
UNIT 4 MODERNIZATION, INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION*

Structure

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4.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Describe the process of modernization
- How the industrialization paved the way of modernization?
- Discuss the process of urbanization.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will discuss modernization, industrialization and urbanization as the process of development.

Modernization, Industrialization and Urbanization are three important processes of social change by which the process of development can be explained. In fact, industrialization and urbanization can be viewed as sub-processes of the process of Modernization resulting primarily from technological advancement.

Modern societies emerged in Europe in the eighteenth century with the discourses of enlightenment. In the nineteenth century, modernity (a form of social life characterizing modern societies) got identified with industrialism (industrial way of social life) and the sweeping social, economic and cultural changes associated with it. The Industrial Revolution, resulting from scientific developments, transformed the world from an agricultural to a largely industrial system. The setting up of factories led to the migration of large numbers of people engaged in agricultural work to seek employment in the urban areas, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Gradually modernity, resulting from modernization, became a global phenomenon. Now let us discuss modernization.

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4.2 MODERNIZATION

Modernization is a multi-dimensional process of social change which transforms the social, cultural, economic and political organization of a society. It declares the passing of tradition. Enlightenment was the first pursuit of modernity. The main philosophes of Enlightenment, such as reason, empiricism, science, progress, freedom, universalism etc., are what the process of modernization encompasses. Industrialization in Britain and the political revolutions in England, France and the US gave new values of capitalism, citizenship, democracy and development. All of these led to the progressive evolution or process of modernization.

James O' Connell (1976) defines modernization as a process through which a traditional or a pre-technological society passes, as it is transformed into a society characterized by machine technology, rational and secular attitudes and highly differentiated social structures. It meant the adoption of 'Western' political and economic institutions. For Daniel Lerner (1958), modernization is "the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies; the process is activated by international, or intersocietal, communication". Modernization is the process of social change in which development is the economic component. It implies a social process which produces an environment in which there is a rising output per head. Lerner gives certain characteristics of modern societies which modernization was ideally seen as resulting in:

- A degree of self-sustaining growth in the economy
- Public participation in politics, i.e. electoral democracy
- A culture of secular and rational norms
- An increase in mobility in the society i.e. freedom of physical, social and psychic movement
- Emergence of a personality type, i.e. a "mobile personality" characterized by rationality, empathy and other-directedness (orientation of a person who depends on constant approval of others for confirmation of his self-image).
- Employment of certain kinds of means to achieve modernization.

Huntington (1976) in his essay "*The Change to Change: Modernization, Development and Politics*" said that modernization, and by implication development, was a revolutionary process transforming rural agrarian cultures into urban industrial cultures. Alvin Toffler (1980) described the move from the "First Wave" (agricultural society) to the "Second Wave" (industrial age society) as modernization. He also talks of transition in developed countries from an "Second Wave" to the "Third Wave" (post-industrial) society.

As a systemic process, modernization is the product of different forces and processes: economic (the global capitalist economy), political (the rise of the secular state and polity), the social (formation of classes and an advanced sexual and social division of labour), and the cultural (the transition from a religious to a secular culture). In brief following are the characteristics of modernization (see Box 4.1)

Characteristics of Modernization

- It is based on capitalist mode of production, characterized by wage labour and market economy.
- Emphasizes a high degree of structural differentiation and specialization.
- Growth of democratic political system based on political representation of various ideological groups and adult franchise.
- Growth of bureaucratic institutions and large-scale organizations.
- Rise of individualism and freedom.
- Emphasizes the idea of social progress and social emancipation.

It was with the backdrop of Industrial Revolution and industrialization the classical pioneers of Sociology gave their theories of social change. Their works indicate that they were concerned with the process of modernization. Marx, in his analysis of modes of production, talked of commodity production in capitalism, which led to oppression, exploitation and alienation. He opined that the ultimate progress lies in the attainment of socialism. Durkheim considered that division of labour and differentiation would lead to the development of society. More the differentiation, more functional dependence leading to organic solidarity and greater level of modernity. For Max Weber, emergence of industrial society would lead to the rise of bureaucratic-rational society and societal progress would come through rationality. Modernity abandons transcendental world and gives dominance to science and rational calculation of social action. Simmel investigated modernity in two sites: city and money economy. Modernity is experienced in city life and with diffusion of money. His modernization process includes the process of creating value, where money provides the basis of development of market, modern economy and ultimately capitalist (modern) society.

Development is the key word which helps to analyze modernity. There are many contemporary theories of modernity given by Giddens, Ritzer, Bauman and Habermas. Many scholars believe that modernity is a continuing process and an unfinished project. Anthony Giddens (1990) gives a theory of modernity and describes the modern world as a “juggernaut”. For him, modernity is multi-dimensional and its four institutional aspects are:

- Capitalism
- Industrialism
- Coordinated administrative power focused through surveillance
- Military power

Both Giddens and Beck characterize the late-modern world as a risk society. Thus, there is a shift from classical modernity characterizing industrial society to late or advanced modernity characterizing risk society. According to Ulrich Beck (1992:10),

“Just as modernization dissolved the structure of feudal society in the nineteenth century and produced the industrial society, modernization today is dissolving industrial society and another modernity is coming into being..... we are

witnessing not the end but the beginning of modernity – that is, of a modernity beyond its classical industrial design”. Beck labels this new form as *reflexive modernity*.

Modernization is not only a process, but also a set of theories. We will discuss the theories of modernization in the next unit. Historically, modernization came with industrialization and urbanization. Let us discuss these processes.

4.3 INDUSTRIALIZATION

Industrial Revolution in England propelled industrialization not only in England but Europe to be followed by rest of the world. Industrialization paved the way for modernization. Industrialization is the process of social and economic change by which the economy shifts from primarily agriculture to manufacture of goods. It refers to the emergence of machine production, based on the use of inanimate power resources, which revolutionized production, leading to mass production and innovations. The factory-based system of production and technological division of labour led to cataclysmic changes in society. The bureaucratically-managed industrial firms started mass production of goods, according to the demands of impersonal markets. As demand for labour increased, people migrated to cities in large numbers, leading to urbanization.

It was the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century which led to industrialization. The application of power-driven machinery for manufacturing in England, and most of Europe, led to many technological changes, agricultural innovations, advances in transportation and communication and changes in all institutions of society. Traditions weakened and religious practices got a blow leading to death of monarchy and feudalism. There was a rise of large-scale organizations in cities and the importance of cities increased. The classical sociologists in Europe started writing about the changes in society as a result of industrialization and contrasted pre-industrial with industrial societies. The well-known classifications of Tonnies’ *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, Durkheim’s *mechanical solidarity* and *organic solidarity*, Maine’s *status* and *contract*, Spencer’s *militant society* and *industrial society*, to name some, bring out the differences between societies before and after industrialization.

Industrialization gradually became the new order of the world as it helped in capital formation raising productivity. Investment in capital assets is an important pre-requisite of economic development. Industrialization generates employment opportunities, provides educational opportunities, improved access to food and better utilizes resources. All of these make industrial development extremely valuable to the local economy. Other effects on society include a significant population growth, a growing demand for raw materials, a rising standard of living, improvement of transportation and communication, and the development of new social classes, especially the middle class and the entrepreneurs. But industrialization also negatively impacts the environment and causes pollution, increased greenhouse gas emission and global warming.

Industrialization has radically changed the social structures and production processes. The classical thinkers discussed the negative effects of capitalism, which had its genesis in the factory mode of production and industrialization. The repetitiveness, division of labor, fragmentation of tasks characterize industrial employment. Karl Marx talked about “alienation”; Max Weber talked of “iron-

“disenchantment of the world” as a result of bureaucratization and technological advancement. He believed that rationalization and demystification of all aspects of modern social life is bound to happen.

Industrialization has historically led to urbanization or expansion of cities by creating economic growth and job opportunities that draw people to cities. Establishment of factories within a region creates a high demand for factory labor leading to urbanization.

4.3.1 Post-Industrial society

An industrial society is a modern society. Daniel Bell (1973), in *The Post-Industrial Society*, predicted that rather than industrial production, we are moving towards a society where services and knowledge related technologies would dominate. He believed that postindustrial society would replace the industrial society as the dominant mode. The main features of the post-industrial society, according to him are:

- a shift from manufacturing to services
- the centrality of the new science-based industries
- the rise of new technical elites and the advent of a new principle of stratification.

In this ‘information age’, the information technologies and related-industries dominate. The axial principle (the fundamental logic of economy and society) is theoretical knowledge, whereas axial principle in industrial society was technical knowledge. As theoretical knowledge is strategic resource of the new society, the university and the research institutions become the axial structure where this resource is located. Intellectual technology rather than machine technology, is dominant. White collar jobs replace blue collar jobs. Within this society there is an increase of professional, technical and scientific groups. It is engaged primarily in production of a service and not in production of good. Bell’s prediction of post-industrial society was based on already emerging patterns in America in the 1970s.

Box 4.2

Postmodernity

Modernity is associated with the sweeping changes that took place in the society and also in the fields of art and literature such as, industrialization, urbanization, rationality, development, democracy, capitalism and free market.

Postmodernity refers to a historical epoch/period or a socio-cultural condition following the modern age. It is a life beyond modernity. It indicates a modification or change in the way in which we experience and relate to modern forms of life or modernity. It has a history of reaction, rejection and rebellion. In the postmodern age, there is a decline of humanism and values of enlightenment.

In 1959, C.W. Mills speculated that modern age is being succeeded by post-modern period in which values of scientific rationality and political freedom were being challenged. In 1973, Daniel Bell wrote about the post-industrial society, which is information society. In 1969, Peter Drucker wrote *The Age*

of Discontinuity and in 1971, Alain Touraine wrote *The Post-Industrial Society*. According to Lyotard (1979), “the status of knowledge is altered as societies enter the postindustrial age and cultures enter what is known as the postmodern age”.

4.4 URBANIZATION

After industrialization, urbanization is world’s greatest and continuing revolution in recent times. It represents a revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social life. It is a product of economic and technological developments. Urbanization as a social process has brought about great transformations in man’s way of life. Being a global phenomenon and because of fast growth of urban centers, the present era is referred to as the ‘Age of Urbanization’.

Urbanization is the process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agriculture to other pursuits prevalent in cities, such as trade, manufacturing, industry and management, and corresponding changes of behaviour patterns. An increase in the size of towns and cities leading to growth of urban population is the most significant dimension of urbanization. These centers are essentially non-agricultural in character. Urbanization as a process of population concentration has been systematically treated by H. T. Eldridge (1956). For him, it involves two elements: ‘the multiplications of points of concentration’ and ‘the increase in size of individual concentrations’. As a result, the proportion of the population living in urban places increases.

Urbanization refers to the changing morphological structure of urban agglomerations and its development. Demographers call it as the redistribution of population between rural and urban areas. It is a worldwide process – an index of economic development combined with the latest scientific temperament and technological aggrandisement to secure a place among the economically self-reliant countries. It means the breakdown of traditional social institutions and values for the people in the west. In the Indian context, it envisages change in the mode of life styles, emergence of class system, nuclear family and highly secular religion on the debris of caste system, joint family and strict religious practices.

Box 4.3

Over-urbanization

Over-urbanization refers to the increased exemplification of the characters of urbanization in a city or its surrounding rural area. It results due to the excessive development of urban traits. As the urban activities and occupations expand, secondary functions like industry increase, bureaucratic administrative network develops, mechanization of life and the influx of urban characters into the surrounding rural area, over urbanization gradually replaces the rural and traditional traits of a community. Mumbai and Calcutta are examples of such cities.

This socio-cultural and psychological process whereby people acquire the material and non-material culture, including behavioural patterns, forms of organization, and ideas that originated in, or are distinctive of the city. Although the flow of cultural influences is in both directions, but the cultural influences exerted by

the city on non-urban people are probably more widespread. Thus, urbanization resulted in what Toynbee called the “Westernization” of the world.

Box 4.4

Sub-urbanization

Sub-urbanization, or the growth of suburbs, is closely related to over-urbanization of a city. Over-crowding of cities by population results in sub-urbanization. Delhi is a typical example. Sub-urbanization means urbanization of rural areas around the cities characterized by the following features:

- A) a sharp increase in the non-agricultural uses of land
- B) inclusion of surrounding areas of towns within its municipal limits, and
- C) intensive communication between town and its surrounding areas.

The study of cities was a subject that had already in the second part of the 19th century in early classical sociology with its celebrated dichotomies, such as Maine’s distinction between status and contract and Morgan’s contrast between savagery, barbarism and civilization. It was further developed by Tonnies, who contrasted *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, and by Durkheim, who distinguished between “mechanical and “organic” solidarity. Tonnies and Durkheim believed that the *gemeinschaft* type of social organization, or mechanical solidarity, is fully developed in cities, particularly in modern cities. Fustel de Coulanges in his famous work on the ancient city, regarded it as a crucial stage in the development of all civilizations and particularly of western civilization. Other sociologists like Max Weber (1961) and George Simmel (1950) have stressed on dense living conditions, rapidity of change and impersonal interaction in urban settings.

Simmel considered the importance of urban experience that is, chose to focus on urbanism (life within the city) rather than urbanization (development of urban areas). “*The Metropolis and Mental life*” (1903) is an essay detailing his views on life in the city, focusing more on social psychology. The unique trait of the modern city is the intensification of nervous stimuli with which the city dweller must cope. This is because of the movement from the rural setting where the rhythm of life and sensory imagery is slower, habitual and even, to city with constant bombardments of sights, sounds and smells. In the city, individuals learn to discriminate, become rational and calculating, and develop a blasé and detached attitude.

Louis Wirth (1938) was one of the pioneers of the study of urbanism and his was the first systematic attempt to distinguish the concepts of urbanism and urbanization. “Urbanism is that complex of traits that makes up the characteristic mode of life in cities”. Urbanization is not merely the process by which persons are attracted to the city and incorporated into its system of life. It also refers to that cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life, which is associated with the growth of cities, and finally to the changes in the direction of modes of life recognized as urban.

In his essay “*Urbanism as a way of life*” (1938) in the American Journal of Sociology, Wirth focused more on urbanism - urban lifestyle - than on structure. He indicated that size, density and heterogeneity – regarded as the principal traits in defining cities – are conducive to specific behavioral patterns and moral

attitudes. Urbanism, as a way of life, for With, is approached empirically from three interrelated perspectives:

- 1) as a physical structure comprising a population base, a technology, and an ecological order;
- 2) as a system of social organization involving a characteristic social structure, a series of social institutions, and a typical pattern of social relationships; and
- 3) as a set of attitudes and ideas, and a constellation of personalities engaging in typical forms of collective behaviour and subject to characteristic mechanisms of social control.

Sjoberg (1960) distinguished among three different types of societies, each with its own relationship to city culture:

- 1) preliterate “folk” societies in which there are no cities,
- 2) literate preindustrial city cultures, and
- 3) Industrial, urban ones.

According to Sjoberg, preindustrial cities, dependent on animate (human or animal) sources of energy, are subsystems of feudal societies or bureaucracies and do not possess impersonality, secularism, and large size that are characteristic of cities in the folk-urban dichotomy. Conversely, industrial societies that possess a developed technology, derived from inanimate sources of power, have fully developed cities with independent economic resources.

Urbanization, according to Meadows and Mizruchi (1969), refers to the processes by which urban values are diffused; movement occurs from rural areas to cities; and behaviour patterns are transformed to conform to those which are characteristics of groups in the cities. They believe that the concepts of urbanism and urbanization are important from the view of understanding city life. Urbanization represents the process by which urbanism emerges and develops out of the interaction of technology and society; or change and development in technology and society occur in and through urbanism.

Check Your Progress

- 1) What is modernization?

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- 2) What is Industrialization?

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3) What is urbanism? How is it different from urbanization?

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we see that many classical and contemporary thinkers have analysed the processes of modernization, industrialization and urbanization from time to time. All these processes are seen as precursors to the progress and development of a modern society.

4.6 KEY WORDS

Urbanism: Urbanism is that complex of traits that makes up the characteristic mode of life in cities

Postmodernity: Postmodernity refers to a historical epoch/period or a socio-cultural condition following the modern age. It is a life beyond modernity. It indicates a modification or change in the way in which we experience and relate to modern forms of life or modernity.

Gemeinschaft : *Gemeinschaft* is a social system in which most relationships are personal or traditional and often both.

Gesellschaft: In the *Gesellschaft*, the society of tradition is replaced with the society of contract. In this society neither personal attachment nor traditional rights and duties are important

4.7 FURTHER READINGS

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4.8 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Modernization as a process through which a traditional or a pre-technological society passes, as it is transformed, into a society characterized by machine technology, rational and secular attitudes and highly differentiated social structures.
- 2) Industrialization is the process of social and economic change by which the economy shifts from primarily agriculture to manufacture of goods. It refers

to the emergence of machine production, based on the use of inanimate power resources, which revolutionized production, leading to mass production and innovations.

- 3) Urbanism is that complex of traits that makes up the characteristic mode of life in cities. It is a way of life, an urban lifestyle. For Louis Wirth, size, density and heterogeneity, which were the principal traits in defining cities, are conducive to specific behavioral patterns and moral attitudes. Urbanization is the process by which persons are incorporated into city life. It is the cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life, which is associated with the growth of cities, and finally to the changes in the direction of modes of life recognized as urban.

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