
UNIT 5 URBAN INDIA*

Structure

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5.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- explain various dimensions of urban India;
- narrate the history of urbanisation in India;
- examine various facets of urbanisation in Independent India;
- explain the complex interrelationship between the rural and the urban; and
- describe urban problems in India.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

We have discussed different aspects of Indian society so far. In the previous unit, we looked at the Indian villages and in the present unit we are going to discuss urban India. As we know from our discussions in the previous unit, the shift from agriculture to industry escalated with colonialism and brought large scale changes in political, economic and social spheres and led to the rise of modern, especially economic cities such as Kolkata and Mumbai in India. However, one of the misconceptions about urbanisation in India is its association with industrialisation and colonialism, while colonialism did have significant role in urbanisation process; India had a long history of urbanisation. Thus, a section in this unit is devoted to urbanisation in Pre-independent India. Following this section we examine the urbanisation process in post Independent India through its various dimensions. Many conceptualisations of the urban India are from the administrative and planning perspectives that have centred on the spatial and

*Contributed by Uzma Azhar (Independent Scholar), with sections adapted from Unit 4, Patterns of Urbanization in Society in India, ESO-012

demographic aspects of urban centres. Urban centres and urbanisation also have been defined often in relation to rural societies and settlements, this has resulted in the view that the urban and rural are contrasting categories and mutually exclusive. Many sociologists on the other hand were well aware of the dynamics of the categorisation of urban. The Indian society presents a complex picture of the urban and rural scenario. In our section on rural-urban continuum, we shall examine the nature of this complexity and examine how in reality the urban and rural interact and influence each other. We end the unit with brief look at the problems of urbanisation.

5.2 DIMENSIONS OF URBANISATION

Very simply put urbanisation is the movement of people from villages to town/city where economic activities are centred around non-agricultural occupations such as trade, manufacturing industry, administration and others. This movement of people not only transforms new locations in demographic, spatial, occupational sense but it also influences the social condition of life. Louis Wirth believed that urbanism is a way of life and it impacts social relationships and personalities. Let's examine these two dimensions of urbanisation.

5.2.1 Urbanisation as a Social Process

Urbanisation is the process of transformation of rural agriculture based economy to urban trade and service based economy. However no urban centre can materialise without a hinterland that supplies the food to feed the urban non-producers. Thus, one of the key variables that enables the emergence of an urban centre is the production of surplus food and the transition of the rural economy from subsistence production to surplus production. A certain level of technological transformation thus becomes necessary before any urban centre is possible.

Compared to rural settlements urban centres have a larger population, higher population density and greater social differentiation. Most of the people residing in urban centres engage in activities that are not directly related to food production. These activities consist of social, cultural, industrial, commercial, religious, artistic, educational, military, political or administrative functions. Such diverse activities require people having different kinds of skills. This heterogeneity or diversity implies that there is greater social differentiation in the cities: "urban centres are home to rich and poor, rulers and the ruled, buyers and sellers, craftsmen and traders" (Wirth, 1938:360-366).

Urban centres are also associated with centralised political authority and the state that needs to keep a count of the numbers of people in the urban centres for administrative purposes. Urbanism thus gave rise to bureaucracy and a class of people who are administrators on a full time basis. The earliest known class of bureaucrats are the Mandarins of China.

The idea of urbanisation may be made more precise and meaningful when described using the theoretical concepts of diffusion and acculturation. Urbanisation may be understood either as intra -society or inter-society diffusion, that is, urban culture may spread to various parts of the same society or it may cross cultural or national boundaries and spread to other societies. It involves both borrowing and lending. A process complimentary to diffusionist

acculturation, the process whereby, individuals acquire the material possessions, behavioural patterns, social organisation, bodies of knowledge, and meanings of groups whose culture differs in certain respects from their own through direct contact and sometimes political subordination. Thus, urbanisation can happen when two cultures come in contact and also when one is in a superior position to either forcefully or in a benign way impose its culture and way of life on the other. This is the way that western colonisation had introduced urbanisation among the countries that it ruled making urbanisation often synonymous with westernisation both economically and culturally. However urban centres exist in many ancient civilizations based on settlements grown around religion, trade and politics. In India, Varanasi can be seen as an example of what can be called as a sacred complex, while Surat in Gujarat is a trading town and Delhi has always been a politically strategic urban centre. As seen in this light urbanisation is a complex process involving multiple factors.

5.2.2 Urbanism As Way of Life

Louis Wirth in his book *Urbanism as a Way of Life* (1938) writes that living in a city affects the way we interact with each other and it influences our personalities. He writes that the city is characterised by a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals, gives rise to various kinds of social relationships and patterns of behaviour among the city-dwellers. Further, Louis Wirth also argues that the city effects are wider than city itself. Thus, the city draws the surrounding villages and even remote communities into its orbit. In other words, urbanism as a way of life is not peculiar to city-dwellers alone as the influences of the city (i.e., impact of urbanisation) stretch far behind its administrative boundaries. In brief, urbanisation in its demographic sense refers to the trends of growth of the urban population. In societal context and in its sociological sense, Urbanism denotes a distinct way of life typically associated with living in the city and the process of transforming rural ways of life into urban ones. (See: <https://study.com/academy/lesson/louis-wirths-urbanism-as-a-way-of-life.html>)

Urbanisation implies a cultural and social psychological process whereby people acquire the material and non-material culture, including behavioural patterns, forms of organisation, and ideas that originated in, or are distinctive of the city. Although the flow of cultural influences is in both directions – both toward and away from the city – there is substantial agreement that the cultural influences exerted by the city on non-urban people are probably more pervasive than the reverse. Urbanisation seen in this light has also resulted in what Toynbee has called the “Westernisation” of the world, since industrial economy originated in the West and spread across the world through colonisation and the global reach of capitalism.

Activity 1

Have you had a chance to be in a big city and in a village? What was your interaction with strangers in a city and in a village? Write a small note and compare it with your fellow learners in the study centre.

5.3 URBANISATION IN PRE-INDEPENDENT INDIA

Urbanisation in the Indian context is often associated with industrialisation and the coming of the British, there is no doubt that mercantile and trading activities of colonisation spurred industrialisation and commercialisation giving rise to whole set of urban centres; but urbanisation in India is not a modern phenomenon. There have been urban centres throughout Indian history. In fact, the first cities in the subcontinent can be traced back to as early as the Indus Valley Civilization (2500 BCE).

There are several factors that have contributed to the process of urbanisation in India. Agricultural surplus production, which is an outcome technological intervention, is one of the factors which has paved the way for differentiation in occupations and growth of centralised political structures and resultant growth of urban centres. The cities were dependent on the hinterland of villages as source of sustenance from agriculture. Historian, Fernand Braudel writing on the medieval towns of France argues that towns were linked by villages, where, through a system, agricultural surplus was extracted. (Braudel, 1989:182-185) In the Indian contexts too, surplus became source and sustenance for the urban centres. Historian P. K. Basant writes: “Urban centres develop a variety of institutional mechanisms to extract food from villages. This mobilisation of ‘surplus’ might take the form of tribute to an urban deity who might be believed to own the land, the source of all produce. It might take the form of taxes imposed by the king or it might take the form of exchange in return for goods supplied by craftsmen and merchants from the city. Thus, laws, traditions and belief systems backed by military force were used to transfer agricultural produce” (Basant, 2017:11). While agricultural surplus was important for growth of cities, the trading activities had a bearing on the rise of urban centres, especially around trading routes and ports. Equally important were the rise and fall of various kingdoms, empires, principalities in whose wake cities arose and fell. In the sub sections to follow we look at various aspects of urbanisation in ancient, medieval and colonial India, but first let’s look at some categories of towns through history.

5.3.1 Classification of Traditional Towns

There were several kinds of towns in ancient India. The Vastushastra (Treatise on Classical Indian Architecture) has differentiated between several kinds of towns based on their functional specificity such as trade, commerce, manufacturing, administration and military marches. However, the traditional towns can be broadly categorised on the basis of their functional specificities:

- i) **Trading and Manufacturing Towns:** Places termed as *nagar*, *pattana*, *dronamukha*, *kheta*, *nigama* etc. belonged to this category. A *nagar* was an ordinary fortified town with inland trade as an important activity. *Pattana* was a large commercial port situated on the bank of a river or sea. The special feature of the *pattana* was that it was a city of the trading castes (*Vaisya*) and was full of jewels, wealth, silk, perfumes and other articles. *Dronamukha*, *kheta* etc. were also small size trading centres. Again *nigama* was a market town consisting of the artisans and also serving as a resting place for “traders and caravans”.

- ii) **Political or Military Town:** *Rajdhani* was a distinctively planned political town. It was the royal capital. *Durga* was a fortified town equipped with an arsenal and well-stored with food stuffs. Similarly *senamukha* and *shaniya* were also the fortified towns of varied locations and importance.
- iii) **Educational or Pilgrim and Temple Towns:** *Matha* and *Vihara* were the towns based on educational and religious activities. A classic example of this was Nalanda. Again, there were temple towns like Dwaraka, Tirupati, Puri etc. and pilgrim centres like Haridwar, Gaya, Benaras etc.



Temple city of Kashi/Benaras, now Varanasi

(Photo Credit: Marcin Biaek [<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>], from Wikimedia Commons)

After the decay of the Harrapan Civilization new urban centers came up in the Doab region and the area around present day Delhi, Delhi itself saw many layers of urban civilization, including the ancient city of Hastinapur and the subsequent settlements through medieval India and its colonial avatar as the imperial capital city and finally as a National Capital Region.

5.3.2 Urbanisation in Ancient and Medieval India

The distinctive spatial, economic, political and demographic features of urban ancient and medieval India can be described as following:

- 1) **Political and Demographic:** The rise and fall of different political regimes and cultural history of India impacted early processes of urbanisation. In fact, it was the political considerations on which cities emerged in those periods. “The composition of these towns was built around the ruler and his kinsmen and followers, whose principle interests were centered on agricultural activities in their vicinity and the surplus they could extract from these” (Sabarwal 1977:2).
- 2) **Spatial:** An important physical feature of the traditional towns was fortification in the form of a girdle of walls and defensive trenches as well

as the social composition in ancient cities, i.e. the settlement of various castes in separate wards. The location of different activities, for example, lower castes engaged in physical labour lived near the outskirts or walls of the city and higher castes involved in bureaucracy/ administration lived near the fort.

- 3) **Economic and Social:** Although kingdoms rose and fell throughout history, the social and economic institutions of the traditional cities demonstrated considerable stability. Craftsmen and merchants were organised into guilds called *shreni*. In these towns, the guilds based on the occupation of one caste were called *shreni* and the guilds based on different castes and different occupations were called *puga*. The important function in the traditional towns like banking, trading, manufacturing (and to an extent judicial as well), etc. were performed by the guilds, according to Rao (1974).

5.3.3 Urbanisation Under Colonialism

The process of urbanisation entered into a new phase with the coming of European colonial traders to India. The coastal areas as ports-cum-trading centres became important initially for trading purposes and new cities came up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The nineteenth century saw cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras become political centres as British empire consolidated itself in India. In this period, the process of urbanisation became smooth and widened the structure of economic opportunity had widened the social horizons of people with the introduction and development of new economic and political institutions, new modes of communication such as telegraph, railways, advanced system of roads and waterways. The destruction of traditional cottage and small industries pushed rural artisans and labourers to urban areas for employment, either temporarily or permanently to the urban areas.

New process of urbanisation under colonialism changed urban centres with the spread of education and establishment of new institutions. Jobs like teachers, journalists, lawyers, etc. brought about a new worldview and urban centres gradually grew into centres of new social and political ideas, diverse economic activities and of heterogeneous populations. Various economic opportunities and occupational and social mobility became possible in urban India.

Check Your Progress 1

- i) Differentiate between *Shreni* and *Puga*?

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ii) On what basis were traditional towns in ancient India categorised?

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5.4 URBANISATION IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

In India, urban area’s definitional parameters have undergone several changes and modifications over the years. In 1901, main criterion for describing any area or settlement as urban was its administrative set-up and size and not the economic characteristics. Consequently, many of the towns in reality were considered only as overgrown villages. In addition to other administrative and demographic features, in 1961 the ‘urban area’ was redefined taking into account the economic characteristics. The definition adopted in 1961 census was also used in 1971, 1981 then in 1991 and 2001 as well. According to this definition an urban area is: a) a place which is either a municipal corporation or a municipal area, or under a town committee or a notified area committee or cantonment board, or b) any place which satisfies the following criteria of:

- a minimum of 5,000 persons
- at least 75 per cent of the working occupations are non-agricultural
- a density of not less than 1,000 persons per square mile, and
- a place should have certain pronounced urban characteristics and amenities such as newly found industrial areas, large housing settlements, places of tourist importance and civic amenities.

An urban agglomeration forms a continuous urban spread and normally consists of a town and its adjoining urban outgrowth or two or more physically contiguous towns together with contiguous and well organised outgrowths, if any, of such town. (Census Report, 2001).The Census of India (Bhidae, 2017) has broadly categorised urban areas into following types :

- i) Statutory towns: all places with municipality, corporation, cantonment board, notified town area committees, etc. ii) Census towns: all villages with a minimum population of 5000 persons in the preceeding census, at least 75 per cent of male working population engaged in non-agricultural activities and a population density of at least 400 persons per sq. km. iii) Urban Agglomerations (UAs): a continuous urban spread comprising one or more towns. iv) Urban Growths (OGs): areas around a core city or town, such well recognised places like railways colony, university campus, port areas, etc. lying outside the limit of town.

Apart from well defined towns and/or cities, the outgrowths of cities and towns have also been treated as urban agglomerations. At the 1961 census, the concept of ‘town group’ was adopted to obtain a broad picture relating to urban spread.

This was refined in 1971 with the concept of urban agglomeration to obtain better feedback with regard to urban continuity, process and trends of urbanisations and other related matters. This concept without any change or modification has remained operative till 2001 census.

Table 5.1: Classification of centres (Tier-wise)

Population classification	Population) (2001 Census	Example of Cities
Tier-1	100,000 and above	Delhi, Mumbai
Tier-2	50,000 to 99,999	Pune, Jaipur
Tier-3	20,000 to 49,999	Kochi, Agra
Tier-4	10,000 to 19,999	Allahabad, Faridabad
Tier-5	5,000 to 9,999	Raipur, Mysore
Tier-6	less than 5000	Jamnagar, Etawah

Let us look at the different dimensions of urbanisation in independent India.

- 1) **Demographic:** In the Post Independence Period, urban population has significantly increased. Urban population of India has increased from 25.8 million in 1901 to 62.4 million in 1951 and 285.4 million in 2001, Thereby showing more than tenfold increase in total urban population. The total urban population of India, according to census 2001 is more than 10 percent of total urban population of the world.

Table 5.2: Urban populations in relation to the total population

Census Year	Total Population (Million)	Urban Population (Million)	Percentage of urban population to total population
1901	238.3	25.8	10.83
1911	252.1	25.9	10.27
1921	251.3	28.1	11.18
1931	278.9	33.5	12.01
1941	318.6	44.2	13.87
1951	361.0	62.4	17.29
1961	439.2	78.9	17.96
1971	548.1	109.1	19.91
1981	683.3	159.4	23.33
1991	846.3	217.6	25.71
2001	1027.1	285.4	27.78
2011	1210.2	377.1	31.16

Source: Census of India 2011

- 2) **Spatial:** Disparities have marked the Indian urban scenario spatially as well. These disparities emerged mainly due to imbalanced population concentration, regional disparities and sometimes because of the change in the census definition of “urban areas”. In this context we need to mention about two concepts, namely over-urbanisation and sub-urbanisation. When towns or urban areas have certain limitations in accommodating population (eg. Kolkata, Mumbai) providing civic amenities or catering to such needs as schooling, hospitals etc. it is known as over-urbanisation.

Delhi is a typical example (among others) of sub-urbanisation. It means urbanisation of rural areas around the towns characterised by the following features: a) a sharp increase in the ‘urban (non-agricultural) uses’ of land; b) inclusion of surrounding areas of town within its municipal limits, and c) intensive communication of all types between town and its surrounding areas.

- 3) **Economic:** While talking about the economic features of urbanisation in independent India, occupational diversification and migration are major factors. In 1991 around 67 per cent of the total workers were in the agricultural sector. In 2001 only 58 per cent of the total workers have been recorded to be in the agricultural sector. The results from 2001 census clearly suggest a shift in the composition of labour force from a predominantly agricultural to moderately non-agricultural sector. (Census Report, 2001)

Rural distress and unemployment is one of the reasons why urban population is on the increase. Surplus rural labour force gets pushed to urban centres with the hope of getting employment due to the increase of unemployment in the rural areas. The expectation of a variety of glamorous jobs, good housing, medical, educational and communication facilities are the other factors which have pulled sections of the rural population (including the affluent sections) toward the city. The process of migration from village starts when a relative saturation point is reached in the field of agriculture, thus industrialisation should not be taken as prerequisite for urbanisation, a result of an imbalanced land/man ratio in the countryside

- 4) **Socio-cultural:** Towns and cities of India have achieved heterogeneity in terms of ethnicity, caste, race, class and culture. But, migrants have maintained their distinctive cultural traditions in the towns. N.K. Bose (1968: 66) points out that the migrants tend to cluster around people with whom they have linguistic, local, regional, caste and ethnic ties. Many of the Indian towns have a “mixed” character, i.e., they are the capital cities, centres of trade and commerce, important railway junctions etc. The oldest or the ‘core’ area in the city is where older inhabitants stay and on its fringe we find the new immigrants.

In many Indian cities, Lynch (1974) points out, especially traditional cities like Agra, neighbourhoods have remained homogeneous in terms of caste and religious groups. There the untouchable Jatavs caste is concentrated in particular areas called mohallas (ward). But some changes have taken place mostly because of politicisation, spread of education, and occupational diversification. But D’Souza (1974) noticed that in the planned city like Chandigarh neighbourhood has not been developed on the basis of ethnicity,

common interest and other similarities. In this city the religious activities, friendship and educational ties are often outside one's own neighbourhood.

Social stratification takes a new form in the urban independent Indian society. It is assumed that with urbanisation caste transforms itself into class in the urban areas. But caste systems do exist in the cities though with significant organisational differences. For example, Harold Gould (1965) points out that the *rikshawalas* of Lucknow belonging to several religious and caste groups exhibit uniformity in the pattern of interaction and attitudes in respect to their common occupation. Again it has been found that caste has not played a significant role in determining the choice of occupation in the urban areas.

Many inter-caste and inter-religious marriages in the urban areas are happening now than earlier. Though it has been pointed out that joint families are breaking down in the urban areas, studies conducted in several parts of the country also suggest that joint families do exist in the cities among certain castes like Khatris of Delhi and Chettiars of Madras (for details see Kapoor 1965, Singer 1968).

(Source; Unit 4, Patterns of Urbanisation in *Society in India* ESO-012, 2017)

Check Your Progress 2

- i) Describe how Census of India categorises urban India?

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5.5 RURAL URBAN CONTINUUM

We have discussed village and urban India as spatial and social formation separately, as they both have distinct characteristics. However, in reality, especially in India context, urban and rural are not discrete categories, even if they may appear so. Many sociologists suggest that a simple rural-urban dichotomy of population is neither adequate, nor sufficient and is too simplistic. We can well see in our cities that the cultural traits which are rural are very much prevalent and that villagers show the profound impact of city life on them. Many sociologist argue that rural-urban are continuum with gradations of urban and rural characteristics. The sociologist Maclver (1931) believes that though one tends to divide communities in terms of rural and urban, the line of demarcation is not always clear between these two types of communities. There is no sharp demarcation to tell where the city ends and country begins, he argues. Every village possesses some elements of the city and every city carries some features of the village. Redfield (1947) has given the concept of rural-urban continuum on the basis of his study of Mexican peasants. The rapid process of urbanisation through the establishment of industries, urban traits and facilities has decreased the differences between villages and cities.

Rama Krishna Mukherjee (1974) found the rural urban continuum on aspects of migration, family and caste. He writes that out-migration of rural population to urban areas carries with it social organisational elements of the village society. Thus, he found that the caste elements are substantially the same in urban areas and that the extended family structures too continued in the city. Mukherjee while presenting a continuum model argues that the degree of urbanisation is a useful conceptual tool for understanding rural-urban relations. Like Mukherjee O.M. Lynch (1968) has noted in his study of Agra city that there is a caste panchayat like in villages. Rao (2001) has pointed out in the Indian context that although both village and town form a part of the same civilization characterised by institution of kinship and caste system in pre-British India, there are certain specific institutional forms and organisational ways to distinguishing social and cultural life in towns from that of villages. In his book “Modernization of Indian Tradition” (1973) Prof. Y. Singh, has argued that rural-urban are interrelated and structural characteristics of rural society are not totally absent in urban society for that matter it cannot be assumed that there is total absence of urban characteristics in rural society.

Activity 2

If you live in a rural area find out how many of your relatives in the village have migrated to the urban areas. After making this survey, write a note on the cause(s) of their migration.

Or

If you live in an urban area, visit and make notes on migrant neighbourhoods.

In any case the rural and urban societies depend on each other for exchange of goods and services. Cities depend on rural India to supply them with food, agricultural produce, labour, artisans, traditional occupations based labour and skilled artisans etc. The Rural population depends on finished, often industrially produced goods, and for education, recreation, and administrative services.

Box 1: Delhi’s Urban Villages

Delhi is unique in the way it is made of many villages. As the city expanded many village settlements with distinct agricultural practices and its allied social life were engulfed in to Delhi city. They were considered as urban villages or Lal Dora areas, areas which were earlier villages A red thread was tied to mark the boundary by authorities, hence *lal dora*. In 1908 they were classified as *Abadi* land and to be used for non- agricultural purposes. The jurisdiction of the municipal authorities or the urban development is not applicable here. Lal Dora areas are exempted from the building bye laws, and strict construction norms and regulations, as regulated under the Delhi municipal act. The term Lal Dora applies to both Rural & Urban villages and prime areas of Delhi today (though still classified as Lal Dora) operate commercial & high end residential areas like Hauz Khas Village, Lado Sarai, Khidki village, Shahpur Jat, Chhatarpur, etc.

5.6 ISSUES OF URBANISATION IN INDIA

Most of the countries (including India) are experiencing rapid urbanisation. The unplanned urbanisation particularly in developing countries has culminated

several problems. This rapid urbanisation envisages that within the next two to three decades, there will be need for increased demand for basic infrastructure, housing and living facilities in major urban centres. The demand for clean water sanitation, solid waste disposal, sewage for liquid waste, health and transport facilities will grow manifold. The most demanding of the urban challenges undeniably is the challenge posed by poverty; the challenge of reducing exploitation, relieving misery and creating more human condition for urban poor. Rising crime rate due to unemployment and poverty is another issue in urban areas. Rapid urbanisation leads to massive growth of slums followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, inequalities, degradation in the quality of urban life. Consequently, the urbanisation process and growth faces many challenges.

We will have a detailed discussion on various aspect of urban India in our elective course 'Urban Sociology'

5.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we started with the concept of urbanisation, its various dimensions and urbanism as a distinct way of life. Then, we have examined the long history of urbanisation in India, from ancient and medieval to its form under the colonial rule. We have also observed the urbanisation process in post Independent India and the factors which have affected its growth and form. Urban centres and urbanisation have been defined often in relation to rural societies and settlements, often resulting in the view that the urban and rural are contrasting categories and mutually exclusive. Under the section, rural-urban continuum, we have observed the nature of this complexity to see how in reality the urban and rural interact and influence each other. In the last section, we discussed briefly the problems affecting urban India.

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5.9 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- i) In the ancient and medieval towns, the guilds based on the occupation of one caste were called shreni and the guilds based on different castes and different occupations were called puga.
- ii) The *Vastusastra* (Treatise on Classical Indian Architecture) has differentiated between several kinds of towns based on their functional specificity such as trade, commerce, manufacturing, administration, religion, education and military marches.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) Census of India (Bhida, 2017) has broadly categorized urban areas into following types :
 - 1) Statutory towns: all places with municipality, corporation, cantonment board, notified town area committees, etc.
 - 2) Census towns: all villages with a minimum population of 5000 persons in the preceding census, at least 75 percent of male main working population engaged in non-agricultural activities and a population density of at least 400 persons per sq. km.
 - 3) Urban Agglomerations (UAs): a continuous urban spread comprising one or more towns.
 - 4) Urban Growths (OGs): areas around a core city or town, such well recognised places like railways colony, university campus, port areas, etc. lying outside the limit of town.