

URBAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A STUDY OF A HILL CITY



SUROJIT SEN GUPTA

The book examines the Urban Social Structure of the most cosmopolitan city of North-East India, i.e. Shillong. It was found to be a multi-ethnic social set-up, though it was also known as a tribal city. Keeping the ethnic complexity in view, this study examines the urban social structure, pattern of group behaviour, nature of its modernity and the impact of urban development.

This book will prove to be a leading work in the field of urban sociology and valuable asset in sociological research. The study is significant as it identifies areas for further research as well. It will be useful for students and scholars engaged in interdisciplinary studies as well as for policy planners in the field.

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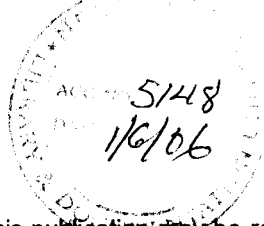
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CONTENTS

	<i>Acknowledgement</i>	ix
	<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
	<i>List of Maps</i>	xii
	<i>List of Figures</i>	xii
1	Introduction	1
2	Historical setting of Shillong	48
3	Ethnic Mosaic	77
4	The context of Modernity	122
5	Urbanization, Urban Policies and the State	157
6	Conclusion	188
	<i>Bibliography</i>	201
	<i>Index</i>	209

INTRODUCTION

The chapter introduces the theme of the study under different heads. It reviews the various Theories on Urbanization, surveys, the urban scenario in the country in general and North East India in particular. At the end it reports on the strategy and method of the study.

UNDERSTANDING THE URBAN PHENOMENA

The urban centre is a place where the concentration of population takes place with marked secondary and tertiary occupations, having a municipality and notified area committee. Urbanism, on the other hand, is a social behaviour in urban areas, e.g., there is a marked differentiation in social structure as the people of diverse areas live close together. In urban areas one person meets with thousand persons in a day and hence it may not be possible for an urbanite to remember all of them for a longer period. Thus, urbanization, on the other hand, is a process of social transformation from rural to urban areas. In this sense, one place may be more urbanized in comparison with the other whether the same may be a village or town. A certain percentage of people in urban areas are found to be engaged in cultural activities and similarly the urban component of secondary and tertiary populations are found in villages. In this way, the urbanization of one place is a comparative feature which may continue or decline or even stop or is found in lesser degree; or there may be a high level of urbanization.

It is quite evident that due to the increasing urbanization the merger of villages into towns has been observed. Due to this process, the small towns develop into major urban centres. This also helps in transforming rural way of life into urban economic and social organization. The transformation of rural service centres is in both time and space, due to concentration of commercial, transportation, and professional services, give rise to the development of urban centres. The increasing intensity of such processes over a landscape leads to urbanization. The growth of urban centres also leads to changes in infrastructure, which in turn further affect regional development, industrialization, transportation linkages, population distribution, and the entire rural-urban continuum. At the same time, the dynamics of regional economics, population growth, increasing employment in the tertiary sector, and the continuation of these processes for longer period of time and over increasing dimensions of space, are signs of regional development. Thus urbanization is a polarization technique, which has been adopted for regional development.

Urbanization usually brings with it regional prosperity, as the provision of infrastructure facilities stimulate the development of locally available resources, increasing regional income and employment levels. Hence urbanization and regional development are closely correlated and cannot be separated. However, exceptions to the general pattern of regional prosperity abound. Urban slums, for example, are areas of regional, economic, cultural, political and social deprivation; they have not reaped the rewards of urbanization and regional development.

The dynamics of urbanization, however, is complex one. The natural increase of the existing urban population adds to the total number of people from adjoining regions and tends to concentrate to already crowded clusters, on the other. The concentration of population in such clusters is guided both by push factors in the adjoining regions and pull factors operating in the urban centres. The factors pushing population away from the rural areas towards the urban centres may vary in their significance from the one region to the other or from one country to the other. These

factors may embrace in them (a) high growth of rural population due to high birth rate; (b) reduction in the need of agricultural labours due to improved agricultural technology; (c) increasing demand for items other than food-stuff due to increase in income; and (d) relatively low and uncertain returns from farm products. The relative strength of each push factor, however, varies with different geographic situations, such as (a) is more important in developing countries and (b) more in highly developed countries (Hagget, p. 1983).

The growth of an urban centre, on the other hand, is directly proportional to the strength of pull factors operating within its area. The pull factors may broadly be categorized under two major heads: (i) Agglomeration economies of the towns; and (ii) Urban multipliers. Agglomeration economies refer to the economic development set in motion by high density crowding and cumulative and cyclical growth of economies caused by serving an increasingly large market distributed over a small and compact geographic area. Consequently, the profits, owing to lowering of cost per unit resultant upon large production of articles and lower transportation costs in serving the local city market, increases. In addition, profit is also made by utilizing the machine and specialized knowledge of labours to the full. As specialization increases the dependence of one specialized branch on the other increases leading to sectorisation of the settlement making room for new arrivals that must follow. This led Lampard to the view that 'city growth is simply the concentration of differentiated but functionally integrated specialisms' (Lampard, 1965).

Urban multipliers may broadly be studied under two sub-heads of basic and non-basic activities of the towns. Basic activities as Hagget (Hagget, p. 1983) suggests refer to the activities that let the town sell goods or services or investments beyond their immediate boundaries. In the process expand the economic base of the towns to enable them to absorb more people from adjoining regions. Basic activities, thus, are essentially associated with the manufacturing industries. This also is the basis of 'urban base ratio', i.e. the ratio between the number of jobs in basic

activities, and the total population. Non basic activities, on the other hand, refer to the activities the product of which is consumed in the town itself. The expansion of non-basic activities is positively proportionate to that of basic activities and population (Lowry model). Basic and non-basic economic activities and their expansion are the major multipliers to the urban population hence the urban growth.

Degree of urbanization in a region does provide a fair measure of its social and economic progress. Urban development, as the historical evidences suggest, takes place as a consequence of structural transformation of the economy from subsistent peasant based production to a surplus generating economy wherein a substantial segment of the working population gets engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. The functional quality of towns gets closely associated with the stage of socio-economic development. The geographic patterning of urbanization, therefore, is seen as a vital clue of socio-economic transformation in any region. Urbanization unlike many other socio-economic phenomena presupposes ever-increasing interactions over time and space in its intensity and dimensions. Thus, nature, modes, terms and stages of interactions play an important role in the processes and nature of urbanization. Urbanization also presupposes socio-economic and spatial differentiation; therefore, the study of urbanization need not be and should not be done by using the concepts which are valid for the analysis of undifferentiated phenomena. Therefore, it is imperative to change the terrain and the conceptual tools of analysis for a meaningful study of the issue of urbanization.

Urbanization is always and everywhere a consequence of structural changes in the economy, polity and the spatial components of a region/society. Therefore, it is not only conceptually fallacious but also a historical to maintain urbanization is the cause of bringing about structural change as is the case with many scholars. Urbanization presupposes and thrives on perpetuating spatial and sectoral dependencies; therefore it is always antithetical to development and regional balance. The structure and functions of an urban area in its first and the last instance

represent the nature of organic linkages between the urban centre and its hinterland both within and without.

Urbanization in the underdeveloped world has always been an episode of discontinuity and rupture from its heritage and traditional past. Most often it is experienced that urbanization in these countries shows a jumbled up of things and aspects highly uncorrelated to each other, i.e. incompatibility between the socio-economic formation and the superstructure or between the economic organization and the market relations etc. The processes of urbanization in the context of an omnipresent modern world system is directly related to the expansion and consolidation of the forces of the world market. Therefore, urbanization in the present context implies the drain of resources and economic surplus from the less advantageous regions to the advantageous ones.

It is a common knowledge that urbanization tends to occur more speedily when countries are in early stages of industrialization. A steady increase in its degree of urbanization is just natural. Now, with urbanization proceeding at a rapid speed, there is an increasing need for urban research, not only for understanding the growth trends and the factors involved therein but also for finding a solution to the urban problems created by the rising tide of urbanization.

Urban Processes

Various scholars have conceptualized urbanization in terms of the demographic aspect of city growth. For example, Kingsley Davis (Davis, et.al, 1962) has observed that urbanization depends upon the proportion of the total population concentrated in urban settlements or else to a rise in this proportion. A population within a given territory may redistribute itself through either centripetal or centrifugal movement. Centripetal movement is the process by which population and resources are drawn into a centre of population concentration- relatively larger numbers and higher density in a given area. Centrifugal movement is the process by which populations and resources move outward toward the periphery of a centre and further develop relations

with a hinterland. The major process of centripetal movement is urbanization. Thus understood, urbanization may be viewed as the process of population concentration in which the ratio of urban people to the total population in a territory increases. From this point of view, an increase in both the size of individual urban concentration and the number of points of urban concentration may occur without an increase in urbanization of a territory, although these changes usually are accompanied by a rising proportion of population living in cities. Thus, seen, we may say that urbanization occurs only when a large proportion of inhabitants come to live in cities.

From the existing literature on urbanization, Paul. K. Hatt and Albert. J. Reiss Jr. (Hatt and Reiss, 1957) conclude that five major factors stand out as determinants of city growth and urbanization, of which the 'demographic revolution' is an important factor. Hope Tisdale (Tisdale, 1942) also calls attention to the demographic underpinnings of the city. Neither it's power and influence over the surrounding hinterland nor it's cosmopolitan culture can satisfactorily identify the city, because each of these, in fact, presupposes that urbanization has already taken place. Thus, according to him, population concentration alone is the essential condition of urbanism and urbanization. The development of a dense aggregation of people is necessary if any of the other properties of the city is to be observed. As a result, Tisdale acknowledges that the advancement of technology is an indispensable basis for the concentration of population without which the urban condition is a literal impossibility.

The advancement of technology is connected with the process of industrialization. If we accept Tisdale's view, it will mean that industrialization is a precondition of urbanization. And it is no wonder that the good many sociologists have considered industrialization and urbanization together. For example, Leonard Reissman (Reissman, 1964), observes, "Nowhere has industrialization ... occurred without urban development," and he warns us of the dangers of urbanization preceding industrialization.

Radhakamal Mukerjee (Mukerjee, R., 1940), emphasised the point that the process of urbanization is neither necessarily correlated with the process of industrialization nor both these processes are synonymous of each other. It is quite possible that the process of urbanization might have accelerated to a great extent without even the advent of industrialization. He suggests that both these processes should be understood as independent of each other, having different meanings.

One approach regards urbanization as a process of radiation, whereby ideas and practices spread out from the urban centre into surrounding areas. But Hope Tisdale rejects this approach on the ground that it makes the city the cause of urbanization rather than the result or the product of urbanization. Nor does it explain the appearance and growth of cities. It points the pre-existence of cities.

The process of urbanization has also been viewed by some as the increase in the intensity of problems or traits or characteristics that are essentially urban. Such a view may be criticized on the ground that it confuses cause and effect, the presupposition of cities before urbanization. In its logical analysis such an approach would mean that as problems are solved, as traits disappear, as characteristics change, deurbanization sets in. In modern times we observe many urban trends. We can easily refuse to call their intensification urbanization until we are sure that the growth of cities cannot proceed without their intensification, and also that the traits cannot intensify without a concomitant urban increase.

The process of urbanization must culminate in the city, if it is to be the process which makes the city. Thus viewed, just as long as cities grow in size, urbanization is taking place. It can stop, recede or go on at any point in time and space. There can be urbanization at one time and not at another. Thus, urbanization process as a continuous ongoing process has been wrongly assumed by various scholars. There can be rapid urbanization and slow urbanization; there can be deurbanization. There can be urbanization before there are cities and after there have been cities. Besides, it is also true that there can be absence of urbanization even though there may be many cities.

So far as the density of population as criterion of urbanization is concerned, some scholars have raised serious objections. For example, Gerald Breese (Breese, G., 1969), points out that it is not feasible to relate the degree of urbanization of a country to its overall density of population, as it is quite possible to have a relatively high level of urbanization and still have a low density of population for the country as a whole, example, Argentina. However, according to him, the relationship between the degree of National urbanization and energy consumption appears to be a useful index: the countries most urbanized are generally those with high energy consumption rates.

Olof Boustedt along with G. Goudswaard, develops the concept of "agglomeration area" to describe the process of urbanization. They use three important criteria to determine the urbanization process: residential pattern, economic structure and employment-residence ratio. For the same agglomeration concept, Prof. P. Geddes uses the term "Conurbation" (Geddes, 1968). But the entire process of urbanization all over the world has not been through conurbation. William H. Ludlow, Jack P. Gibbs, Donald J. Bogue and Emerson Seim, and Harley L. Browning have sought to lay definitive characteristics of urbanization, such as population size, density areas, extent and spatial shape, instead of solely depending on any one of these. J. P. Gibbs finds a logical connection among these attributes (Gibbs, J. P. 1966).

Edward B. Olds, Calvin F. Schmid, William H. and Jack P. Gibbs believe that the urbanization process be understood in terms of spatial structure. According to them, the study of urban spatial structure deals with a wide range of topics which encompasses patterns in the location of such diverse phenomena as places of residence, commercial establishments, transportation lines, ethnic groups, places of worship, manufacturing plants, vacant land, hospitals, public parks and areas demarcated along social class lines.

F. H. W. Green, Howard L. Green, Leslie Kish, John M. Mattila and Wilbur R. Thompson, L. L. Pownall, Howard J. Nelson, and Walter Isard and Robert Kavesh (as quoted by Sarikwal, 1978) have described the urbanization process in

terms of the development of urban hinterland and functional centres. They point out that the development of urban service areas, metropolitan regions and functional types are relevant to an explanation of the existence of urban places and to understand differences among them with regard to the characteristics generally attributed to such places.

James A. Quinn divides the characterization of urban growth into two categories: emergence of legal cities and of natural cities, the former as one kind of government unit, the latter as a natural social entity (Quinn, 1967). The legal city consists of a legally incorporated area (i.e., municipality) whose population exceeds a specific minimum and within whose boundaries a local government exercises authority as delegated by the state. The natural city constitutes a unit which can be marked off from neighbouring territory by such characteristics as size and density of population, typical occupations and quality of social relations. Quinn further observes three qualities of population other than density and size-mobility, permanence and heterogeneity-as are of possible value in characterizing urban areas, though none of them alone seems very useful.

Quinn also goes a little further and conceives of an urban area as something more than a large dense aggregation of people, buildings, and non-agricultural occupations, and as something different from an area characterized by complex, impersonal social relations. It may be viewed also as an internally organized community. He mentions two aspects of the internal organizations of an urban area-spatial and social. Spatially, an urban area contains several kinds of sub-areas: a central shopping district, secondary commercial areas of different sizes, wholesale areas, areas of light and heavy industries, and a considerable variety of residential areas. Each of these sub-areas has important relations with each other and is connected with others by lines of transportation and communications. Socially, the urban area includes a variety of institutions, classes and groups which, notwithstanding the high degree of segmentations of personal life, become organized bodies into an inclusive social unit and into a number of distinctive little social worlds. Generally, the institutions formed within an urban area become

functionally integrated in such a manner that most residents obtain locally the satisfaction of their basic needs.

Gerald Breese finds that the characteristics of urbanization in newly developing countries are best understood in the context of the total changes in each growing country (Breese, 1969). For example, the nature and extent of urbanization may be diverse in the case of those countries which have been under colonial rule because urbanization has taken place in the periods of colonization or exploitation by foreign countries, or in connection with the emergence of nationhood following the end of colonial experience. There may also be urbanization of considerable magnitude even prior to colonial period. The urbanization of certain countries also reveals evidence of the conflicts which led to floods of refugees moving towards the large cities, and of the relationship of military key-points and supply centres to the development of the city.

Thus, the approaches so far discussed consider mostly the concentration of population as an essential factor of urbanization. Of course, there are many things about these concentrations which are different. There are ways of behaving, physical aspects, kinds of urbanization, types of activities which develop in and by virtue of the city. Some are different because they are in the city; some are in the city because they are different. But all these are not to be confused with the process of urbanization.

It is also significant that everything that affects population movement affects urbanization one way or the other. Most events are complex enough to have a bifurcated effect upon it. Thus, as Breese also held, it is the total effect of social change in a society upon population distribution that determines the course of urbanization.

But such a view of urbanization would further imply that togetherness of a progressive nature is an essential indicator of urbanization. It would also imply freeing of a part of the population from land and availability of greater labour force for more urban jobs. It would also imply progressive expansion of urban jobs. In this context, two conditions appear to be necessary for urbanization at an industrial

centre. One is people and the other is technology. Population increase and surplus feed the process of urbanization, and technology and urbanization work together. In this case the density of population does not increase unless industries develop and technological advancement is made. Moreover, in this process the pace of urbanization also increases. But one thing is clear: development of technology does not depend upon the growth of population, rather the truth is just the reverse.

Apart from the approaches to the population concentration, there are other approaches to urbanization, which appear more germane to developing a proper perspective about it. Thus, on a realistic plane, urbanization is also understood as the process of becoming, i.e., a movement not necessarily direct or steady or continuous, from a state of non-urbanization towards a state of more concentration. It is put in motion by events or conditions which make concentration both possible and desirable. These events are not to be confused with the process itself. For example, the discovery and utilization of electricity constitute the series of events which have served to simulate urbanization. Similarly, the opening of large number of factories constitutes a series of events which attract a good deal of labour force from surrounding areas as also businessmen from distant areas and thus leading to concentration of population in a given territory. Still further, the development of transport and communication systems constitutes a series of events which stimulates urbanization. Various social distributions spontaneously spring up in a series of events which further simulate urbanization. Patterns of living may also occur in a series of events and simulate urbanization. As an exponent of this view, mention may be made of J. Clyde Mitchell who analyses the process of urbanization as "being the process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agriculture to other pursuits common to cities and corresponding changing of behaviour patterns" (Mitchell, 1966).

Such an approach to urbanization may be disputed on the ground that the process of becoming is never perfect or complete; the moment it becomes static and assumes a

certain fixed course it becomes a historical fact and remains no longer a process. Many migrants in the city live in it but they do not identify themselves with its accepted pattern of life. Thus, R.E. Pahl observes that many rural migrants are able to be in the city but not of it, using their more traditional 'rural' culture as a shock-absorber, or perhaps devising new transitional forms which are neither typically 'rural' nor typically 'urban'. He shows that the migrants reflect urban behaviour only during their working hours while outside they adhere to their rural behaviour patterns (Pahl, 1968). Mayer's observations in this regard are: "while some are born 'urban' and others achieve urbanization, none can be said to have urbanization thrust upon them". He terms this process of urbanization as 'incapsulation': the situation where migrants live in the city but are not urbanized (Mayer, 1974).

Urbanization is also understood in terms of the urban system in contrast to the non-urban system. Following this approach, the movement we say that a non-urban area has become urbanized, we immediately, rather unconsciously, refer to a social system characteristic of urban society. Such an urban system has been understood variously by different sociologists. For example, MacIver and Page (1959) designate such a system as having properties like heterogeneity, more agencies of social control, individualistic tendencies, cultural diversity etc. Louis Wirth describes these properties as heterogeneity, highest degree of dependence upon others, the segmental character of urban social relations and the sophistication and rationality of the inhabitants (Wirth, 1938). According to Louis Wirth, the central problem of the sociologists of the city is to discover the forms of social action and organizations that typically emerge in relatively permanent, compact settlements of large numbers of heterogeneous individuals. He further clarifies that, on the basis of the above three variables, it is possible to explain the characteristics of urban life and to account for the differences between cities of various sizes and types.

TRADITIONS OF URBAN STUDIES**Urban Ecology**

Ecological approach focuses on the relationship between urban population and the habitat, as pioneered by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess and a team of scholars of Chicago University. They believed that competition for scarce resources was the basic principle of both human and animal adaptation to environment. They wanted to find out if a pattern existed in the formation of an agrarian and feudal society into an urban, industrial and capitalist society. Burgess argued that modern American cities grew in five concentric zones. The inner-most part was the central business district. Just outside this, a second zone developed. This was heavily populated by low income and foreign groups. Zone three was populated by factory workers and clerks. The fourth zone consisted of the residential area of the fairly rich. Outside this zone, away from the city limits, resided the high income groups and this was the fifth zone (Burgess, 1923).

Hoyt proposed sector theory in which he suggested that urban growth took place along the main transportation routes and along lines of least resistance. He visualized city as a circle, various land use areas as sectors radiating from the centre and expanding towards the periphery (U. S. Federal Housing Administration), (Hoyt, 1939). Harris and Ullman modified sector theory of urban growth. According to this theory, various land use patterns in cities developed around several independent nuclei (Harris, C. D. and Ullman, E. C. 1945). Louis Wirth in his famous model of 'urbanization as a way of life' investigated what the impact of the city was on the behavioural patterns or how exactly urban life differed from the rural life. For him, "a city may be defined as a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals" (Wirth, 1980). Large size, density and heterogeneity create certain urban characteristics such as "the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of bonds of kinship, the disappearance of the neighbourhood and the undermining of the traditional basis of solidarity" (Wirth, 1980). Urban life leads to a considerable personal disorganization.

Another notable contribution to the ecology of cities is made by Gideon Sjoberg, who made a distinction between pre-industrial and industrial cities (Sjoberg, 1960). The ecological, economic and social organisation of the pre-industrial cities are quite different from those of the industrial cities. The technology of the pre-industrial cities is based on the use of human and animal power, while that of the industrial cities is based on inanimate sources of power. There is a rigid social segregation of people in the pre-industrial city, which is dominated by an elite. Sjoberg thinks that many cities of the developing nations belong to the pre-industrial type.

Central Place Location Theory

Many years ago Sir Flinders Petrie assumed that the only or the main reason for the existence of a city is its function at a storage centre. Geographers still display a tendency to explain the location of urban site in terms of their functions as service centres. An elaborate scheme of this type was offered by a German geographer Walter Christaller. His basic assumption was that a given rural area supports an urban centre which in turn serves the surrounding countryside. Mackenzie was inclined to accept a similar viewpoint when remarking that during this period of population dispersion the city was for the most part, the child and servant of expanding rural settlements. Christaller's view was introduced in America by Mann with modifications.

This theory, however, is patently at variation with facts. Whether we examine the distance between larger cities or the general distribution of urban settlement we find no regularity in spacing. Perhaps the theorists were mainly influenced by the fact of the growth of towns in the beginning as market centres. Mann admits the vulnerability of the scheme for larger places. In highly industrialized areas the central place scheme is generally so distorted by industrial concentration in response to resources and transportation that it may be said to have little significance as an explanation for urban location and distribution.

Sector Theory of Urban Growth

Several attempts have been made to find the principles

which shape the ecological patterns of the city. To find rules which govern equally the spatial development of all urban settlements regardless of time and location seems an ever continuing venture.

The sector theory of Home Hoyt was developed two years after Burgess's theory was tested in relation to the growth of existing cities. According to Hoyt this theory was intended as a modification of Burgess's theory. Hoyt's theory was more dynamic in character than Burgess's proposition since constant changes, populations movements, expansion of industries and their effects on spatial patterns were studied.

As Hoyt's theory is also based on the study of a few cities it suffers from its own drawbacks. It cannot supply us anymore with a universal pattern of the growth of cities. As Hoyt wrongly contends, high class residential areas do not proceed along transportation lines, as high class people prefer to live away from the din of urban traffic. Hoyt's theory does not explain the growth of suburban or satellite townships. It also cannot account for the concept of "twin cities". Moreover, city growth depends upon its location and one cannot expect every other city to be located near high grounds or a water front.

But the sector is definitely a welcome development over the concentric zone theory as it makes room for the modern concept of location of industries also for the growth of a variety of cities wherein the areas of concentric zone are located along side in various sectors. Moreover, it gives importance to city growth around transportation lines which is akin to the modern concept of convenient location of ecological areas of the city.

Urban Sociological Theories

The theoretical offerings of urban sociology constitute a small part of the literature. The classical theories of urban sociology are divided from the works of European Sociologists like Karl Marx, Tonnies, George Simmel, Max Weber and those of American namely, Park Burgess, Louis Wirth and Redfield. Urbanization has become a fact of our every day lives. But the reflection of the earlier sociologists throw light on the anti-urban feelings. The great city, metropolis is a paradigm of an inhuman, debasing, social environment for

Tonnies; Simmel felt that the money economy of the cities destroyed social life. Weber and Wirth explained how mass urbanization nullified opportunities or political participation. Charles Booth and Rowntree wrote the "Sociography" of life in the cities. Classical sociologists with the help of economic historians attempted systematic analysis for urbanization as a force for change.

Karl Marx and F. Engles

Marx and Engles condemned the consequences of urbanization under capitalism. They viewed the concentration and immigration of the mass of workers in the new urban agglomerations as a necessary stage in the creation of a revolutionary force. For them pauperization and material degradation was one aspect of urbanization, but equally important was the destruction of the social nexus of the traditional community and its replacement by the utilitarian world of the city. Both for theory and for practice, communism depended on urbanism. Urbanization was liberative. There was nothing to salvage from the urban past, for the social bonds of community were to be replaced first by the new groupings of class and then by the development of human potentiality for its own sake and the true realm of freedom.

There was contemporary pride in the new cities which were seen as engines of progress and the source of all fruitful change. Urbanization was progressive, providing the conditions not only for the transformation of mankind's productive capacities, but also for the realization of individuality. The city offered a market for the special talents of individuals. The spectrum of analysis varied from the Marxian concept of alienation of labour in a productive system based on private property, to the realization of individuality through the sale of labour in a market economy. Freedom for the Marxists could only exist beyond the city, for the liberals this was what the economic development/growth of city life provided. Freedom, diversity and opportunity of choice were the progressive aspects of urbanization.

In the writings of neo-marxists like Mills, Marcuse, Fromm and Fanon there is a consensus that conditions of capitalist urbanization are mutilative of the personality, inhibitive of community formation, destructive of social

engagement or involvement and conducive to apathy alienation and anomic. Class consciousness is inhibited and diverted in mass movements, unreason and not reason typifies social response. Urbanization is no longer the sine qua non of a socialist transformation of society. If urbanization is progressively bankrupt in human terms cities themselves are seen as instruments of capitalist or imperialist, domination. The growth of cities depended on the effectiveness of their expropriation of the wealth of their satellites, i. e. their political control. Typically, the characteristic features of the cities is seen not as their economic specialization, but, their role as centres of dominance.

Cities are not only the controlling centres of their societies but also the source of innovation and change. They act as the source of new ideas for production, the leaders of taste, fashion, the pace setters for consumption, guardians of culture and the conservers of order in society. Consensus and continuity in a society are maintained from the city centres. Not only are economic enterprise and political power concentrated there, but so is social authority. To the concepts of expropriation and domination must be added that of hegemony. Hegemony signified authority, the right to rule, intellectual or moral prestige consensus. It has come to mean a social authority whose ultimate sanction is a profound cultural supremacy. The entire society is drawn into the way of life transmitted from the cities so that urbanism, the culture of the city's ruling elites, is diffused throughout. Urban culture becomes the legitimation for control. From Tonnies, Simmel and Wirth there is the same assessment of personality, community and culture in the urban centres. The long standing antagonism between town and country had become a symmetrical relationship in which the countryside was relegated to economic stagnation, poverty and decay of its culture through the loss and pauperization of its population. These thinkers underscore the class basis of urban culture.

Sociologists in a long succession from Tonnies to Wirth were developing a counter-theory of Marxism from the explication of social change led to acceptance of a

fundamental cleavage between rural and urban, tradition and modernism which was in sharp opposition to any variant on Marxist theories of development. The urban is accepted as a frame of reference and the urban society as a specific mode of social organization becomes the object of scientific study. Such an orientation of thought did not occur overnight. It took almost half a century from 1887 to 1938 to throw the lingering after effects of the ideological revolution occasioned by Marxism and to explore the full implications of a sociological vocabulary for the study of urbanization.

Ferdinand Tonnies

In the year 1887 Tonnies brought out "Community and Society", the first of the classic sociological texts. He explained the impact of the market economy on traditional forms of social association; the implications of urbanization and the development of the state for the conduct of social life, and the mechanisms of social solidarity in an individualizing society. The distinction he draws between the two forms of human association, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, has become the basis for a succession of typologies of which the best known are the pattern variables formulated by Parsons and the folk-urban typology drawn by Redfield and Wirth.

For Tonnies the city of metropolis is the paradigm of bourgeois society. The metropolis represents the culmination of *gesellschaft* in community life. He present a typology of community life related to two forms of social will; the house, the village and the town representing *gemeinschaft* community formations derived from blood (the family) place (the neighbourhood) and mind (religion and friendship); whereas the city, the capital city and the metropolis are based on relations of the *gesellschaft*. In the metropolis, money and capital are unlimited and almighty. It is able to produce and supply goods and science for the entire earth, as well as, laws and public opinion for all nations. It represents the world market and world traffic. World industries are concentrated in it. Its newspapers are world papers, its people from all corners of the earth. To Tonnies the transition from agrarian, parochial Europe to commercial cosmopolitan society had been a bigger break in human experience, than any that a socialist revolution could effect.

The account of urbanization found in this book forms the basis of the conventional sociological stereotype later developed by Wirth. The village and the town in which the physical real soil, the permanent location, the visible land, create the strongest ties and relations are compared with the city and metropolis where the continuity and intimacy provided by neighbourhood is broken. The city represents the exaggeration of the principle of space. Localism is replaced by a restless cosmopolitanism, urban, national even international interest replace those of home village and town. In the city only the upper strata the rich and the cultural setup the standards to which the lower strata have to conform. City life and *gesellschaft* doom the common people to death and decay. Urbanization leads towards individuation, towards a situation in which each person is his own master; free to move where he will, associate with whom he pleases, for what ever ends he cares to name. Action is undertaken for predicted ends. The "self" of *gemeinschaft* is replaced by the "person" of *gesellschaft*. Instead of organic unity of the former we find an aggregate where independent individuals self-conscious maintain in an artificial identity.

The lengthy analysis of the economic relations underlying the new urbanization and the explicit references to class and class domination. Set Tonnies apart from much subsequent sociological discussion of cities and urbanization. The influence of Tonnies on the Chicago school of urban sociologists is considerable. Though they accept the direction of social change brought out by urbanization they do not subscribe to Tonnies exchange economy of capitalism and the resultant class structure as the base line of analysis. Urbanization for Tonnies entails the acquiescence of the broad mass of the people in the life styles of the dominant class, while for the Americans (Chicago school) it was considered to bring about assimilation into society. The city's land market, not its exchange economy was considered to be the great leveler.

George Simmel

Simmel's essay "Metropolis and Mental Life" is hailed as "the most important single article on the city from the sociological standpoint" by Wirth. There are five main themes

running through the discussion of individual life in metropolitan city. The first of these is that of arousal in face of psychological and socio-psychological stimuli deriving from the turmoil of the urban environment. In consequence a blasé attitude is developed a failure to react to surrounding self. The resultant strategy is that of reserve in face of the superficial and fleeting contact of the crowd. Otherwise one would be complete automatised internally and come to an unimaginable nervous state. In fact reserve is essential to social order in the metropolis, and the development of this aversion to others marks the individuals socialization into the city. The large city's heterogeneity and cosmopolitanism requires a certain kind of personality, thoroughly intellectual, remote, reserved and detached. The urban personality is for Simmel, the basis for urban culture, or urbanism.

Simmel introduced a subsidiary theme in his essay that of the city as the seat of the highest economic division of labour. Competition induces specialization and hence differentiation and individuality. Urban freedom rested in release from the pettiness and prejudices with in the small town man and the division of labour, specialization was only an incidental feature of the city. The essential feature of urbanization was the freedom it provided for individualization.

Autonomy and individuality of existence in the metropolitan environment constitute the central concern of the essay. Simmel argues that the metropolis offers a kind, and an amount of, freedom which has an analogy whatsoever under conditions, for it has no enlargement of the circle which forms our social milieu. Metropolis is unique in that circle is enlarged by more than the aggregate of the immediate social groups. The city transcends this through its dominance over an ever expanding hinterland and its more important characteristic is thus functional extension beyond its physical boundaries. The number of people in relation extends far beyond the city boundaries and the effective society extends to national and even international horizons. In this characteristic rest the essential cosmopolitanism of the city,

the possibility for every individual to work out his own incomparability and particularity.

Simmel's analysis had certain attractions for the urban sociologists because he attempts to define the metropolis and metropolitan culture in sociological terms. His explanation of urbanization is constructed in purely sociological terms. The chain of argument commences with the city as aggregation of individuals. This is in association with money economy, itself considered as series of social transactions, leads to reverse and a blasé attitude nationality and calculability of social life and the division of labour. These in turn are the basis for an urban institutions organisations and culture drive. Urban life is to be explained by the urban personality. To Simmel, urbanization derives the direction from the social relationship set up in the cities and all other social change derives from urbanization.

Max Weber

The lecture papers of Max Weber (1911-1913) were published as "The city". Mumford says that this work of Weber gives the "fullness of understanding of the normal processes of the city further". Robert Park claimed that they were the "closest approximations to a systematic theory of urbanism". Weber's sociological arguments are embedded in a matrix of historical material, which serves as a medium for a sustained critique of the direction taken by urbanization in the western world. Critical of Simmel's economic definition of the city, Weber defines the city on the basis of political and administrative conception.

In his discussion of the emergence of the western city, Max Weber recounts as process in which the development of the rational legal institutions that characterize the modern city enabled the individual to be free from traditional groups, and therefore, develop his individuality. No longer were the means of social control in the city, myth and ritual, nor the immutable and unchallengeable 'cake of custom'. For the first time the oath of citizenship was taken by the individual. Personal membership, not that of kin-group or tribe, in the local, association of the city supplied the legal guarantee of the individual's personal legal position as a burglar.

Weber's study of the city is as central to his investigation of the development of capitalism as his works on religion. Urbanization under specific economic and political circumstances was a necessary linkage in the chain of conditions leading to capitalism. The medieval city was important in that it had been the basis of the new nation states of Europe as well as modern capitalism. Medieval urban development was the carrier of both of these phenomena and an important factor in their origin.

In Weber's view, the urban settlements of his day had ceased to be cities. There was a state of affairs less civilized than that found in the cities of the late Middle Ages. Much of his description of the medieval city must be seen as an indictment of the direction taken by urbanization in the west. To explain the ideal type of a city Weber selects the perfect case where all men valued the city so highly because it represented their economic and personal freedom that there could be no doubt as to its existence. He attached tremendous importance: on participation in action on behalf of others, through associations. The fate of the western world has been that of the pauperization of public life. The fate of our times (modern time) is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization; and above all by the 'disenchantment of the world': precisely the ultimate and the most sublime values have retreated from public life. His ideal city is, therefore, the relatively closed system of the medieval guild city in which economic enterprise and religious activity, public and private life, are fused. From this standpoint he points to a progressive deterioration in community life with the development of capitalism.

Weber's treatment of the city has limitations in application to contemporary society. It outlines too perfect a conception of urban existence to do more than demonstrate how imperfect on this standard are the present urban settlements. It is an utopian conception and as such lends itself to critique rather than analysis. Its usefulness rests on first its methodology and second, in its delineation of the essential features of social association in the cities of capitalism. He emphasized the city's 'rationality of organization, the indispensability of formal social controls,

such as the law and the police, the secularization the predominance of impersonal contractual relationships and its individualism. The city is a free association in which the individual participates in his personal right. And finally the city is dominated by bourgeoisie. The secular rational, individualist, market oriented community formations of the medieval cities derived from and permitted the activities and interest of this new class.

Robert Redfield

Redfield's book "The Folk Culture of Yucatan" gives complete report of the field work and the theoretical exposition of the folk-urban continuum. Field work in the Yucatan peninsula of Mexico was carried out by Redfield from 1927 to 1936. Four communities (Merida, Dzitas, Chan kom and Tusik) were studied representing distinct points of development from a folk to an urban society. Redfield wrote that "the chief objective of the investigation is to define differences in the nature of isolated homogeneous society on the one hand, and mobile heterogeneous society on the other so far as these kinds of societies are represented in Yucatan". Redfield argued that these four communities represented a real and continuous process of social change indicating stages of urban development. Close comparison of their differences suggested to Redfield, the presence in varying degrees of particular variables which supported his theory of folk-urban continuum. He had identified the strategic variables that separated folk from urban society.

According to Redfield there are three major categories of urban change: (a) the increase in cultural disorganizations; (b) the increase in secularization and (c) the increase in individualization. He saw cultural disorganization as a concomitant of urbanization because he believed that the strong ties that integrated the individual into the folk or peasant community were inevitably loosened or destroyed by the growth of urban society. "Folk society in which the same kind of people are doing the same kind of thing" created an unambiguous, monolithic social structure which was destroyed by the growth of the city. The single social fabric of meanings typical of folk communities which torn and replaced by that of the numerous goals, actions and meanings

of urban society. The wholeness of folk culture in which all cultural elements were related, became a cultural patch work in urban society. As a result conflict and disorganization were the marks of urban culture.

Cities and towns were secular in their values than were villages. Secularization lessened the importance of the Church and of the religion in society and emphasized rational and practical judgments. The individual was free from traditional control. Collective functions disappeared and individual activity increased in the urban society. The extended family with its wide spread network of obligations, was reduced to a small, secular and self-contained unit. Decline of religion and its control gave the individual more freedom from social ties of the folk society. Urbanization increased individualization. Redfield's folk-urban continuum explains the process of evolutionary changes, which describes how little communities give way to larger, urban secular society.

Louis Wirth

In 1938 Louis Wirth wrote one of the classics in the literature on "Urbanism as a way of life". He had a sense of prophecy that came from a deep understanding of the subjects that concerned him including race relation, ecology, urban planning and urban theory. At that time there was not even a clearly defined sociological orientation to the study of urban society. With regard to a lack of theoretical orientation he wrote; "In the rich literature on the city we look in vain for a theory systematizing the available knowledge concerning the city as a social entity; we do indeed have excellent formulations of theories on special problems ... and we have a wealth of literature presenting insights of sociological relevance and empirical studies offering detailed information on a variety of particular aspects of urban life. But despite the multiplication of research and text book on the city we do not yet have a comprehensive body of competent hypothesis which may be derived from a set of postulates implicitly contained in a sociological definition of the city".

The core of Wirth's essay on urbanism contained three assumptions from which other propositions were deduced,

size, density and heterogeneity were the causes of urban characteristics. Wirth argued that large numbers permitted a wide range of individual variations and an increase in the potential differentiation within the population. The larger the group or community, the greater the variations it contained. The greater the variation the greater the increase in spatial segregation by colour, ethnic, heritage and status. Spatial segregation weakened the bonds of kinship, neighbourliness and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations under a force the substitution of competition and formal controls for the earlier informal bonds that held folk society together.

Wirth initiated another series of proposition using the concept of size. The increase in numbers limits the possibility of each member of the community knowing all the other personality. The limitation of personal interaction encourages the development of segmentalized social contacts by which urbanites come to know fewer people and to know them less intimately than would be the case in a small community. Urbanities do not become involved with one another as total personalities but in specialised segments, interaction being primarily for definite and instrumental reasons. This feature of the urban society increases the superficiality, anonymity and the transitory character of urban social relationships. In urban society the individual gains a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups. He loses the spontaneous self-expression, the morale and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society. The segmented life of urban society is more likely to exposed the urban residents to feelings of anomie, to a sense of personal disorganization and to a loss of spontaneity. Size has been the single level to raise a number of conclusions about urban society.

Wirth has also analysed density also as a basic characteristic or urban society. Density increased the social and psychological effects created by size. It intensified the need for specialization and differentiation. It underlined the need for formal control to counteract irresponsibility and potential disorder that were assumed to develop from that

fact of large numbers in urban society. Density increased the tendency towards spatial segregation that is, towards social group in the city separating themselves and forming relatively homogeneous neighbourhoods.

Heterogeneity is a consequence of size and density. It developed principally as a social response to economic necessity. Interaction of individuals from different backgrounds destroyed the rigid divisions of the smaller integrated society and introduced a more complex pattern of social stratification. Heterogeneity led to greater mobility, geographic as well as social. It also produced a counter tendency by which a certain amount of social leveling occurred inspite of the wide variation found in the city. The leveling was accomplished by means of standardization of consumer goods and the standardization of beliefs. These forms of standardization, in turn increased the impersonality of social intercourse in the city because urban residents came more or less to have common opinions and to react to one another in terms of stereotyped conceptions. When large number of persons have to make common use of facilities and institutions, those facilities and institutions must serve the needs of the average persons rather than those of particular individuals. If the individual would participate at all in the social, political and economic life of the city, he must subordinate some of his individuality to the demands of the larger community and in that measure lose himself in mass movements. All these three sociological perspectives of urbanization viz. Park & Burge's 'Ethnicity', Redfield's 'Folk-Urban Continuum' and Louis Wirth's 'Urbanism as a way of life' have been used as conceptual tools in the dissertation.

URBAN CLASSIFICATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN INDIA

The term 'urban' has been defined in various ways by many scholars. It can be defined in terms of political status, demographic attributes (size and/or density), economic variables (the prevalence of non-agricultural occupations), socio-cultural pattern of behaviour independent of sustenance activities and even psychological characteristics.

Urban centres defined in demographic terms, for example, may indeed manifest considerable political, economic, socio-cultural and psychological diversities. However, this would be true for any definition of an urban centre in terms of one attribute. This is not to suggest that only one attribute should be used to define cities for a particular type of analysis.

The concept of 'urban' and 'rural' areas originate from the way of life and activities of their inhabitants. Normally, an urban centre differs from the rural in terms of the occupation of its population, which is not concerned directly with farming. Some scholars suggest that the rural are those sections of the people who are spread over the countryside, and are engaged in the production of the primary necessities from the soil, whereas the urban sections are those dense clusters of persons who have no immediate interest in the production of materials for their food and clothing or general comfort, but are engaged in transport, manufacturing, buying and selling goods or in educating the people or in managing the affairs of the state or in merely 'living in town'.

R. Murphy defines the urban area as busy streets lined with houses, stores, factories and the like, whereas the term rural connotes the open countryside with farm houses and their surrounding fields or even expanses of woods and wastelands (Murphy, 1972). But actually, urban areas often grade almost imperceptibly into rural areas; there is no natural or universally recognized boundary between them. Consequently in recent years, the line that is drawn between urban and rural for statistical or census purposes is necessarily arbitrary. There is no clear cut distinction between a city and the country.

The definition of urban population, most widely used, is based on the size of the place. An urban place is distinguished from a rural agglomeration by having a larger population and a considerable degree of division of labour in both industrial production and services. Hence, the criterion of the size of population of a place and the percentage of non-agricultural population should be applied to define urban population. In order to define urban population, the lower limit of urban population may range from 300 to 20,000, above which a place is considered to be urban.

In different countries, different sizes of population have been taken into consideration for outlining urban status. In the United States, an urban place must have a population of at least 2500 and in Canada 1000. But in Canada, some places with as few as 200 people rank as urban, whereas in Japan the population size of an urban centre consists of more than 20,000. In France, a place is regarded as urban only if it contains a clustered of population of at least 2000 at the centre. In Denmark, a settlement consisting of 200 people constitutes a town; in Greece and Venezuela, a place must have over 10,000 inhabitants before it can be called a town; while in Ghana the figure drops to 5000 only. Holland with 20,000 inhabitant and Iceland with only 300 inhabitant mark out the wide variation in the consideration of a town.

In more advanced countries, the greater percentage of people of the town are engaged in services instead of producing material goods (primary occupation). In Britain, half of the working population is engaged in the primary activities and the other half earn their living from buying and selling goods, transferring them from one place to another, or discharging various kinds of personal services, as in professions, entertainment, the transport of an increasingly mobile population, or administering the greatly expanded social services. But now in Great Britain and U.S.A., the non-producers (other than primary) are in a majority. In the countries such as Poland and Yugoslavia, more than three-fourths of the population are still engaged in primary activities, most of them in agriculture. A country like China shows an even greater preponderance of producers. In Russian towns, one-fourth workers were engaged in service occupation by 1963. In Japan, the service sector has reached 40 percent. Australia has nearly as high a proportion in services as Great Britain, and in the U. S. A. the process has gone even further.

Attributes of the Cities in India

In 1881 census, every place with a population of 5000 persons or more was treated as a town, whether it had any urban characteristics or not. In 1891 census, the Census authorities went to the other extreme in deciding which place should be treated as urban, and no place was so treated

unless it was under a municipal administration. The census definition of town appears to be more or less the same during the period 1901-51, and it was only in 1961 that several modifications were introduced to make the definition more flexible from the statistical point of view. However, although the definition of 'town' has remained the same all through the decades 1901-51, uniformity has not always been maintained in the application of this definition.

The definition of a town given in the Imperial census of India, 1901 is as follows: Towns include (i) every municipality of whatever size, (ii) all civil lines not included within municipal limits and (iii) every other continuous collection of houses, permanently inhabited by not less than 5000 persons which the provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as a town for census purposes. Thus, the primary consideration for deciding a town was its administration set-up and not the size of its population. The Commissioner of the 1911 census points out that "in framing the definition, the object in view was as far as possible to treat as towns only places which are of a more or less urban character". But there was no specified list of urban characteristics, no specified directions were given to Census Superintendents about the applicability of these tests and everything was left to the discretion of the census authorities. The commissioner of 1921 census enumerates "the provincial superintendent will have regard to the character of the population, the relative density of the dwelling, the importance of the place as a centre of trade and its historic associations, and will bear in mind that it is undesirable to treat as towns overgrown villages which have no urban characteristics". The definition of town adopted in the 1951 census, reads - a town is normally an inhabited locality with a total population of not less than 5000 persons. But places with a somewhat larger population which do not possess definite urban character may not be treated as towns. At the same time, places with a smaller population with definite urban character (including generally all municipalities and cantonments and other places having a local administration of their own) may be treated as separate towns. The decision in marginal cases rests with State Governments in some states and census superintendents in others.

Identifying Cities in Independent India

In adopting a definite criteria the 1961 census seems to be much more rigorous than in earlier censuses and further, this definition has been followed all over India as uniformly as the circumstances could permit. The census towns have been determined on the basis of a number of empirical tests: (i) a density of not less than 1000 per sq. mile; (ii) a population of 5000; (iii) three-fourths of the occupation should be outside of agriculture; (iv) the place should have, according to the census superintendent of the state, a few pronounced urban characteristics and amenities, the definition of which, although leaving room for vagueness and discretion, yet meant to cover newly founded industrial areas, large housing settlements, or places of tourist importance which were recently served with all civic amenities.

The definition of 1961 census has been retained in 1971 also. But according to the 1981 census, an urban unit denotes as follows – (a) All places with municipal corporation, municipality, notified area committee, cantonment boards, etc.; (b) All places which satisfy the following criteria – (i) A minimum population of 5000; (ii) At least 75 percent of the male working population being engaged in non-agricultural pursuits and (iii) A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km.

The definition of an urban unit at the 2001 census in India is as follows:

- a. All places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc.
- b. All other places which satisfied the following criteria:
 - i. A minimum population of 5000;
 - ii. At least 75 percent of the male working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and
 - iii. A density of population of at least 400 per sq.km. (1,000 per sq. mile).

The same definition was adopted at the 1991 census also. This will ensure comparability with previous censuses and provide the basis for analysis of urbanization trends in the country. On the basis of the above criteria two distinct types of urban area emerged. The first type is a group of towns

notified by the state Government under special Acts and is known as Statutory Towns. The second type is based on the fulfillment of the demographic criteria stated in (b) above and is known as Census Towns. While applying the test of occupation of the male working population male main workers engaged in the agricultural activities, namely, Cultivators, Agricultural Labourers and Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Plantations, Orchards, etc. are excluded for computing the percentage of workers engaged in non-agricultural occupation.

The following are the possible different situation in which urban agglomerations would be constituted.

- i. A city or town with one or more contiguous outgrowths;
- ii. Two or more adjoining towns with their outgrowths; and
- iii. A city and one or more adjoining towns with their outgrowths all of which form a continuous spread.

The concept of 'Urban Agglomeration' has been introduced in census studies for the first time in 1971 in India. The definition, adopted in 1971, has been still retained. An 'urban agglomeration' has been defined as "a continuous urban spread constituted of a town and its adjoining urban outgrowth or two or more physically contiguous towns together with continuous well organised urban outgrowths, if any, of such towns". Since there is considerable socio-economic interrelationship between such physically contiguous urban units, it has been considered purposeful to group them under an urban agglomeration.

The classification of town and cities has many dimensions. Social demographers, sociologists, geographers, economists, historians, town planners etc., have made their own classification of towns considering different aspects. The sociologists and economists take mainly the demographic, occupational, industrial, cultural and social factors. Sociologists like Marcel Auroousseau, Redfield and Singer, Pierenne, Sjoberg have tried to classify the towns on their functional basis. Redfield and Singer classify them into two parts (i) Orthogenitic, (ii) Heterogenitic on the basis of socio-

cultural variables (Redfield, and Singer, 1954). Pierenne divides them into political intellectual and other economic centres. Gideon Sjoberg classify them into pre-industrial and industrial towns, the former have been in existence for the last so many centuries and have a rural and traditional background and the latter, which have recently developed after the advent of industry (Sjoberg, 1960). Taking into account the nature and function of cities sociologists especially Hozelitz has divided them into generative and parasitic (Hozelitz, 1955).

Taking size as the basic criterion for classification, the census of India has classified towns and cities into six classes. Class I towns contains one lakhs persons and above, class II has a population between, 50,000 to 99,999, class III towns contains 20,000 to 49,999, class IV towns have population between 10,000 to 19,999, class V towns contains 5,000 to 9,999 and class VI towns have less than 5,000 population.

If a place does not satisfy all the three pre-requisites for a census town then in such cases the determining factor has been either the administrative significance of the place or its historical or cultural importance or the fact that the place has tourist importance. Areas which have been neither notified by the state government nor identified by the Directorate of census operations as urban are rural. Cities and towns are determined in terms of the size of inhabitant and structure of their population. In India, a city may be regarded as a relatively large sized urban community with complex socio-economic and cultural diversities. A town which has more than one lakh inhabitant is called a city (class I town) and more than ten lakhs, a metropolitan city.

Trends of Urbanization in India

So far as the urbanization from demographic point of view is concerned, i.e. the proportion of population living in towns and cities, India is in the midst of gigantic urban increase. In India, 80 percent population is rural and 20 percent urban (1981). From 1901 to 2001 there has been a slow but steady growth of urbanization which is shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1
Trends of Urbanisation in India: 1901-2001

Census Year	No. of Towns	Total population (In millions)	Urban population (In millions)	Urban population as % of total population	Decadal growth of urban population %
1901	1827	238.40	25.85	10.84	-
1911	1815	252.09	25.94	10.29	0.35
1921	1949	251.32	28.09	11.18	8.27
1931	2072	278.98	33.46	11.99	19.12
1941	2250	318.66	44.15	13.86	31.97
1951	2843	361.09	62.44	17.29	41.42
1961	2365	439.23	78.94	17.97	26.41
1971	2590	548.16	109.11	19.91	38.23
1981	3378	683.33	159.46	23.34	46.14
1991	3768	844.32	217.18	25.74	36.19
2001	5161	1,027.01	285.35	27.79	31.13

Sources: Census of India.

Urban centres in India, however, have grown in a faster rate, because of the low living standards of a large population who migrate to the urban places in search of livelihood. The growth of urban centres was relatively slow from 1901 until 1941, increasing from 10.84 percent to 13.86 percent of the total population thus raising the growth of urban population to 37.97 percent from 25.85 million to 44.15 millions, with the number of towns increasing from 1827 to 2250.

In 1951, the urban population grew to about 41.42 percent which comprises 44.15 million or 17.97 percent of the total population, with then umber of towns also increasing

rapidly to 2843. In between 1951 to 1961, the urban population increased only by less than 1 percent i.e 17.29 percent to 17.97 percent of the total population showing a decline in the urban population (41.42 percent to 26.41 percent) and the number of towns (2843 to 2365). During 1961-71 decade, the urban population increased from 78.94 million to 109.11 million with a growth of 38.23 percent in the urban population. During 1971-81, the urban population increased rapidly to 46.14 percent consisting of 159.46 million persons of urban population with 3379 number of towns. In 1981-2001 decade, though the number of towns increased from 3378 to 5161 and the urban population increased from 159.46 million to 285.35 million, consisting about 23.34 percent to 27.97 percent of the total population. However, within this decade there has been a decline in the growth of urban population from 36.19 percent to 31.13 percent as indicated in Table 1.1.

Distribution of Urban Population and Towns in North East India

North East India, one of the strategic regions of our country consists of seven states. The region covers an area of 255,000 sq. m, which constitutes approximately 7.7 percent of the geographical area of the country and about 4 percent of the population (1991). The region has lower level of urbanisation. Taking the percentage of urban population, the North East region of India lags far behind the rest of India. The share of the urban population in the North East is 15.20 percent as against the all India average of 27.79 percent according to 2001 census. Though the percentage of urban population is low, urban growth has been quite impressive in the region during 1981-2001 decade. When we compare the urban situation of all the North Eastern States from 1981-2001 census, all the States except Manipur and Nagaland have made gain both in the percentage of urban population and number of towns (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2
Distribution of Urban Populatoin and Towns in North East: 1981-2001

States	1981 Census		1991 Census		2001 Census	
	Population %	No. of Towns	Population %	No. of Towns	Population %	No. of Towns
Arunachal Pradesh	6.56	6	12.21	10	20.41	17
Assam	10.29	66	11.08	87	12.72	125
Manipur	26.42	32	27.69	30	23.88	33
Meghalaya	18.07	7	18.69	7	19.63	16
Mizoram	24.67	6	46.20	22	49.50	22
Nagaland	15.25	7	17.88	9	17.74	9
Tripura	10.99	10	15.27	18	17.02	23
N. E. India	11.92	134	13.97	183	15.20	245

Sources: Census of India.

The distribution of urban population and towns in Mizoram shows a spectacular increase. The percentage of urban population has almost doubled. In 1981 it was 24.67 percent and in 1991 it reached 46.20 percent. But in 1991-2001 decade shows only a slight increase in the percentage ie. 46.20 in 1991 to 49.50 in 2001. Comparing the number of towns in Mizoram, there were only 6 towns in 1981 and it grew to 22 towns in 1991. However, the growth of towns remains stagnant in the 1991-2001 decade showing no increase whatsoever as the figure remained the same. Arunachal Pradesh also shows a spectacular growth which rose from 6.56 percent in 1981 to 20.41 percent in 2001. The number of towns also increased from 6 in 1981 to 10 in 2001. The State of Tripura also shows a slight increase in the percentage of urban population and towns. In 1981, it was 10.99 percent and in 2001 it reached 17.02 percent. There were only 10 towns in 1981 and in 2001 it reached 18

towns. Assam and Meghalaya can be regarded as the least urbanized states in North East India. In Assam, the urban population shows a slight increase from 10.29 percent in 1981 to 12.72 percent in 2001. But the number of towns shows a spectacular increase from 66 numbers in 1981 to 125 in 2001. Meghalaya has almost remained stagnant in the percentage of urban population and also in the number of towns. Both in 1981 and 1991 the urban population remained almost the same i. e. 18.07 percent and 18.69 percent respectively. In 2001, however, the percentage of urban population in Meghalaya shows a slight increase touching 19.63 percent along with the increase in the number of towns from 7 to 16.

The urban scenario in Manipur shows a slight increase in the urban population from 26.42 percent in 1981 to 27.69 percent in 1991. But the growth of urban population decreased to 23.88 percent in 2001. The number of towns also remained unchanged. In 1981-91 it shows a slight decrease from 32 to 30 numbers respectively and a slight increase to 33 numbers in 2001. Same is the case with Nagaland, with little increase in the urban population from 15.25 percent in 1981 to 17.88 percent in 1991. But if we compare the 1991 and 2001 census, it shows that the urban population has decreased from 17.88 percent to 17.74 percent with the number of towns remaining almost the same with 7 numbers in 1981, 9 numbers in 1991 and there was no increase in the number of towns in 1991-2001 decade.

Therefore, we can say that the distribution of urban population and towns in the different states of North East India has been very much uneven, but as a whole, there has been remarkable increase both in terms of percentage and urban population along with the number of towns.

From Table 1.3 it is evident that between the last 30 years the urban population in the state of Meghalaya has increased from 14.55 percent to 19.67 percent. It may be

Table 1. 3
Three Decades of Urban Growth in Meghalaya and Shillong

Years	MEGHALAYA		SHILLONG	
	Urban Population	Percentage of Urban population	Urban Population	Percent of Shillong in urban Population of the state
1971	1,47,170	14.55	1,22,752	12.13
1981	2,41,333	18.07	1,74,703	13.07
1991	3,30,047	18.60	2,23,366	12.58
2001	4,53,612	19.67	2,67,881	11.61

Source: Census of India.

seen that share of urban percent of population from Shillong in 1971 to 2001 was ranged between 12.13 percent (1971) to 11.61 percent (2001). That suggests a marginal decrease. But 1981 census reported 13.07 percent of urban population in the city of Shillong, which is the recorded figure during the past 30 years. Therefore, it can be said that the percentage of urban population is increasing. However, share of city of Shillong in the urban population of the state is decreasing with slow rise of urban centres in Meghalaya. Still every eight urban residents of Meghalaya lives in Shillong.

URBANIZATION IN INDIA AND NORTH EAST INDIA

The history of India's urbanization dates back to the Indus valley civilization. There existed several cities in India even before the arrival of the British. The Pre-British cities could be classified into four types, namely the religious, capital, educational and commercial or trade cities. Banaras, Prayag (Allahabad) etc., were great religious centres. Patliputra

(Patna), Ayodhya, Dwarka, Agra, Delhi, Fatehpur, Kannauj, Lahore, Dacca, Bidar, Vijayanagara, Kanchipuram, Madurai, Tiruvanantapuram and Mysore were great capital cities. Nalanda, Taxila and Vikramasila were great university centres. Calicut and Cambay were flourishing port cities. Many capital and port cities were also trade centres. Capital cities like Patliputra and Vijayanagara had a population of more than a million during those days (Ghurye, 1962). The rise and fall of capital cities were dependent on the rise and fall of dynasties.

Two of the consequences of the British influence were the growth of population in cities catering to import and export trade and the production of consumer goods. This second stage, however, came much later. Another aspect of this influence was the change in the architectural design of buildings and the introduction of modern utilities. By far the greatest change came in the alteration of the economic and political organization of the urban society. The construction of transportation and communication networks also affected the pattern of urbanization in India. Indian urbanism has essentially been shaped by three civilizations: the Hindu during the early period, the Muslim during the Medieval period and the Christian during the modern period. The rulers representing these civilizations tried to impose elements of their culture on the urban life of India.

India's urbanism has attracted the attention of many scholars including Max Weber, Arnold Toynbee, Patric Geddes, Milton Singer, Robert Redfield, G. S. Ghurye, Gideon Sjoberg and Percival Spear. Max Weber (1962) offered a comparative historical account of the cities, with special attention to the institution of caste in the context of Indian cities. According to him, the caste system obstructed the emergence of citizenry, social and legal equality, fraternization and autonomy of Indian cities. It is the same institution which may account for the continuity of the main structural characteristics of the traditional cities and, to a certain degree, the contemporary cities of India. (Gandhi, Raj. 1983).

Sjoberg (1964) worked out a typology of preindustrial and industrial cities considering industrialization as a key variable based on his data on medieval European and Asian

cities. M.S.A. Rao (1974) does not agree with Sjoberg and argues that in the Indian context, the process and growth of urbanization have been so complex that it would be simplistic to characterize the difference in terms of any one factor. He thinks that a general distinction between traditional and modern urbanization may, however, be made in the Indian historical context.

Patric Geddes (1949) conceived of cities as concrete images of civilization. Ghurye illustrated this proposition with reference to ancient Indian cities. Toynbee evinced considerable interest in the study of the location and shifting of capital cities in ancient India, while Ghurye primarily concentrated on the ecological, political and cultural aspects of ancient and medieval cities in the context of civilization, Redfield and Singer worked out, in concrete terms, the social organization of the Great Tradition, sacred geography and they elaborated the function of cities in terms of their cultural role.

In India urbanization has come to occupy an important place in economic development of the country. It is quite often said that 'India lives in her huts and cottages of olden days' but it is also true that India has a tradition of urban living and town planning which goes back to 5000 years. The cities of Indus valley civilization, Mohenjodaro and Harrapa, which flourished 5000 years back, were large and well planned cities. The Indus valley people had attained high standards of town planning and architectural style. Hence in India the urban tradition continued through the century and during the ancient period of our history there were many large well planned and beautiful cities in different parts of the country. Patliputra of Chandragupta Maurya, Ujjain of the Guptas, Kannauj, Banaras and Mathura were some of the great cities in northern India. In the south, great cities were built in the medieval period by the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the Cholas, the Hoysalas and others. Indeed, the southern tradition can be seen to continue through vijayanagar which flourished during the 15th and 16th centuries to modern Mysore and Bangalore.

The Muslims and later the British made their own distinctive contributions to the evolution of cities in India.

Many of our cities especially those in the north Indian plains bear the imprint of the Muslim influence. The metropolitan port cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras are the outstanding examples of British contribution. The cities like Delhi and Bangalore represent a synthesis of different traditions both indigenous and foreign including Hindu, Muslim and British. Thus, the cities that arose in Pre-British India were few in number and archaic in type. They did not rest primarily upon industrial and commercial development but rather on political and religious functions. The Muslim rulers frequently shifted the seat of government, and when they did so the capital city suddenly dwindled to nothing and a new city arose around the next administrative head-quarter. Cities also arose at strategic points where military required a permanent camp, such as bridge heads, mountain passes and cross-roads. Still other cities arose at religious sites where pilgrimages were made and temples were built. In this way for a longtime commerce and industry followed the cities located for non-economic reasons. Modern city has come to prominence just recently, based on industry, trade and natural resources. This new type indicates that urbanization is going on in India in fast rate in comparison with the ancient period.

Hence both in the past and the present religious and administrative centres as a matter of fact acted as an important urbanizing force. Sacred towns emerged on the banks of a holy river, close to a temple or in association with religious personalities as for example Amritsar, Ajmer, Haridwar, Puri and Deogarh. Some of these sacred places in course of time proved to be important cultural centres and principal seats of learning. In modern period industrial and commercial factors become the prime consideration towards urban development. Trade, commerce and industries are influencing a number of towns of small, medium and large size. Regional development is more dependent on the easy means of communication lines, as for example Mirzapur, Modinagar, Kanpur and Jamshedpur. The safety from the menace of rivers and the development of irrigation and power schemes of various 'plans', further led to the growth of varied types of urban centres in the region. A number of new mill

towns in the western drier states of U.P., Haryana and the Punjab on the one hand and on the other a number of frontier guard towns or check posts with industrial-cum-commercial activities have grown up recently along the border zone of north India. Towns also grew along the railway lines, which are especially noted for their busy railway activities. In southern India most of the cities have been developed as port, e.g., Bombay, Ernakulam, Madras, Vishakapatnam, Tutikorin, Marmogoa, etc.

As far as the nature and trend of urban studies in India is concerned, the picture is quite different. There are abundant data on socio-economic conditions of individual Indian cities. Rapid urbanization in India since 1941 with its attendant problems stimulated a number of surveys and research efforts. The study of Poona (1945 and 1952) and similar other comprehensive studies conducted by the Gokhale Institute set the pattern for many of the subsequent studies. The Planning Commission of India, through its Research Programmes Committee, sponsored a number of studies on the social and economic conditions in about twenty-two cities in India. These surveys of individual cities, many of them published, constitute the largest collection of material on individual cities in any developing area. The major impetus to urban studies in India came from UNESCO. In 1952 it sponsored a comparative study of in-migration to cities in several south Asian countries. These studies were published as the social implications of industrialization and urbanization (1956).

The 1951 census presented, for the first time, detailed data for the urban and rural population separately and the 1961 census data on the place of birth of migrants and length of stay in the city of enumeration. Publication of this material led to a series of demographic exercises and inventory studies in India (Ghurye: 1953; Nath: 1955; Guha: 1958; Sovani: 1954; Ashish Bose: 1959 and Zachariah: 1964). In addition to these demographic studies, several regional and urban geographical studies were also undertaken (Ahmed: 1956; R.K. Singh: 1955 and 1956; D. Mukherjee: 1956; Alam: 1956 and Tiwari: 1958) and produced significant material on spatial relations, economic activity, public institutions and

the relationship of the city proper with its hinterland. Hoselitz considers these studies in urban geography superior to the studies in 'urban sociology' and 'social ecology' because of the formers methodological clarity.

Some of the modern and industrial cities of India like Baroda (Malkani: 1957), Calcutta (Bose: 1958, Sen: 1960), Surat (R.P.C.: 1957-59), Poona (Sovani: 1956), Jamshedpur (Mishra: 1959), Hyderabad (Iyengar: 1957), Bombay (Lakhadawala: 1962), Lucknow (Mukherjee and Singh: 1961), Kanpur (Mazumdar: 1960), Ranchi (Vidyarthi: 1960) etc., were studied by some of the social scientists, with the support from R. P. C. of the Planning Commission, Government of India.

Thus, in India different phases of history have given birth to several kinds of towns and cities and the process of urbanization has been in operation since time immemorial. However, the study of urbanization is of very recent concern for the social scientists in India, but several noteworthy publications on India's urbanism have appeared during the past few decades. An important work on urbanism in early historical India is A. Ghosh's *The City in Early Historical India* (1973). Some of the contributors on urbanism in the medieval period include Edward C. Dimock and Robert B. Inden (1970) who dealt with urbanism in medieval Bengal as revealed in the *Mangala Kavya Literature*. Gavin Hambly (1968) and Hameeda Khatoon Nagvi (1971) have written on urbanism and urbanization during the Mughal period. The two important publications dealing with urbanism in colonial India are those by A.D. King (1976) and Satish Saberwal (1978). Anthony King studied the evolution of Delhi under British rule and Satish Saberwal's paper on the socio-historical prespective of Indian urbanism focuses largely on issues bearing upon stratification.

Though a vast array of papers and books have been produced in different aspects of urbanization in India, the number of studies relating to the north-east region of India is not numerous. Studies on urbanization in the north-eastern region is not many. However, a beginning was made. S.M. Dube (1971) carried out a project on the process of urbanization in the tribal areas of the North-East. Goswamy's

'Cultural profile of Shillong' (1978) contains interesting papers on various communities, land system and city administration. Another book on Shillong focusing on geographical and spatial analysis, is contributed by J. P. Singh (1980). A. C. Mohapatra (1980) has produced a report on the growth of urban population in the North East from 1951 to 1981 and has compiled data from census reports on district wise and state wise urban population. Hill cities of Eastern Himalayas by A. C. Sinha et.al (1993) examines the land relation, inter-ethnic issues and civic participation at the urban level among the hill states of the region. This study finds that most of the towns located in the hill states of the region such as Cherrapunje, Shillong, Jowai, Tura, Dimapur, Kohima, Mokukchung, Aizawl and Itanagar were studied through an inter-disciplinary approach in which Anthropologists, Historians, Geographers and Sociologists examined the urban phenomena on a common format. Urbanization and Development in North East India by J. B. Ganguly (1995) was an outcome of a seminar, where various scholars had contributed on urban growth of this region.

STRATEGY AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

Statement of the Problem

It is commonly believed that urban people have modern outlook compared to the rural people who are bound by their past tradition. Urban centres are occupied by a number of communities co-existing with each other. Normally the urban people are more educated than their rural counterparts. Thus, it will be interesting to understand the problem of multi-ethnic co-existence of an educated and modern society in an urban setting such as Shillong. The proposed study of urban social structure will encompass, the above concerns.

Objectives of the study

It is claimed that urbanization brings modernity and cosmopolitan outlook among its citizens. The city of Shillong as the premiere and most cosmopolitan city of North-east is known for its multi ethnic settlements. Therefore it is sociologically significant to understand the character of the social set up in this background. Thus, it is proposed to study the following aspects of city of Shillong:

1. To understand the urban social structure of Shillong.
2. To examine the pattern of interaction among the ethnic groups.
3. To comment on the nature of modernity prevalent in Shillong.
4. To uncover the efforts of the State on urban development.

Construction and Finalisation of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was constructed carefully in the light of other questionnaires which were available. The questionnaire thus constructed were both closed and open ended or in an un-restricted form. The closed type was selected because of the fact that they were easy to respond, they take little time, they keep the respondent on the subject and they are fairly easy to tabulate and analyse.

The questionnaire was first tried out on 20 respondents of both the localities of the study area in the month of September 2001. In order to determine the suitability of the instrument. The findings of the try-out actually indicate the efficiency of tools and also suggest the necessary modification to be incorporated in the items as well as the instrument before conducting the final study. After getting back the try out questionnaires, the investigator thus felt the necessity of improving and validating the questionnaire. Accordingly the questionnaire was revised and some needed modifications were incorporated.

After analysing the items on the basis of expert criticism and in the light of try out results, the next step was to administer the questionnaire to a large representative sample of the population to collect the desired data for carrying out the present study. The selected items were arranged systematically.

The final administration of the questionnaire was done in the month of October to December 2001. The investigator introduced himself to every respondent and the purpose of study was explained. The investigator requested the kind cooperation from the respondents. They were also given the necessary direction for filling up the questionnaire.

Sampling Design Field Strategy

We have made use of the sampling technique for collection of primary data. Two localities have been purposely chosen as the sample of the study with a view to provide adequate representation of the city of Shillong in view of their locations and the inhabitants occupying these areas. The sample for the present study includes two urban localities of Shillong: (a.) Laitumkhrah (an ethnically heterogeneous unit) and (b.) Jaiaw (an ethnically compact/homogenous unit).

The Laitumkhrah locality has a mixed population of various ethnic, linguistic, religious and regional communities. Jaiaw on the other hand is pre-dominantly a Khasi tribal locality. Both these localities fall under the control of the Shillong Municipal Board and have a long urban history. So, taking these factors into consideration the two areas have been accordingly selected for extensive study.

With a view to identifying the respondents for interviewing, every fourth household was chosen as a unit from one end of the locality. Care was taken to exclude all non-residential structures from being selected as a sample unit for obvious reason. The respondents were the adult heads of the household in both the localities. In their absence, because of unavoidable reasons, the next adult was taken as a substitute for administering the questionnaire.

The chosen technique for identifying the individual respondents, led to 131 households from Jaiaw and another 147 households in Laitumkhrah. The heads of these households were served with the questionnaires and their responses on them were collected in course of time after repeated visits to their residence. After collecting back the questionnaire, we found that some answers in the questionnaire were vague, contradictory and incomplete. In fact, in some of the questionnaires the respondents had just filled in sometimes their names and addresses and sometime upto the other social background data, but critical questions remained unanswered. With a view to removing distortions from our analyses, we decided to exclude such incompletely answered questionnaires. And that's how we managed to get a list of 215 completed questionnaires for statistical analysis. We presume that an analysis of these collected data

from the two localities will be applicable to the urban phenomena of the city of Shillong at large. And we shall be able to make general statements on the pattern of human behaviour, urban social structure and the nature of modernity of Shillong.

For secondary sources, the collection of information was based on the review of relevant literature, journals and magazines, newspapers, research works, surveys conducted by various organizations, District Statistical Handbook, books, official and unofficial records, Census Reports etc. Thus, both primary and secondary sources of data were used to understand the complexity of urban Shillong.

We would like to add a few words about the field work. Due to non-availability of some of the respondents, who were busy persons in their lives and were not in station, we had to wait for them for longer period of time. Some of the respondents, who had not as yet experienced this kind of study, took time in giving information needed by the investigator on the questionnaires. Regarding collection of data from predominantly Khasi locality of Jaiaw, we apprehended problems because of our unfamiliarity with the language and the logistics of the area. With a view to establish rapport with the respondents and the locality, we had to seek help from many 'knowledgeable' local residents, who happily accompanied us on numerous occasions, when we went for collecting data. Another difficulty we faced was that, from both the localities of our study, some of the respondents mistook us to be a salesman of some commercial goods and showed us away from their doors. But our persistent knocking at their doors made them to re-consider their appraisal of us and, at last, many of otherwise non-cooperative respondents helped us to get the required data. However, it provided us with an insight in the working of the mind of the Shillongites. At the end, we have no hesitation in recording our limitation in communicating effectively through the medium of Khasi language.

In this opening chapter we have discussed the urban phenomena, urbanization in India and urban scenario in North-East and highlighted the trends of urbanization in

India. We have also tried to survey briefly the tradition of urban studies in India and abroad. The chapter ends with the objectives and methods of the present study. We propose to provide a descriptive analysis of historical setting of Shillong in the next chapter.