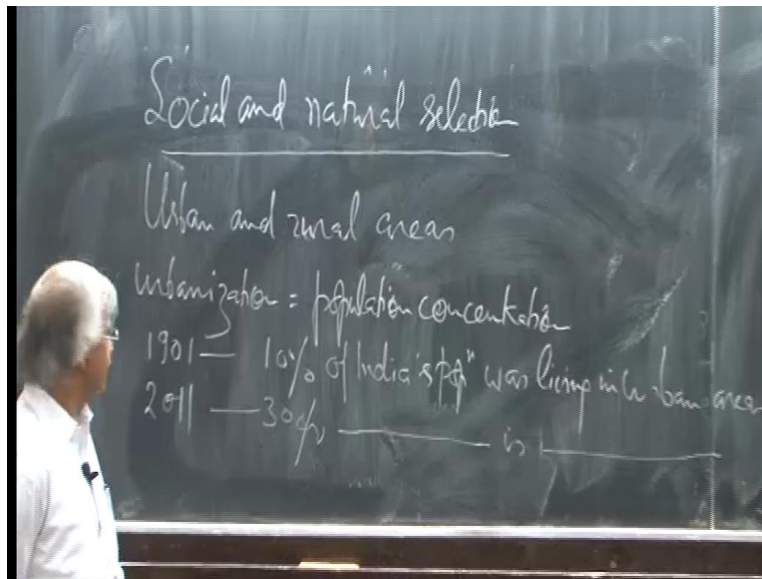


**Introductory Sociology**  
**Prof. A.K. Sharma**  
**Department of Humanities and Social Sciences**  
**Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur**

**Lecture - 33**  
**Social change-IV: Urbanization and related issues in social change**

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We will arrive at different conclusions; social and natural selection. He is trying to say that much of sociology, and much of economic thought of 1950, 60's was somewhere based on the theory of evolution, selection, modern the whole modernization theory is of that kind, laissez faire, do not interfere in the market. Why should you not interfere in the market, because the nature or the social processes themselves will take care of everything, and it is a law of nature, that those who are fittest. They survive; it is a kind of war of all against all, and in this war of all against all. All those who are found to be the fittest, they survive, but then sociologist may ask a number of questions; is it true, that fitness, in fitness can be defined only in terms of survive, can we say that only those people, groups, communities, values, ideas which survive are the fittest ideas for mankind. If Alexander or if Genghis khan invaded and established, invaded a large part of the world, and established their monarchy, and they ruled a large part of the world at one time. Does this mean, that the values that they followed was the right value. If in this

context I remember of another event, the Jews have always been tortured in Europe, in the known history, in 13th century.

Hitler is putting Jews in gas chamber, was not the isolated event in history. Somewhere I was reading that in 13th and 14th century, a big plague broke out in much of Africa, Europe, Asia, Mongolia, China, this whole area. And since at that time, the Jews were the trading community, and plague was the disease of trade and commerce. It was called the disease of trade and commerce, because plague will spread through caravans, trading communities. Fire and horses; the flea of plague will not survive, horses and fire, but ships which were carrying goods, soldiers, traders, were a breeding ground for the fleas, for rats, for mouse that spread plague. So cities trading routes of Africa, Europe, they were the major areas, affected by plague. And in those days, then because of association of plague which with trade, a feeling developed in several countries; Christian dominated countries of Europe, and in some parts of Asia, wherever Christians were in majority, that the plague is due to Jewth, and there are instances in which Jews were taken outside the fort, or outside the city, and burnt alive. There have been instances in which, because of plague, thousands of Jews, for several days, were burnt alive, by Christian cities.

So what happened in the Hitler's time, was not a new thing against Jews. For the reasons associated with plague in 13th century 14<sup>th</sup> century in several cities, thousands of Jews were burnt alive, by taking them outside the city level, because people feared that plague was spreading, because of the trading community of Jews. Now can we say by reading such events, that is ok, if Christians burnt Jews alive, to protect themselves from the spread of plague. If survival is the only thing, and the fittest people survive, then everything is justified, but sociologists say first of all, that survival alone is not, or should not be defined as fitness. It may a fact, but it should not become a norm. It is not it cannot. For human society, it cannot be a matter of norm. One can say that Chinese are the fittest people, which captured the whole Tibet; a large part of Tibet, and I was telling you the other day that, by killing number of monks ranging from 2 lakh to 10 lakhs, if this is fitness, that Chinese proved to be the fittest race, by spreading their empire, and making their communist regime strong, and maybe today China is giving fight, economic fight, political fight, nuclear fight, to all other powerful countries of the world.

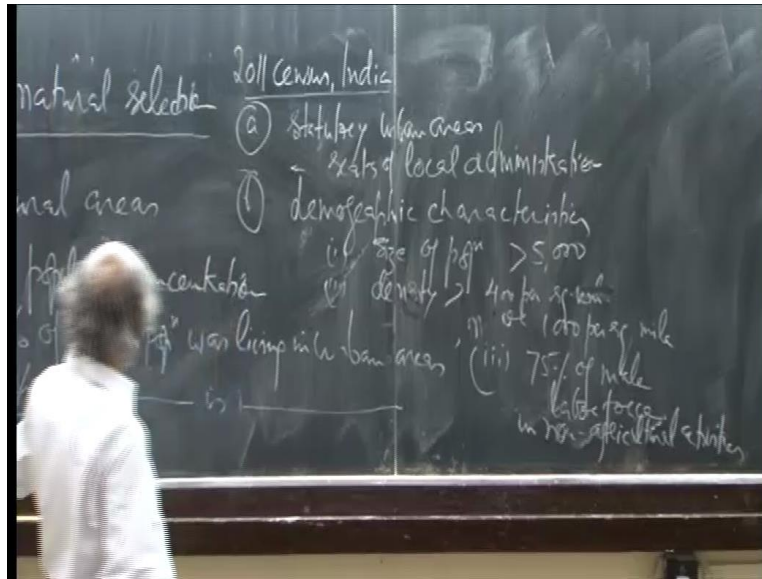
If this is what fitness means, does mankind require this kind of definition of fitness, this is one question. And do values, ethics, virtues, compassion has Gautam Buddha become irrelevant, in the history. In social progress, in progress of mankind then, should we forget about Gautam Buddha, should we forget about Mahatma Gandhi, and should we forget the ten commandments of God, or God's son, or God's messengers, or representatives, so this is. And second, can fitness be defined only at the physical or materialistic level, or intellectual, cognitive, and emotional, and spiritual, aspects not so important. These are the questions, that Gisbert raised in that chapter one; natural and social selection, that. So the idea, what I understood by reading this, is there is an attempt to reject those theories, according to which, survival in materialistic sense is defined, and which rejects human values, in favor of those values, which lead to survival, or prosperity, or creation of wealth, generation of wealth, or victory of the whole world type.

Imperialistic power, imperialistic ambitions, it rejects imperialistic ambitions, and seems to be in favor of a more virtuous, or socialist, or communist kind of society. Now another topic, I do not see the connection between the two, this idea of natural and social selection, and the idea of urbanization, but there is some discussion on urbanization. So I will spend some time on this urbanization, and cities. Everywhere, we make a distinction between urban and rural areas, and we say that urban or urbanization, is processed by which proportion of population, living in urban areas is increasing. Urbanization is a process, by which proportion of population living in urban areas increases or it is process urbanization, a process of population concentration. In the beginning of the last century, say around 1901, 10 percent, slightly more than 10, 10 percent of India's population was living in urban areas. And in 2011 census, the last census, census we held last year, we found that close to 30 percent of India's population, is now living urban areas.

More people are proportionately, more people are living in urban areas today, as compared to 1901. In last 100 and 110 years, proportion of population living in urban areas has increased from 10 percent to 30 percent, so we say that a process of urbanization is on. And for students of sociology, urbanization is one of the very important, very basic processes of social change, and in almost all studies of social factors, social change, or any social analysis, you find that urbanization is likely to be a

major factor. Everything is determined by urbanization, what is urbanization. According to Gisbert, cities of large size, say where 50,000 or more people are living, those places are called, or can be called urban. Well let me give you, our own Indian censuses definition of urbanization. When I say that in India 30 percent population is living in urban areas, what defines urban locality.

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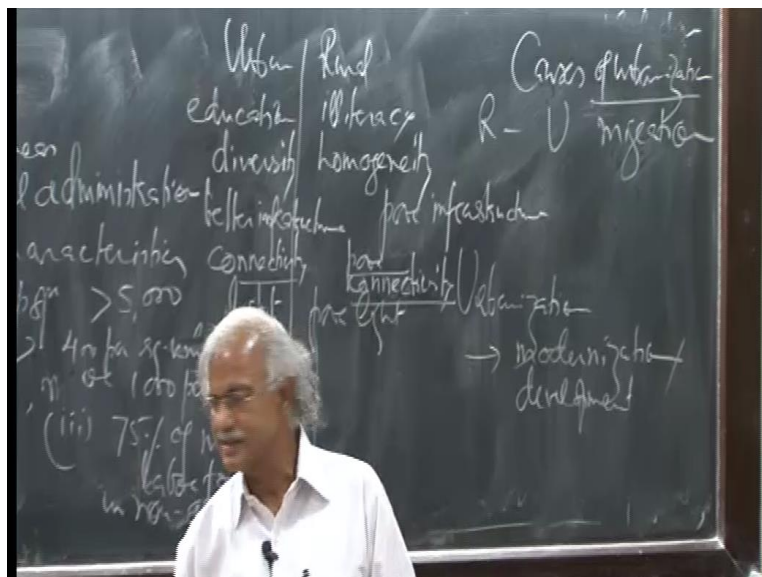
In 2011 census in India, two definitions were used; there were some statutory, urban areas, seats of local administration. All those places, which have a seat of local administration, a large municipal corporation, a smaller municipality, a town area committee, a notified town area committee, cantonment boards, railway colonies, which have a local seat of administration, they are called statutory urban areas, all those places were defined as urban areas. So going by that definition Kanpur is urban, Bombay is urban, Lucknow is urban, and notified area, notified town area committees, are also urban, and railway cantonment boards are urban, cants, cants are urban. If this a is not satisfied, then we look for some other characteristics, they are called demographic characteristics. And in demographic characteristics, if size of population is more than 5000, Gisbert talks of 50,000, but according to census of India.

All those places where 5000 or more people live, can be classified as urban, density, density means population divided by area. Density more than 400 per square mile, or

1000 per, sorry 400 per square kilometer, or 1000 per square mile, if the density of population, is 400 per square kilometer, or 1000 per square mile. If in an area of 1 kilometer, 1 kilometer, 400 people are living. In urban area density of population is more, villages are small in size, and more scattered, urban areas are bigger in size, and more densely populated. So in an area of one square kilometer, if 400 people are living, or which amongst to, in one square mile 1000 people are living, then also we define that locality as urban. And third, if 75 percent of male labor force, not the total, male labor force, is engaged in non-agricultural activities, non-agricultural means; manufacturing, industrial, or in health insurance, which are called service industries ,service activities, education.

Then also the locality maybe defined as urban, size of population 5000, density 400 per square kilometer, or 1000 per square mile, and 75 percent of male labor force, engaged in non-agricultural activities. Then such localities are classified as urban. And according to the last census, 30 percent of India's population is living in urban areas. Then there is further classification of large cities, or agglomerations, a group of large cities; like Bombay, Pune, several cities, several towns together, comprising Calcutta metropolitan city, urban agglomeration, Bombay urban agglomeration. Now Lucknow Kanpur are getting almost joined, very much similar to Bombay, Pune, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, there are large urban agglomeration.

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Now, what if they... From sociological point of view, there are very large differences between urban and rural areas, and there are certain causes of urbanization. And there is a debatable issue, whether urbanization leads to modernization. Most of the people turn to take this view that urbanization leads to modernization, and development. There are tremendous difference between urban and rural areas. In terms of education, the level of literacy in urban areas is much higher, than the level of literacy or education in rural areas. The gap continues, in the beginning there was a great gap, and through government planning that gap is narrowing down, but still there is a gap. All that secondary schools, tertiary colleges, universities, professional institutes, engineering management, they are all located in cities, and the degree of literacy, and degree of educational development in urban areas, is much higher than in rural areas. Urban areas have more diverse population, diversity, rural areas are more homogeneous.

In a village you find that most people have similar language, similar faith, similar life style, similar economic activities, similar standard of living, similar size of family, and most people of the village are exposed to similar chances of risk, of dying, or remaining healthy. Village population is more homogeneous, and therefore more cooperative. To use Emile Durkheim's terms, villages have mechanical solidarity, because there are all like similar. In urban areas, in every respect, the population is more diverse. In urban areas, you can find people who do not want to produce any child, and in urban slums, you still have people producing eight or nine children, which is the characteristic of traditional rural population. In urban areas you have some people, for whom life expectancy is as high as for European countries, and some people, for whom death rates are still very high. In urban areas you find people is speaking various languages, dialects. In urban areas you find people from all caste and communities, all cultural groups.

In Delhi you find all cultures, Indians and foreigners, and from within India all cultures, all languages, all communities, all castes, all occupational groups, from agricultural to software, everything; manufacturing, household industry, shopkeepers, traders, transporters, pretty Burjuva, clerks, superintendents, executives. In urban areas you have a mix of occupational activities, so diversity. Urban areas more educated, more diverse. Urban areas have better infrastructure, and in rural areas you have poor infrastructure, good connectivity, poor connectivity. If you want to go from Lucknow to Calcutta, or

Kanpur to Calcutta, from Lucknow to Calcutta or Kanpur to Calcutta by air less than two hours. From Uttar Pradesh to west Bengal you want to go, Kanpur to Calcutta takes less than two hours, and within the state, if I want to go to my native place, which is very much in U P, it will take me around twenty hours, because from here to, and though my native place is not a rural area. It is a district headquarter, but to go to Bijnor from Kanpur, I will have to take a bus or train to Lucknow, wait at Lucknow railway platform.

There is only one train, which passes through my native town. Otherwise from Lucknow I will take some Dehra express or some other train, which passes through my district, and get down at some place Kiratpur, Haridwar, or somewhere and again take a bus. Now rural areas, the nature of development has been such, due to colonial policies of British Government, that urban areas are connected, connectivity between Calcutta and Madras, Madras and Bombay, Bombay and Calcutta was much better, through railway lines air, and connectivity of rural. This is actually a major factor, in backwardness of rural areas, poor connectivity, poor roads, poor infrastructure, poor light, very poor light in rural areas. So industry cannot develop, cottage industry, household industry, big industry cannot develop, it is not viable to run industry. A traditional kind of industry, it is not viable to run traditional industry, on generators or mobil oil, so industrialization does not take place in rural areas. Family is different, culture is different. In urban areas you find all kinds of religion celebrated, of Indian origin, outside Indian origin.

In urban areas you have mother's day. Even two three days before, I was reading that there was widows day, all kinds of days mother's day, father's day, widows day, friends day, new year, valentine day. Apart from Holy, Deepawali, Eid, two Eids, and Good Friday, apart from those things we have so many festivals, urban areas are diverse. So through cultural context, diffusion, you have all kinds of processes, tendencies, and structures, rural area. I can keep on talking about this, but I think that you understand the difference between urban and rural areas. So urban areas are more developed, they have better infrastructure, better connectivity, better education, better electricity, better housing, and more diversity, and all intellectual, political. They are the seeds of intellectual, political, social powers. Among urban areas also there is concentration. So today, because of processes or forces of concentration, all kinds of good things are

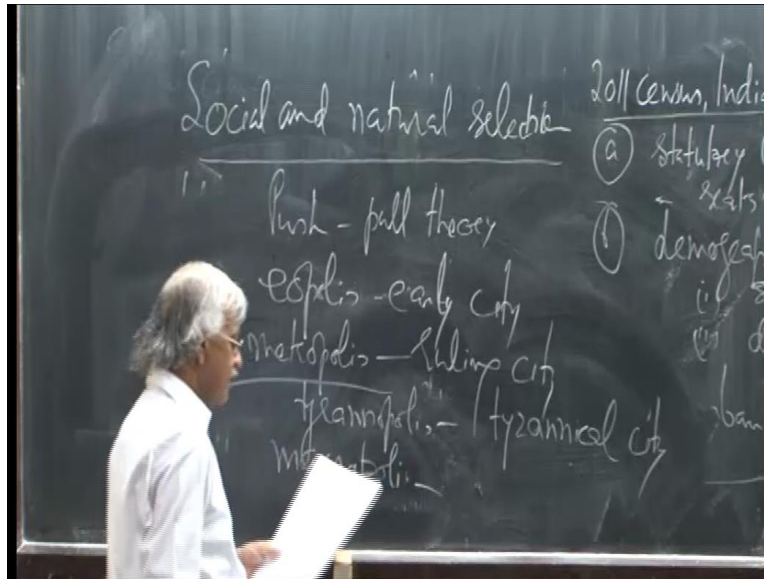
concentrated in Delhi. At one time, many good things occurred, in many other metropolitan cities, or large towns or cities.

At one time Allahabad, was the big center of Allahabad and Varanasi, of literary and intellectual activities. Many of our great Hindi writers came from that belt Varanasi, Allahabad, but today even Hindi literary activities are concentrated in Delhi. If you want to do a if you want to earn name and fame, in any area, then living in Delhi places you in more advantageous position. If you are a faculty member in IIT Kanpur, and if you are a faculty member in Delhi University, or Delhi School of Economics, or JNU, or IIT Delhi it matters. If you are in social sciences, if you are in JNU you immediately become visible, not that everybody is visible, but it puts you in an advantageous position, by working much less. If you are placed in JNU, or if you are placed in Delhi School of Economics, you become more famous, and if you are working in IIT Kharagpur, IIT Guwahati, IIT Kanpur, then you work more, but you will not be known, because you are away from the networks of power, you do not have the social capital.

In remote areas, in rural areas, in remote areas, even in lesser urban areas, urban areas, cities of lesser importance, outside the capital city, you are in a slightly disadvantageous position. So this explains why people are moving from rural to urban areas. There are two causes of urbanization; urban population can increase through natural increase, which means natural increase which means births minus deaths. There are two sources of expansion of urban population, births minus deaths, natural these are called natural increase, and migration. Urban areas are often growing at rate four percent per year or more, bigger urban areas are growing at fast rate. The reasons are two; natural increase, 50 percent of their growth occurs, because of natural increase. If rural areas are growing say at 2 percent per year, in absence of migration, urban areas will also be growing at 2 percent. Though such things cannot be generalized, birth and death rates differ from region to region, town to town, village to village, but in overall terms, to simplify the matter I can say that, there are only two factors, in growth of urban population; natural increase, and rural to urban migration. Natural increase is birth minus death, and nearly 50 percent of the growth of urban population, is due to natural increase, and 50 percent due to migration.



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In migration, again there are so many theories, but one major theory which is also referred, to in sociology text book like this; push-pull theory. According to this push-pull theory, people are either pushed from rural areas, because of adverse conditions, or they are pulled by urban areas, because of certain attractions. The push factors of rural areas may include, poverty, unemployment, natural disasters, devastations, traumas, conflicts, inequality, caste conflicts, or uncertainties of vagaries of nature, uncertainties of agricultural productivity, underemployment or lack of schooling facilities, lack of electricity, lack of roads, lack of health condition, lack of good doctors and hospitals. These are the factors, because of which, rural population, is moving towards urban areas. Employment is a big factor, but importance of other factors, also cannot be denied. In censuses of 2001 2011, registrar general India has also asked a question on, region of migration, and we have detailed tables which show, why do people move from rural to urban areas, employment is a major factor, for males at least, because many women.

For women the migration is caused, more by marriage migration. You know that in Indian society, marriage is caste endogamous, and village exogamous. You marry in the same caste, but outside your village. So after marriage almost all women become migrants, that has nothing to do with employment or education or anything but in case of males. If you analyze data of males and females separately, you find that among males, employment is the major reason of migration, among females marriage is the major

reason of migration. For us, for connecting urbanization and development, employment as the reason of migration is more important, so we can rely more on migration data for males. So push-pull theory, this is the cause. In cities education, health facilities, equality, anonymity, for people belonging to say low caste in rural areas, they suffer from loss of social prestige, because of their low caste.

If they come to urban areas, nobody is interested in caste. So urbanization also leads to great, creation of greater equality, or removing inequality of social status. So people move towards urban areas, and urbanization increases. Urbanization by government of India, is also seen as an indicator of development, and by social scientists also in many studies of development urbanization, proportion of population living in urban areas, is seem to be an indicator of development. Though sometimes as in this book, a distinction is made between different types of cities, large cities, a distinction is made between Eopolis, Eopolis means early city, a new city. Metropolis, metro means ruling, Delhi is a metropolis in that sense, ruling city. Tyrannopolis, tyrannical city, I do not think that, in India any city, would like to be qualified by this term tyrannopolis, or tyrannical city.

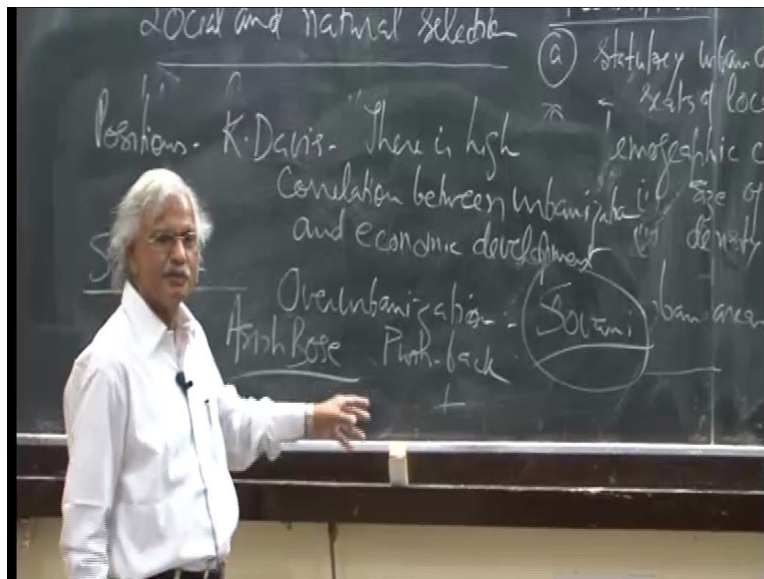
Though from, looked at from a certain perspective, some economist, such as Michael Lipton, say that the most basic form of conflict, in countries like India, is the urban rural conflict, and urban areas are exploiting, rural areas are getting exploited. The gap between urban and rural areas, is widening, and simple statistics show this, that proportion of people in rural areas dependent on agriculture, is not declining that sharply. 70 percent or so of rural population in India, is still dependent on agriculture, but the contribution of urban and rural areas to G D P; gross domestic production, has become highly unequal. Contribution of rural areas in G D P has declined sharply, and contribution of urban areas and of industry, has increased very sharply, and that shows that the gap, in quality of life, of city dwellers, and rural population, is widening.

Macropolis for a long time, there was a debate, whether Calcutta is a dying city, over populated, no new employment opportunities, no industry. Calcutta was portrayed, as a kind of dying city, so cities are also of various types. Traditional in India our cities were mostly, religious cities, of fort cities. Most of your cities, of ancient India or of the recent, of medieval times, where political cities, or administrative towns or religious towns;

Allahabad, Prayag, Prayag was a religious city, Varanasi was a religious city. And gradually our cities are becoming more of industrial type. Agra was a capital city of, certain dynasties for some time, and Jaipur, Jodhpur, they were city, political cities, where some people ruled for some time, Ajmeer religious city political city, but today the most of the important cities are becoming industrial cities, or political cities, capital towns.

Capital towns, industrial cities, or in post industrial post industrial cybernetic agent, there are IT cities. Bangalore is for example an IT city, software city, so Bangalore is expanding. During last 10 years or so Bangalore and Delhi, these are the cities, which increased at the fastest rate, Delhi because of political nature capital city. And Delhi is not only a capital city, Delhi is the center of almost all valued things; trading, marketing, politics, literature, sciences, everything, everything is located in Delhi, so Delhi is a very powerful city. Now there is a debate in sociology, whether urbanization needs to modernization, and development. Some people think, that urbanization leads to development, but again as on any other topic, there will be a debate on this issue, and one position.

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There are two positions on this; one is standard position. By sociologists such a Kingsley Davis, we showed that there is, a high correlation, between urbanization and economic

development. And by demonstrating, that there is a high correlation, between economic development and urbanization, which is true, at the international level, national level, regional level. Internationally the most industrially advanced countries of Europe, north Western Europe at the top then, southern Eastern Europe, United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, and Taiwan, and Singapore. Industrially most advanced countries, are also most urbanized countries, and Africa, south Asia, and in relative terms countries of Latin America, which are economically less advanced. There also less urbanized countries, so Kingsley Davis makes a correlation between the two, and then Kingsley Davis demonstrates, how urbanization becomes, a vehicle of economic development.

Because of education, infrastructure, economy of scale, different norms, diversity, different psychology of people, different culture, different milieu. A high level of need for achievement, rationalization, modernization, modernity of outlook, because of variety of factors, and money obviously investment. Urbanization leads to development, and such people will advocate, that we must have higher levels of urbanization. India must increase it is level of urbanization. One analyst from J N U; Kundu, a well known economist, social scientist, even argued, that government of India is so desperate to raise, level of urbanization in India, that they made huge of certain tricks, in defining urbanization so that, to the world community they could show, that urbanization has increase at a fast rate. There was a danger that, 2001 to 11, change of urbanization will not be much, but through manipulation of, definitions, the government of India was able to project, that India is urbanizing at a fast rate.

This may be an extreme view, but this show that, there is one kind of thinking among some people, that relationship between urbanization and economic development is very close. There is a other thinking, you may call it is socialist thinking, we show that urbanization in country like India, demonstrate certain characteristic; one, over urbanization, India is over urbanized. Although, how can it be over urbanized, when only thirty percent population is living in urban areas when this over urbanization thesis was given, by an economist name Sovani, India was much less urban, but he said that India is over urbanized. The meaning of over urbanization was, that if you compare different countries, than at the level of economic development, at which India is today, at the level of economic development, at which India finds herself today. When today's developed

countries, industrially advanced countries, highly urbanized countries, when they had the same level of economic development, then they were much less urbanized than India is.

At the same level of development, at which India finds herself today, when industrially advanced countries, were at the same level of development. They were much less urbanized, and therefore India. There is a disjunctions between economic development and urbanization, India is much more urbanized than those countries, where at parallel levels of economic development, what is the reason. The reason is that people are coming to urban areas, not because of pull factors of urban areas, but more because of push factor of rural poverty, poverty, unemployment, natural disasters, frequent conflicts, lack of safety, security in rural areas. Living in rural areas, is becoming more difficult. The ideal villages which you find in, literary books of native languages, that ideal village does not exist anywhere. Gandhiji's village of his dream, Gandhi wrote village of my dream, Gandhiji's village, village of Gandhiji dream, is a dream, it does not exist anywhere.

Real life conditions are so bad in rural areas that whether they get any employment in urban areas or not, they will atleast come and try their luck. So it is more because of rural poverty, or push factors, rather than pull factors operating in urban area, that people are moving away from rural areas, they are going towards urban areas, and large cities, in search of employment large cities. And therefore a well known demographer economist of India Ashish Bose, who coined the acronym Bimaru states, for Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and his acronym became very famous, it has gone in to journalism, sociology text books, economics text books, Bimaru states. He identified that, there is lot of push-back in India, push-back mind. people are. Originally people talked of push and pull, push operating in rural areas, and pull in urban areas, but there is lot of push-back, means people come to urban areas, to try out their learn, because they are pushed from adverse conditions of rural life.

They stay in urban areas, and then they cannot adjust there, When they cannot find employment, or when they cannot find suitable employment, addition minimum wages, good working conditions, or they cannot find a house there, or they cannot have social capital, network of relationships, friends, they do not have social support. So after spending 5 10 years, or even less, they are push-back to rural areas. And in this situation

another characteristic of over urbanization thesis is, that all your cities, are kind of dual cities. Dual cities means, that all cities are divided into two parts; a progressive part, a more developed part, and a backward part, because urbanization has not become a vehicle of change in India, urbanization. There is no conjunction, there is rather a disjunction between economic development, and urbanization, and using Michael Lipton's theory, urban areas are exploiting rural areas, so in this milieu, you have a dual character of cities.

So in cities, you find one part, you may called new city, in new city you find affluent colonies, multistory buildings, trade and commerce, malls, officers of corporate sector, and this new city may look like European city. And on the other hand in this city, you have an old part, the old part is traditional, it is not, in terms of characteristics of urbanization or moderation, it is not urban or modern at all, its rural .So some people use the term Rurban, it is urban for name sake ,but in characteristics it is rural. So Indian cities have a large part of Rurbans, urban population with rural characteristics, in terms of languages, dialectics, work, networks, families, culture, religion, believe systems, magic, witchcraft, supernatural beliefs, health practices, they are rural, but they are living in urban areas. So one part, the old part New Delhi, old Delhi, new Hyderabad old Hyderabad, new Bangalore old Bangalore, I visited Bangalore and several times, and I saw that in inside the Bangalore, there are areas, if somebody had left me in those areas ,without telling that I am in Bangalore, I will think that I am in my native town Bijnor. So Bangalore is not totally. Bangalore does mean that the, whole city is developed, there is a new Bangalore, information city, and there is old Bangalore ,condition of south Delhi, old Delhi, very different, old Kanpur, Chamanganj, Bekanganj. I think you have not had opportunity to go to Chamanganj and Bekanganj. Some day you go and see, what kind of kanpur that is, and there is another Kanpur, which is the kanpur of civil lines, Arya Nagar, Swaroop Nagar and malls so all. So basically, now time is over.

So what I wanted to say, that on the issue of relationship between urbanization in economic development, these are two ideas. According to one idea; urbanization is an indicator, and also a vehicle, of economic development, and according to the other idea, there is a, in the context of less developed countries atleast, urbanization and economic development are not associated, and rather they have over urbanization. So that is the

reason why around 2003 ,our president doctor A P J Abdul Kalam, gave the concept of pura P U R A Pura, which meant. On the eve of India's 54th republic day in 2003, doctor Kalam address the nation, expressing the need for P U R A pura, which means providing urban amenities to rural areas. Doctor Kalam, by giving the concept of Pura, wanted to it says that; let us not worry about degree of urbanization, or level of urbanization. Let us make societies urban and rural equal, by providing urban amenities in rural areas itself, amenities means infrastructure, services, health, education, roads, connectivity. So we stop here.