The British came to India at a time when India was perhaps the most urbanized nation in the world, and the early part of British rule saw a decline in the level of India urbanization. During the later half of British rule, Indian cities regained some of their lost importance, further the British added several new towns and cities, in addition to generating newer urban forms in existing cities. The post-independence period has witnessed urbanization on a scale never before achieved.

The urbanization in the Indian sub-continent goes back to pre-historic period (2350 B.C.) to the Indus valley region and the understanding of the origins of earliest cities is based entirely on archaeological evidence obtained from the excavations of the ruins of the early settlements.

Archaeological studies of the Western scholars were of the view that the central idea of the urban way of life came to Indus valley from Mesopotamia, possibly by migration of people, because the salient features of civilization in Mesopotamia and in the Harapan cities are the same. The Harapan cities flourished during the period 2400 B.C to 1900 B.C. (M.S.A.Rao). Then on, (till about 1700 B.C), the urban settlements became smaller and their general condition deteriorated. This decline of Harapan civilization is often put down to

71. Ibid, p.23.
either natural disaster or deliberate destruction by an invading army. The probable natural causes for the decline and disappearance of this culture are floods, draughts and pestilence.

The second phase (early historical period) of urbanization in India began around 600 B.C. The architects of this phase were Aryans, in the North and the Dravidians in the South. From this phase onwards, urbanization became a permanent feature of Indian Landscape. And consequently a new society- indo Aryan society-started emerging. The oldest existing cities in India-Varanasi and Patna (Patliputra)in North and Madurai and Kancheepuram in the South, originated around 500 B.C and are symbolic of India’s long urban heritage. This early historical period covers merely a thousand years of urban history. This period may be divided into three parts in northern India, consisting of post-vedic period, the Mauryan period, the post-Mauryan period. In Southern India, urbanization originated in the pre-sangam period and rose to great heights during the sangam period, which saw the emergence of literary classics in Tamil. Unlike the first phase of pre-historic urbanization the second phase of Aryan and Dravidan urbanization is substantiated by the great literary texts of that period. The Rigveda, being the oldest of great religious texts, followed by a number of vedic texts such as Dharamashastras and Dharmasutras belong to 600-300 B.C., wherein references are made to the presence of urban places. According to these literary texts the Aryans came to India over a several migrational waves.

The migrants from Poland, and Central Asia brought their patrilinear tribal organization, worship of sky gods, horses, chariots and original language (which was later adapted to the tongues of local people). The different races with different back grounds started living together. Probably the conflicts and interaction later on, created the caste system which was a social organization, and which also affected the pattern of cities, towns and villages and ultimately urbanization trends.\textsuperscript{74}

The Mauryan period is extremely rich in terms of urbanization and city life. The complexity of urbanization and city life during the Mauryan period is indicated by the presence of different types of towns in addition to the capital or administrative city. The Buddhist texts give a topology of cities of this period. The more important and dominant feature of urbanization was that towns were categorised on functional basis, administrative and commercial basis. Mauryan city had also become a centre of the manufacturing industry. Different industries were in existence such as textiles, carpentry and wood work, metal work, including smith and Jwellers, stone work, glass industry etc. An advanced system of guilds of industrial labour regulated the manufacture of goods.

In the post Mauryan period, cities along with them the urban way of life, began to decline from around the 5th century A.D. The decline of cities in this period is often attributed to the frequent recurrence of natural calamities such as famines, pestilence, fire, floods, which took a heavy toll of urban population. Political factor had its own importance in the down fall of urbanization as

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, p.49.
feudal lords replaced administered empires and exploitation of peasants and artisans.

In South India, the earliest human settlements from archaeological evidence, dates back to 2300 -1800 B.C. These settlements were located on the tops of granitic hills, on hill slopes and plateau surfaces. From the early chalcolithic settlements, there arose a distinct Dravidian culture with Tamil as the spoken language. The other Dravidian languages of today, such as Kannada, Telgu and Malyalam, originated at later points in time as a result of Aryan influence in the South. The fact that the Dravidian culture attained a very high level with urbanization as a concomitant process, is attested by the vast body of classical works in the Tamil language in what is known as “Sangam” literature.

From the early times, the Tamil country, which included the two southern states of India, was divided into four mandalams equivalent to mahajanapadas of the North, though differing from the Janapadas in terms of their non-tribal origins. The mandalams were further sub-divided into smaller territorial units and paid tribute to the king. Accordingly, a system of cities emerged with capital cities at their apex and smaller towns forming the focal points of lower territorial orders. In addition, there were a number of port cities, specializing in international trade. South India shows remarkable continuity in urban traditions from the 5th century B.C to the present. The major factor contributing to the continuity has been the absence of foreign invasions which characterise the history of North India. In northern India, urban decline continued, because

during the period (1600 A.D.-1800) the political disintegration of larger empires and the emergence of unstable dynastic reigns had taken place.

The Mughal period (A.D. 1526-1800) stands as a second high water mark of urbanization in India, the first occurring during the Mauryan period. The country (essentially northern India including Pakistan and Bangladesh) attained a high level of political stability and economic prosperity under the Mughals over a period of about 300 years, a period long enough to establish cities on sound footing. The Mughal period witnessed the revival of old established cities, the addition of a few new cities and the building of an impressive array of monumental structures in almost every major city of northern India, whose urban landscape today bears unmistakable testimony to the grandeur of Mughal Architecture.76

The Mughal empire covered the whole of Northern India. With the Mughals becoming powerful, cities like Delhi, Agra and Lahore became important and some Palatial structures, lavish gardens on the Persian style were developed. Many military camps (the word ‘Kasbeh’ which is an adjunct of many settlement means ‘camp’ in Arabic) came to be established and became full-fledged towns later. The Courts of the Mughals and their nobles also helped handicrafts and small industries which were responsible for faster growth of some towns. Several uprisings and struggles were responsible for the growth of new cities, towns and forts. Some later became marketing and administrative centres (because of the new revenue system). Gardens and new structures were

76. Ibid., p.52.
also raised to meet the demand of a luxurious life-style followed by kings, gentry and elite. The urban centres were also responsible for social change to some extent, in the other areas of living. Houses of commoners were of the poorer type made of mud and thatched roofs, while rich merchants and noble men had large houses with courtyards, furnished with fine furniture and tapestry.  

A major factor contributing to urbanization in Mughal period was the growth of traditional industries and external trade, and industrialization and urbanization proceeded simultaneously and generated a large number of towns in addition to many provincial and administrative capitals of the period.

We can now turn our attention to the most important part of the historical resume—the British period, which has its roots in the Mughal phase of Indian history. In the seventeenth century European powers had already made a beginning towards establishing themselves in India. They started their activities, along the east and west coasts, in the name of trading activities. Simultaneously, some missionaries had also arrived here. The French and the Portuguese could not spread their influence, but the British succeeded in bringing the whole of India under their control from 1753-1890 through sustained efforts and military action with various kingdoms in this country.

The course of urbanization after 1800 in all parts of India was determined by colonial economic policies and social attitudes. The consolidation of territorial power by British in 1800 and the end of a period of all political

instability brought about, a period of stagnation and decline of urban centres in India, which lasted for well over a century. The early 19th century observed a decline of pre-British cities as Agra, Delhi, Lucknow, Srinagar, Baroda, Indore etc., as it was due to the negative attitude of British towards the traditional industries of India.  

By 1853, the introduction of the traditional industries of India, particularly the cotton textiles, the network of the railroads contributed to the decline of urban centres of the pre-British period and on the positive side, the railway contributed to the growth of the metropolition cities and even some of the major inland towns. Though the urban stagnation was a major feature of the period 1800 to 1931, urbanization began to show signs of rapid growth thereafter.

Jawaharlal Nehru (1960) has expressed that India was far more advanced and had a higher civilization in the later part of the 18th century. British impact was considerable in terms of the morphology of Indian cities and their functional character. During 150 years of British rule, Indian urban landscape went through a radical transformation.

Urbanization entered a new and more important phase since 1941, a little before independence. This period is notable for fastest urbanization.

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particularly of the one-lakh and a million cities. There has been nearly a threefold increase in India's urban population, from 62 million in 1951 to 159 million in 1981. The major changes that have occurred in India's urban scene in the post-independence period are:

i. the influx of refugees and their settlement primarily in urban areas in northern India;

ii. the building of new administrative cities, such as Chandigarh, Bhubneshwer and Ghandinagar;

iii. the construction of new industrial cities and new industrial townships near major cities;

iv. the rapid growth of one lakh and a million cities;

v. the stagnation and in some cases, decline of small towns;

vi. the massive increase in squatters and the proliferation of slums in the million cities; and the emergence of rural urban fringe; and

vii. the introduction of city planning and the general improvement in civic amenities.