
UNIT 11 INDUSTRY AND URBANIZATION

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11.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit deals with the impact of industrial growth on process of urbanization in Europe. After going through the Unit, you will be able to:

- explain how industrialization affected process of urbanization in 19th Century Europe,
- analyse growth of urban population in existing towns,
- list some of the major towns in Europe which came into existence after industrialization,
- differentiate between characteristics of industrial towns from other types of urban centres,
- learn about composition of urban population, and
- describe living conditions of urban population during the 19th Century.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The existence of urban centres is traced back to almost for 5000-6000 years ago. Through various phases of human history and across geographical regions towns have grown, prospered, declined and decayed. The predominant characteristics of towns have also undergone change. Factors which gave rise to towns have been diverse in different phases of history. The size of population in a habitation that may be called a town is also debated. However, one of the characteristic features of towns, on which all scholars agree, is that they are essentially engaged in activities other than agriculture. In terms of their relationship with rural areas towns are mainly dependent on them for food, while the flow of urban goods to rural areas has been varied.

Throughout, emergence of towns is attributed to one or the other of the following features:

- 1) As seats of administration; or area inhabited by rulers, ruling class with administrative structure,
- 2) As religious and pilgrimage centres where people live and visit for pilgrimage,
- 3) As a strategic location on trade route, bank of river, a port or location on highway junctions,
- 4) As centres of commercial activity where large numbers of people live and visit for trading activities,
- 5) As centres of craft or industrial production where a large population is associated with production and other non-agricultural activities.

Many a times one of the above features may be dominant reason for emergence of an urban centre but in due course of time a number of features are added and play a role in further growth of the town. At the same time many towns decline and decay once the dominant feature is replaced. These reasons could be shift of administrative centre, change of trade routes, closure of a port or craft production. Against this general background of urbanization we would like to take you to the process of urbanization in Europe particularly during the period of growth of industry.

In this Unit we will discuss how the rate of urbanization grew in the wake of industrialization. We will analyse the difference in layout of industrial towns from their predecessors. The Unit will also explore the composition of population of towns during this period. The living conditions of people in towns will also be analysed. We will also study the relationship of towns with countryside during the period of this study.

Let us begin our study with the impact of industrialization on urbanization.

11.2 IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION ON URBAN GROWTH

In Units 9 and 10 you have already studied the process of industrialization in Europe and you may have noticed that the 19th Century was a period of rapid industrial growth in Europe. If we take example of British industry, which was first industrialized economy, the shift to industry was significant. It is estimated that by the year 1881 around 44 percent of British labour force was employed in industry or industry related occupations and only 13 percent workers were employed in agriculture. France and Germany were other growing industrial countries. The major sectors of industrial growth were coal and steam power (giving rise to railway) in the first phase and steel, chemical, metallurgy, oil, textiles, etc. in the second. Was this growth in any way related to the process of urbanization in Europe? The process has been explained by Paolo Malanima and Oliver Volckart. “In the 19th century innovations allowed to raise the level of productivity first in the industry then in agriculture. A higher percentage of workers were now employed in the cities (the seats of industry) than before... The capacity to produce increases and, since primary goods are inelastic to income growth; the increase in agricultural productivity results in diminishing occupation

in the countryside. Urbanization rises while the density of population in the countryside is shrinking. Migratory flows originate in the country side and move towards the cities. The centre of gravity of the economy gradually shifts from the agricultural to the industrial sector.” (Paolo Malanima and Oliver Volckart, *Urbanisation 1700-1870*, p.17) France also, according to Roger Price, shows similar trend. “The process of urbanization in particular meant that an increasing small part of the population was able to produce its own food. Consumer demand in growing towns, together with improved access to urban market provided a major stimulus to innovation in agriculture.” (Roger Price, *A Concise History of France*, Cambridge, reprint 2001, p.146.) It would be interesting to see the employment pattern in industry and agriculture in Europe during this process.

If we analyse the ratio of population engaged in agricultural and industrial sectors the decline of former is quite evident. Around the end of the 18th century 90 percent population in France was engaged in agricultural production. By 1913 this declined to 50 percent. In Europe around 70 percent of population was directly employed in agriculture. This declined to 57 percent in 1860. By 1895 the agricultural population in Germany had declined to 35.5., while in Austria-Hungary it was 50 percent around 1900. (*History of Humanity*, p.33) Industries required large labour force, therefore people from countryside moved to new industrial towns for employment.

The relationship of industrialization and city was noticed by many scholars. Bayly has summarised this in his account of industrialization and new city. (C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1714*, Indian Print, 2004, Atlantic, New Delhi).

Reflection on industrialism and the city spread to all facets of social and cultural life. Marx and Engels argued that industrialization had even created a new type of human being, the proletarian, with nothing to his name but his own labor power. The public moralists and poets of northern Europe and North America denounced the vices of the industrial city: drunkenness, disease, prostitution, irreligion, and poverty. The first generation of sociologists, notably Emile Durkheim, pondered the effect of alienating urban living on social solidarities. In France, Britain, and Germany the new science of statistics was developed with an eye to monitoring the number and health of burgeoning urban populations. Artists such as Toulouse-Lautrec painted the exotic and erotic denizens of the city. Richard Wagner supposedly modelled his dismal world of the mythical Nibelungen in his operatic 'Ring' cycle on his memory of the bleak industrial skyline of London which he had observed in the 1840s. Others reacted with enthusiasm to the new world. Before the end of the century, American architects had created in the skyscraper a new form of machine for living in the modern industrial city.

11.2.1 Growth In Urban Population

It is estimated that around 1600, only 9 percent of the world population was urban. By 1800, it was around 12 per cent but the pace was slow. This seems to have accelerated after 1800 in industrialized regions. In Europe, England seems to have taken the lead.

If we look at the population of Europe between 1800 and 1900, it is noticed that population doubled:

Year	Population of Europe (in millions)*
1800	192
1850	274
1900	423

* The population of Europe includes Russia also. Source – A.M. Carr Saunders, *World Population*, (London 1936), cf. Baylyp.180.

The period of this population growth is also the period of rapid industrialization. If we compare this increase in population in three most industrialized countries in Europe we notice that the growth in them is most pronounced.

Population of three Industrial countries of Europe (in millions)**

Year	Great Britain	Germany	France
1750	7.4 (includes Scotland)	18.0	21.00
1800	10.5 (excludes Ireland)	23.0	27.4
1850	20.8 (excludes Ireland)	33.4	35.8
1900	37.0 (excludes Ireland)	56.4	38.5

**(Based on C.A.Bayly, P.181)

The rapid growth in overall population but decline in agricultural sector suggests that there was big migration to the industrial sector. The decline in agricultural population is also ascribed to the changes in methods of agricultural production. The use of machines and mechanization reduced the need of manpower. The large scale use of chemical fertilizers increased productivity which led to use of less land to feed a larger population.

The growth of urban populations in industrial countries is much more pronounced as compared to increase in Europe as a whole between the years 1800-1900. While for Europe the growth is 120 percent, for England it is 252 percent, Germany 145 percent and France 40 percent.

Further exploration of this population growth between the urban and rural proportions indicates that the growth in urban sector is very evident. If we fix the size of an urban centre to population of 5000 in 1800 around 9 to 11 percent of total population lived in cities. If the size is adjusted to a population of 2000 for urban centres around 13-16 percent population lived in towns. By the year 1910 the urban share of the population grew to 50 percent.

In France, a country of slow economic growth the urban population grew from 4.2 million in 1811 to 13.8 million in 1911. Three Dutch cities Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hague had combined population of around 300000 in 1795 which rose to 10, 35000 in 1899. Northern Italy had one city with population of over 200000 in 1840. In 1901 the number had grown to four. The overall growth of towns in Italy is more significant between 1840 and 1901. During this period the number of cities between populations of 20000 to 200000 grew from 23 to 66. The growth of urban centres in Germany is astonishing. There were 8 cities with a population of 100000 and above in 1871, this increased to 48 cities in 1910.

Let us now try to explore in some detail the spread of urban centres in major European countries.

11.2.2 Spread Of Urban Centres

We have already noticed in a previous section that the urban population grew rapidly after 1800. In this section we would like to analyse changes in urban centres to adjust to an increasing population.

It has been estimated that in 1800, on a world scale there were around 4000 cities with a population of more than 5000 inhabitants. Europe was a region with the largest number of urban centres (along with Japan and Middle East). Almost one third of these cities were in Europe (Paolo Malanime and Oliver Volckart).

Historians have estimated that in the mid 1870's cities had grown many fold. Around this time the urban scenario was as below:

- 1) Cities with a population of 1 million and above – 4
London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna
- 2) Cities with over half a million – 6
St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Moscow, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester
- 3) There were 25 towns with a population of over 2, 00,000. The country wise distribution of these cities was:
United Kingdom five, Germany and Italy four each, France had three, Spain had two, one each in Denmark, Hungary, the Netherlands, Belgium, Russia, Poland, Rumania and Portugal.
- 4) Forty one cities had more than 1, 00,000 inhabitants, nine of these were in the UK and eight in Germany.
(The figures are from E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875*, 1975, Delhi, p.248)

The growth of urban centres was slow in France in comparison to other Western European countries. Still in 1851, 25.5 per cent population was classified as urban which rose to 44.2 percent in 1911. The case of Paris is quite significant. In 1851 around 3 percent of French population lived in Paris which increased to 10 percent in 1911. (Roger Price).

The table below provides a fairly clear picture of urban centres in Europe.

Urban centres, Population and Rate of Growth

Country	Cities with 5000 population and above			Urban population in 000			Urbanisation rates%		
	1750	1800	1870	1750	1800	1870	1750	1800	1870
Scandinavia	8	12	44	204	266	872	5.7	5.1	6.6
England (Wales)	84	174	374	1407	2767	11407	22.3	29.9	49.6
Scotland	15	45	43	193	597	1370	15.3	36.6	40.1
Ireland	8	17	28	212	444	904	6.8	8.5	15.6
Netherlands	48	49	74	771	791	1357	39.5	37.7	37.2

Belgium	49	55	103	596	702	1576	27.1	24.2	32.2
France	205	251	371	3067	3613	8190	12.5	12.5	21.6
Italy CN	93	102	138	1576	1788	2590	13.6	14.5	13.4
Italy SI	184	238	378	2138	2756	4489	19.4	21.0	26.4
Spain	99	140	287	1302	2025	3995	14.0	19.3	24.7
Portugal	22	28	35	324	416	620	12.5	14.3	14.4
Switzerland	19	11	41	152	105	413	11.7	6.2	15.3
Austria (Hungary)	37	63	270	586	950	3803	3.2	3.9	10.7
Germany	173	205	637	1894	2369	9596	10.8	9.7	23.4
Poland	29	25	39	292	330	711	7.9	7.7	9.6
Balkans	51	96	195	1388	1834	3366	14.0	15.3	14.2
Russia (European)	46	89	362	712	1607	5799	3.2	4.6	9.2

Source: The above tables have been prepared on the basis of the data collected from various sources by Paolo Malanima and Oliver Volckart, *Urbanisation 1700-1870*, pp. 23-28.

Based on the above table if we study the rate of urbanization, it is quite clear that England and Scotland are much ahead of others. The rate of growth in England is more than double of France and Germany the other growing industrial countries. The only exception in this growth seems Netherland, Spain, Italy and Belgium. The growth rate here is significant but on industrialization index they do not figure at higher level. The brisk trading activities with colonies providing lot of wealth seem to be reason for their growth. But in terms of absolute number of inhabitants in towns they were much behind the three industrial nations of England, France and Germany.

11.3 VARIETY AND LAYOUT OF TOWNS

For centuries by virtue of their large territory and heterogeneous population towns exercised a special charm. In the medieval period there was a saying that the 'air of the town makes a man free'. The situation seems to continue for modern towns which provided a host of opportunities to migrants from rural areas. As a result large number of rural folks came to towns looking for the opportunities they could offer. They attracted craftsman, intellectuals, merchants, businessmen, artists and even men of religion. However, each town had its own history, layout and topography. In this section we will study how throughout history and specifically in the phase of industrialization different types of towns emerged and what were their salient characteristics.

11.3.1 Different Types of Towns

The unprecedented growth in urban population during the 19th century led to the establishment of new towns and enlargement of the existing ones. As already indicated there were certain characteristic features of towns. The most common features were:

- The habitation of larger population in a small territory,

- The engagement of majority of population in non-agricultural pursuits,
- Dependence on rural areas for food,
- A system of governance different from rural areas, and
- Larger public spaces and huge buildings for governance and for trade and industry.

These common features characterized towns but factors that led to growth of different towns were quite varied. It was these factors which gave each town a unique character and made it distinct from the others.

During the epoch of industrialization we notice a range of towns in the Europe. Some of these were in existence from a much earlier period while others came into existence during the period of industrial growth. A few distinct categories have been identified for discussion here. (based on categorisation in *History of Humanity*, vol. VI, pp.36-37).

- 1) In the first category may be included towns which were emerging around newly established industries. These towns started growing around a factory or a group of factories employing a few hundred workmen. It was followed by a market to cater to them, professionals to provide services, hospitals, banks, schools, to meet day to day requirements. All these together became the nucleus for growth of a town. Once basic facilities and infrastructure were in place more industrial units were attracted to the site. Common trend at times was that if a few industries of one trade were set up more would come in due to availability of skilled workmen, raw material and buyers. This was clearly visible in textiles, chemicals, machine tool manufacturing, metal fabrication, etc. Most of these towns came up in the middle of the countryside within reach of villages around. However, one should remember that with industrialization existing towns developed rapidly but exclusive industrial cities developed later.

The preference of industries for new locations over older established towns could be for many reasons. First, large spaces needed for industry were not easily available and came at much higher price in existing towns. Second reason was rules and regulations, municipal and other laws which were restrictive for industrial needs. Third, in the country side a location of choice for supply of water, coal, etc. was easily available as compared to older towns. Finally, rents and wages were higher in established towns.

- 2) The second category of new towns was those that developed in close vicinity of mines, termed as mining towns. These towns mostly emerged at the choice and discretion of mine owning businessmen. The mine owner possessed large tracts of land for mining purposes in isolated areas. Here locating all workmen and officials near the site of work were an absolute necessity. Wages were high but the working hours were long and tedious.
- 3) Existing administrative headquarters or capital cities also witnessed expansion and growth due to several reasons. The growth of industry gave rise to increased commercial activities, more money in taxation, additional administrative work and expansion in government establishments. A number of new government departments, business houses were established. Service sector grew with more professional groups in health, banking, insurance,

business, education and a host of institutions providing technical and professional education. A few industries were also established in select sectors. All this contributed to prosperity, and more money to spare for the rich. This in turn gave rise to demand for new luxury products and increased demands for all kinds of goods. A large number of workmen, domestic servants, and lower functionaries in business establishments also came and settled in the urban centres. Many of these towns had a garrison and a few were primarily garrison towns inhabited by armed contingents with a network of suppliers. This explains the high growth rate of pre-existing cities referred in section 11.2.

- 4) Another category of towns which benefitted from the expansion of industry were ports and trading towns. These were towns which came into existence during the medieval period mainly as centres of import for goods and minerals from all over the world. The imports from ports were later moved to interior regions. With the industrial revolution there was an increased supply of raw material, minerals to European ports. Manufactured goods were also exported through these ports. You have already studied that there was a massive growth in export of finished goods from Europe. These activities further contributed to ship building in ports, establishment of big business houses, companies and large scale government establishment. Migration of workmen and professionals to these areas led to growth of these towns (Liverpool, Hamburg, Trieste and Genoa). New establishments like clearing houses, customs, and places of stay (hotels) for merchants, visitors, foreigners, shipping personnel etc. were also established.
- 5) Manufacturing and trading activities also led to spread of network of communication and transport. Railways were the main harbinger of the industrial revolution. Now the expansion in industry was leading to its further growth. The railways also contributed their bit in the process of urbanization when new railway towns came into existence. These were mainly located at important junctions. The increasing mobility of people, large scale movement of raw material and goods all contributed in gradual growth of railway towns and allied infrastructure of these towns.

A few towns also came up for leisure activities for relaxation, for recreation and for health purposes they were known as resorts. These came up to meet the need of a new prosperous class of business, industrialists and professionals. They created a demand and enterpenurers responded by establishing, hotels, restaurants and places of recreation.

What is interesting to note is that the process of urbanization was quite rapid even in some of the countries which did not experience heavy industrialization. Case of Portugal, Spain, Italy and Netherlands can be cited in this context. Most of these attracted huge wealth in 17th – 18th centuries through annexations and were successful traders. These trading activities led to growth of urban centres though industrial activities were limited.

11.3.2 Layout of Towns

Hobsbawm provides an excellent account of the features of industrial towns.

“The typical industrial town was at this period still a medium – sized city, even by contemporary standards, though as it is happened in central and eastern Europe

some capital cities (which tended to be very large) also became major centres of manufacturing – e.g. Berlin, Vienna and St Petersburg. Oldham had 83,000 inhabitants in 1871, Barmen 75,000, Roubaix 65,000. Indeed, the old pre-industrial cities of repute rarely attracted the new kinds of production, so that the typical new industrial region generally took the form of a sort of growing together of separate villages developing into smaller towns and small towns developing into larger ones. They were hardly yet the vast unbrokenly built-up areas of the twentieth century, though factory chimneys, often strung along river valleys, railways sidings, the monotony of discoloured brick and the pall of smoke which hung above them, gave them a certain coherence. Few of their inhabitants were as yet beyond walking distance from fields. Until the 1870s the larger cities of industrial western Germany, such as Cologne and Dusseldorf, were fed by the peasants of the surrounding region bringing their supplies to the weekly market. In one sense the shock of industrialization lay precisely in the stark contrast between the black, monotonous, crowded and scarred settlements and the coloured farms and hills immediately adjoining them, as in Sheffield, ‘noisy, smoky, loathsome (but) ... surrounded on all sides by some of the most enchanting countryside to be found on this planet’. (*The Age of Capital 1848-1875*, p. 247)

In the 18th century the layout of towns was dominated by fortresses and palaces, houses of aristocrats and nobles, dwellings of rich merchants, shopping areas, royal courts, cantonments or army habitation camps (in administrative towns), religious establishments and business centres or stock exchanges in trading towns. This underwent change in modern towns. The role of industrialization in this change is debatable. Bayly feels that: “The first major rupture to these old-established patterns was delivered, not so much by industrialization, as by the wars of revolution and European imperial expansion which erupted between 1776 and 1815. Some of the great cities of the old order actually declined in size. Others continued to expand slowly but forfeited some of their political and cultural primacy. At a deeper level, the expansion of world trade and industrialization gradually made commercial town wealthier and created new working-class conglomerations. These ‘new’ cities developed their own forms of social and cultural life, which were often more self-consciously modern than that of the older centres. Here economic growth led to rapid urbanization and cities which were divided by class as well as status.” (Bayly, p.186).

While many cities grew in a disorganised manner, many more were properly planned and had features to take care of larger populations of diverse nature. Bayly finds two important features most striking in towns of industrialization phase. One was the uniformity in layout of towns across the globe which was represented through disciplining the urban spaces providing broad highways, and grid like patterns of urban living. This helped to maintain public order in an age of street demonstrations. It also made it easier to contain the great urban fires and also easy to quarantine people in the eventuality of epidemics. Another was the development of the middle class ‘suburb’. These were created on the edge of cities with more sprawling houses away from the dust and din of towns. The development of transport, train, tram, etc. made it feasible also. Talking of France, Roger Price—says, “Urbanization was accompanied by the transformation of towns, which has remained almost medieval in character, to recognizably modern urban centres. This was a complex development with the character and scale of growth depending upon pre-existing socio-economic structures which were far from homogeneous” (Roger Price, *A Concise History of France*, Reprint 2001, pp.153-154.)

In case of Sweden, B.O.Gustafsson notices “a quiet new socio-economic infrastructure comprising railways, harbours, telegraphs etc. saw the light of day and urban civilization expanded radically. Parallel to all this and partly as a consequence there was a large scale social and political mobilization resulting in the rise of professional organizations, trade unions, industrial associations, modern political parties and parliamentary democracy”. (BO Gustafsson, ‘The Industrial Revolution in Sweden’ in Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter (eds.), *The Industrial Revolution in National Context*, 1996, p.202)

Check Your Progress I

- 1) How did industrialization influence urbanization?

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- 2) Discuss some characteristics of towns.

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- 3) Explain in brief different types of towns.

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11.4 COMPOSITION OF URBAN POPULATION

The social composition of population in urban centres of 19th Century was heterogeneous. The bigger the town the more cosmopolitan it was bound to be. Social and economic status was the dividing line. It was quite evident in the way people earned, lived and recreated. The owners of industry and business along with top professionals were on one side of the town. This was a small number while the other spectrum with majority of town population was occupied by lower middle class, industrial workers and domestic servants.

A closer scrutiny of urban population presents the following picture. The top rung of a city population was occupied by the owners of industry, presidents of

companies, heads of business establishments, bankers, etc. These groups were the main generators of wealth and biggest employers. They were the biggest fund providers to all intellectual and cultural centres. They were the patrons of fine arts and religious and educational institutions. They created a big demand for luxury goods. They were the most influential group of the town and were followed by intellectuals and professionals in playing a role in shaping the policies of urban centres.

The towns due to their resources and well connected location led to the establishment of institutions of learning and technical and scientific research. Even during the medieval period they were the hub of cultural life of their respective countries. Now with the development of printing press, universities and cultural bodies in areas of performing and fine arts the towns gave birth to some iconic institutions.

All these attracted philosophers, clergymen, intellectuals, poets, writers, scientists, artists and performers not only from their own countries but all parts of the world. London of 19th century attracted a large number of talented people not only from Europe but from colonies like India also. Talented young persons from rural areas also found towns as nurturing centres for their creativity.

Large body of professionals occupied prominent place among the middle class of towns. Many of them desirous of climbing the social ladder found towns as most suitable places to realise their ambitions. The number of barristers, doctors, architects, accountants and many more in related fields constituted a distinct social group in urban centres. This class occupied the position of upper middle class and many rose from the ranks of the middle class through hard work and careful planning.

Petty shopkeepers, skilled supervisor in factories and business, and small artisans belonged to the lower middle class. Petty government officials, soldiers etc. also belonged to this social group. This was a very big group in terms of the total population of towns. They generated a big demand for consumer goods, educational institutions, hospitals etc., though limited in terms of numbers and paying capacity. This was the class which could access opportunities to move to higher professional careers in cities. They saw education and professional training as a way to move up the social and economic ladder. Through participation in elections with well informed opinion they played a crucial role in the democratic process of government formation. With regular jobs they had more leisure time and patronised certain forms of entertainment and recreation.

At the lowest rung of the social strata of towns were the factory workers, domestic servants and casual workers in manufacturing units and business establishments. This was the biggest social group in the town. They inhabited the most crowded and unhygienic parts of the city in miserable living conditions. This group was also the biggest provider of child labour. They were poorly paid, lacked any security of livelihood and were most susceptible to disease. Long working hours left them with no time for leisure or recreation and they led a hand to mouth existence. Their ranks were always overflowing within flux from rural areas where unemployment and poverty was rampant. In spite of a host of disadvantages in towns this group of people preferred to move to cities because towns offered employment opportunities with wages and some security.

11.5 LIVING CONDITIONS IN TOWNS

In most of industrial towns the workers were also working in their fields by taking breaks at crop times or banking on farms in period of layout in factories. It is estimated that almost 20 percent of the inhabitants in London were domestic servants around 1850. More than 20 percent were middle and lower middle class. The cities in nineteenth century were over crowded with slums as an integral component. The slums were teeming with workers of all sorts. Poor sanitary conditions with high mortality rates were the characteristic of such urban slums. For the majority of population suitable housing was the main concern. Construction activity was disorganized for all but almost non-existent for the poor. Architects and builders were mostly interested in developing buildings for the rich and business districts or housing for middle class. The construction of houses for the poor was considered a non-profit venture. A number of dwellings for the poor were built by small time entrepreneurs and contractors. These were small building blocks overflowing with people. It is estimated that three fourth of all dwellings built in Glasgow between 1866-74 were of one or two rooms only and they were soon overfilled (Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital*, p.249). The residential quarters of the rich were separated through avenues and boulevards. The middle class and rich residential areas were characterized by huge public spaces in the form of parks, malls, broad roads and areas for entertainment. The growth of the middle class further deprived workers of public spaces available to them as more and more of the total space available in towns was cornered by the upper class. The poorer areas of the city only had basic amenities such as sanitation, and lighting.

According to Hobsbawm the biggest crisis was the sense of insecurity among workers, domestic servants, petty officials in government or railways and even among more affluent emerging entrepreneurs and businessmen. The insecurity was of losing job, of sickness, slump in the market etc. This would not allow wages to increase and life for the majority was at the base level on a day to day basis with no reserves or savings.

Apart from the rise of political parties, trade unions, a number of Mutual Aid Societies, Clubs, sports organizations, also came into existence. The new urban centres gave rise to cultures which had a lot in common across countries and even continents. These cities were much more uniform in the way people lived, socialised, shopped and entertained themselves. Some of the new urban institutions were exclusive but many were open to all and sundry. Urban centres had cafes, meeting halls, club houses, restaurants, professional, and community societies and other groupings. These public spaces provided opportunity for philosophical, political, literary debates, discussions and exchanges. To begin with there was a great gender divide and almost all public spaces were preserve of men. However, towards the end of the 19th century women were to be seen not only visiting but actively participating in deliberations and activities of various associations. Hotels with better living and feeding facilities came up in large numbers to cater to highly mobile professionals of business, industry and government.

Sports also were popular. Large numbers of people were attracted to them for recreation and participation. Football was the biggest such sport becoming most popular all around Europe. Clubs emerged representing regions, industries or

professional associations. Horse racing, boxing rings and many others became popular. Theatre groups, dance troupes, music bands sprang up providing much needed leisure and entertainment to urban living.

11.5.1 Urban Tensions and Conflicts

Poor working conditions and unhygienic living with hand to mouth existence created a social environment in towns which was volatile. A cut in wage, frequent periods of layout resulting in unemployment or rise in prices of essential commodities were enough to cause violent protests and conflicts in towns. For example, most of the disturbances recorded in France during 1830-33 and 1846-47 were food riots and were largely urban. Between 1816 and 1847 around 55 per cent of conflicts and disturbance occurred in cities which had a population of 15 percent only. Gradually powerful trade union movements took shape in towns in the second half of the 19th century.

Cities of 19th century witnessed competition for space between middle class and working class people. Artisans, small shopkeepers, urban journeymen, petty clerks – were in clash with manufacturing labourers in towns. Mine workers were worse off than all others. Mine owners were fewer in numbers with large tracts under them. Their working conditions were completely dependent on mine owner for all facilities. Health and sanitation were serious issues because of the nature of work in mines. Those migrants to towns who were different in religion or language were particular targets of urban property owners and of uneasy mobs. In Britain the Catholic Irish, who migrated after the famine of 1848, in Germany and Austria migrants from Slavic regions, in Russia, Austria and many other eastern European countries the Jewish urban inhabitants, all of these were suspect and under attack.

The condition of elderly, sick people, orphans, and women was alarming. While in a rural set up most people could survive on farm land with some patronage; in towns their plight was worse with no support base in families during unemployment, and other conflicts. Many were reduced to paupers and beggars. Local institutions of the city and charitable organizations pitched in to provide care. This was the beginning of social security initiatives of the state. To begin with Germany and England led the way.

Crime was also severe in new large urban conglomerates. More rigorous urban policing methods were introduced in Britain and France in the 1840s and 1850s, and particular attention was paid to ‘boweries’ and bidonvill, slum tenement areas which were supposed to be nurseries of crime. The level of policing was extra ordinarily high. During the Chartist riots in Britain in 1848, 20, 000 policemen were deployed in Central London alone.” (Bayly, p.190).

11.5.2 Governance of Urban Centres

The villages were mainly governed by the nobility and big landlords. However, in the towns there emerged a different structure and a separate governing class. It is felt that to begin with traditional landed nobility continued to control government and also occupied top military, diplomatic and civil service positions. Gradually a new class, the governing class in towns, came from elites, from business, industry and professional classes. Another significant aspect was the democratic process which was in contrast to hereditary rural elite who governed

villages. However, even through elections the elite continued to occupy top positions in governance, not only at level of towns but also at the national level. It is now pointed out that the replacement of the landed hereditary ruling classes by industrial and commercial groups was closely connected with the progress of industrialization leading to the modernization of each country of Europe. (*History of Humanity*, p.41)

With the enlargement of towns and their growing social complexity, the need for regulating the life of people and providing infrastructure became important. The towns needed water, electricity, other energy sources for fuel and keeping homes warm. The provision of water, laying and maintenance of streets, lighting public spaces, disposal of garbage and maintaining hygiene were major operations. Basic structures were available in older cities; the question was how to provide them in the new cities. Private enterprise emerged in new towns to provide amenities to affluent sections. Local self governments with the initiative of industry owners and professionals came into being. With further expansion of towns public transport networks emerged providing greater mobility to workers. Apart from the invention of new drugs improved living conditions towards the end of 19th century and early 20th century contributed to lowering child mortality and increase in longevity. A study of Berlin between 1855-60 revealed that professional people lived on an average to the age of 54, but industrial wage earners only up to 42 years (Bayly, p. 189).

11.6 TRANSFORMATION FROM RURAL TO URBAN

Industrialization also transformed society and economy in various ways. The major changes were from agricultural to industrial; from rural to urban and finally from medieval to modern. (*History of Humanity*, p.562). Based on *History of Humanity* we will mainly focus on the changes coming with the process of urbanization.

First, there was an ill organised growth of new towns and older towns were over flowing from new growth leading to differences in urban and rural environments. Rural folk had to face more problems and difficulties in adjusting to urban environment. “The situation could perhaps be summed up as follows: at the beginning of the nineteenth century the urban environment was differentiated from the rural environment by the gradual deterioration that began immediately outside the ancient city wall. By the end of the century the development of suburban transport and information were pushing the point at which living conditions began to deteriorate further and further away” (*History of Humanity*, p.562)

Second, the large numbers of rural folk were attracted to urban areas to fill the need generated by industrial growth. This has been called the ruralization of the city because large number of rural migrants brought with them the practices of rural culture to an urban setting. In this sense it is felt that “in Europe the modern transformation of the city was preceded by the dislocation of the medieval city, which lasted almost into the last third of the nineteenth century.” The fringes of such towns were dominated by rural features. Here lived the workmen with strong links with villages who retreated into country side.

Third, the development of transport technology and growth of transport made it possible to transfer perishable agricultural produce in bulk to towns. This encouraged the growth of population in cities. It also increased the flow of money from urban to rural areas encouraging mechanization of agriculture and increase in food production. According to C.A. Bayly, "Agriculture in industrialized countries had been transformed by the presence of large new urban markets and by mechanized tools". (p.172).

It is argued that by the end of the 19th century "the European city became a symbol of modern urban life, represented by new architectural style, for both public and privately owned buildings; the transformation of the urban scene by broad avenues; the extension of water supplies, sewage systems and gas and installation of public parks and gardens; the general provision of street lighting and urban transport system, both above and below ground; the proliferation of cultural activities and the wider circulation of the press. The development of sport put the final touch to the dominance of urban way of life, becoming a focus of attention alongside the religious focus and competing with it." (*History of Humanity*, p. 562).

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Describe the different social groups living in towns.

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- 2) Write in brief on living conditions in towns.

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- 3) How did migration from rural areas influence transformation of cities?

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11.7 LET US SUM UP

Industrialization brought about major changes not only in economy of Europe but also in other spheres of life. One significant impact of industrialization was the growth of new urban centres in Europe and also the transformation of existing cities. With the growth of industries new job opportunities emerged and people living in rural areas started moving to places where new industries had come up. We have seen that how around the new industries gradually cities developed. In this Unit we have explained the impact of urbanization on development of new urban centres and then the growth of population and spread and layout of cities. We have also discussed the social differentiation in the cities and living conditions of people in the cities. Social tensions in the cities, way of governing posed new challenges, and the migration of large rural population to cities influenced city life and culture. These are some important issues analyzed in this Unit.

11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Sec. 11.2
- 2) See Sec. 11.3
- 3) See Sec. 11.3

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sec. 11.4
- 2) See Sec. 11.5
- 3) See Sec. 11.6