



URBAN SOCIOLOGY

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School of Social Sciences
Indira Gandhi National Open University

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September, 2021

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ISBN:

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Further information on the Indira Gandhi National Open University courses may be obtained from the University's office at Maidan Garhi, New Delhi -110068 or visit our website: <http://www.ignou.ac.in>

Printed and published on behalf of the Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi, by Director, School of Social Sciences.

Laser Typeset by: Tessa Media & Computers, C-206, Shaheen Bagh, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi-25

Printed at:

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Contents

	Page No.
BLOCK 1 INTRODUCING URBAN SOCIOLOGY	7
Unit 1 Urban Sociology: Nature and Scope	9
Unit 2 Urbanization and Urbanism	22
Unit 3 City	31
BLOCK 2 PERSPECTIVES IN URBAN SOCIOLOGY	41
Unit 4 Ecological-Spatial	43
Unit 5 Political Economy	50
Unit 6 Network	63
Unit 7 Cultural	71
BLOCK 3 MIGRATION, OCCUPATION AND SETTLEMENTS	79
Unit 8 Migration	81
Unit 9 Occupation	98
Unit 10 Slum	108
Unit 11 Neighborhood and Gated Communities	128
BLOCK 4 CULTURAL POLITICS OF URBAN SPACE	139
Unit 12 Consumer, Culture and Leisure	141
Unit 13 Caste, Class, Ethnicity and Gender	156
Glossary	173
Further Reading	176

COURSE INTRODUCTION

Urban Sociology as a branch of Sociology discipline enjoys a very significant position in Sociology as it contributes to the knowledge of social processes and transformations which shape different societies. It is a subfield which provides an exposure to key theoretical perspectives for understanding urban life in its historical and contemporary context.

The complexities and dynamics of different urban communities are understood by different scholars in the global perspective using their own methodological tools. It is a generalizing Science and its aim is to understand the determinants and consequences of social behaviour found in cities. Thus we see that Urban sociology deals with the impact of city life on Social action or social behaviour.

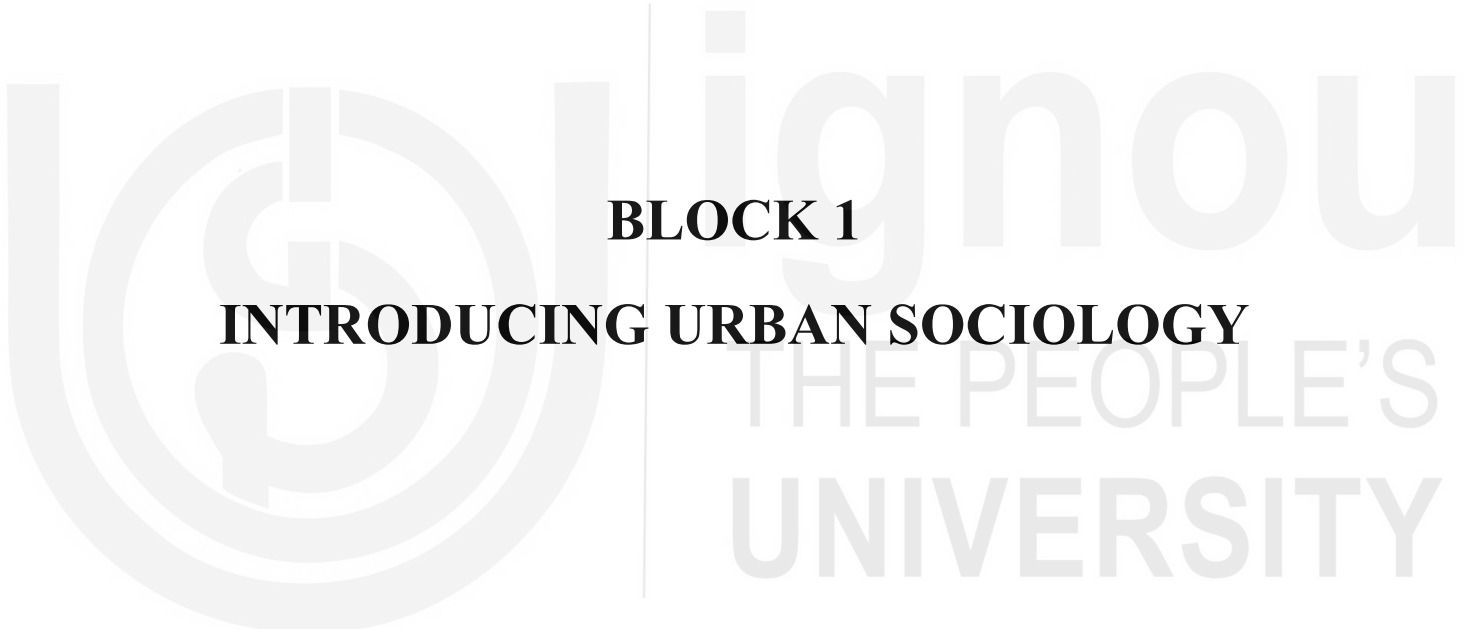
It consequently studies social behaviour within the city, social relationship and social institutions. Urban Sociology also studies rise and fall of civilisations in historical perspectives. It also studies different urban societies and their social structures. It sheds light on the different urban communities and cultures.

In this course we have attempted to introduce the students of urban sociology the basic concepts and theories which help you in understanding of Urban Sociology. The first Block **Introducing Urban Sociology** explains the students about the nature and the scope of this field. Here we have described the meaning of Urban Sociology and its features. We have explained its nature and scope in terms of its applicability and relevance. We have described the process of urbanization and Urbanism. Unit on city helps you will understanding the role of ????? as the core of urban sociology.

In BLOCK-2 **Perspectives in Urban Sociology** there are four units namely Ecological-Spatial, Political Economy, Network and Cultural. Each topic is explained and its relevance is described to you.

IN BLOCK 3 **Migration, Occupation and Settlements** we have provided the description and analysis of the issues of migration-how people shift from, Rural to Urban, Rural to Rural and Urban to Rural under both pull and push factors. Occupation and livelihood have been critically examined and scrutinized. Urban issues of slums and the different aspects of slums have been discussed. Urban neighbourhood, both traditional and modern and gated communities which can be seen generally in metropolitan cities have been examined.

Finally in BLOCK 4 **Cultural Politics of Urban Space** we have two units which focus on consumer culture and the concept of leisure which have emerged as a significant feature of Urban Society. The last unit of this block explains the dynamics of social stratification categories of caste, class, ethnicity and gender found in Urban areas.

The background of the page features a large, light gray watermark of the Ugnou logo. The logo consists of a stylized circular emblem on the left, followed by the text 'Ugnou' in a large, bold, sans-serif font, and 'THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY' in a smaller, all-caps, sans-serif font below it. A thin vertical line separates the emblem from the text.

BLOCK 1

INTRODUCING URBAN SOCIOLOGY

UNIT 1 URBAN SOCIOLOGY: NATURE AND SCOPE¹

Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Meaning of Urban Sociology
 - 1.2.1 Emergence of Urban Sociology
 - 1.2.2 Urban Sociology in India
- 1.3 Major Formative Influences
 - 1.3.1 The Chicago School
 - 1.3.2 Community Studies
- 1.4 Nature and Scope of Urban Sociology
- 1.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.6 References
- 1.7 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the origin and development of urban sociology;
- Explain the significance of the Chicago School and its contribution to the origin and development of urban sociology; and
- Describe subject matter and scope of urban sociology.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This is the first unit of your course. We have explained to you the meaning and scope of urban sociology. The word Urban is derived from the Latin word *Urbanus* meaning “belonging to a city”. Urban refers to a city or town, which is directly opposite to village or country. Urban sociology deals with the impact of city life on social actions, social relationships, social institutions, and the types of civilizations derived from and based on urban modes of living. It attempts to study the structures, processes, changes and problems of urban areas and to provide input for planning and policymaking.

1.2 MEANING OF URBAN SOCIOLOGY

The nature and scope of urban sociology, however, is vast and multi-dimensional. It deals with almost all the aspects of city life. "The city is not

¹ Written by Dr. Shailey Bhashanjali, Sushant University, Gurugram, Haryana

merely the point at which great numbers of people are concentrated in limited space, but it is also a complex heterogeneity in almost every characteristic in which human beings can differ from one another. In this respect, the city represents perhaps the most striking contrast to the social entities that we call primitive, folk, and peasant societies. Consequently, the methods adapted to the understanding of the population of the metropolis are strikingly different from those suited to simpler and more homogeneous societies. This accounts for the fact that in attempting to understand the city we have had to resort to extensive statistical inquiries to determine the human elements of which it is composed. They differ, as do all societies, in sex and age, but they show peculiar distribution of age and sex groups and great variations in these respects as we pass from area to area. They differ widely from one another in occupation, in view of the more extensive division of Labor, which the growth of the market has made possible. They differ in wealth and in income, ranging from the extreme of affluence to the depths of the direst poverty and insecurity. The city, moreover, by virtue of its focal position in the complex of capitalistic civilization, has attracted within its confines the racial and ethnic stocks of all the world and has more or less amalgamated them and blended their traits into a new aggregate of hybrids, here mingling with one another and there segregating themselves from one another, here collaborating and there at war, but in any case building a complex of cultures unprecedented in human history. This heterogeneity of the human materials in the city is at once a source of ferment and stimulation and of the frictions and conflicts that characterize modern society" (Louis Wirth 1940).

Box 1.0 The Earliest Cities

Early cities developed in a number of regions, from Mesopotamia to Asia to the Americas. The very first cities were founded in Mesopotamia after the Neolithic Revolution, around 7500 BCE. Mesopotamian cities included Eridu, Uruk, and Ur. Early cities also arose in the Indus Valley and ancient China. Among the early Old World cities, one of the largest was Mohenjo-Daro, located in the Indus Valley (present-day Pakistan); it existed from about 2600 BCE, and had a population of 50,000 or more. In the ancient Americas, the earliest cities were built in the Andes and Mesoamerica, and flourished between the 30th century BCE and the 18th century BCE.

Activity 1

Observe the society in which you live in the sense of its physical nature i.e. whether it is a village, town, city or a metropolis in terms of its physical infrastructure. Write a note on "My City/Town/Village" based on its people, culture, values etc. Discuss your report with other students at your Study Centre and your Academic Counsellor.

1.2.1 Emergence of urban sociology

Urban sociology emerged as a distinct branch of the sociology around early 20th century in the West; especially after the Industrial Revolution. It became

popular in America: Cities, such as, Chicago became the hub of urban sociology. The social changes caused by Industrial Revolution and the development of cities motivated social scientists to make the city the subject matter of study. Due to the rapid process of urbanization that took place from the late 19th century through the first part of the 20th century 'Urban sociology' emerged as an attempt to understand this process, and the consequences that it had for social life. At the core of this field was the increasingly prominent and rapidly growing American city.

Box 1.1

Understanding Urbanization

Urbanization can be defined "as a process which reveals itself through temporal, spatial and sectoral changes in the demographic, social, economic, technological and environmental aspects of life in a given society. Urbanization is a Progressive concentration of population in urban areas (Kingsley Davis-1965). These changes manifest themselves in the increasing concentration of population in human settlements, larger than villages, in the increasing involvement of the people in the secondary and tertiary production functions, and in the progressive adoption of certain social traits which are typical of traditional rural societies".

After the Industrial Revolution, sociologists such as Max Weber and Georg Simmel began to focus on the accelerating process of urbanization and the effects it had on feelings of social alienation and anonymity. Notably, Georg Simmel is widely considered the father of urban sociology for his contributions to the field in his works such as :The Metropolis and Mental Life:, published in 1903.

The early three sociological classics on urban sociology were —G. Simmel, *Die Grosstadte und das Geistesleben*, 1903; Max Weber, *Die Stadt*, 1921; and R. Maurier, *Le Village et la ville*, 1929. However, the real impetus came from Robert E. Park. His article "The City," which heralded the coming of a new era, was first published in the American Journal of Sociology in 1915; yet at that time it received little attention. Sociology was still a general science without much specialization. Indeed, it was still trying for recognition, which it gained quite slowly. The year 1925 marks the turning point. Park republished his article, together with other contributions, in a small book, *The City*. In the following year, he and his co-editor Burgess published a similar volume of short articles called **The Urban Community**. The response was remarkable. The first textbook on urban sociology appeared in 1929. Since then the new field has flourished and expanded.

It is however important to mention that the status of urban sociology is closely related to the level of development and urbanization of a particular nation.

Since there was a concentration of scholar in the field of sociology in Chicago City, such as, Robert E. Park, Robert D. Mckenzie; E.W Burgess, Louis Wirth working on urban Sociology and contributing vast amount of studies in this field; Chicago School of Thought' emerged.

1.2.2 Urban Sociology in India

Urban studies was first initiated by a popular social scientist Patrick Geddes in the University of Mumbai in 1915. Later, the study of urban problems was also taken up by geographers and sociologists in 1920. However, substantial progress in researches on urban problems was done in the post-independence period. The Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) sponsored researches on urban problems in areas of geography, sociology, economics, public administration etc.

Due to very low level of urbanization, the distinction between rural and urban sociology was not meaningful in India. In addition, there was no dichotomy between the traditional city and the village in the Indian context, as both were having the elements of same civilization, such as, caste, kinship, family etc.

It was only after the 1951 Census, which indicated a high rate of growth of urban population in India that social scientists began to take real interest in urban studies. The interest continued unabated during the seventies. Consequently, urban sociology gained importance, and problems of rural—urban migration, urban development and other related areas such as demography, neighborhoods, slums, social stratification, education, ethnic conflict and movements, kinship, religion, politics, economy, social problems, and impact of urbanization on rural areas attracted the attention of the sociologists and social anthropologists (Rao 1982).

During the eighties as well as nineties, there were many studies on urbanization patterns and trends, but issues pertaining to metropolitization and regional planning remained inadequately explored. Migration studies also highlighted the all-India trends as well as regional studies on different aspects of slums and squatter settlements received due attention.

The National Commission on Urbanization (NCU) report, published in five volumes, highlighted the problems of urbanization at the grassroots, sub-state and state levels. NCU noted that urbanization is a phenomenon of unique scope and dimension that can change the nature of our lives fundamentally. This decade also saw some valuable studies on slums and squatter settlements such as: Kaldate 1989; Dhadave 1989; Sandhu 1989; Rao R.N. 1990; Das 1993; Desai 1995; De wit 1996; Purewal 2000; Lobo and Das 2001. In addition to this, many other publications appeared as conferences and seminars volumes on different aspects of urbanization such as human settlements, urban poor and sustainability of human settlements. Some of the important works are Mohanty 1993; Diddie and Rangaswamy 1993; Roy and Das Gupta 1995; Kundu 2000; Sandhu et al, 2001; Sharma and Sita 2001.

The 21st century is the century of urbanization; we must realize that within next 20 years alone i.e. between 2001-2021, India's urban population would more than double itself to reach the figure of 618 million (Government of India).

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Discuss the development of Urban Sociology in the West.

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- 2) Write a note on the emergence of urban sociology in India.

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1.3 MAJOR FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

Two major currents came to characterize urban sociology in the early period.

1.3.1 The Chicago School

The Chicago School of Sociology is widely credited with institutionalizing urban sociology as a disciplinary sub-field through pioneering studies of urban spaces and social interactions. This group of sociologists studied the urban environment in Chicago through the early twentieth century and they have left a lasting impact on the field, as subsequent researchers adopted qualitative methods such as ethnography and land-use mapping to theorize urban phenomena. The Chicago School combined sociological and anthropological theories to understand the interrelation of urban structures and micro-interactions in cities. The Chicago School sought to provide subjective meaning to how humans interact under structural, cultural and social conditions.

Box 1.3

Illustration

Due to the high concentration of first-generation immigrant families in the inner city of Chicago during the early twentieth century, many prominent early studies in urban sociology focused around the effects of carrying culture roles and norms into new and developing environments. Political participation and the rise in inter-community organizations were also highly followed in this period, with many metropolitan areas adopting census techniques that allowed for information to be stored and easily accessible by participating institutions such as the University of Chicago. Sociologists Park, Burgess and McKenzie, professors at the University of Chicago and three of the earliest proponents of urban sociology, developed subcultural

theories, which helped to explain the role of local institutions in the formation of ties. Subcultural theories popularized the idea that segments of society, such as gangs and homeless populations, had internal systems of value and order. This theory was in contrast to the prevailing belief that urbanization produced only social disorganization and alienation.

The Chicago School was ideologically biased around the notion of urban culture – a unified culture that would characterize city dwellers regardless of their class, gender, or ethnicity. Yet, by emphasizing the conditions and contradictions of social integration for a diverse local society, the Chicago sociologists were dealing with the central problem of American society at the time: how to make a society out of a collection of disparate communities and competitive individuals fighting for survival. While the conditions in European cities were not so extreme, the issue of the reconstruction of patterns of social interaction for former peasants and transients in an urban-industrial context was equally poignant. Alongside the study of social integration, urban sociology focused on the study of spatial patterning, also formalized by another stream of Chicago School sociologists, linked to social Darwinism in the development of what came to be known as human ecology (Hawley, 1956; Schnore, 1965). Thus, the study of forms and processes of human settlements under the notion of competition and social selection, and the analysis of the social conditions for cultural integration, were the founding themes of urban sociology. While ideologically biased, it still responded to the historical issues raised by industrialization and urbanization in the first half of the twentieth century.

1.3.2 Community Studies

The second current has come to be called ‘community studies.’ It consists of broad-gauged ethnographic studies of the social structure of individual communities and the ways of life of the inhabitants.

In the 1960s and 1970s, social problems in general and urban issues in particular, were very different from those that gave birth to the Chicago School. Social/cultural integration was not the issue any longer. The struggle over the control and orientations of an urban-industrial society was now at the forefront of urban problems. Furthermore, new social movements were arising, challenging the very notion of development and industrialization, calling for the pre-eminence of human experience over economic growth and for new forms of relationship between society and nature. Gender issues were raised as fundamental. The diversity of the urban experience throughout a multicultural world was finally acknowledged by social science. Widespread state intervention in people’s lives by means of its control of social services and public amenities became the key element in the organization of both everyday life and urban processes. Thus, a new urban sociology emerged from a new urban reality. It took different orientations in America and in Europe. In America, pluralist political science placed political conflict and bargaining at the center of urban social analysis (Banfield and Wilson, 1963; Monenkopf, 1983).

Thus, these two orientations are divided into the culturalists' approach and the structuralists' approach in the urban sociology. The culturalists emphasize on how urban life feels, how people react to living in urban areas and how the city life is organized. This approach tries to study and explore the culture, organizational and social psychological consequences of urban life. Louis Wirth's works belong to this approach.

Box

Louis Wirth was an important member of the Chicago School and Simmel inspired him. He wrote his doctoral work on the ghettos of Russian Jewish immigrants in Chicago. Wirth and his colleagues came to view the spatial patterns in the city because of powerful social factors such as competition and struggle for survival. They viewed urban space as a container, a built environment that enclosed action. Wirth's work marks the culmination of what we have been referring to as the classical view of urban sociology. Wirth studied the characteristic of the people in the city and how the life there might produce a distinct urban culture. Thus, urbanism as a dependent variable became a thing to be explained. His theory of the city isolated several factors that were universal social characteristics of the city. He makes a case for contrasting between urban/industrial and folk/ rural societies. He draws attention to the peculiar characteristics of the city as a particular form of human association.

The structuralist approach investigates the interplay between the political and the economic forces, the growth, decline and changing spatial organization of urban space. They consider city as the physical embodiment of political and economic relationship. They argue that the city itself is an effect of more fundamental forces and cities are shaped by social powers that affect all aspects of human existence. The sociologists like Park, Burgess and McKenzie of the Chicago School belong to this approach. Thus, any study of urban sociology must include both the approaches. Therefore, urban sociology is not a subject with distinct individuality but the combination of both the above approaches.

1.4 NATURE AND SCOPE OF URBAN SOCIOLOGY

Urban sociology is one of the broadest and most eclectic of all sociological fields. It relies on the related sciences and borrows from history, economics, social psychology, public administration and social work.

It tends to overlap geography with its emphasis on spatial distribution of social institutions and social groups within the city; political science, with its emphasis on political behavior, power and with decision making; economics, with its perspective on public policy, taxation, and public expenditures; and anthropology with respect to culture of groups.

Box 1.5

Urban geographers have made significant contributions. In this connection, special mention may be made of a unique study made by Sinha (1970) of Sirsi town in North Kanara district of Karnataka. Sinha makes extensive use of certain statistical formulas in the analysis and interpretation of data pertaining to the town. He seeks to provide a more precise understanding of the growth patterns of the town. National Geographical Journal of India published a number of papers pertaining to the evolving urban patterns in India.

As stated already, the subject-matter of sociology is cities and their growth, and it deals with such problems like planning and development of cities, traffic regulations, public waterworks, social hygiene, sewerage works, housing, beggary, juvenile delinquency, crime and so on. Thus the scope of urban sociology becomes wider as it not only tries to study the urban setup and facts but also tries to give suggestions to solve problems arising out of dynamic nature of the society.

In many ways the interests of urbanologist (A specialist in urban sociology) and ecologist also overlaps with those of town and city planners, social workers, various other specialists in education, race relations, housing, and urban development and rehabilitation (Gist, 1957). Therefore there is a need to clarify/redefine many basic concepts in the field: community, ecology, city, urban, urbanism, urban society, urbanization, industrialization, modernization and so on.

Community: The term has many meanings. Sometimes it is used to denote a common habitat or the totality of all persons living in the same area. Frequently the term indicates more than merely a locality or its residents. Davis, for instance, stresses what he calls "social completeness". Accordingly, he defines a community, as "the smallest territorial group that can embrace all aspects of social life ...It is the smallest social local group that can be, and often is, a complete society". McIver and Page approach the problem from a somewhat different angle, emphasizing relationships rather than social organization: "The basic criterion of community ... is that all of one's social relationships may be found within it." We can indeed speak of a community if common habitat creates positive emotional ties between all - residents or at least all groups of residents. It is characterized by feeling of belongingness and friendly feeling towards each other, cooperation is promoted and community can fulfil all its functions.

Ecology: It was Robert E. Park who appropriated the principles of natural science (ecology) for the analysis of urban spaces (urban ecology) (Flanagan, W. 1993). In simple words, ecology is the science, which studies the relationship between living things and the environment .The city like any other environment, is a conditioning rather than a determining factor.

Urban ecology refers to an idea that emerged out of the Chicago School that likens urban organization to biological organisms. Urban ecology has remained an influential theory in both urban sociology and urban

anthropology over time. The theory is essentially an extended metaphor that helps to explain how conflicting subgroups exist in shared urban spaces and systems. Like biological systems, urban subgroups are dependent on one another for healthy functioning and are also dynamic—that is, they flourish and decline based on political, economic, and social tides. Relating this to functionalist theory, one can look at immigration and emigration trends. As people enter and leave a country, they are dependent upon one another, as well as the new culture, to assimilate and enter into a new society. Immigrants become emigrants and vice-versa; in this way, the chain of life continues in terms of societal relations.

Any thorough discussion of the development of urban sociology must explain difference between the two organizing topics in the field: urbanization and urbanism. Urbanization refers to the origins of cities and the process of city building. What people migrate from rural areas to the cities; due to pull or push factors; temporarily or permanently; the process of urbanization takes place. In practice, urbanization refers both to the increase in the percentage of population residing in urban areas and to the associated growth in the number of urban dwellers, in the size of cities and in the total area occupied by urban settlements. It studies the way social activities locate themselves in space and according to interdependent processes of societal development and change.

Urbanism, in contrast, studies the ways of life that may be found within the urban community. It deals with culture, with meanings, symbols, patterns of daily life, and processes of adjustment to the environment of the city, but also with social conflict and political organization at the street, neighborhood, and city levels. As believed by Louis Wirth; it is a way of life distinct from the life in the rural areas.

The philosophical foundations of modern urban sociology originate from the work of sociologists such as Karl Marx, Ferdinand Tönnies, Émile Durkheim, Max Weber and Georg Simmel who studied and theorized the economic, social and cultural processes of urbanization and its effects on social alienation, class formation, and the production or destruction of collective and individual identities.

These theoretical foundations were further expanded upon and analyzed by a group of sociologists and researchers who worked at the University of Chicago in the early twentieth century. In what became known as the Chicago School of sociology the work of Robert Park, Louis Wirth and Ernest Burgess on the inner city of Chicago revolutionized not only the purpose of urban research in sociology, but also the development of human geography through its use of quantitative and ethnographic research methods. The importance of the theories developed by the Chicago School within urban sociology have been critically sustained and critiqued but still remain one of the most significant historical advancements in understanding urbanization and the city within the social sciences. The discipline may draw from several fields, including cultural sociology, economic sociology, and political sociology.

The growth of cities and the urbanization of social life have long stood at the center of social science inquiry. Urban housing, politics, intergroup relations, class and stratification patterns, economic structure, demographic trends, and the nature of communities are among the most frequent areas of scholarly investigation. Social scientists have focused on social interactions in urban areas because cities have the unique capacity to bring together many cultural strands. Economic problems and power dynamics are intensified as resources are scarce due to dense populations. Cities also operate as zones of confluence for economic relationships and other types of diversity as new ideas, people, and goods are constantly flowing through urban areas.

The advent of globalisation and the information and communication technology revolution in particular, have had a profound impact on cities around the world and have rejuvenated academic interest in urban sociology.

Box 1.6

Today, 55% of the world's population lives in urban areas, a proportion that is expected to increase to 68% by 2050. Projections show that urbanization, the gradual shift in residence of the human population from rural to urban areas, combined with the overall growth of the world's population could add another 2.5 billion people to urban areas by 2050, with close to 90% of this increase taking place in Asia and Africa, according to a new United Nations data set launched today.

The 2018 Revision of World Urbanization Prospects produced by the Population Division of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) notes that future increases in the size of the world's urban population are expected to be highly concentrated in just a few countries. Together, India, China and Nigeria will account for 35% of the projected growth of the world's urban population between 2018 and 2050. By 2050, it is projected that India will have added 416 million urban dwellers, China 255 million and Nigeria 189 million.

The urban population of the world has grown rapidly from 751 million in 1950 to 4.2 billion in 2018. Asia, despite its relatively lower level of urbanization, is home to 54% of the world's urban population, followed by Europe and Africa with 13% each.

Today, the most urbanized regions include Northern America (with 82% of its population living in urban areas in 2018), Latin America and the Caribbean (81%), Europe (74%) and Oceania (68%). The level of urbanization in Asia is now approximating 50%. In contrast, Africa remains mostly rural, with 43% of its population living in urban areas.

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs

These concepts will be discussed in detail in the subsequent units.

While both Max Weber and Friedrich Engels emphasized the relation between the historical development of the city and its ways of life, Georg Simmel was more concerned with patterns of activity and ways of thinking that were found in the city. Simmel was concerned with modernity, or the

transition from a traditional society characterized by social relations based on intimacy or kinship (known as “primary” relations) and by a feudal economy based on barter to an industrial society situated within cities and dominated by impersonal, specialized social relations based on compartmentalized roles (known as “secondary” relations) and by a money economy based on rational calculations of profit and loss. For Simmel, the subtle aspects of modernity were displayed most clearly within the large city or metropolis and through consciously directed behaviors. Simmel gives us a social psychology of modernity that Robert Park took to be the sociology of urbanism, or “urban sociology.”

Like most areas of sociology, urban sociologists use statistical analysis, observation, social theory, interviews, and other methods to study a range of topics, including migration and demographic trends, economics, poverty, race relations and economic trends.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Write a note on Chicago School

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- 2) Explain the contribution of Louis Wirth to urban sociology.

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- 3) Fill in the blanks: -

- a) Urban Sociology as a subfield of Sociology discipline emerged in
- b) was the first Professor of Sociology in the Bombay University
- c) Urbanisation is a process by which people migrate from areas to the cities and towns.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

The field of urban sociology was recognized within the formal discipline of sociology in United States of America in the late 19th century. However, a systematic discipline of urban sociology came into being in the 20th century.

The nature and scope of urban sociology is much wider as it covers the whole

spectrum of urban life and its changing environments. It originated from the issues raised by fast urbanization as a consequence of industrialization, breaking down the patterns of rural life that had characterized the livelihood of humankind for millennia. It was built around the central theme of social integration in a new, urban society made up of recent rural immigrants, and where the traditional institutions of social integration were weakening due to population growth, economic development, social mobility, and social struggles. Because American metropolitan areas were the epitome of growth, immigration, and change, they provided the social laboratory in which social scientists could explore the conditions of integration into the urban society of the masses of uprooted immigrants, flocking to the new Babylon from both the countryside and overseas.

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1.7 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. Urban Sociology developed in the Western societies as the interest of scholars turned towards the cities and their close association with complex social, cultural, economic structure and operations. The cities represented the core complex of urban life. In which, they existed. Most and systematic attention was given in America, especially in Chicago.
2. Urban Sociology in India developed as a discipline in Bombay. The contributions of Patrick Geddes a town planner in Bombay University in 1915. In 1920 Bombay Department of Sociology Prof. G.S. Ghurey, who followed Patrick Geddes; worked on cities. After 1951 Census showed a rise of rate of urbanization, interest in urban increased. G.S Ghurey's work on "Cities of India" appeared in the issue of "**Sociological Bulletin**" in 1953. This journal was established by Ghurey in Bombay University. Many other scholars like A.R. Desai, M.S A Rao and few others contributed to this field of study.

Check Your Progress 2

1. During the 1920's in America, in the city of Chicago. A concentration of scholars who focused their attention to the kind of social changes in society and its social institutions which they were undergoing during this period. Many scholars like Robert E. Park; E.N.W Burgess; R.D Mackenjie; Louis Wirth contributed to this field of study in Sociology. Thus, they came to be known as the Chicago School. The social,

economic, political and cultural changes have been examined by these Chicago scholars from different angles. Louis Wirth spoke of urbanism as 'a way of life' which helped distinguish folk life from urban. Structure of cities were studied by E.W Burgess; etc. These developments helped constitute Chicago as a distinct School of Thought.

2. Louis Wirths examination of urban life as 'a way of life' helped identify different characteristics of urban life; such as formal association; isolation; anonymity where you do not know many people in your neighbourhood etc. In terms of occupation and lifestyle urban life is distinctly different from rural.
3. (a) America
(b) Patrick Geddes



UNIT 2 URBANIZATION AND URBANISM¹

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Urbanization
- 2.3 Urbanism and Acculturation
- 2.4 Challenges of Urbanization
- 2.5 Urban studies and Chicago school
 - 2.5.1 Scope of Urban Sociology
- 2.6 Let us sum up
- 2.7 References
- 2.8 Specimen Answers to check your progress

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to:

- Describe the concept of Urbanization and the factors leading to it;
- Comprehend the meaning of urbanism and how acculturation process helps in urbanization;
- Identify the challenges of urbanisation and the need for a planned urban development;
- Review the evolution of urban studies and once again discuss the contributions of Chicago school to the development of Urban Sociology as a distinct discipline; and
- Discuss the scope of Urban Sociology.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In Unit 1 of this course; Urban Sociology: Nature and Scope, you learnt about the basic concepts and ideas on Urban Sociology. In this unit we will explain the processes of urbanization and the concept of urbanism.

The human population is increasing at a steady rate. There is an increasing demand for resources to meet the needs of the growing population- food, job, income, place of residence, leisure etc. Often these needs urge man to move to places where he feels his needs would be met. He finds the new place presenting itself with avenues of growth, prosperity, chances to connect, and wellbeing. This nature of human beings forms the foundation of the phenomenon of urbanization.

In this Unit, we will try to understand the concept of urbanization, what causes urbanization, and the impact of urbanization on society. We will also take a look at the evolution of urban studies around the world, as well as in India.

2.2 URBANIZATION

Urbanization can be defined as the shift in population from rural to urban. This can be characterized by an inflow of population to the urban centres making them more densely populated than other areas. In most cases, the boundaries of the urban- divide are in the continuum. This means that we may not find a well-demarcated boundary between the urban and rural space. It can, however, be distinguished by the change in concentration of people, houses, commercial buildings, and transport facilities as you travel from one region to another. You may find the presence of all these entities in both urban and rural. Nonetheless, they will be more pronounced in the urban spaces with respect to other regions. For example, the villages in the United States have well-defined roads and infrastructure facilities. However, as you move to a city such as New York or Chicago, you can find more of these facilities. The distinction between urban and rural life might be clear in certain countries, while it can be blurry in others. It depends upon the extent of urbanization in each. However, a distinct characteristic of urban is that a majority of the population will be employed in the non-agricultural sector with respect to the rural. As a result, we can find more agricultural lands in rural areas.

As the population in the urban spaces continues to grow, large scale urbanization happens, thus causing a phenomenon called urban sprawl i.e. the urban population disperses over larger geographical areas leading to the development of suburbs in the outskirts of the urban centres. This triggers the onset of new residential spaces, roads, transport facilities, and commercial activities in the suburbs resulting in a geographical expansion of the urban space. Often this geographical expansion will happen by taking up the agricultural or barren lands that previously existed in the region.

We know that urbanization is caused by the movement of people from rural to urban centres. But have you wondered what causes this movement? There can be both push and pull factors for the same. Push factors are those that urge people to move out of their native rural spaces. Lack of job opportunities and economic activities, a hostile environment, natural disasters such as extreme famine and drought, poverty, hunger and political persecutions are some of them. The desire to have a comfortable life motivates them to move to urban spaces where they can enjoy avenues for growth and prosperity.

On the other hand, pull factors are those that attract the population to relocate to the urban spaces. The economic, political, and social environment in the urban space may appear more appealing to the public than their native place. For instance, the presence of industries in the urban space may guarantee employment opportunities for an unemployed person, thus urging him to

move to the city. For a person who is already employed, the city may present opportunities for receiving a higher wage thus making the region attractive to him. Thus, though urbanization essentially means the movement of people to urban centres, the reasons for the same can vary from person to person and region to region.

Activity 1

Watch the old Hindi movie. “Jage Raho” of Raj Kapoor. Write a short note on what features of a newly arrived villager in the city and his, wonder and lack of adjustment to the city you can see in this film. Discuss with other students at your Study Centre.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) What is Urbanization?

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- 2) How can you distinguish between urban and rural?

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- 3) What is urban sprawl?

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2.3 URBANISM AND ACCULTURATION

If urbanization is the process by which an urban area develops, urbanism is the state of being. It encapsulates all the physical and social interactions that we witness in urban centres. It can be the social, economic and political forces and processes that are seen in urban centres. Urbanism gives an in-depth understanding of the ways of life that are characteristic of the city. Let us try to understand better.

When a person moves from a rural to an urban area, he or she may find some differences in both cultures. Some of them are evident while some others are

subtle. The differences can be seen in eating practices, food choices, and ways of dressing, occupational practices and even ways of thinking. For instance, in a rural environment, people may rise and sleep early. Cities like Bangalore, Los Angeles, and Barcelona, on the other hand, are known for their vibrant nightlife. After moving to the city, a person may encounter various inconsistencies and conflicts between the culture and lifestyle he was raised in and the culture of the new location. Gradually, he or she learns the norms of the new place. He gets familiarized with how urban people dress, think, work and communicate with each other. As he gets informed, he starts to pick up some of the new traits himself. It can happen consciously or unknowingly. After a few days, he might get accustomed to his new lifestyle having emulated some of the new traits while retaining some of the old ones. This process is called acculturation. In simple terms, acculturation can be defined as the adoption of a culture of outside traits (Anderson 1959). Not only does acculturation bring a sense of belonging to the people who have just moved to the urban centres, but can also help them live city life in the most efficient manner. For example, knowing the culture of a new place can help you to easily make conversation with the natives. Being informed about the different modes of urban transport can save you time and cost in your commute. Acculturation thus can guide one when she or he finds themselves in unfamiliar terrain. You might have experienced acculturation in your transition from school to University.

Extensive surveys on urbanism and its impact on individuals exist in Urban Sociology. One of the most interesting works is "Urbanism as a way of life" by Louis Wirth which can give you a detailed analysis of the ways the phenomenon changes the lives, habits, interactions, and thinking of people as they get acculturated to urban life (Wirth 1938). Though urban life brings endless possibilities of social interactions, Wirth's work informs us of the contractions. Though people live in close proximities, isolation and lack of intimacy in social interactions can make people lonely, detached and depressed. Think about it. If you are someone living in a city, how do you feel when you travel to a rural place? Do you feel more relaxed? Why do you think so?

Check Your Progress 2

1) What is acculturation?

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2) How does acculturation help in urbanization?

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2.4 CHALLENGES OF URBANIZATION

Urban areas are densely inhabited, compact areas with people from various backgrounds. Though it facilitates avenues for growth and prosperity, the process of urbanization has its challenges. The process marks an apparent change in the region by bringing more people and transactions. As a result, there will be an increase in demand for the resources available in the region- air, water, job opportunities, residential spaces, public services such as transport and healthcare. Since the process of urbanization is organic, unplanned, and, gradual, it can also be disorganized and chaotic putting an onus on the administration to cater to the needs of the ever-growing cities in a sustainable manner. The failure of the government to meet the demands of rapid urbanization can exacerbate the issue. It can result in poverty, illegal constructions, mushrooming of slums, improper waste disposal and increased pollution in the cities deteriorating the health of the population. These issues, however, can be resolved by proper planning. Many nations are now emphasizing urban planning and a sustainable model of urbanization.

Another downside of disorganized urbanization is that it can also lead to differences and contestations among urban dwellers. These contestations can make the urban centres hostile for its members. We discussed acculturation in the previous section; however, if the cities are unwelcoming, acculturation becomes difficult. The diverse groups of urban dwellers can find it hard to assimilate to each other. Such a scenario leads to mushrooming of ghettos in urban centres. Ghettos are areas of habitation for a group of people who share the common ethnicity, culture, roots, language etc.

Check Your Progress 3

1) List a few problems caused by lack of planning in urbanization?

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2.5 URBAN STUDIES AND CHICAGO SCHOOL

The University of Chicago played a critical role in the development of urban studies between 1915 and 1935. Scholars from the University's Department of Sociology made an attempt to develop a scientific study of urban centres by developing theoretical models and employing methodologies varying from personal documents to quantitative analysis. They believed that huge cities such as Chicago and New York, with their diverse population, wide influx of migrants and unequal distribution of wealth served as an apt representation of modern societies. The school conducted surveys of Chicago by mapping the local area and spatial organization of elements such as culture, family, and crime in the city. Topics such as slums, spatial arrangement of the city, uneven growth patterns, and acculturation of the migrants caught the attention of scholars. Popular studies included the Negro family in Chicago (1932), the Taxi Dance Hall (1932), The Gold coast and the slum (1929) and The Ghetto (1928). Scholars such as Robert Park, Frederick Thrasher, Louis Wirth, Clifford S, Paul G Cressey, Ernest Burgess, and E Franklin Frazier pioneered the movement. Though the school faced criticisms for reasons ranging from domineering the discipline of Urban Sociology and marginalization of women scholars, the contributions made by the school towards the development of urban studies, not only in the US but across the globe, is unparalleled.

2.5.1 Urban studies in India

The beginning of urban studies in India is connected to the efforts of administrators and town planners in resolving the issues that plagued the cities of British India. One of the noted town planners, Patrick Geddes, was invited to India by Lord Pentland, the then governor of Madras to bring his educational work to India. Since his arrival (as you had learnt in the previous unit as well) in 1915 and the 10 years that followed, Geddes conducted extensive surveys to understand the state of Indian cities. He suggested ways to make cities more efficient in his Town Planning reports. Geddes criticized the administration for, among other things, its careless city planning, poor sanitation, inhumane slum displacement, lack of administrative measures to control the spread of communicable diseases, inadequate sewage systems, and failure to preserve people's cultural values. His recommendations for urban development were based on the ethos of folk planning rather than place planning. This drew attention to the sociological and humane aspects of city development that called for a comprehensive planning strategy (Guha 1992; Munshi 2000).

Activity 2

Visit a slum/ poor area in your city or town and interview at least five adults living there about their nature of occupation, health; economic condition etc.

Write a note of one page on the slum you visited and discuss with your peers in your study centres.

Patrick's works influenced many scholars to study Indian cities from an academic perspective. The Indian urban studies saw a new wave of recognition in the 1950s when scholars such as Ghurye, K N Venkatarayappa, A R Desai, SS Jha, KM Kapadia and Sjoberg took interest in the urban problems. They analysed the structural changes in Indian societies post urbanization. Their works covered a wide range of topics including the change in kinship bonds, nuclearisation of families, participation of women in the labour market, changing gender roles in marriage, growing inequality in urban centres, the influx of migrant labourers, mushrooming of slums, breakdown of joint families, development and displacement, ghettoization, spatial segregation, population explosion in cities, diffusion of ideologies of individualism, dynamism, and liberalism. Moreover, the government initiatives such as the publication of census reports and National Sample Surveys, and the establishment of institutes such as the National urban Observatory gave impetus to Indian urban studies.

2.5.2 Scope of Urban Sociology

Urbanization is a phenomenon with endless possibilities. The shift in the paradigm of relationships, societal norms, value systems, economic structure, culture, and demographics raise many questions.

There are numerous actors in an urban space: residents, service providers, immigrants, administration etc. The urban centres are sites of interaction between all the players. Their perspectives for looking at cities can be different. This can often lead to contestations and differences. An Urban Sociologist analyses the interactions in the urban sites from different vantage points (Prato and Pardo 2013). To help understand better, the classic pieces of literature and surveys will guide you in learning the major theoretical traditions within the discipline. For instance, Marxist readings such as Harvey and Castells will inform you of the contestations, segregations and inequalities that exist within urban spaces (see Harvey 1978 and Castells 1977). You might realize there are impoverished groups within urban spaces who are discriminated against. Divisions based on caste, ethnicity, gender and class are prevalent in urban spaces much like rural. For instance, Nikhil Anand's survey of water supply in the city of Mumbai flags the discriminatory practices that exist in the distribution of public services by the City water department. Contradictory to the city's upper-class residents, the Muslim settlements in the city has to constantly negotiate and exert pressure on the City Municipal Council to ensure the availability of tap water. The outcome of settler's efforts to access water is contingent on the complex matrix of socio-political relations that they make with the Municipal council (Anand 2011). This example reinforces the argument given by scholars like Louis Wirth that the city experience can be discriminatory and difficult for certain groups of people.

On the other hand, classical structuralist readings will make you realize that the urban spaces have come to become functional and useful for the different stakeholders mentioned above. Cities provide many avenues for growth and prosperity for their dwellers (Simmel 2012). It is why people move to the cities to pursue education, seek higher wages, or find job opportunities.

Familiarity with the different traditions within the discipline will enable you to understand the reasons behind every act and interaction that takes place in the urban space. As a student of Sociology, you are advised to develop a critical mind and go beyond the commonsensical readings of such interactions. Any social phenomenon should be seen through the lens of structural factors and cultural settings. This particular reading can enable you to see things and reasons that go invisible otherwise.

2.6 LET US SUM UP

Though urbanization has been in existence for ages, we are in an era where it is happening at an unprecedented phase. The rate of urbanization can vary across regions. However, it is undeniable that more and more rural areas are headed towards urbanization. India witnessed an addition of 90 million populations in urban areas between 2001 and 2011, showing an urban growth rate of a population of 31.8%. Most countries nowadays are keen to learn more about their cities and identify methods to improve their citizens' lives. This unit, therefore, was an attempt to introduce you to the phenomenon of urbanisation and various concepts associated with it.

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2.8 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your progress 1

- 1) Urbanization can be defined as the shift in population from rural to urban. The process causes a huge inflow of population to the urban centres making them densely populated.
- 2) Urban and rural can be distinguished by the change in concentration of people, houses, commercial buildings, and transport facilities as you travel from one region to another. These elements will be more pronounced in the former. Moreover, a majority of the urban population is employed in non-agricultural sectors. That's not the case in rural.
- 3) As the urban population grows, they disperse over larger geographical areas leading to the development of suburbs in the outskirts of the urban centres. This triggers the onset of new residential spaces, roads, transport facilities, and commercial activities in the suburbs resulting in a geographical expansion of the urban space.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Acculturation can be defined as the adoption of a culture of outside traits.
- 2) Acculturation can help people in learning the city's customs and practices. The procedure aids people in adapting to a new culture and enabling them to live as efficiently as possible in metropolitan areas.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Lack of planning in urbanisation can lead to issues such as poverty, mushrooming of slums, improper waste disposal and increased pollution in the cities.

UNIT 3 CITY¹

Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 City
- 3.3 Spatial Configuration of Cities
 - 3.3.1 Concentric Zone model
 - 3.3.2 Sector model
- 3.4 Classification of Cities
- 3.5 Functions of Cities
- 3.6 Cities and Global Reforms
- 3.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.8 References
- 3.9 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit you will be able to:

- Define city and understand its sociological relevance;
- Identify the structural pattern of a city;
- Understand the city type based on its primary function;
- Analyse the contribution of the city to its larger territory; and
- Understand how cities respond to global reforms.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we discussed the concept of urbanisation. We often mistake urban centres for cities. The city represents only a part of the urban area. Urban stands for all the non-urban geographies: cities, towns, and suburbs. In this unit, we will deal exclusively with cities.

The word “city” originates from the Latin word “civitas”, meaning citizenship or belonging to a community. Cities are essentially large agglomerations of people. However, the population in a city is diverse and heterogeneous. The city thus becomes a place of complex social interplays making it relevant to the discipline of Sociology.

In this unit, we will try to unpack some of these elements. Let us start the unit

¹ Written by Dr. Syama Gopan; Research Scholar, South Asia University, New Delhi

by discussing the sociological relevance of cities and then proceed to discuss the fundamental characteristics, types and functions of a city.

3.2 CITY

What comes to your mind when you think of a city? Is it a picture of towering buildings, people shuttling between work and their homes, neighbourhood parks, crowded markets and busy streets filled with restaurants, shops, and entertainment centres? Most of us have the same image when we think of cities. Cities are certainly physical entities. But what is a city as a sociological concept?

Like most social concepts, the definition of a city is multiple, diverse, and ambiguous. The ambiguity stems from the different vantage points that Sociologists take to explain the concept. Some of them speak about population density, while others about occupational diversity. In an article titled "What is a City", the American historian and Sociologist Lewis Mumford defined the city as a venue that enables diverse groups to engage in economic organizations that are based on some regulations and who are housed in permanent structures within a geographically limited area (Mumford 1937). In the decades that followed Mumford, many definitions have come upon cities leading to a consensus on cities as relatively large, dense and permanent settlements of socially heterogeneous groups (Wirth 1938). Let us now unpack each of these descriptions to find its relevance in Sociology.

Contrary to rural regions where a limited number of people reside, cities are home to millions and more. With the huge numbers come individual variability and anonymity. Though some relationships are formed on personal intimate levels, social associations formed in the cities are superficial and transitory (Wirth 1938; Karmakar and Raychaudhuri 2015). Density implies specialization and diversification wherein the social relations are complex, characterised by segregation, formal rules of associations, and reciprocity. We may not be conscious of the decorum and unsaid rule we follow while we interact with different groups. Think of the difference in your interaction with your teacher and tailor. Heterogeneity makes the social memberships in the city dynamic and multiple. There are no rigid social structures. In a village, individuals may be known as someone's son or relative. However, in cities, the identity of a person depends on his achievements rather than ascribed qualities. Hence there is increased social mobility but also instability and insecurity. The city enables you to be a member of different social groups, even overlapping at times. There are occupational associations, recreational associations, political memberships based on ideologies, religious associations based on faith and so on.

Hence, a sociological reading of life in a city can be complex and intersecting. The city is characteristic of all the diverse functions it serves. These functions can vary from time to time and region to region. In the following sections, we will discuss in detail the functions of cities. Let us now try to understand the physical attributes of a city.

3.3 SPATIAL CONFIGURATION OF CITIES

Paris is considered one of the most beautiful cities in the world. Every year, thousands of tourists flock to the city to walk through its boulevards, marvel at its aesthetically appealing architecture and enjoy the traditional French delicacies. An aerial picture of the city reveals symmetrical streets radiating out from the city's centre. Do you know how the city came into being?

In 1848, when Napoleon Bonaparte became the President of the French Second Republic, he found the then city filled with dirt, diseases, and overcrowding. The quality of life and resources were below par. To revitalize the city, Napoleon assigned his bureaucrat Georges-Eugène Haussmann the task of rebuilding the city. Haussmann overhauled the city by demolishing the labyrinth of slums and the existent buildings. He drew a plan of uniform streets walled by buildings with visually appealing facades radially spreading outwards from the centre of the city. The new plan ensured twin objectives- a city that could be easily administered and surveilled, and one where there was free flow of air, water, and services. Haussmann's plan, to date, continues to inspire urban planners across the globe.

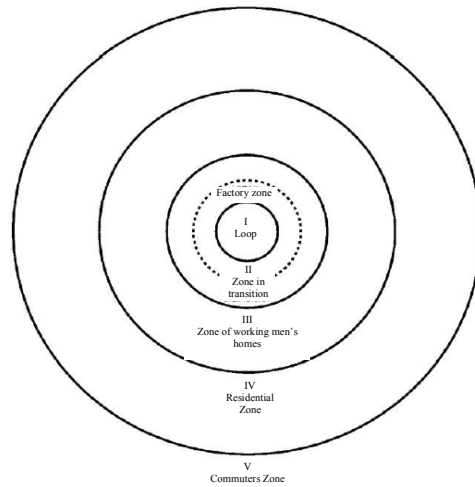
Activity 1

Find out the population of the city you live in or have visited frequently. Learn about its markets; residence areas; office spaces etc. Prepare a map on which you mark all these areas and mention the social class/background if possible. Write an essay on “My City” and discuss with other students at your Study Center; as well as your Counsellor.

Every city, whether planned or unplanned, is structured on certain functionalities that serve the region. If Paris follows a radial architecture, New York City follows grid architecture, whereas Chicago follows a concentric circle model. An analysis of the structure of the city gives insights on many social aspects including the spatial distribution of different groups within the city, income distribution, the governance model etc. One of the key components in any city is its market (the hub of economic activity), for the flow of goods and money within the city is invariably related to its market, thereby playing a critical role in the occupation, residence, and economic status of the city dwellers.

Hence, we will have a detailed look at some of the major theories on the internal structure of a city. The internal structure denotes the spatial arrangements of the physical and social entities in the city and throws light on the interaction between these elements. Kindly keep in mind that these theories are largely based on the spatial arrangement of Western societies where urbanisation became significant in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. We will briefly look at two spatial arrangement models: the Concentric Zone model, and the Sector model.

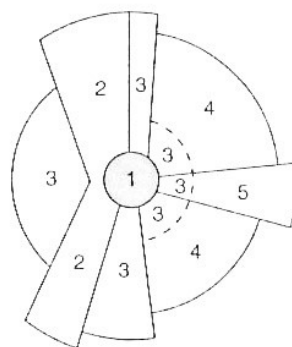
3.3.1 Concentric Zone model



The concentric circle model (CCD), also known as Burgess Model, is one of the earliest theoretical explanations of the patterns of city structure. It was proposed by the Sociologist Ernest Burgess and applied to the city of Chicago. He theorised that the urban space can be categorised into concentric circles of different zones. The zone at the core is called the Central Business District (CBD) which is the hub of all economic activities. It is the

densest zone with a high rate of commercial activities taking place. The zone is well connected and at the convergence of all transport networks. The next major zone is for the working class residence. The zone provides affordable housing and easy commute to the working-class population of the city. There is a transition zone between CBD and working-class residence zone which is a mix of both commercial and residential activities. The outer zone, called the residential zones, caters to the aspirations of the city's middle-class for comfortable living conditions. The zone is home to new development of residential spaces along with amenities such as parks, gardens, and recreational centres. The farthest zone from the hub is called the commuters zone, the periphery that is home to the city's high-income groups. At the expense of high commuting costs, the zone provides land for independent and spacious residential homes (Ford 1974).

3.3.2 Sector model



1. Central Business District
2. Industrial sector
3. Working-class housing
4. Middle-class housing
5. High income housing

In 1939, the economist Homer Hoyt proposed the sector model, also known as the Hoyt model of spatial arrangement. He conceptualised that cities need not develop as rings or concentric circles as theorised by Burgess. The core of intense economic activities remains the same in the Sector model as well. However, according to Hoyt, the city expands in sectors depending on the travel linkages. The expansion of industrial activities follows the road and rail links. Similar industrial hubs are attracted to the same sector due to the

easy access to travel linkages. The working-class population looks for housing options next to the industrial sector. The high-income groups (sector 5) wants to set up their residence farthest from the busy commercial hubs. They are the affluent groups looking for a clean, quiet area for investing in large housing. The Hoyt model is significant for it considers the direction and distance of growth of each sector. It also takes into account the accessibility to travel links as a critical parameter in the spatial arrangement of a city.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) How does the Hoyt model overcome the gaps of the concentric zone model in detailing the spatial configuration of cities?

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- 2) Compare the similarities between the Burgess and Hoyt models?

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3.4 CLASSIFICATION OF CITIES

A strict demarcation of a city is difficult since a generalised approach to defining or categorising cities would only turn futile. Hence, it is imperative to bear in mind that any attempt to categorise cities is only subjective. A city can perform multiple functions, and therefore fail to contain any exclusive category. However, familiarisation with the different criteria of classification of cities will enable you to understand the different functionalities the modern cities serve. Gideon Sjoberg, the American Sociologist, classified the world urban centres into two categories: Pre-industrial and industrial. According to Sjoberg, preindustrial cities are those without sophisticated technological advancement and relied on animal and human labour as the dominant means of production. Whereas, the industrial societies have already achieved technological and scientific advancement, and relied on modern means of energy resources such as nuclear power and fossil fuels(Sjoberg 1960). Sjoberg conceptualised this classification in the 1960s where predominantly the Western societies were thriving on scientific discoveries. However, today, especially after globalisation, where most of the non-western societies are heading towards extensive urbanisation, Sjoberg's over-generalised categorisation may prove to be obsolete.

Activity 2

List some of the major industrial cities in India which came up after the Independence period.

Compare with others in your peer group at your Study Center.

A more comprehensive set of criteria for classifying modern cities are proposed by Noel Gist and L A Helbert where they broadly classified cities into six:

- i) **Production centres:** Industrialisation has played a supreme role in the emergence of early cities. You might have read in the previous unit that the emergence of markets and a thriving centre of production offered people opportunities for employment, thereby nudging them to migrate to urban centres. This mode of urbanisation holds for most of the ancient cities. Bhilai in Chattisgarh, Coimbatore in Tamil Nadu, Adoni in Andhra Pradesh, and Jalandhar in Punjab are some of the prominent industrial cities of India. The production centres can be further classified into primary and secondary based on whether they are engaged in supplying raw materials for production or manufacturing final goods respectively.
- ii) **Centre for trade and commerce:** In medieval times, merchants were organised into guilds. The guilds often functioned as banks and performed financial regulatory roles. In modern states, these functions are performed by commercial centres. These centres act as the financial hub of a country or State. Indian cities such as Mumbai, Visakhapatnam, and Cochin emerged as the financial hubs due to the maritime links they established and thereby setting new trade routes.
- iii) **Capitals and administrative centres:** These cities are the focal point of power and politics. By the virtue of being powerful, such cities might also perform commercial and production functions. However, the administrative functions supersede any other role. The capital cities of Indian states such as Gandhinagar, Thiruvananthapuram, Dispur, and Imphal can be cited examples here. Some regions such as Pataliputra (present Patna), Delhi, and Calcutta (Kolkata) had performed as administrative centres for erstwhile dynasties and colonies. With the fall of these dynasties, these cities were adopted as capitals by the new political regimes.
- iv) **Health and recreation centres:** These are the cities known for their scenic beauty and tourist attractions. Without administrative or trade prospects, these cities thrive as prominent urban centres for their ability to attract tourists and thereby flow of goods and money.
- v) **Religious and cultural centres:** India has a rich cultural and religious heritage. Cities such as Banaras, Amritsar, Jaipur, Tirupati, Hampi, and Ajmer have developed into modern cities due to the virtue of their strong cultural and religious ties.
- vi) **Diversified cities:** As you might realise by now that no city can be strictly confined to any particular role. The diversified cities function multiple and often overlapping roles.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) What do you think are the limitations of Sjoberg's classification?

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- 2) Do you think Noel and Helbert's classification is relevant for modern cities? Discuss.

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3.5 FUNCTIONS OF CITIES

The classification of the cities that you have read above is largely based on the primary and most critical functions that a city serves. However, to go a step further, we must understand the geographical, economic and political significance of a city. This implies that cities provide support not only to its inhabitants but often to the larger territory it belongs to. To do so, we shall familiarise ourselves with a functionalist theoretical survey done on American cities.

In the notable work "The Nature of Cities", by Chauncy D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, the authors proposed that cities perform one or a combination of the following three roles:

- i) **Cities as central places:** Cities are the focal points for trade, communication, networking, and culture for the tributary areas. These centres can be as small as hamlets serving the neighbouring villages and small towns, or as large as New York City. New Delhi in India is an apt example of a city as a political centre. In the modern days, numerous cities are emerging as central places thereby creating a network of trade and communication links across larger territories.
- ii) **Cities as transport foci:** These cities are the gateways for the disbursement of goods and cargo. Due to the virtues of their location and transport links, cities such as Mumbai and Vizag develop at foci or breaks of transportation, from where further transport routes spread to the larger territory. These cities also develop auxiliary services such as warehousing, sophisticated logistics, value addition, repacking etc. With rampant urbanisation and development of transport infrastructure, this function of cities is being decentralised. Chauncy and Edward suggested in 1945 that the airways would further change the pattern of development of cities in future. That is certainly the case at present. Today, most

Indian cities are equipped to handle and serve the transaction of goods across borders and oceans.

- iii) **Cities as concentration points for specialised services:** Specialised services are performed by cities by the virtue of their local resources or strategic location. They are conducive to the development of specialised industries or services. For instance, Darjeeling in West Bengal has favourable climatic conditions for tea plantations. This particular characteristic has helped in the development of the city as a sought after tourist spot as well as exporting centre. Many cities lying along with the industrial belts in India such as the Chottanagpur region, Kollam-Thiruvananthapuram, or Bengaluru-Chennai, developed as prominent cities by providing favourable locations for mining, education, manufacturing or recreation (Harris and Ullman 1945).

Please keep in mind that a city can perform multiple functions, and the presence of any function does not mean the absence of another. Moreover, as we discussed in the previous section, there is more than one criterion to analyse the functions performed by a city. Chauncy and Edward's is only one of the many.

Activity 1

Identify the primary function your city serves. Discuss in groups how this function has affected the following parameters in your city.

- Level of Employment
- Culture
- Trade and Commerce

3.6 CITIES AND GLOBAL REFORMS

In this section, we will discuss the paradigm of change that happens to cities as they respond to global phenomena. The process of urbanisation and the emergence of cities is not purely localised as one imagines them to be. A city changes from within and outside. Both internal and external forces act on it morphing it continuously. Here, we shall briefly discuss two global phenomena that originated outside India but impacted the Indian cities.

Cities indeed existed before the industrial revolution. However, the 18th-century revolution ushered in unparalleled urbanisation all over the world. The emergence of new factories created a higher demand for wage labourers. The hitherto agrarian society shifted away from farms to cities owing to the newfound prospects of a steady income and job. The demand for labourers was so high that they drove women and children to the cities for jobs. Child labour and unsafe working conditions were rampant during the period. As a result, the population in the cities spiked leading to unsanitary living conditions and squalor within cities. The pollution caused by the factories and the lack of sound administrative measures for waste disposal added to the plight of cities. As illustrated in the previous sections on the structure of the cities, the working-class resided close to the factories while the affluent

classes could afford clean, comfortable housing in the suburbs, farthest from the factories, resulting in spatial segregation within cities. Nonetheless, during the time, the industrial cities witnessed the advent of assembly line production and the development of rail, road, and electricity.

Another event that marked a distinct shift in the cities was the globalisation of the 1980s. New governance, financial and consumptive arrangements were adopted by the Indian cities, particularly the internationalisation of financial sectors (Sassen 2000). Cities made deliberate and strategic moves to attract international corporations. It was primarily a result of new tradable specialisations connected with the information and technology revolution (Castells 2011). The rise of Bengaluru in Karnataka as a centre of electronic specialisation is an example. In 1985, with the arrival of Texas Instruments, a US-based corporation, Bengaluru rose to global stature as an attractive site for multinational corporations looking to relocate. The local government made legislative and administrative measures to ensure ease of doing business for the international corporations. Deregulating licenses for setting up the business, developing exclusive economic zones with competitive infrastructure, and granting tax incentives were some of the measures adopted by the lawmakers. These measures boosted the local software design environment, thereby enhancing the position of the city in the global value chain (Clark 2016). The trigger for change in the spatial and social restructuring of Bengaluru was the revolution in Information technology. However, the city administration and the local skilled workforce promptly responded to the global demand ushering in a paradigm leap in the city's development.

3.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have discussed what cities are and why defining cities is difficult. We tried to understand the sociological relevance of cities.

Further, we discussed the spatial configuration of cities, their functionality, and how it would result in spatial segregation amongst the city dwellers. We discussed in detail two models- the concentric zone model and sector model to gain insights into the spatial configuration of the physical and social elements in a city.

In the subsequent sections, you were introduced to some criteria for classifying cities. We discussed the categories proposed by Gideon Sjoberg and Noel-Helbert. Under the section on functions, the basic idea was to make you realise that cities serve larger functions to their neighbouring territories.

Lastly, we discussed the shift in development patterns of cities as they respond to global reforms. We undertook two major events in history- 18th-century industrialisation and 21st-century globalisation, to discuss their impact on the social and economic structure of cities.

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3.9 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The Hoyt model considers the direction and distance of growth of each sector. It also takes into account accessibility to travel links as a critical parameter in the spatial arrangement of a city which was left undiagnosed by the Concentric Zone Model.
- 2) Both models place the Central Business District at the core of spatial arrangement which shows the primacy they give to economic activities in the city's spatial configuration.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Sjoberg classified the cities into pre-industrial and industrial. Sjoberg conceptualised this classification in the 1960s where predominantly the Western nations were thriving on scientific discoveries. However, today, especially after globalisation, where most of the non-western nations are heading towards extensive urbanisation, his over-generalised categorisation may prove to be obsolete.
- 2) Broadly the different classification of cities on the basis of major functions they perform is still found true. However; cities have more functions than one can also be found.