
UNIT 4 SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHY

Structure

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4.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit, we have discussed various aspects of social demography in India as a social problem. After going through this Unit, you should be able to:

- describe various aspects of the demographic situation in India, like the size and growth of the population, the fertility, mortality, age and sex structure of the population;

- explain the determinants and implications of these aspects of the demographic situation in India;
- examine the concept of family planning and family welfare and the barriers to the acceptance of family planning;
- state and describe the current status of the population policy of India; and
- describe the future prospects of family welfare programme in the light of the current achievements.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The term ‘demography’ is derived from the Latin word ‘demos’ meaning people. Hence, demography is the science of population. On the one hand, demography is concerned with a quantitative study of the size, structure, characteristics and territorial distribution of human populations and the changes occurring in them. On the other hand, demography is also concerned with the study of the underlying causes or determinants of the population phenomena. It attempts to explain population phenomena and situations as well as the changes in them in the context of the biological, social, economic and political settings. Social demography looks at the population phenomena mainly at the social level.

Keeping these perspectives in mind, Section 4.2 of this unit describes the size and growth of the population of India and their implications. Section 4.3 is devoted to fertility in India, its determinants and implications of high fertility. A detailed discussion of mortality in India, its determinants and implications of declining mortality and high infant and child mortality is undertaken in Section 4.4. The age and sex structure of the Indian population is described in Section 4.5, which also examines the determinants and implications of the age structure and the determinants of the sex structure. Section 4.6 is on family planning and family welfare and the barriers to family planning. Finally, section 4.7 is focused on the Population Policy of India, its evolution and components, achievements, achievements of the family welfare programme and its future prospects.

4.2 SIZE AND GROWTH OF POPULATION IN INDIA

The size and growth of population are two important components of the demographic phenomena in a developing country like India. These have severe implications on the social and economic spheres of our life. Hence, let us begin with a discussion on the size and growth of the population and its socio-economic implications.

4.2.1 Size and Growth of Population

India is the second most populous country in the world, ranking only after China. In the last Census, taken in 2001, the population of India is found to be 103 crores; 18 crores of people were added to the population since the last Census taken in 1991. This means that more than around 1.8 crores of persons are added to India every year. This is more than the population of Australia.

India’s population has more than doubled since Independence. In the first post-Independence Census, taken in 1951, the population stood at 36 crores, with an average annual growth rate of 1.25 per cent for the decade 1941-51. However, the average annual growth rate for 1991-2001 was 2.1 per cent and the decadal growth rate was 21.32 per cent.

4.2.2 Determinants of Population Change

Three factors determine the change in the size of the population of any country: how many persons are born, how many persons die, and how many persons are added to the population after considering the number of persons leaving the country and the number of persons coming into the country. The last of these factors, that is, migration does not play a large role in determining population growth in the Indian context. It, therefore, becomes necessary to consider in greater detail the other two factors, that is, fertility and mortality.

4.2.3 Implications of the Size and Growth of Population

The size of the population of India is itself staggering, and it is growing at a high rate. Despite intensive efforts through development programmes, the achievements have not been able to keep pace with the needs of the growing population.

The per capita production of food grains has increased over the years, but the per capita increase has been only marginal because of the high growth rate of the populations. The housing shortage has also been increasing over the years. The norms for the health and medical services have not been met. The upward trend in the gross and net national products is not reflected in the per capita income to the same extent. The situation related to unemployment and underemployment reflects the inability of the employment market to absorb the pressures of increasingly large labour force.

The growth rate of the population may not appear to be too high. Yet when applied to a large base population, the addition to the population is quite staggering.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Mark the correct answer.

According to the 2001 Census, India's population was:

- a) 65 crores
- b) 85 crores
- c) 103 crores
- d) 113 crores

2) What are the implications of the large size and high growth rate of India's population? Answer in about seven lines.

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4.3 FERTILITY

As you know, fertility is an important determinant of population growth. In this section, we shall discuss the measurement, levels and trends and implications of high fertility.

4.3.1 Measurement of Fertility

At the outset, it is necessary to differentiate between fecundity and fertility. Fecundity refers to the physiological capacity to reproduce. Fertility, on the other hand, refers to the actual reproductive performance of an individual or a group.

While there is no direct measurement of fecundity, fertility can be studied from the statistics of births. The crude birth rate is an important measure of fertility for which only live births, that is, children born alive are taken into account. The crude birth rate is calculated by dividing the number of live births occurring during a calendar year in a specified area by the midyear population of that year. The crude birth rate is generally expressed per thousand of population. It is computed in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{Total number of live births during a year}}{\text{Total population in the middle of that year}} \times 1000$$

The crude birth rate directly points to the contribution of fertility to the growth rate of the population. It suffers from certain limitations mainly because it has in the denominator the total population which includes males as well as very young and very old women who are biologically not capable of having babies. There are other more refined fertility measures like the general fertility rate, the age-specific fertility rates, etc., that overcome these limitations, but these do not concern us here.

4.3.2 Levels and Trends of Fertility in India

As in other developing countries, the crude birth rate has been quite high in India. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the estimated birth rate for India was as high as 49.2 per thousand population. In the decade 1951-61, that is, the decade immediately following Independence, the birth rate declined by only four points, and was around 45 per thousand population. Since 1961, however, the birth rate has been progressively declining, though not at a very fast pace. According to the estimates of the sample registration system, the birth rate in India, in 1988, stood at 31.3 per thousand population. For the same year, while it was 32.8 per thousand population for the rural areas, it was 26.0 per thousand population for the urban areas. According to the Sample Registration System, the birth rate in India in 2002 was 25.8 per thousand population. Significantly there have been much regional variations among the states.

4.3.3 Determinants of High Fertility

Several factors contribute to the high fertility of Indian women. Let us examine some of these factors:

- i) All the religions of the world, except Buddhism, contain injunctions to their followers to breed and multiply. It is, therefore, not surprising that belief in high fertility has been strongly supported by religions and social institutions in India, leading to appropriate norms about family size.
- ii) Another factor contributing to high fertility is the universality of the institution of marriage. Amongst the Hindus, a man is expected to go through the various stages of his life (Ashramas), performing the duties attached to each stage. Marriage is considered one such duty. For the

Hindu woman, marriage is considered essential, because it is the only sacrament she is entitled to, though the Hindu man goes through several sacraments throughout his life.

- iii) Till recently, the custom in India required the Hindu girls to be married off before they entered puberty. Even today, despite legislation forbidding the marriage of girls before they are 18 years of age, many girls are married off before they attain that age. In India, traditionally women start childbearing at an early age, and continue to do so till they cross the age at which they are no longer biologically capable of bearing children.
- iv) As in all traditional societies, in India too, great emphasis is laid on bearing children. A woman, who does not bear children, is looked down upon in society. In fact, the new daughter-in-law attains her rightful status in the family only after she produces a child, preferably a son.
- v) The preference for sons is deeply ingrained in the Indian culture. Sons are required for extending the family line and for looking after the parents in their old age. Among the Hindus, a son is desired not only for the continuation of the family line and for providing security in old age, but also for ceremoniously kindling the funeral pyre and, thus, effecting the salvation of his father's soul. The preference for sons is so high in the Indian society that a couple may continue to have several daughters and still not stop childbearing in the hope of having at least one son.
- vi) In Indian society, a fatalistic attitude is ingrained and fostered from childhood. Such an attitude acts as a strong influence against any action that calls for the exercise of the right of self-determination with reference to reproduction. Children are considered to be gifts of God, and people believe that it is not upto them to decide on the number of children. High infant and child mortality rates also contribute to a large family size. A couple may have a large number of children in the hope that at least a few of them will survive upto adulthood. The low status of women is also a contributing factor to high fertility. Women, unquestioningly, accept excessive childbearing without any alternative avenues for self-expression.
- vii) Children in the Indian society have a great economic, social, cultural as well as religious value. Fertility of Indian women is, therefore, high. Often, there is no economic motivation for restricting the number of children, because the biological parents may not necessarily be called upon to provide for the basic needs of their own children since the extended family is jointly responsible for all the children born into it.
- viii) Again in the absence of widespread adoption of methods of conception control, the fertility of Indian women continues to remain high.

It is important that none of these factors is to be seen in isolation. Indeed, it is the combination of several factors, that contribute towards the high fertility rate in India. While considering the factors contributing to high fertility, it is necessary also to consider traditional Indian norms which regulate the reproductive behaviour of couples. Breast-feeding is universally practiced in Indian sub-continent and this has an inhibiting influence on conception. Certain taboos are also practiced during the postpartum period when the couple is expected to abstain from sexual activity. The practice of going to the parental home for delivery, specially the first one, common in some parts of the country

also ensures abstinence after childbirth leading to postponement of the next pregnancy. Cohabitation is also prohibited on certain specified days in the month. It is also common knowledge that a woman would be ridiculed if she continued to bear children after she had become a grandmother.

4.3.4 Implications of High Fertility

Apart from contributing in a big way to the population problem of the country, high fertility affects the family and, in turn, society in many ways.

Women are tied down to child-bearing and child-rearing for the best years of their productive lives. They are, therefore, denied the opportunity to explore other avenues for self-expression and self-development. This could lead to frustration. Excessive child-bearing affects their own health and that of their children. Looking after a large number of children puts a further strain on the slender physical and emotional resources of such women.

The burden of providing for a large family sits heavily on the bread-winner of the family. The constant struggle to maintain a subsistence level is exhausting. To escape from the problems of everyday life, he may take to drinking. This would lead to further deterioration of the economic and emotional well-being of the family.

The children, often unwanted, unloved and neglected, are left to their own devices to make life bearable. Indulgence in delinquency is sometimes the result. The children in large families often have to start working at a very early age to supplement the slender financial resources of the family. They are, therefore,



denied the opportunity to go to school and get educated. The girl child is the worst sufferer. She is often not sent to school at all, or is withdrawn from school at an early age to help her mother in carrying out domestic chores and to look after her younger siblings when the mother is at work. Early marriage pushes her into child-bearing, and the vicious cycle continues. The children, both boys and girls, in a large family are thus often denied the joys of childhood, and are pushed into adult roles at a very early age.

Happy and healthy families are the very foundation on which a healthy society is built. Excessive fertility, as one of the factors leading to family unhappiness and ill health, needs to be curbed in order to build up a healthy society.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Write down the formula for computing the crude birth rate. Use about two lines.

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- 2) List the determinants of high fertility in India. Use about five lines to answer.

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- 3) What are the implications of high fertility for the family and society? Use about ten lines to answer.

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4.4 MORTALITY

Mortality is an important determinant of population. Let us examine a few important aspects of mortality.

4.4.1 Measurement of Mortality

Various measures of mortality are employed in the analysis of mortality. For a general understanding of the process of mortality, it is sufficient to describe three basic measures of mortality: the crude death rate, the expectation of life at birth, and the infant mortality rate.

i) Crude Death Rate

The Crude death rate is the ratio of the total registered deaths occurring in a specified calendar year to the total mid-year population of that year, multiplied by 1000. It is computed in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{No. of registered deaths during a year}}{\text{Total population in the middle of that year}} \times 1000$$

As in the case of the crude birth rate, the crude death rate also suffers from several limitations, mainly because it considers the mortality experience of different groups in the population together. The age and sex structure is not taken into account. For instance, a country having a very large proportion of elderly people may have the same crude death rate as that in another country where this proportion is very low. The mortality conditions of these countries cannot be considered to be similar. It is, therefore, customary to calculate age specific death rates, and report them separately for the males and the females.

ii) Expectation of Life at Birth

The average expectation of life at birth is a good measure of the level of mortality because it is not affected by the age structure of the population. The term “average expectation of life” or life expectancy represents the average number of years of life which a cohort of new-born babies (that is, those born in the same year) may be expected to live if they are subjected to the risks of death at each year, according to the age-specific mortality rates prevailing in the country at the time to which the measure refers. This measure is complicated to calculate but easy to understand.

iii) Infant Mortality Rate

Infants are defined in demography as all those children in the first year of life who have not yet reached age one, that is, those who have not celebrated their first birthday. Infants are studied separately, as mortality during the first year of life is invariably high. In countries like India, where health conditions are poor, infant deaths account for a substantial number of all deaths. The infant mortality rate is, therefore, often used as an indicator for determining the socio-economic status of a country and the quality of life in it.

Box 1 Measurement of Infant Mortality

The infant mortality rate is generally computed as a ratio of infant deaths (that is, deaths of children under one year of age) registered in a calendar year to the total number of live births (children born alive) registered in the same year. It is computed in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{Number of deaths below one year registered during the calendar year}}{\text{Number of live births registered during the same year}} \times 1000$$

It needs to be noted that this rate is only an approximate measure of infant mortality, for no adjustment is made for the fact that some of the infants dying in the year considered were born in the preceding year.

4.4.2 Levels and Trends of Mortality in India

Up to 1921, the crude death rate in India was quite high (between 40 and 50 per thousand population), the highest being for the decade 1911-21, mainly because of the influenza epidemic in 1918, when more than 15 million persons died. Since 1921, the death rate has been declining. From 1911-21 to 1971-81, that is, in a period of 60 years, the average annual death rate declined from 48.6 per thousand population to 14.9 per thousand population – a reduction of more than 69 per cent. The estimates of the Sample Registration System indicate that for the year 1988, the crude death rate was 11.0 per thousand population. In 2000 the crude death rate has declined to 8.5 per thousand population.

The average expectation of life at birth has also increased over the years. During 1911-21, it was 19.4 years for the males, 20.9 years for the females, and 20.1 years when both sexes were considered together. These figures may be considered to be the lowest for the country, and one of the lowest anywhere in the world. For the 1941-51 decade, these figures were 32.5 years for the males, 31.7 years for the females, and 32.1 years when both sexes were considered together. During the period 1981-86, life expectancy was 55.6 years for the males, 56.4 years for the females, and 56.0 years when both sexes were considered together. The latest statistics indicates that the average life expectancy in India is 63.3 years. While the female life expectancy is 63.8 years, for male it is 62.8 years.

4.4.3 Determinants of Declining Mortality

The decline in mortality in India has been mainly due to public health and disease-control measures, which were mostly imported from the developed countries. These include DDT spraying, the use of antibiotics like penicillin and vaccines against many communicable diseases like tuberculosis, polio, typhoid, cholera and several childhood diseases. Dreaded “killer diseases” like plague and smallpox have been completely eradicated. The extension of health and medical services to different parts of the country and the application of advances in the medical sciences have contributed in a big way to the decline in mortality in India. The effect of severe famines have also been considerably reduced by preventive and relief measures. Much still remains to be achieved for bringing about further decline in mortality.

4.4.4 Implications of Declining Mortality

The decline in the death rate and high birth rate have been the main factor responsible for the rapid growth of population, as the declining death rates have not been accompanied by corresponding declines in the birth rates.

The increased average expectation of life at birth has resulted in a higher proportion of persons in the older age group, that is, those above the age of 60. At present, the percentage of the aged in India (6.49 in 1981) is not as high as that in the developed countries (for example, 16.47 in the United States, in 1984). The absolute numbers are, however, quite high.

In our country aged persons, do not necessarily contribute to the national income or the family income. They have to be looked after, and the expenditure on their health and medical needs has to be met. When strong supports are not

provided by the joint family, the burden falls on society. Old-age homes or foster care homes for the aged have to be provided through the State funds, when the aged are not in a position to incur the expenditure involved. Many of the state governments have introduced the scheme of pensions for the aged in a limited scale. However, for a poor country like India, all such success of such measures needs a political commitment.

4.4.5 Levels and Trends of Infant Mortality in India

In India, the infant mortality rate was as high as 140 per thousand live births in 1969. In 1989, the infant mortality rate was less than 100 per thousand live births.

India has still a long way to go for achieving the goal of an infant mortality rate of below 60 per thousand live births by the year 2000 A.D.—one of the goals to be reached for securing ‘Health for All’ by 2000 A.D. However in 2002 the infant mortality rate of India was 68 per thousand live births.

Box 2. Variation in the Estimated Death Rates of the Children Aged 0-4 years by Sex and residence in India and in its Major States, 1998.			
	Total	M	F
India	22.5	21.0	24.1
Andhra	18.1	17.8	18.4
Assam	27.5	29.2	25.6
Bihar	22.9	21.2	24.8
Gujarat	19.6	18.5	20.9
Haryana	22.4	19.4	26.2
Himachal	16.7	14.1	19.7
Karnataka	16.7	16.5	16.8
Kerala	3.6	4.2	3.0
Madhya Pradesh	32.6	31.6	33.7
Maharashtra	12.7	11.2	14.3
Orissa	29.0	28.7	29.4
Punjab	16.8	15.9	17.9
Rajasthan	27.7	27.3	28.1
Tamil Nadu	13.0	12.3	13.8
Uttar Pradesh	29.6	25.3	34.5
West Bengal	15.0	16.2	13.8

Source : Registrar General of India, Sample Registration System

All India : Rural

Total	M	F
24.8	23.2	26.6

All India : Urban

Total	M	F
12.8	12.0	13.6

4.4.6 Determinants of Infant and Child Mortality

The determinants of mortality during the neonatal period (that is, the first four weeks of the baby's life) on the one hand, and the post-neonatal period (that is, the period between one and 11 months) together with the childhood period (that is, the period between one and four years) on the other, are quite different.

i) Neonatal Mortality

Biological factors play a dominant role in determining the level of neonatal mortality. These factors are also known as endogenous factors.

- a) It is known that neonatal mortality rates are higher when the mother is below the age of 18 or above 35, when the parity is above 4, and when the interval between two births is less than one year. These conditions are fairly common in our country, leading to high infant mortality.
- b) While the standards laid down by the World Health Organisation specify that babies with a birth weight of less than 2,500 grams should be considered as "high risk" babies, needing special care, 24 to 37 per cent of Indian babies have a birth weight below 2,500 grams without the possibility of receiving any special care.
- c) Ante-natal care, which is generally concerned with the pregnant woman's well-being is lacking in our country. It is, therefore, not possible to identify high risk cases requiring special care, to administer tetanus toxoid injections for immunising the unborn child against tetanus, and to provide iron and folic acid tablets to prevent anaemia among pregnant women. An anemic mother gives birth to a low-weight baby with slender chances of survival.
- d) Proper hygienic conditions and medical care during delivery are not ensured, specially in the rural areas. The delivery is generally conducted by an untrained traditional birth attendant (*dai*) or an elderly relative. The scheme of providing dais with training has not yet reached all parts of the country.
- e) Fortunately, the practice of breast-feeding is widespread in our country. This protects the baby from exposure to several infections. Breast-feeding is, however, initiated only after 48 to 72 hours of birth, and is absolutely prohibited during the first 24 hours. If the baby is put to the breast soon after birth, it acquires several immunities which are passed on by the mother through colostrum (the first flow of breast milk).

This opportunity to acquire immunity against several diseases is denied to the baby, exposing it to the risk of neonatal mortality.

ii) **Post-neonatal and Child Mortality**

The factors contributing to the post-neonatal and child mortality are generally not biological, but arise out of the environment and the behavioural response to it. These factors are also known as exogenous factors.

- a) Common childhood diseases, such as, diphtheria, pertusis (whooping cough), measles and polio as well as tuberculosis contribute substantially to the post-neonatal and child mortality. Deaths due to these diseases can be prevented, but immunisation services are either not available or easily accessible in the rural areas, or may not be accepted by the rural population either because of ignorance and superstition or sheer apathy.
- b) Diarrhoea and its consequence, and dehydration, is another factor contributing heavily to post-natal and child mortality. It has been estimated that every year about 1.5 million children under the age of five years die due to diarrhoea, of which 60 to 70 per cent die of dehydration.

The oral rehydration therapy introduced in recent years does not involve heavy expenditure or undue efforts on the part of those who look after the affected child. The oral rehydration solution can be prepared at home with a tablespoon of sugar, a pinch of salt and a glass of boiled water. The material for preparing the solution can also be obtained from the government health workers or the local Health Guide. The obstacle, however, is in the form of the age-old traditional belief that a child should not be given milk or any kind of food during an attack of diarrhoea. The dehydration that sets in due to diarrhoea can be so severe that the slightest delay in treatment can cost the child its life. On the other hand, the oral rehydration solution, which can be considered a household remedy, not only prevents dehydration, but also controls diarrhoea.

- c) Nutritional deficiency is another factor contributing to child mortality. The National Institute of Nutrition found in a study conducted in 1981 that around 85 per cent of the children under four years were malnourished, of whom almost 6 per cent were severely malnourished.

These malnourished children are also more prone to contract diarrhoea and other debilitating diseases, exposing them to the risk of dying during childhood. Malnourishment itself could also be a result of attacks of childhood diseases. This vicious circle, unless broken effectively through an educational and service programme, will continue to result in high infant and child mortality rates.

4.4.7 Implications of High Infant and Child Mortality

It has been observed that wherever infant and child mortality is high, fertility is also high and vice-versa. A couple is interested in the number of surviving children and not in the number of children born. Because of the high levels of infant and child mortality, a couple may go in for a large number of children in the hope that at least a few would survive to adulthood. Also, when a child dies, the parents are keen to replace it as soon as possible by another. It is also known that when a child dies in infancy, the mother is denied the natural protection from pregnancy provided through breast-feeding. She is then likely to conceive early, leading to high fertility.

Thus, apart from the emotional trauma caused to parents, high infant and child mortality rates result in high fertility rates leading to a population problem. Looking after these children, who die before they can start contributing to the country's well being, also places a heavy burden on the country's meager resources. It needs to be reiterated that the level of the infant mortality rate of a country is considered as an important indicator of the socio-economic status of that country and the quality of life in it.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Define "average expectation of life" or "life expectancy". Use five lines to answer.

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- 2) What is meant by neo mortality? Use three lines to answer.

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- 3) What are the factors contributing to high neo natal mortality in India? Mention at least seven factors. Use three lines to answer.

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- 4) List three factors contributing to high infant and child mortality in India. Use two lines to answer.

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4.5 AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE

Age and sex are the basic characteristics or the biological attributes of any population. These characteristics or attributes affect not only the demographic structure, but also the social, economic and political structure of the population.

Age and sex are also important factors, because they are indicators of social status. Each individual is ascribed a certain status in society on the basis of sex and age. Status and roles are culturally determined, and vary from one culture to another. Even within the same culture, status and roles may undergo changes over a period of time. While in traditional societies, age demands respect, modern societies may be more youth-oriented. While the age structure of a

population may have implications for the status and roles of older persons, the sex structure may be a reflection of the social reality.

The age-sex structure of a population is both the determinant and consequence of birth and death rates, internal and international migration, marital status composition, manpower, and the gross national product. Planning regarding educational and health services, housing, etc., is done on the basis of the age structure of the population.

4.5.1 Age Structure

i) Measurement of the Age Structure

It is customary to classify age data in five year age groups, such as 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, and so on.

The simplest measure to study the age structure of any population is the percentage distribution of the population based on the absolute numbers in various five-year age groups. This percentage distribution indicates the number of persons in an age group, if the total number of persons considered is 100. This measure is useful for understanding and describing the age structure of any population. It can also be used to compare the age structure of two or more populations at a point of time, or to compare the age structure of the same population at different points of time. Age-sex pyramids can also be constructed with the help of age-sex histograms.

Box 3. Dependency Ratio

An important measure to study the structure of the population is the dependency ratio. This measure indicates the number of dependents per 100 workers. Three age groups are considered for this purpose. The population in the age group 15-50 or 15-64 is considered to be the working population, the population below 15 is considered as young dependents and the population above either 60 or 65 is considered to be old dependents. The dependency ratio is computed by using the following formula.

$$\text{Dependency Ratio} = \frac{\text{Population in the age group 0-14} + \text{Population in the age group 60 + or 65} + \text{Population in the age group 15-59 or 15-64}}{\text{Population in the age group 15-50 or 15-64}}$$

The dependency ratio gives us only a broad idea of economic dependency in any population, and it is not a full measure for assessing the dependency burden. It needs to be noted that not all persons in the working age group (15-59 or 15-64) are employed and not all those in the dependent age groups (0-14 and 60+ or 65+) are economic dependents. In a country like India, children start working at a very early age as helping hands to the parents among craftsmen, poor agriculturalists or newspaper hawkers or as hotel boys. In rural areas, old people continue to engage themselves in some kind of economic activity, as there is no retirement age in an agricultural economy. Then there are activities like those of doctors, lawyers, traders and other self-employed persons for whom the age factor does not lead to retirement from economic activity.

ii) Age Structure in India

Determinants and Implications

India is an old country with a large young population belonging to the age group of 0-14 years and a growing number of aged population in the age group of above 50 years.

According to the 1991 Census, the young dependency ratio in India was 67.2, meaning that 100 persons in the working age group (15-59) had to support 67.2 children in the age group of 0-14 years. Similarly old dependences in India is to the extent of 12.2.

The age structure of any population is determined by the levels of fertility, mortality and migration. Of these three factors, migration can affect the age structure of any population only when the migrants are concentrated in any one age group and the volume of migration is large.

India has a large “young” population because the birth rates are high and the number of children born is large. The sustained high level of birth rates has resulted in a large proportion of children and a small proportion of old population. On the other hand, in economically developed countries, the birth rates are low and less children are born. The low birth rates result in a higher proportion of old people. Compared to the role of fertility, the role of mortality in determining the age structure of a population is limited, specially when mortality is high. Rapid reductions in mortality and lengthening of the life-span result in a “younger” population. This is mainly because the improvement is first experienced by the infants and children. More infants and children survive, leading to an increase in the proportion of the young persons in the population as in the case of India. On the other hand, when the mortality level is very low, there is no further scope for any large increases in survivorship during infancy and early childhood, and any improvement in mortality conditions would affect the older age group and lead to a further aging of the population, that is, increase in the proportion of older persons in the population. Such a situation prevails in developed countries like Sweden, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, France and Australia.

A young population implies a heavy burden on the economy of the country as they have to be educated, clothed and provided shelter, while they themselves are not expected to contribute immediately to the family or national economy.

One other implication of the young age structure of the Indian population is that it also has the potential of the high growth rates of the population in further years. Within a few years, these children will grow up, get married and start reproducing. When the number of couples in the reproductive age group (wife in the age group 15-44) is high, the birth rate can also be expected to be high, even with moderate fertility. This, in turn, leads to a high population growth rate.

4.5.2 Sex Structure

In this section we shall discuss the measurement of sex structure, sex ratio and its determinants in India.

i) Measurement of Sex Structure

Two measures are generally used for studying the age structure of any population—(1) the percentage of males in the population or the masculinity proportion, and (2) the sex ratio. Of these two measures, the sex ratio is more frequently used in the study of the population.

The sex ratio of a population may be expressed either as the number of males per 100 females or the number of females per 100 males. The Indian Census

has preferred to define the sex ratio as the number of females per 1000 males, though the definition of the sex ratio followed the world over is the number of the males per 100 females.

ii) Sex Ratio in India and its Determinants

Generally, in most countries, the overall sex ratio of the population is favourable to the females, that is, there are more females than males in the population. When the situation is different, that is, when there are more males than females in the population, this is considered unusual. The population statistics available through the Census indicate that the sex ratio in India has always been adverse to the females, that is, the number of the females per 1,000 males has always been less than 1,000. In fact, the sex ratio has been declining from 972 in 1901 to 930 in 1971. A slight improvement was registered in the 1951 Census, and again during the 1981 Census, but the 1991 Census registered a fall by five points—from 934 in 1981 to 929 in 1991. In 2001, female sex ratio was 933, which was an improvement over the 1991 figure.

The following three factors are responsible for determining the sex ratio of any population: (1) the sex ratio at birth, (2) the sex ratio of the deceased persons and (3) the sex ratio of the net migrants. In a developing country like India, another factor could be added to this list. There is always a possibility that women are under-enumerated because they are not reported as members of the household by the head of the household, when the Census enumerator collects the information.

Of all these factors, high mortality of the females appears to be the most plausible explanation for the sex ratio in India, which is adverse to the females. Though biologically stronger than the male, the female in India is in a socially and culturally disadvantaged position, and has been accorded an inferior status over the centuries. The death rates for the females in most age groups are higher than those for the males. Of the other factors, the sex ratio of new born babies is not much different from that in other countries. Hence, a sex ratio that is adverse to the females, a peculiarity of the Indian demographic picture, need not be attributed to this factor. As for international migration of men, it is quite insignificant and is, therefore, not found to affect the sex ratio in India. Under-enumeration of the females cannot explain more than a very small part of the numerical imbalance between the males and the females in India.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Why is India known as an old country with a large young population? Use four lines to answer.

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- 2) Why is the sex ratio not favourable to women in India? Use three lines to answer.

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4.6 FAMILY PLANNING AND FAMILY WELFARE

In India, the concepts of family planning and family welfare are very important. Let us know the meanings of the concepts.

4.6.1 Concept of Family Planning and Family Welfare

At the level of the family, family planning implies having only the desired number of children. Thus family planning implies both limitation of the family to a number considered appropriate to the resources of the family as well as proper spacing between the children. The adoption of family planning, obviously, requires conscious efforts made by the couple to control conception.

As a social movement, family planning implies an organised effort by a group of people to initiate change in the child-bearing practices of the people by creating a favourable atmosphere. The birth control movement, as it was initially called, aimed at relieving women of excessive child-bearing, and was seen as a way of achieving the emancipation of women through the right of self-determination.

A family planning programme involves a co-ordinated group of activities, maintained over a period of time, and aimed at fostering a change in the child-bearing behaviour of the females. The aim of the family planning programme may either be to improve the health status of women and their children and/or of reducing the birth rate, and thus reducing the population growth rate of the country. Most countries with a population control policy also emphasise the health aspects of family planning. The various components of the family planning programme are : (1) Information, Education and Communication Activities, (2) Contraceptives: Supplies and Services, (3) Training of Personnel, (4) Research, and (5) Administrative Infrastructure.

When the government concerns itself with promoting the total welfare of the family and the community, through family planning, the programme consists of a wide range of activities, covering education, health, maternity and child care, family planning and nutrition. Since 1977, the Indian family planning programme is known as the family welfare programme with greater emphasis on the welfare approach to the problem.

4.6.2 Barriers to Family Planning

Most of the reasons mentioned in Sub-section 4.3.3, under Determinants of High Fertility, act as barriers to the acceptance of family planning, which implies controlling fertility. These barriers include fatalism, and emphasis placed on having children in the Indian culture and religious beliefs.

In addition, the use of various methods of family planning also pose certain difficulties. The methods are not always acceptable because of the possible side-effects, perceived unaesthetic attributes or the discipline their use demands. All methods are not equally effective. While sterilisation, male and female, can be considered one hundred per cent effective, a method like the IUD is considered to be 95 per cent effective, and the conventional contraceptive like the condom is considered to be only 50 per cent effective. Oral pills are almost

one hundred per cent effective, but their effectiveness depends on taking them regularly and on following a certain regime. The easy availability of supplies and services is a necessary condition for the practice or adoption of family planning. When supplies and services are not easily available, it becomes difficult for people to practise or adopt family planning, even when they are inclined to do so.

Activity 1

Read Sub-section 4.3.3 (Determinants of High Fertility) and Sub-Section 4.6.2. (Barriers to Family Planning) very carefully. Then write an essay comparing the factors mentioned in these sections with the situation prevailing in your society. Exchange your note, if possible, with your co-learners at the Study Centre.

4.7 POPULATION POLICY OF INDIA

India has the distinction of being the first country in the world to have a fully government-supported family planning programme. This is not an overnight development. The foundations were laid in the early part of the twentieth century.

Even during the pre-independence period, the intellectual elite among the Indians showed some concern about the population issue, and supported the cause of birth control. Their British rulers, however, kept aloof from this controversial issue.

Support for birth control was evident when the Health Survey and Development Committee set up by the Government of India, in 1945, under chairmanship of Sir Joseph Bhore, recommended that birth control services should be provided for the promotion of the health of mothers and children. The pressure from the intellectuals that the government formulate a policy for disseminating information on birth control and for encouraging its practice was mounting during the pre-independence period.

4.7.1 Components of the Current Population Policy

With the advent of Independence, family planning as a measure of population control has been given top priority in the development plans of the country, starting with the First Five Year Plan (1951-56). The increasing financial allocations for the family planning programme in each successive plan are also indicative of the growing emphasis accorded to the family planning programme.

a) National Population Policy 1976 and 1977

Though implied in the family planning programme undertaken by the government, the population policy of the country was not explicitly stated, and it remained unarticulated in the formal sense. It was on April 16, 1976 that the National Population Policy was declared. It underwent some modifications in June, 1977.

Till the National Population Policy was first declared in April, 1976, the Population Policy of India was generally equated with the family planning policy. One of the grounds on which India was criticised in international circles was that other solutions to the population policy were ignored. The statement of the population policy took into account some of the complex relationships

between the social, economic and political aspects of the population problem. It included appropriate measures to tackle the population problem, many of which went “beyond family planning”. The policy statement also contained several approaches to the improvement of the family planning programme.

The statement of policy regarding the Family Welfare Programme issued on June 29, 1977, eliminates all measures which have the slightest element of compulsion or coercion, and emphasis on the welfare approach to the problem. The name of the family planning programme, has also been changed to the family welfare programme to reflect the government’s anxiety to promote through the programme the total welfare of the family and the community.

Many of the measures outlined in the National Population Policy, declared in 1976, have been retained. These include the following: (1) raising the minimum legal age at marriage for girls to 18 and for boys to 21, (2) taking the population figure of 1971 till the year 2001, in all cases where population is a factor in the sharing of the Central resources with the States, as in allocation of the Central assistance to the State Plans, devolution of taxes and duties and grants-in-aid, (3) accepting the principle of linking 8 per cent of the central assistance to the State Plans with their performance and success in the family welfare programme, (4) including population education in the formal school education system, (5) plans to popularise the family welfare programme and use of all media for this purpose, (6) participation of voluntary organisations in the implementation of the programme, (7) improvement of women’s educational level, both through formal and non-formal channels. The Policy Statement also declared that the government would give special attention to the necessary research inputs in the field of reproductive biology and contraception.

b) **National Population Policy 2000**

India has framed a new National Population Policy in 2000. It enumerates certain socio-demographic goals to be achieved by 2010 which will lead to achieving population stabilisation by 2045. The policy has identified the immediate objectives as meeting the unmet needs for contraception, health care infrastructure and trained health personnel and to provide integrated service delivery with the following interventions:

- i) Strengthen community health centres, primary health centres and sub-centres,
- ii) Augment skills of health personnel and health care providers
- iii) Bring about convergence in the implementation of related social sector programme to make Family Welfare Programme people centered.
- iv) Integrate package of essential services at village and household levels by extending basic reproductive and child health care through mobile health clinics and counselling services; and explore the possibility of accrediting private medical practitioners and assigning them to defined beneficiary groups to provide these services (Govt. of India 2003)

4.7.2 Achievements of the Family Welfare Programme

As of March, 1989, the number of couples protected through some method of family planning was estimated to be 64.79 million, forming 46.7 per cent of the estimated 138.9 million eligible couples (with wife in the reproductive age

group 15-44) in the country. Taking into account the use-effectiveness of various methods, which is assumed to be 100 per cent for sterilisation and oral pills, 95 per cent for IUD and 50 per cent for conventional contraceptives like the condom, the number of couples effectively protected as of March, 1989, was 58.14 million, forming 41.9 per cent of the total eligible couples.

Sterilisation is the most widely accepted method, effectively protecting 29.8 per cent of the eligible couples. Of the total eligible couples, 5.9 per cent are effectively protected by IUD, 4.5 per cent by conventional contraceptives, 1.7 per cent by oral pills.

While terminal methods, like the male and female sterilisation, continue to be the major share, it is worth noting that the female sterilisation is more highly favoured than the male sterilisation; 86.8 per cent of the total sterilisations done in 1988-89 were female sterilisations.

The statistics for 1987-88 indicate that, on an average, the age of the wife for vasectomy acceptors is 32.4 years, for tubectomy acceptors it is 30.2 years and for IUD it is 27.4 years. These couples have, on an average, 3.6, 3.3. and 2.3 living children at the time of the acceptance of vasectomy, tubectomy and IUD respectively.

During 2001-2002, 47.27 lakh sterilisations were performed in the country. The number of Intra-Uterine Device (IUD) insertions during the same period was 62.02 lakhs. Besides, there were 145.69 lakhs of condom users and 74.75 lakhs of Oral Pill (OP) users. The use of contraceptives has been increased from 40.06% in 1992-93 to 48.2% in 1998-1999. (Govt. of India 2003)

It can be observed that family planning is accepted generally after the most fertile period in a woman's life (up to 29 years) is over, and when the couple has exceeded the norm of two children advocated by the government.

Inter-State variations in family planning performance are also observed. States like Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Union Territories like Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Delhi and Pondicherry have a higher percentage of effectively protected couples than the all-India average. All the other States have recorded a lower percentage of effectively protected couples than the all-India average, except for Andhra Pradesh, where this percentage is identical to the all-India average.

4.7.3 The Changing Trends

It is obvious that the family welfare programme slowly recovering from the setback it received after the Emergency, during which some coercive methods were used for achieving spectacular results.

The long-term goal to be achieved for the country is to reach a replacement level of unity (net reproduction rate of one, when each woman will be replaced by only one daughter). The demographic goals laid down as part of the National Health Policy are to achieve by 2000 A.D., a birth rate of 21 per thousand population and an effective protection rate of 60 per cent. The corresponding mid-term goals to be reached by the end of the Seventh Plan (1990) are: crude birth rate of 29.1 and effective couple protection rate of 42 per cent.

The Changing Trend in the population in India is shown in the table below.

Growth of Population in India				
Census Year	Decadal Growth (per cent)		Average Exponential Growth (per cent)	
1971	24.80		2.20	
1981	24.66		2.22	
1991	23.86		2.14	
2001	21.34		1.93	
Parameter	1951	1981	1991	Current Level
Crude Birth Rate (per 1,000 population)	40.8	33.9 (SRS)	29.5* (SRS)	25.8 (SRS 2000)
Crude Death Rate (per 10,000 population)	25.1	12.5 (SRS)	9.8* (SRS)	8.5 (SRS 2000)
Total Fertility Rate (per woman on average)	6.0 (SRS)	4.5 (SRS)	3.6* (NFHS-II)	2.8
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 1,00,000 live birth)	437 (1992-93)	N.A.	N.A. (1998)	407
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)	146 (1951-61)	110 (SRS)	80* (SRS)	68 (SRS 2000)
Couple Protection Rate (per cent)	10.4 (1971)	22.8	44.1	48.2 (NFHS-II)
Life Expectancy at birth years (M)	37.2	54.1	60.6	63.87# (2001-02)
Life Expectancy at birth years (F)	36.2	54.7	61.7 (1991-96)	66.9# (2001-02)

*Excludes Jammu and Kashmir # Projected

SRS = Sample Registration System of Office of Registrar General India.

Check Your Progress 5

1) What are the major “Beyond Family Planning” measures included in the National Population Policy of India? Use seven lines to answer.

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2) On what factors does the future of India’s family welfare programme depend? Use six lines to answer.

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4.8 LET US SUM UP

This unit begins with defining demography and examines its scope: mortality, fertility, composition of population and migration. Techniques of measurement are mentioned and the need for highlighting their social and cultural aspects stressed. Then we described the size and growth of the population of India and examined their implications. The determinants and consequences of fertility and mortality in India are explained. The age and sex structure of the Indian population, their determinants and implications are classified. The concept of family planning and family welfare and the barriers to family planning are discussed. The Population Policy of India, its evolution and components, achievements of the family welfare programme and its future prospects enable us to see how social problems at the demographic level could be solved.

4.9 KEY WORDS

- Fertility** : Fertility refers to the actual reproductive performance, whether applied to an individual or to a group, measured in terms of the number of children born alive.
- Life Expectancy/Average Expectation of Life at Birth** : The average number of years of life which a cohort of new born babies (that is, those born in the same year) may be expected to live if they are subjected to the risks of death at each year according to the age specific mortality rates prevailing in the country at the time to which the measures refer.
- Neonatal and Post-neonatal Mortality** : When a baby dies within the first four weeks of life, it is known as neo natal mortality. When a baby dies after it has survived beyond four weeks, but before the first year is completed, it is known as post-neonatal mortality.
- Population Growth Rate** : One way of measuring population growth is to calculate the rate at which population grows. This is done by first finding out the difference in the population size of a

specified area at two points of time, and then by dividing the absolute change by the population at the earlier point of the time.

- Sex Ratio** : The sex ratio of a population may either be expressed as the number of males per 100 females or the number of females per 100 males. The Indian Census has preferred to define the sex ratio as the number of females per 1000 males.

4.10 FURTHER READINGS

Bhende, Asha A. and Kanitkar, Tara, 1992. *Principles of Population Studies*. Himalaya Publishing House: Bombay (Fifth Edition), (Chapters 7,8, 9 and 15).

Misra, Bhaskar D., 1981. *An Introduction to the Study of Population*. South Asian Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi: (Chapters 3 and 11).

4.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) b) 844 million
- 2) The development programmes are not able to keep pace with the needs of the growing population. The country is facing shortages in housing, health and medical services and employment opportunities. The increase in the per capita production of food grain is only marginal, and the per capita income is low. These problems have arisen because of the large size of the population and the high rate of the population growth.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1)
$$\frac{\text{Total No. of live births during a year}}{\text{Total population in the middle of the year}} \times 1000$$
- 2) i) Most religions encourage high fertility, ii) Universality of marriage, iii) Low age at marriage, iv) Emphasis on bearing children, v) Preference for sons, vi) Fatalistic attitude, vii) High infant and child mortality, viii) Low status of women, ix) Joint family.
- 3) Women are tied down to childbearing and childbearing for the best years of their productive lives. Excessive childbearing affects their health. The bread-winner is unable to provide for a large family and becomes frustrated. The children are often neglected. They may indulge in delinquent behaviour. They are often required to drop out of school, and to start working at an early age. The girl child is denied education and pushed into early marriage and early child-bearing.

Check Your Progress 3

- i) The term “average expectation of life” or “life expectancy” represents the average number of years of life which babies born in the same year (cohort) may be expected to live according to the mortality conditions prevailing at that time.

- ii) Neonatal mortality refers to deaths occurring in the first four weeks of the babies life.
- iii) a) Mother below 18. b) Parity above 4. c) Interval between births less than one year. d) Low birth weight. e) Lack of ante-natal care. f) Home deliveries conducted in unhygienic conditions g) Colostrum (first flow of breast milk) not given to the baby.
- iv) a) Common childhood diseases not prevented through immunisation.
b) Diarrhoea and dehydration c) Nutritional deficiency.

Check Your Progress 4

- i) India is an old country because its history goes back to several centuries. It has a young population in the sense that about 40 per cent of the population is below the age of 15. In a developed country like the United States of America this percentage is only about 22.
- ii) The sex ratio in India is not favourable to women mainly because of the low status of women leading to their neglect. The death rates are higher for women than for men in most age groups.

Check Your Progress 5

- i) a) Raising the minimum age at marriage. b) Population education in schools. c) Improving the status of women, specially through education. d) Freezing the population figure of 1971 till 2001 in all cases where population is a factor in the sharing of the Central resources with the States. e) Linking Central assistance to the State Plans with the performance of the family welfare programme.
- ii) a) Widespread acceptance of family planning. b) Improved performance of the family welfare programme in low performing States, such as, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh etc.
- iii) Acceptance of family planning at a lower age and limitation of the family size to two children, whatever the sex composition.

UNIT 5 MIGRATION

Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Migration : Significance, Concept, Forms and Characteristics
 - 5.2.1 Sociological Significance
 - 5.2.2 Concept
 - 5.2.3 Forms
 - 5.2.4 Characteristics
- 5.3 Reasons for Migration
 - 5.3.1 Economic Factors
 - 5.3.2 Socio-Cultural and Political Factors
- 5.4 Consequences of Migration
 - 5.4.1 Economic
 - 5.4.2 Demographic
 - 5.4.3 Social and Psychological
- 5.5 Problems of Refugees and Displaced Persons
- 5.6 Migration Policy
- 5.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 5.8 Key Words
- 5.9 Further Readings
- 5.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit our emphasis is on migration as a demographic process and as an agent of social change in society. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- describe what migration is;
- examine the importance of migration as an agent of social change;
- explain the various reasons of migration;
- discuss the consequences of such migration in the national and international situation; and
- analyse the migration policy.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration is usually defined as a geographical movement of people involving a change from their usual place of residence. But it is distinguished from temporary and very short distance moves. Migration can be internal (within the national boundaries) or international (across the international borders). After discussing the sociological significance and the definition and concepts of migration in Section 5.4, we discuss the major determinants of migration in terms of social,

economic, psychological, political and religious factors. Types of migration, like rural and urban, as well as voluntary or involuntary migration are explained in Section 5.5. What consequences follow when people move to different places within the national boundaries or across the national boundaries are discussed in Section 5.6. Section 5.7 highlights the problems of the refugees and displaced persons in national and international situations. Section 5.8 of the unit deals with national and international policy on migration and future trends in migration.

5.2 MIGRATION : SIGNIFICANCE, CONCEPT, FORMS AND CHARACTERISTICS

In this section, we shall be introducing to you the various aspects of sociological significance and characteristics of migration. Let us begin with its significance.

5.2.1 Sociological Significance

Migration is the third component of population change, the other two being mortality and fertility, studied in Unit 4 of this block. However, migration is different from the other two processes, namely, mortality and fertility in the sense that it is not a biological factor like the other two, which operate in a biological framework, though influenced by social, cultural and economic factors. Migration is influenced by the wishes of persons involved. Usually each migratory movement is deliberately made, though in exceptional cases this may not hold true. Thus migration is a response of human organisms to economic, social and demographic forces in the environment.

The study of migration occupies an important place in population studies, because, along with fertility and mortality, it determines the size and rate of population growth as well as its structure and characteristics. Migration also plays an important role in the distribution of the population of any country, and determines the growth of labour force in any area. Migration is thus an important symptom of social change in society.

5.2.2 Concepts

In a layman's language, the word 'migration' refers to the movements of the people from one place to another. According to Demographic Dictionary, "migration is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival." Such migration is called permanent migration, and should be distinguished from other forms of movement, which do not involve a permanent change of residence. Everett Lee, a well known demographer, defines migration broadly "as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary and involuntary nature of the act. Migration, according to Eisenstadt, refers to "the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social-setting and entering another and different one." Mangalam also stresses the permanent shifting of people in his definition and considers migration as a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called the migrants, from one geographical location to another.

It is preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants. They weigh and consider sets of values in two comparative situations, resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants. Holiday trips or sailor's occupations are not included in it. Mehta, in his study of Rajasthan, treats migration as an act of movement or spatial mobility.

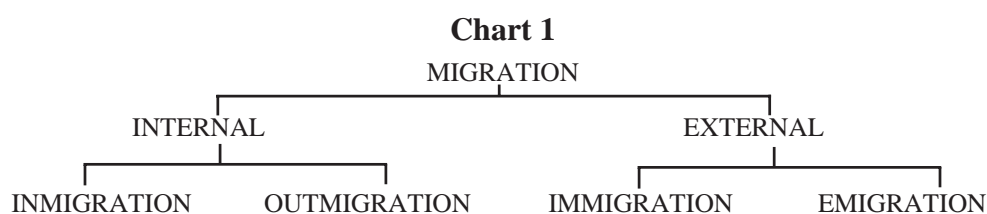
A perusal of all these definitions indicates that almost all scholars emphasise time and space, and define migration as a movement from one place to another, permanently or semi-permanently. In brief, when a person leaves his native place or village, comes to an urban area, takes up a job, and starts living there, he is known as a migrant and his move is referred to as migration.

5.2.3 Forms

People may move within a country between different states or between different districts of the same state or they may move between different countries. Therefore, different terms are used for internal and external migration. Internal migration refers to migration from one place to another within a country, while external migration or international migration refers to migration from one country to another.

- a) **Immigration and Emigration** : 'Immigration' refers to migration into a country from another country and 'emigration' refers to migration out of the country. These terms are used only in connection with international migration. For example migrants leaving India to settle down in the United States or Canada are immigrants to the United States or Canada and emigrants from India.
- b) **Inmigration and Outmigration** : These are used only in connection with internal migration. 'Inmigration' refers to migration into a particular area while 'outmigration' refers to movements out of a particular area. Thus, migrants who come from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh to Punjab are considered to be immigrants for Punjab and outmigrants for Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The term 'inmigration' is used with reference to the area of destination of the migrants and the term 'outmigration' is used with reference to the area of origin or place of departure of the migrant.

The main forms of migration can be summarised in a chart.



There are three important sources of information on internal migration in a country. These are national census, population registers and sample surveys. In India, the most important sources of data on internal migration are national census and sample surveys.

- c) **Forms of Internal Migration in India** : Information on migration for India, as a whole, and its different parts is obtained through the use of the Census. Better and more detailed questions have been asked in recent census counts. They show improvements in the studies on migration.

Indian census gives information regarding migration streams made from 'birth place' statistics from 1872 onwards. However, in 1961, the birth place was classified as rural or urban, and put into four categories of space migration (i) within the district of enumeration, (ii) outside the district but within the state of enumeration, (iii) outside the state of enumeration, i.e., inter-state, and (iv) outside India. The 1971 Census defined these statistics by including a question on place of last residence, and 1981 Census included a question on reasons for migration.

In India, the migrants are classified into four migration streams, namely, **rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural**. Rural to rural migration has formed the dominant migration stream since 1961. There have been substantial increases in the proportion of rural to urban, and urban to urban migration with the passage of time. Another important point is that the proportion of the females is much higher in rural to rural migration, while in the other three streams the proportion of the males is comparatively much higher. This is simply because the females change their residence on getting married, and new places could be in the neighbouring districts.

Researchers have, from time to time, suggested various types of migration while taking into account space, time, volume and direction. On the basis of space, there are four important streams of internal migration. These are:

- i) Rural to rural
- ii) Rural to urban
- iii) Urban to urban
- iv) Urban to rural

Indian census gives this fourfold typology. However, in some developed and highly urbanised countries there have also been migrations from cities to the suburbs.

The relative size and importance of these migration streams may vary from country to country. In some countries, rural to rural migration is the dominant type of migration, while in others it is rural to urban and yet in many others the highest proportion of migrants are found in urban to urban migration. In India, as stated earlier, rural to rural migration formed the dominant migration stream in the 1961, 1971, 1991 and 2001 Census. However, there have been substantial increases in the proportion of rural to urban and urban to urban migration with the passage of time, the increase being much more during the decades of 1970s, 1980s and 1990s than of the 1960s. However the dominant form of internal migration in the country is rural to rural. In all other streams (rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural) there is dominance of rural to urban migration among the males could be due to better developed agriculture in certain states and districts, which may attract migrants from other parts of the country. Development of industries in certain states or cities may be another important factor in rural to urban migration. Rural to rural migration is mostly dominated by the females. The female migration is largely sequential to marriage, because it is a Hindu custom to take brides from another village (village exogamy). According to the National Sample Survey, more than 46 per cent migration to urban areas is also caused by marriage. The custom of women returning to urban areas is also caused by marriage. The custom of women returning to her

parents to deliver her first child also accounts for significant internal migration.

Typology based on time classified migration into long range migration and short range or seasonal migration. When a move is made for a longer period, it is called long range migration. However, when there is permanent shift of population from one region to another, it is known as permanent migration. But when people shift to the sites of temporary work and residence for some or several months, it is known as periodic or seasonal migration. For example, during peak agricultural season excess labour is required, and people from the neighbouring areas is also caused by marriage. The custom of women returning to her parents to deliver her first child also accounts for significant internal migration.

Typology based on time classifies migration into long range migration and short range or seasonal migration. When a move is made for a longer period, it is called long range migration. However, when there is permanent shift of population from one region to another, it is known as permanent migration. But when people shift to the sites of temporary work and residence for some or several months, it is known as periodic or seasonal migration. For example, during peak agricultural season excess labour is required, and people from the neighbouring areas go to these places for seasonal work.

Apart from these two important types, migration could be voluntary or involuntary or forced, brain drain (migration of young skilled persons) and migration of refugees and displaced persons.

5.2.4 Characteristics

There are some important characteristics of the migrants and migration. An important characteristic is the age selectivity of the migrants. Generally, young people are more mobile. Most migration studies, especially in developing countries, have found that rural-urban migrants are predominantly young adults and relatively better educated than those who remain at the place of origin. It is obvious that migration for employment takes place mostly at the young adult ages. Also a major part of the female migration consequential to marriage occurs at the young adult ages. Thus people have a tendency to move when they are between their teens and their mid-thirties (15-35 years) than at other ages.

Another important characteristic is that the migrants have a tendency to move to those places where they have contracts and where the previous migrants serve as links for the new migrants, and this chain is thus formed in the process, and is usually called chain migration. Various studies show that people do not blindly go to a new place. They usually have kinship chains and networks of relatives and friends who help them in different ways. In some cases, the migrants not only tend to have the same destination but also tend to have the same occupation. For example, research reveals that in certain hotels in Jaipur almost all the workers belong to one particular sub-region of Kumaon. The agricultural labourers in Punjab and Haryana are mainly from Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Check Your Progress 1

- i) What is the sociological significance of migration? Use six lines to answer.

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ii) What are the important variables taken into consideration in defining migration? Use four lines to answer.

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iii) Classify the following types of migration:

- a) From Kerala to the Gulf-countries.
- b) From Kerala to Delhi.
- c) From Bihar to the West Indies.
- d) Arrival of people from Bangladesh to India
- e) Arrival of people to Rajasthan from Karnataka.

5.3 REASONS FOR MIGRATION

It is important to know why some migrate while others do not. The important factors, therefore, which cause migration or which motivate people to move may broadly be classified into four categories: economic factors, demographic factors, socio-cultural factors, and political factors.

5.3.1 Economic Factors

The major reason of voluntary migration is economic. In most of the developing countries, low agricultural income, agricultural unemployment and underemployment are the major factors pushing the migrants towards areas with greater job opportunities. Even the pressure of population resulting in a high man-land ratio has been widely recognised as one of the important causes of poverty and rural outmigration. Thus, almost all studies indicate that most of the migrants have moved in search of better economic opportunities. This is true of both internal as well as international migration.

The most important economic factors that motivate migration may be termed as ‘Push Factors’ and ‘Pull Factors’. In other words it is to see whether people migrate because of the compelling circumstances at the place of origin which pushed them out, or whether they are lured by the attractive conditions in the new place. Now we shall discuss these factors.

i) Push Factors

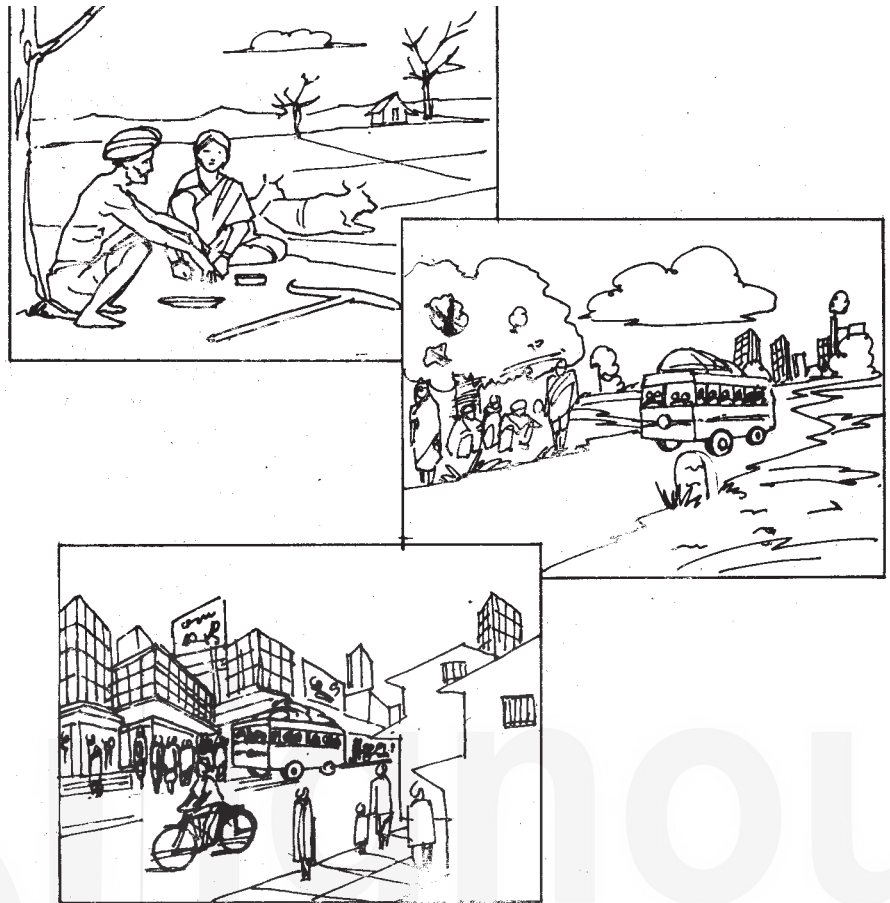
The push factors are those that compel or force a person, due to various reasons, to leave that place and go to some other place. For example, adverse economic conditions caused by poverty, low productivity, unemployment, exhaustion of natural resources and natural calamities may compel people to leave their native place in search of better economic opportunities. An ILO study reveals that the main push factor causing the worker to leave agriculture is the lower levels of income, as income in agriculture is generally lower than the other sectors of the economy. According to the estimates of the Planning Commission over one-third of the rural population is below the poverty line. Due to rapid increase in population, the per capita availability of cultivable land has declined, and the numbers of the unemployed and the underemployed in the rural areas have significantly increased with the result that the rural people are being pushed to the urban areas. The non-availability of alternative sources of income in the rural area is also another factor for migration. In addition to this, the existence of the joint family system and laws of inheritance, which do not permit the division of property, may also cause many young men to migrate to cities in search of jobs. Even sub division of holdings leads to migration, as the holdings become too small to support a family.

ii) Pull Factors

Pull factors refer to those factors which attract the migrants to an area, such as, opportunities for better employment, higher wages, better working conditions and better amenities of life, etc. There is generally cityward migration, when rapid expansion of industry, commerce and business takes place. In recent years, the high rate of movement of people from India as well as from other developing countries to the USA, Canada and now to the Middle-East is due to the better employment opportunities, higher wages and better amenities of life, variety of occupations to choose from and the possibility of attaining higher standard of living. Sometimes the migrants are also attracted to cities in search of better cultural and entertainment activities or bright city lights. However, pull factors operate not only in the rural-urban migration, but also in other types of internal as well as international migration.

Sometimes a question is asked which factors are more important, push or pull? Some argue that the push factor is stronger than the pull factor as they feel that it is the rural problems rather than the urban attractions that play a crucial role in the shift of the population. On the other hand, those who consider the pull factors as more important emphasise high rates of investment in urban areas leading to more employment and business opportunities and greater attraction for the city way of life.

This classification of motives for migration into push and pull factors is very useful in analysing determinants of migration, but all migratory movements cannot be explained by these factors alone. Moreover, sometimes migration may occur not by push or pull factors alone but as a result of the combined effect of both.



iv) **Push Back Factors**

In India, and in some other developing countries also, another important factor which plays crucial role in migration is ‘push back factor’. In India, according to Asish Bose, the urban labour force is sizeable, and the urban unemployment rates are high, and there also exist pools of underemployed persons. All these factors acts in combination as deterrents to the fresh flow of migration from the rural to urban areas. He calls this as a ‘push back factor’. He further adds that if new employment opportunities are created in the urban areas, the first persons to offer themselves for employment are the marginally employed already residing in those areas, unless of course special skills are required.

5.3.2 Socio-Cultural and Political Factors

Besides these push and pull factors, social and cultural factors also play an important role in migration. Sometimes family conflicts also cause migration. Improved communication facilities, such as, transportation, impact of the radio and the television, the cinema, the urban-oriented education and resultant change in attitudes and values also promote migration.

Sometimes even political factors encourage or discourage migration. For instance, in our country, the adoption of the jobs for ‘sons of the soil policy’ by the State governments will certainly affect the migration from other states. The rise of Shiv Sena in Bombay, with its hatred for the migrants and the occasional eruption of violence in the name of local parochial patriotism, is a significant phenomena. Even in Calcutta, the Bengali-Marwari conflict will have far-reaching implications. And now Assam and Tamil Nadu are other such examples. Thus the political attitudes and outlook of the people also influence migration

to a great extent. There have also been migrations from Kashmir and Punjab because of the terrorist activities.

Box 1. Reasons of Migration

An Analysis of Census Data

In the Indian Census, data on reasons for migration were collected for the first time in the 1981 Census. These reasons are given in the following table.

Table 1 : Per cent distribution of life-time migrants of each sex by reasons for migration, India 1981

Sex	Reasons for migration	Total	Rural to Rural	Rural to Urban	Rural to Urban	Rural to Urban
Male	Employment	30.79	19.49	47.49	41.12	27.00
	Education	5.15	4.18	8.07	6.20	3.17
	Associational	30.57	33.74	23.54	31.52	31.89
	Marriage	3.05	5.46	1.17	0.99	2.23
	Others	30.44	37.12	19.73	21.18	35.73
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Female	Employment	1.92	1.13	4.20	4.46	3.34
	Education	0.88	0.43	2.58	2.21	1.00
	Associational	14.72	8.64	29.27	35.89	21.23
	Marriage	72.34	81.73	51.53	43.56	59.33
	Others	10.14	8.07	12.42	13.88	15.10
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

It is clear from the data that among the male migrants from rural to urban and urban to urban, employment was the most important reason. Education accounted only for about 3 to 8 per cent of migration according to these migration streams. Among women, as expected, marriage was the most important reason for migration, followed by associational migration. Employment and education accounted for a very small proportion of the females.

Besides economic factors, sometimes lack of educational opportunities, medical facilities and many other facilities including the desire to break away from the traditional constraints of rural social structure may push people out of the rural areas. However, all migration caused by push factors are not confined to the rural areas only as there are also migration flows between rural areas and urban areas, indicating movement of people out of comparatively poor areas to areas with relatively better opportunities.

Activity 1

Find out if any of the members in two neighbouring families were born outside your city, when they come, and what reasons they had in mind for coming there? Then try to illustrate the types of migration and causes of migration from these cases. Compare your note if possible with other students of the study centre.

Check Your Progress 2

Tick mark the correct answer :

- i) One of the important reasons for the out migration of the rural people is:
 - a) growing pressure of population,
 - b) rural poverty

- c) rural unemployment
 - d) all of the above.
- ii) Factors which attract the migrants for migration are known as:
- a) Push factors,
 - b) Pull factors,
 - c) Push back factors,
 - d) All of the above.
- iii) Which one of the following is not a type of migration:
- a) Rural to Rural.
 - b) Rural to Urban
 - c) Urban to urban
 - d) None of the above.

5.4 CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

The consequences of migration are diverse. However, some of the important consequences discussed in this unit are economic, demographic, social and psychological. These consequences are both positive as well as negative. Some of these affect the place of departure while others influence the place of destination.

5.4.1 Economic

Migration from a region characterised by labour surplus helps to increase the average productivity of labour in that region, as this encourages labour-saving devices and/or greater work participation by the remaining family workers. On the other hand, there is a view that migration negatively affects the emigrating region and favours the immigrating region, and that migration would widen the development disparity between the regions, because of the drain of the resourceful persons from the relatively underdeveloped region to the more developed region. But the exodus of the more enterprising members of a community cannot be considered a loss, if there is lack of alternative opportunities in the rural areas. As long as migration draws upon the surplus labour, it would help the emigrating region. It will have adverse effects only if human resources are drained away at the cost of the development of the region. Another important point is that when migration draws away the unemployed or underemployed, it would enable the remaining population of the region to improve their living conditions as this would enable the remaining population to increase the per capita consumption, since the total number of mouths to be fed into is reduced as a result of emigration.

However, the labour-sending regions may gain economically by the money brought in by the emigrants. In India, the influx of the rural migrants to cities and towns has resulted in a steady outflow of cash from the urban to rural areas. Most migrants are single males, who after securing urban employment generally send a portion of their income to their village homes to supplement the meagre incomes of their families. At the same time, it also affects the savings of the family as sometimes the migrants take money (family savings) with them, which is necessary for their travel and stay in a new place. In recent

times, a sudden increase in migration to the Middle East has resulted in steep rise in the remittances of foreign money in our country. In 1979, it was found that the annual remittances to the tiny state of Kerala were estimated to Rs.4000 million.

The rising inflow of money from the Gulf countries has resulted in the building of houses and buying of agricultural land, and even investments in business and industry. This has also resulted in the rise in the levels of consumption in the family. Money is also being spent on children’s education. On the other hand, the outflow of men has caused labour shortages and has pushed wages upwards.

5.4.2 Demographic

Migration has a direct impact on age, sex and occupational composition of the sending and receiving regions. Migration of the unmarried males of young working age results in imbalances in sex ratio. The absence of many young men from the villages increases the proportion of other groups, such as, women, children and old people. This tends to reduce the birth rate in the rural areas. Further the separation of the rural male migrants from their wives for long durations also tends to reduce the birth rate.

5.4.3 Social and Psychological

Urban life usually brings about certain social changes in the migrants. Those migrants who return occasionally or remain in direct or indirect contact with the households of their origin are also likely to transmit some new ideas back to the areas of origin. Several studies attribute technological change to the dynamism of the return migrants, who bring money as well as knowledge and experience of different production techniques, and this may lead to mechanisation and commercialisation of agricultural activity. A number of ex-servicemen, on retirement go back to their native areas and promote such practices in the villages. Contact with the urban and different cultures also brings attitudinal change in the migrants, and helps them to develop more modern orientation, including even the consumerist culture in their own areas.

On the other hand, migration which results in the absence of the adult males for long periods of time may cause dislocation of the family, and, under such circumstances, women and children often have to take over more and different types of work and other more important roles in household decision-making. Studies have revealed very disturbing effects of the male migration from Kerala. Neurosis, hysteria and depression are said to be on the increase among the emigrant workers’ wives in Kerala. The gulf boom has also taken a toll of mental health of the families.

Check Your Progress 3

- i) How is the labour-sending region benefited by the process of migration?
Answer in about seven lines.

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ii) Write in about seven lines the socio-psychological consequences of migration.

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iii) Tick mark the correct answer.

Large exodus of refugees may_____.

- a) create no problem for the countries of destination,
- b) create only economic problems for the countries of destination,
- c) create only health and ecological problems for the countries of destination,
- d) create social, economic and political problems depending on the dimensions of the exodus of refugees.

5.5 PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS

Sometimes forced movements of people take place due to political and religious disturbances or wars. Such movements shift people to the neighbouring countries as refugees. The United Nations defines “a refugee as every person, who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” (U.N. 1984)

Thus many international movements of population involving very large numbers have occurred due to compelling reasons of political, religious or racial character. Perhaps the largest movement of people in this century has occurred in the Indian sub-continent. The partition of the country in 1947 into the Indian Union and Pakistan led to large exodus of the refugees into each nation from the other. Estimates indicate that not less than 7 million persons went to Pakistan from India and more than 8 million people came to India from Pakistan. Indo-Pakistan war in 1971 also caused a large number of people from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) to move into the north-eastern states of India as refugees, and this became a permanent problem for the region, as much as “Bihari” Muslims continue to be problematic for Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Some of the largest forced international migrations in history have occurred in

recent times in Asia. For example, in the 12 years following 1975 more than 1.7 million refugees have left Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, in 1979, produced a flow of refugees which has led to some 2.7 million being temporarily settled in Pakistan and 1.5 million in Iran. Most of these refugees are still in the camps in the neighbouring countries. Recently, due to political disturbances in Sri Lanka, large numbers of Tamilians have entered India, and are staying in Tamil Nadu.

It is found that on humanitarian grounds the refugees are often given shelter by the governments of various countries. However, the sudden influx of the refugees creates enormous pressure on the native society. It leads to short supply of essential commodities, ecological imbalances and health hazards in the countries of asylum. The large magnitude and the various economic, political and social dimensions of the exodus of the refugees create many problems, particularly for the countries of destination. Sometimes they cause political complications in the receiving countries. They organise themselves by forming groups, and pressurise the governments for some concessions. For example the United Kingdom, Canada and Sri Lanka are facing political and racial crises due to migration. Sometimes this causes clashes between the natives and migrants. Sri Lanka is a recent example of this.

But, in some instances, the refugees do make a positive contribution to the development of the host country, when settled in sparsely populated areas, by clearing and cultivating land.

5.6 MIGRATION POLICY

In India, little attention has been paid at the policy level to control the pattern of either international or internal migration. At the international level, the country does not have even up to date statistics of the immigrants and the emigrants although most of the international migration is controlled by passports and visa permits, etc. Questions have been raised about the brain drain from India in various forums, but nothing has been done to stop it as there are considerable numbers of educated unemployment in the country. It is only recently that the ministry of labour established a cell to protect the interests of the Indian emigrants, who are working as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers in other countries, especially in the Middle East.

At the national level, the government has not shown any concern for the problems relating to internal migration, and has, therefore, not formulated any policy. Although rural to rural migration, as indicated earlier, constituted the dominant migration stream among both the males and the females, very little is known about the factors that govern this migration except through the 1981 Census. Since major part of rural to rural migration is associational or for unspecified reasons, it is necessary to understand it more clearly.

There has been significant seasonal migration of agricultural labourers in different parts of the country, especially those parts which are experiencing the green revolution. Not much information is available about the volume of this stream of the migrants or their duration of stay.

As rural to urban migration is next only to rural to rural migration, and is quite sizeable, it is influenced by the urbanisation policies and programmes. In the Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans, the need for a balanced spatial distribution

of economic activities was emphasised, and stress was laid on the need to prevent the unrestricted growth of big cities.

Recognising the problems associated with the rapid growth of big cities (million plus), the government is now trying to adopt policies which would help in controlling migration to big cities and metropolises. During the 1980s, emphasis was on the provision of adequate infrastructural and other facilities in the small, medium and intermediate towns so that they could serve as growth and service centers for the rural region. The Planning Commission emphasised the needs for positive inducements to establish new industries and other commercial and professional establishments in small and medium towns. In the next unit (Unit 6) of this block, we shall take note of these problems in a detailed manner.

Thus, in the absence of any specific migration policy, it is difficult to predict the major directions of future migration flows. However, considering government's emphasis on developing small, medium and intermediate cities, it is expected that intermediate cities and medium towns will attract more migrants in the future. Although industrial cities, with expanding industries, will continue to attract new migrants, the young educated males and females may have a greater tendency to seek white collar employment in small towns and cities.

Check Your Progress 4

Tick mark the correct answer.

- i) In recent years, the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, has established a cell to protect the interest of the Indian emigrants who are working _____.
 - a) only as skilled workers in other countries,
 - b) only as unskilled workers in other countries,
 - c) only as semi-skilled workers in other countries,
 - d) All of the above are correct.
- ii) Considering the government's emphasis on developing small, medium and intermediate cities, it is expected that
 - a) intermediate cities will attract more migrants in future and big cities will reduce their importance.
 - b) Although big cities will continue to attract the migrants, the young educated migrants may have greater tendency to seek white collar employment in small towns and cities.
 - c) Rural to urban migration will stop in future.
 - d) All are correct.

5.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have explained that migration, which refers to the movements of people from one place to another, is an important demographic process, which affects the spatial distribution of the population in a country. Then we have highlighted the factors which motivate people to move from one area to another. Related to this are the types of moves which people make in terms of

direction and duration of move, and whether the move are voluntary or involuntary. Then we came to the consequences of migration. In other words, what happens to the place from where the migrants move and to the place where they arrive. We have discussed the problems created by the refugees and displaced persons. Lastly, we have highlighted the Migration Policy.

5.8 KEY WORDS

Fertility	: Biological potentiality of reproduction.
Migration	: A process of movement of the population from one place to another for a considerable period of time.
Mortality	: It is the proportion of death to the total population of the country in a particular period of time.

5.9 FURTHER READINGS

Sinha and Ataullah, 1987. *Migration: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Seema Publishers, Delhi.

Premi, M.K. 1980. *Urban Out-Migration : A Study of its Nature, Causes and Consequences*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.

5.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- i) Migration is a response of the human beings to the economic, social and political and demographic forces operating in the environment. It determines the size and rate of population growth of the labour force in that area. It is an important symptom of social change.
- ii) Scholars emphasise time and space as the important variables, and define migration as a movement from one place to another permanently or semi-permanently.
- iii)
 - a) Emigration
 - b) Out-migration
 - c) Emigration
 - d) Immigration
 - e) Inmigration

Check Your Progress 2

- i) d)
- ii) b)
- iii) d)

Check Your Progress 3

- i) It helps increase the average productivity of the labour in that region, since migration encourages the labour-saving devices and greater work participation by the remaining labourers. This region also gains

Structure in Transition – I

economically by the money brought in by the emigrants. It results in the level of rise in the levels of consumption, education, technology of production as well.

- ii) Many times migration results in the absence of the adult males for long periods of time. This causes dislocation of the family. Under these circumstances, women and children often have to undertake more responsibility. They may have to work harder than before. Studies show that neurosis, hysteria and depression have increased among the migrant workers' wives in Kerala.
- iii) d)

Check Your Progress 4

- i) d)
- ii) b)



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UNIT 6 URBANISATION

Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Demographic and Social Dimensions
 - 6.2.1 Demographic Dimensions
 - 6.2.2 Social Dimensions
- 6.3 Problems of Urban Areas
 - 6.3.1 Over-urbanisation
 - 6.3.2 Inadequate Housing
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- 6.5 Social Consequences of Urbanisation
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- 6.6 State Policy on Urban Problems
 - 6.6.1 Social Legislation Relating to Urban Land and Housing
 - 6.6.2 Programmes of Slum Clearance and Construction of New Houses
 - 6.6.3 The Five Year Plans
- 6.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 6.8 Key Words
- 6.9 Further Readings
- 6.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are to explain the meaning of urbanisation and point out some of the major problems which have assumed a massive proportion due to unprecedented rate of urban growth in India. To be more specific, after reading this unit, you should be able to :

- explain the meaning and social dimensions of urbanisation,
- describe “over-urbanisation” and its problems with special reference to the question whether India is really over-urbanised,
- discuss the problems of housing, water supply, transport and environment pollution in urban India,
- examine problem of slums in Indian cities,

- analyse the major social consequences of urbanisation in relation to the life and activities of urban dwellers, and
- discuss the state policy on urban housing, water supply, sanitation, etc.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the earlier two units of this block we discussed the social demography and migration in the context of social problems in India. In this unit we shall deal with the important facets of the social problems of the urban areas.

This unit begins with a discussion on the various dimensions of urbanisation, viz., demographic and social. The demographic aspects cover the growth of urban population and cities and metropolitan towns and their recent trends. In the social aspects, we discuss urbanism as a way of life, the primary and secondary urbanisation and the changing social and economic institutions. The social problems of urban areas are discussed in great length in this unit with special reference to the problems of over-urbanisation, housing, water supply, transport, pollution and environmental decay. Problems of slums are also dealt with in this unit. There are various negative social consequences of urbanisation, viz., crime, isolation, maladjustment, etc. These undesirable consequences and measures undertaken to curb these consequences are discussed in this unit. Lastly, we discuss the state policy on urban housing, water supply and sanitation. In this section, we discuss social legislation relating to urban land and housing programmes of slum clearance and urban development in the Five Year Plans.

6.2 URBANISATION : DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

In Unit No.4, Block 1, of ESO-02, we introduced you to the patterns of urbanisation in India. In this unit we shall discuss the social problems associated with the process of urbanisation in contemporary India. Before discussing these problems, let us have an overview of the demographic and social dimensions of urbanisation in India.

6.2.1 Demographic Dimensions

In simple words, the process of urbanisation denotes population growth of the cities and towns. Sociologically, it also denotes the spread of urban way of life to the country-side. Thus, the process of urbanisation has demographic as well as social dimensions. In present times, with the spread of industrialisation, the process of urbanisation has received unprecedented momentum all over the world and more specifically in the third world countries. It is predicated, on the basis of the current rates of urbanisation, that within a few decades the urban population of the third world countries will grow twice that of the present industrialised societies.

i) Growth of Urban Population and Metropolitan Cities

Though India is known as a country of villages the size of her urban population is second largest in the world with 307 million (30.7 crores) of population living in the urban areas. According to 2001 census 30.5% of Indian population

live in the urban areas. Over the years there have been a steady increase in the urban population in India from 17.29% in 1951 to 30.05% in 2001. However, there have been variations in the decennial growth rate of urban population caused by various socio-economic and political factors. The broad picture of urbanisation in India is given in table 1 below:

Table 1
Total Population and Urban Population in India

Year	Towns (No.)	Cities (UAs with million+ population)	Urban population (million)	Urban population (%of total)	Decennial growth rate of urban population (%)	UA population (million)	Decennial growth rate(%)
1901	1827	-	228.9	10.84	-	-	-
1911	1815	1	252.1	10.29	0.17	-	-
1921	1949	2	251.3	11.18	8.30	-	-
1931	2072	2	279.0	11.99	19.07	-	-
1941	2250	2	318.7	13.86	32.04	-	-
1951	2843	5	361.1	17.29	41.34	28.10	
1961	2365	7	437.2	17.97	25.84	40.07	42.61
1971	2590	9	548.2	19.91	38.93	62.21	55.27
1981	3378	12	683.3	23.34	46.12	95.69	53.81
1991	3768	23	844.3	25.72	36.16	141.15	47.51
2001	NA	40	1027.0	30.5	44.25	213.00	50.90

Source : *Census of India* (2001)

In ESO-2, Block 1, you have studied in details the patterns of urbanisation in India. However, for further clarification you would be interested to know that: (a) more than two-third of the urban population live in Urban- Agglomerations (UA), i.e., cities having a population greater than one million (see table 2); (b) the patterns of urbanisation have been very uneven in India (see table 3); (c) though there are several positive sides of urbanisation, the process has been accompanied by several urban problems.

Table 2

Distribution of Urban Population, 2001			
India/State/Union Territory	Total	Urban	% of Urban
Delhi	13	12	92.31
Chandigarh	0.9	0.8	88.89
Pondicherry	0.97	0.6	61.86
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.23	0.12	52.17
Goa	1.3	0.67	51.54
Mizoram	0.8	0.4	50.00
Tamil Nadu	62.1	27.2	43.80
Lakshadweep	0.06	0.026	43.33
Maharashtra	96	41	42.71
Daman & Diu	0.15	0.057	38.00
Gujarat	50.5	18.9	37.43
Punjab	24	8.2	34.17
Karnataka	52.7	17.9	33.97
Haryana	21	6	28.57

West Bengal	80	22.5	28.13
Manipur	2	0.56	28.00
Andhra Pradesh	75	20.5	27.33
Madhya Pradesh	60.4	16.1	26.66
Kerala	31.8	8.3	26.10
Jammu & Kashmir	10	2.5	25.00
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.2	0.05	25.00
Uttaranchal	8.5	2.1	24.71
Rajasthan	56	13	23.21
Arunachal Pradesh	0.87	0.2	22.99
Jharkand	26.9	6	22.30
Uttar Pradesh	166	34.4	20.72
Chhatisgarh	20.8	4.2	20.19
Meghalaya	2	0.4	20.00
Tripura	3.2	0.5	15.63
Orissa	36.7	5.5	14.99
Assam	26.6	3.4	1278.00
Sikkim	0.5	0.06	12.00
Himachal Pradesh	5.4	0.6	11.11
Bihar	82	8.7	10.61
Nagaland	1.9	0.2	10.53
India	1027	285	27.75

Source : *Census of India*, Government of India Press, New Delhi.

Table 3

Name	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	Decennial growth rate in 50s(%)	Decennial growth rate in 60(%)	Decennial growth rate in 70s(%)	Decennial growth rate in 80s(%)	Decennial growth rate in 90s(%)
Kolkata	4.67	5.98	7.42	9.19	10.86	13.2	28.1	24.1	23.9	18.2	21.5
Greater Mumbai	2.97	4.15	5.97	8.23	12.56	16.4	39.7	43.9	37.9	52.6	30.6
Delhi	1.43	2.36	3.65	5.71	8.37	12.8	65.0	54.7	56.4	46.6	52.9
Chennai	1.54	1.95	3.17	4.28	5.36	6.4	26.6	62.6	35.0	25.2	19.4
Hyderabad	1.13	1.25	1.8	2.53	4.27	5.5	10.6	44.0	40.6	68.8	28.8
Bangalore		1.2	1.65	2.91	4.11	5.7		37.5	76.4	41.2	38.7
Ahmedabad		1.21	1.74	2.51	3.27	4.5		43.8	44.3	30.3	37.6
Pune			1.14	1.68	2.44	3.8			47.4	45.2	55.7
Kanpur			1.28	1.69	2.1	2.7			32.0	24.3	28.6
Lucknow				1.01	1.66	2.3				64.4	38.6
Nagpur				1.3	1.65	2.1				26.9	27.3
Jaipur M. Corp.				1.00	1.51	2.3				51.0	52.3
Surat					1.51	2.8					85.4
Coimbatore					1.51	2.8					85.4
Cochin					1.13	1.4					23.9
Vadodara					1.11	1.5					35.1
Indore					1.1	1.6					45.5
Madurai					1.09	1.2					10.1
Bhopal					1.06	1.5					41.5
Vishakhapatnam					1.04	1.3					25.0
Varanasi					1.01	1.2					18.8
Ludhiana M. Corp.					1.01	1.4					38.6
Patna					1.09	1.7					56.0
Agra					1.01	1.3					28.7
Meerut					1	1.2					20.0

Note : Data refers to the entire urban agglomeration around each city except for Jaipur, Ludhiana, Agra and Meerut.

Source : *Census of India, 2001*, Government of India Press, New Delhi.

Visakhapatnam has shown the highest rate of growth, i.e., 73.9 per cent followed by Hyderabad (67.9 per cent), Ludhiana (66.7 per cent), Surat (66.0 per cent), Lucknow (65.7 per cent) and Bhopal (55.8 per cent) during 1981-91.

iii) Recent Trends

In brief, the demographic trends reveal that although the proportion of urban population in India is relatively less, yet in terms of absolute numbers, India's urban population is more than the total population of several developed countries. It is projected that at the beginning of the twenty-first century as many as 32 crores of people will be living in urban centres in India.

The rapid growth of urban population in the third world countries has led to the availability of public utilities becoming scarce. In India, such a situation in big cities has made it very difficult for the local administration to cope with the increasing population and arrive at any enduring solution. In social science, this has led to formulation of the controversial notion of *over-urbanisation*. In order to ameliorate the fast deteriorating conditions of urban living systematic urban policy and effective measures, urban renewal have become inevitable in India and all other third world countries.

6.2.2 Social Dimensions

The process of urbanisation has to be explained both in demographic and social contexts. In demographic sense, the term "urbanisation" is largely used to explain the process of urban growth. In this sense, it refers to the proportion of a total population living in cities and towns at a given point of time. In sociology, the term urbanisation is also used to denote a distinct way of life, which emerges in cities due to their large, dense and heterogeneous population. Such a life is distinct from the life and activities of the people living in villages. In this section, we shall discuss the social aspects of urbanisation. Let us begin with the formulation of Louis Wirth.

i) Urbanism as a Way of Life

Louis Wirth's formulation of 'urbanism as a way of life' explains that the city, characterised by a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals, gives rise to various kinds of social relationships and patterns of behaviour among the city-dwellers. Further, Louis Wirth also argues that the city effects are wider than city itself. Thus, the city draws the surrounding villages and even remote communities into its orbit. In other words, urbanism as a way of life is not peculiar to city-dwellers alone as the influences of the city (i.e., impact of urbanisation) stretch far behind its administrative boundaries. In brief, urbanisation in its demographic sense refers to the trends of growth of the urban population. In societal context and in its sociological sense it also denotes a distinct way of life typically associated with living in the city and the process of transforming rural ways of life into urban ones.

ii) Primary and Secondary Urbanisation

Robert Redfield and Milton Singer elaborate the role of cities in the light of the impact of urban growth and urbanisation on a culture. They describe the city as a centre of cultural innovation, diffusion and progress. They have classified the process of urbanisation into two categories:

- a) Primary urbanisation, and
- b) Secondary urbanisation.

According to them, “the trend of primary urbanisation is to coordinate political, economic, educational, intellectual and aesthetic activities to the norms provided by Great Tradition. The process of secondary urbanisation works in the industrial phase of the city, and is characterised by heterogenetic development. Thus, the effects of secondary urbanisation are those of disintegration. They opine that: “the general consequence of secondary urbanisation is the weakening of suppression of the local and traditional cultures by states of mind that are incongruent with those local cultures.” The first type carries forward the regional tradition, and the city becomes its epi-centre, the second type bring external elements to the city.

iii) Changing Social and Economic Institutions

Urbanisation has its bearing on social relationships in community living. The relationships of community-living tend to become impersonal, formal, goal-oriented, contractual and transitory. With urbanisation, transformation of economic activities from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector takes place, and the proportion of population engaged in secondary and tertiary sectors of activities increases with division of labour and specialisation of work. Further, the process of urbanisation also leads to breakdown in the functioning of traditional institutions and patterns of behaviour and of social control. It leads to a situation of continuity and change in the sense that the traditional forms often continue to persist, but their functions undergo major re-adaptations in the face of urbanisation. As pointed out by Yogendra Singh, “many new roles, often rational and modern in orientation, are added on to the traditional institutional forms.” In India, the traditional institutions like caste, joint family and neighbourhood, etc., offer ample evidence of such continuity and change in cities.

Urban growth coupled with industrial development induces rural-urban migration whereby the cities of bigger size, offering opportunities of improving life, tend to overflow with the rural migrants. On the one hand, such migration accelerates the pace of urbanisation and, on the other, it creates excessive population pressure on the existing public utilities with the result that cities suffer from the problems of slums, crime, unemployment, urban poverty, pollution, congestion, ill-health and several deviant social activities. In this context, it is essential to know the various facets of over-urbanisation and urban problems in India.

Check Your Progress 1

- i) According to the 2001 Census, what percentage of the total population live in the urban areas?
 - a) 17%
 - b) 27%
 - c) 30.5%
 - d) 47%

- ii) Who among the following sociologists formulated the concept of 'urbanism as a way of life'?
- a) Emile Durkheim
 - b) Karl Marx
 - c) Max Weber
 - d) Louis Wirth
- iii) In the process of urbanisation, the relationships of community living tend to become
- a) personalised
 - b) informalised
 - c) goal-oriented
 - d) casual

6.3 PROBLEMS OF URBAN AREAS

Many scholars have tried to explain the social problems of urban India in terms of over-urbanisation. It would be interesting to know the meaning and dimensions of urbanisation and their applicability in the Indian context.

6.3.1 Over-urbanisation

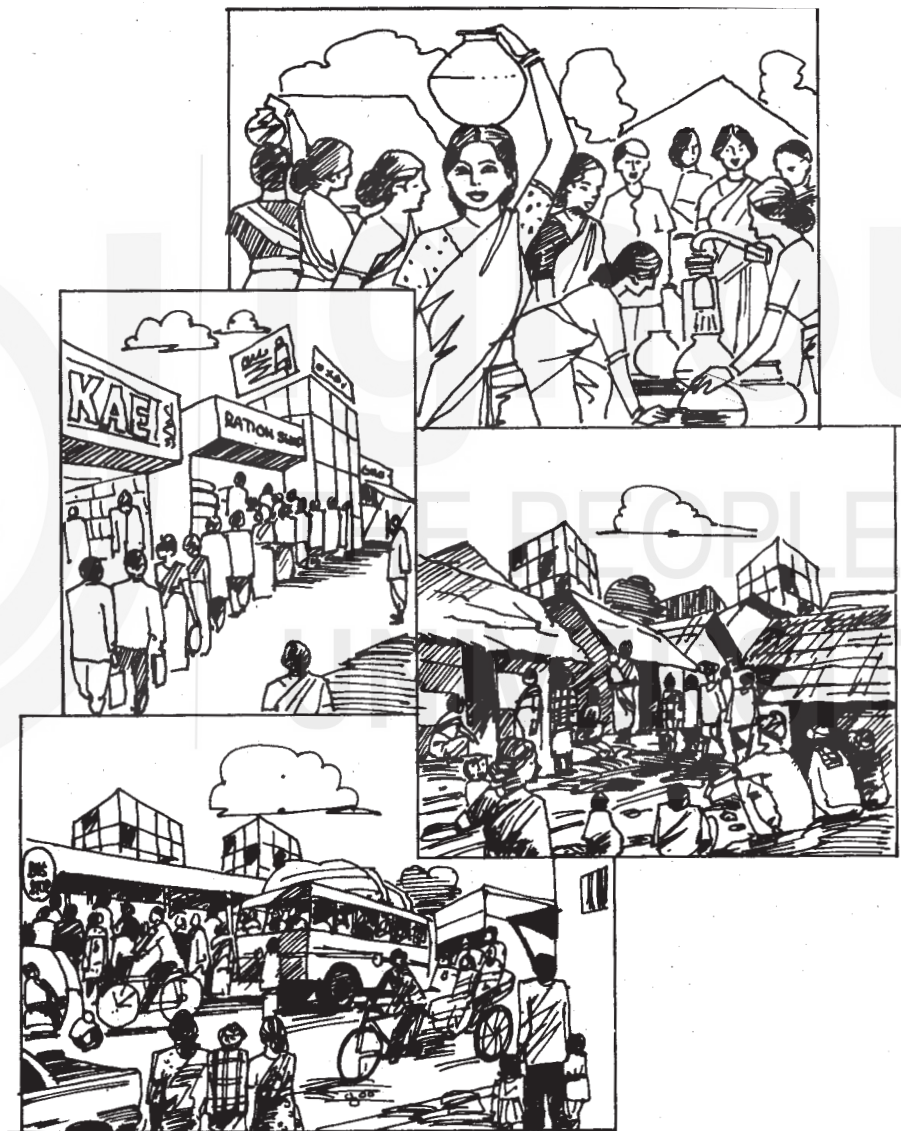
Over-urbanisation in one sense implies excessive urbanisation in relation to employment growth. It also means that the urban population has grown to such a large size that the cities fail to ensure a decent way of life to the urban-dwellers on account of excessive population pressure on civic amenities, housing, etc. In the Indian context, the idea of over-urbanisation has been advanced on the grounds that (a) there is an imbalance between the levels of industrialisation and urbanisation in India, (b) the process of urbanisation takes away a lion's share of resources and, thus, impinges upon the rate of economic growth of society, (c) the availability of civic amenities and facilities is so poor that these have now reached a point of break-down and become almost incapable of bearing further growing urban pressures.

Contrary to the idea of over-urbanisation, several scholars have stressed that India does not suffer from the problem of over-urbanisation. In order to support this argument, it has been pointed out that the trends of industrial-urban growth in India conform to similar trends in as many as 80 per cent of the developing societies. Secondly, it has also been argued that with the rise of urbanisation in India diversification of economy providing for new opportunities of employment have also considerably increased. This has also led to a rise in the levels of the income of the urban-dwellers.

The analysis offered by the Institute of Urban Affairs does not support the idea that rapid urbanisation in India is causing a distortion in the allocation of resources between urban and rural areas, and thereby negatively affecting the pace of economic development. In other words, the urban problems in India are not a result of over-urbanisation but are largely due to lack of effective urban policy governing the patterns of urbanisation. Let us now turn to some of the major problems of urbanisation in India.

6.3.2 Inadequate Housing

The rapid growth of population in cities has given rise to numerous social problems among which the problem of housing is the most distressing. In fact, a vast majority of urban population live under conditions of poor shelter and in highly congested spaces. It is estimated that nearly 70 per cent of population in big cities live in sub-standard houses, which they call their homes. Special mention may be made here of the old houses, which are deteriorating in the sense that they are unserved, overcrowded and dilapidated. Usually, such decaying houses are found in the middle of most of the cities. Similarly, there are hundreds of such people who are living in cities as pavement-dwellers, without any kind of shelter at all.



Problems of Urbanisation

The available statistics show that in India more than half of the urban households occupy a single room, with an average occupancy per room of 4.4 persons. In Greater Bombay, as many as 77 per cent of the households with an average of 5.3 persons live in one room, and many others are forced to sleep on the pavements at night. The conditions of other big cities and others are forced to sleep on the pavements at night. The conditions of other big cities and

industrially growing towns are believed to be equally disturbing. It is estimated that more than 3 lakh persons in Delhi are without a shelter of their own.

In order to solve the problem of urban housing, systematic efforts are being made through various programmes of urban development. Among these efforts, special mention may be made of the schemes of subsidised housing for economically weaker sections and the schemes of slum-clearance and improvement. These schemes are relevant and beneficial to the urban poor.

6.3.3 Unsafe and Insufficient Water Supply

Availability of water for domestic use constitutes one of the basic civic amenities. Unfortunately, in the cities of the third world countries including India there are only a few urban dwellers, who enjoy this amenity on a regular and satisfactory basis. Nearly 30 per cent of the urban population in India is deprived of safe drinking water facility. Largely, the municipal pipes and handpumps are the major sources of procuring water in towns and cities. But in most of the cities, specially the rapidly growing ones, the slum-dwellers have to suffer acute problems in procuring water for domestic use. Several systematic studies have brought out the plight of the slum-dwellers in this regard. Not only have they to wait for long hours at the water-tap but many a times fights and unpleasant disputes for the sake of drinking water arise owing to the heavy rush of the slum-dwellers to procure water before it stops running through the water tap every day. In some cases, it was found that more than a hundred families depended exclusively on one water tap. The problem of regular water supply in smaller cities and towns too is assuming an acute form with rapid and unmanageable stream of urbanisation.

6.3.4 Inefficient and Inadequate Transport

The lack of efficient transport facility is yet another major problem which has become, almost in all big cities, a headache for the local authorities. In fact, an efficient and well-knit network of transport facilities is essentially required for the movements of the city-dwellers between their residence and place of work and to the central business area. It also facilitates the movements of the daily commuters, who depend upon the city for their earning without living there permanently. The narrow roads and streets, their poor conditions, on the one hand, and, on the other, numerous vehicles, public-buses, rickshaws, two-wheelers, cars, bullock-carts, trucks and bicycles, all plying together create a unique scene of traffic congestion and traffic jams practically in every part of the city, more so in the central business area and other important zones of the city. The problem of transport in the wake of rapid urbanisation has become so serious that any effort to check it hardly yields a permanent solution. In the old and pre-industrial areas of the city, narrow roads and still narrower residential streets hardly offer any scope for efficient transport facilities. Moreover, whatever little transport network is seen in the cities, that too has become a major source of environmental pollution due to traffic jams and poor conditions of vehicles.

6.3.5 Pollution

The recent trends of industrial urban growth in India and several third world countries have created a very serious problem of pollution threatening the health and happiness of human beings. The problem of pollution is so different from many other problems that common people hardly comprehend its seriousness although everyone slowly and continuously becomes the victim of ill-effects.

Margaret Mead observed that pollution is one of the greatest problems by modern industrial urban civilisation.

The problem of pollution is becoming increasingly acute with the rise of urbanisation on account of the following reasons:

- a) Indiscriminate growth of industrial and chemical plants in spite of the efforts through legal measures to check such growth.
- b) Pre-industrial structure of cities with narrow streets and roads, which have become defective and inefficient in regulating traffic.
- c) High-rise buildings, representing vertical growth of cities, ultimately causing high density of population, congestion on roads and pollution.
- d) Lack of effective and systematic use pattern on account of scarce land and its commercial speculation.

Today, in India, Bombay (now Mumbai) and Calcutta (now Kolkata) belong to the category of world's very densely populated cities. The situation of other class I cities is also equally worse. Some years ago, R.S.Kamat carried out a study in Bombay with a view to compare the health of 4000 persons living in the Chembur and Lalbaugh areas of pollution with posh areas of Khar. He found that the inhabitants of the Chembur and Lalbaugh areas had shown high incidence of diseases like asthma, allergy, T.B., burning of eyes and cancer, etc., whereas the inhabitants of the Khar area showed much less. Similarly, under the auspices of K.E.M. Hospital, Bombay, a study was conducted a few years ago. It revealed that nearly 16 per cent of the textile workers in Bombay were suffering from respiratory diseases. In Calcutta, it was found that almost 60 per cent of the population was suffering from respiratory problems due to polluted environment. One of the studies on slums in Kanpur has revealed that more than 55 per cent children were suffering from T.B., because of dirt, filth and pollution in and around slums. Laster Brown, Cristopher Flavin and their colleagues in the World Watch Institute, based in Washington D.C. and engaged in environmental research, have recently said that air pollution has assumed such alarming proportions in several cities and rural areas around the world that merely breathing the air in Bombay is now equivalent to smoking ten cigarettes a day.

One of the greatest sources of pollution in cities is ever-increasing traffic. The vehicles plying on the congested roads release smoke, carbondioxide, nitrogen oxide, hydrocarbon, aldehydes and leadoxide, etc. J.N. Dae of Jawaharlal Nehru University conducted a study in Bombay and Delhi, and found that the means of transportation plying in these metropolises released 70 per cent carbon monoxide, 40 per cent hydrocarbon and 30 to 40 per cent other pollutants along with smoke and fumes, causing serious environmental pollution affecting the health of the city-dwellers. According to the report of the National Policy Committee of the Planning Commission (1978), there were more than nine lakhs and 50 thousand vehicles in the four metropolises – Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras (now Chennai). This figure has possibly reached to over 20 lakh vehicles by now. In addition to all these vehicles, the industries, factories, slums, and the high density of population are equally responsible sources is also found as a major source of pollution. The availability of liquid petroleum gas has not yet reached a large section of the population, hence, a majority of people still depend upon traditional fuel for cooking purposes. It is estimated that till the end of 1988 the facility of LPG become available only in 805 urban centres covering about 11 million households.

Do You Know 1**Availability of Electricity, Safe Drinking Water, Sanitation and Health Infrastructure (1997-98)**

Type of facility	Percentage of households		
	Total	Rural	Urban
Electricity	52.4	36.5	86.2
Safe drinking water	32.9	14	73
Electricity and safe drinking water	42.4	29.2	73.2
Safe drinking water and toilet	30.8	15.3	64.1
Electricity and toilet	29.7	11.1	69.3
All the three facilities	28.0	12.3	61.2
None of the three facilities	16.4	22.5	3.5
Beds per 10,000 population in Public hospitals	10.1	2.4	26.3

Source : *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, 2001.

Do You Know 2**Air Pollution Levels in various Cities 1998**

City	Total suspended Particulates (Micro-grammes per cubic metre)	Sulfur dioxide (micro-grammes per cubic metre)	Nitrogen dioxide (micro-grammes per cubic metre)
Ahmedabad	299	30	21
Bangalore	123	-	-
Kolkata	375	49	34
Chennai	130	15	17
Delhi	415	24	41
Hyderabad	152	12	17
Kanpur	459	15	14
Lucknow	463	26	25
Mumbai	240	33	39
Nagpur	185	6	13
Pune	208	-	-

Source : *World Development Indicators*, 2001, World Bank, 2001.

Do You Know 3

Delhi Slums - the Reality

Delhi has seen a swelling of its population from 2 million in 1947 to over 13 million today. The government has been unable to meet the infrastructure and social challenges that have arisen from this growth, and shanty towns have emerged as a response. For those living in shanties the outlook is bleak.

Record show:

1. 1500 shanty colonies in Delhi over 3 million people.
2. The average population density in a shanty town is 300,000 people per square kilometer.
3. An average dwelling houses 6-8 people, yet measures 6ft (2mt) 8ft (2.5 mt).
4. The under-five mortality rate is 149 per 1000 live births.
5. 1 water pump on average serves 1000 people.
6. Many slums have no facilities. Where latrines are provided, the average is 1 latrine per 27 households.
7. 40 per cent of children are severely malnourished in Delhi, about 40,000 children are labourers, 30,000 assist in shops, another 30,000 work in teashops and 20,000 in auto repair shops.
8. 100,000 children are part-time or full-time domestic helps.
9. 75 per cent of men and 90 per cent of women living in shanties are illiterate.

Source : <http://www.asha-india.org/slumsreality.asp>

6.3.6 Environmental Decay

Added to all these demographic and technological sources of pollution, the human factor involved in causing environmental decay needs attention. The apathy of the city-dwellers and industrialists towards cleanliness of the environment, lack of seriousness on the part of local civic authorities in maintaining environmental standards, stronghold of the vested interest groups on available land, poor maintenance of public utilities, such as, latrines, drainage, dustbins, water-taps and bathrooms, etc., contribute to the environmental pollution so much that many parts of the city become the living examples of dirt and filth. At times, it is seen that even the hospitals and gardens are also very poorly maintained from the standpoint of cleanliness. With the ever-increasing pace of urbanisation and resultant population pressure on the available land and public utilities the environmental pollution in cities has now become a great challenge to the health and happiness of the urban people. The fast deteriorating conditions of urban living can only be ameliorated through systematic programmes flowing from a well-conceived and effective rational policy on environment as well as emergence of a serious awareness among the city dwellers and commuters for pollution control.

Check Your Progress 3

i) What are the major features of over-urbanisation in India? Answer in about six lines.

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ii) Write a short note, in about six lines, on the housing problems in the Indian urban areas.

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iii) What are the main reasons for the increase in the pollution problems in urban areas?

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6.4 PROBLEMS OF SLUMS

In the wake of rapid urbanisation, slums in cities have become an almost inevitable and necessary evil.

6.4.1 Slum Population

The figures relating to urban population living in slums are not accurately available, nevertheless it is commonly accepted that nearly one-fifth of the total urban population in India lies in slums. According to the statistics provided by the Seventh Plan document, nearly 10 per cent (or 3 crore of the total 16 crore) of the urban population in India live in slums. The Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, appointed by the Planning Commission of India, estimated nearly 23 per cent or over 3 crore 60 lakh persons as the urban slum-

dwellers in India. The proportion of the slum-dwellers increase with the size of the urban population. Cities with less than one lakh population have 17.5 per cent; cities with the population between one lakh and ten lakhs have 21.5 per cent, and cities having more than ten lakhs of population have 35.5 per cent slum-dwellers in the total population. In the case of Calcutta and Bombay, it is estimated that 43.86 lakhs and 41.26 lakhs, respectively lived in slums, in the year 1990. The four metropolitan centres, Calcutta, Bombay Delhi and Madras, have around 50 per cent of the total population living in slums by now. A similar situation prevails in African and Latin American countries.

6.4.2 Emergence of Slums

The National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, has recorded that the emergence of slums is essentially the product of three forces:

- a) demographic dynamism of a city attracting more people from the rural areas offering greater potential for employment;
- b) its incapacity to meet the rising demand for housing; and
- c) the existing urban land policies, which prohibit the access of the poor to the urban land market.

It is further observed that the urban poor are left with no choice but to make or take shelter illegally on any available piece of land. Sometimes a slum is the consequence of blight in the old parts of the city. At times, a slum is inherited in the form of an old village or a haphazardly growing locality within the extended territorial limits of a town.

The magnitude of the problem of slums is alarming. The Government of India, for purposes of the implementation of various schemes relating to urban development, has defined a slum area as follows: “A slum area means any area where such dwellings predominate, which by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of buildings, narrowness and faulty arrangement of street, lack of ventilation, lack of sanitation facilities, inadequacy of open spaces and community facilities or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morale.” These slum areas are also referred to as the ‘blighted area’; ‘renewal area’; ‘deteriorated area’, ‘gray area’; ‘lower class neighbourhood’; ‘lower income area’; etc. In India, these areas are also known as ‘Jeropadpatti’; ‘Juggi Jhounpadi’; ‘Bastee’; ‘Akatas’ and ‘Cherri’, in regional vocabularies.

Michael Harington says that in the face of rapid industrial-urban growth in the technologically advanced and capitalistic country like the United States of America also there are such slums, which at times are referred to as the ‘other America’.

Box 1 : Characteristics of Slums

The physical aspects and general conditions of the slums are by and large the same everywhere. The foremost characteristics of slums can be briefly enumerated in the following manner:

- 1) Dilapidated and poor houses in slums are made of poor design and scrap materials. These are often raised on unauthorised land.

- 2) High density of population and housing leads to over-crowding and congestion; one room is often used for all practical purposes of domesticating living. In Bombay and in many other big cities, it can be seen that in the slum areas one room tenement with 100 sq.f. to 150 sq.f. of space is occupied by more than 10 persons.
- 3) Lack of public utilities and facilities, such as, drainage, sanitation, water taps, electric light, health centres, common latrines and public parks, etc., are widely observable characteristics of slums.
- 4) The slum-dwellers are functionally integrated with the mainstream of the city life, yet the high incidence of deviant behaviour such as crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drug use, beggary, illegitimacy, illicit distilling of liquor, gambling and other social evils are associated with slum areas. It does not mean that all those residing in slums are necessarily associated with such deviant behaviour. The slum areas, socially and physically provide greater opportunity for such kinds of deviant behaviour.
- 5) Slums have a culture of their own, which Marshall Clinard has termed as 'a way of life'. It is said to be largely a synthesis of the culture of the lower class and of that which Lewis has referred to as the 'culture of poverty'.
- 6) Though the slum-dwellers are functionally integrated to the city life, apathy and social isolation characterise a slum. It means that largely slums are subject to neglect and apathy of the larger community. These areas are looked down upon and considered inferior. Such a reaction from the larger community renders slums into social isolation, detached from the city as a whole. Under these circumstances, the slum-dwellers find it almost impossible to improve these conditions through their own efforts.

Slums are dilapidated and overcrowded areas with lack of adequate public utilities, yet their existence in the city does serve a purpose, especially for the urban poor and migrants coming for some job opportunities in the city. It is in slums that poor people like industrial workers, casual labourers, hawkers, petty shopkeepers, vegetable-sellers and several others offering useful services to the city find a place to stay. These poor people belonging to different castes, religions, regions and languages live together even amidst extreme poor conditions. At times, these slums play a very vital role in orienting the new migrants to the city environment. In other words, the slum-dwellers, by providing social comfort and support to the new migrants, help them to adjust to the conditions of city-living and finally integrate themselves with the mainstream of city life.

In India, the slums are usually classified into the following three categories: (1) the old building which have become dilapidated and deteriorated in course of time; (2) the slums which are characterised by poor and inadequate housing conditions, constructed legally around mills and factories, (3) the slums which illegally come up in different parts of the city through unauthorised occupation of open land.

Activity 1

Visit a slum area, preferably of your home town. Try to find out, either through observation or through interaction, the major problems faced by these slum-dwellers. After the collection of information is over, try to develop a note on the '**Problems of Slum-dwellers in My Home Town**' in about two pages. If possible, discuss your note with the coordinator and the co-learners of your Study Centre.

6.5 SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES – CRIME, ISOLATION AND MALADJUSTMENT

The rapid urbanisation over the last few decades in India (and elsewhere in the third world countries) has latently led to rise in several problems. In fact, in the modern developed societies, these problems came into existence since the emergence of industrialisation during the 18th century. Today, the developing societies are acquiring the characteristics of the developed societies even in crime, juvenile delinquency, rape, murder, prostitution, gambling, suicide and alcoholism. Moreover, the unprecedented pace of urbanization, causing high density of population and conditions of urban anonymity, have given rise to socio-psychological problems of adjustment, especially in the case of the migrants to the city of their destination. Here, we shall briefly look into the problems of crime, isolation and maladjustment.

6.5.1 Crime

The metropolises and the big cities provide greater environmental opportunities for committing crimes and acts of juvenile delinquency. The rate of crime is very high in cities compared to the rural and tribal areas. With the rise of urbanisation, the rate of crime gets further accentuated as the opportunities of success through socially legitimate means remain scarce as against the number of aspirants. Moreover, urban anonymity in a way encourages resorting to unlawful activities, as the traditional agencies of social control and law and order become noticeably weak. Under these conditions of urban living, crimes such as theft, burglary, kidnapping and abduction, murder, rape, cheating, criminal breach of trust, gambling, prostitution, alcoholism and counterfeiting, etc., have become almost routine affairs in most cities, especially the “million” cities. Further, in all big cities the criminal gangs indulging in organised crimes have become a grave social problem. These criminal gangs have their network stretching beyond a given city, spread over more than one city. At times, these gangs are so resourceful that, even when caught by the police, they easily succeed in escaping punishment.

Modern research points out that the great amount of crime in modern urban centers reflects the inability of the urban community to integrate all its members and to control those who resist integration. Crime and city are thus casually connected. Scholars pointed out that the urbanisation of rural areas and an increase in crime go hand in hand. Several years ago it was found that among the rural inmates in an Iowa reformatory in the USA characteristics associated with an urban way of life played a significant role in their criminal behaviour.

Compared to western societies, the rate of crime in urban India is low; nevertheless, the problem of crime is becoming grave in all big cities in India. The most significant reasons for this deteriorating situation lie in an unprecedented rate of population growth of these cities, widespread economic insecurities, and decline in the management of law and order. In 1974, out of the total crimes reported all over the country, more than 12 per cent crimes were committed in eight big cities – Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and Bangalore. The accompanying table shows some

details about the crimes reported under the Indian Penal Code in the eight major cities, in 1979.

The Crime reported in eight Indian cities under IPC in 1979

City	Number of Crimes	Rate of crime per lakh & population
Ahmedabad	7,178	345.1
Bangalore	24,693	1240.9
Bombay	36,417	447.9
Calcutta	13,103	391.1
Delhi	41,516	784.8
Hyderabad	7,359	336.0
Kanpur	7,192	496.0
Madras	8,843	264.8
Total	1,46,301	526.1

Source: Drawn from *Hand Book on Social Welfare Statistics 1981*, Govt. of India, Ministry of Social Welfare, New Delhi.

The national capital, Delhi, continued to be the crime capital of the country, recording a crime rate that is more than double the national average among the metropolitan cities. During 2002, Delhi's crime rate was put at 385.8 per lakh of population, much higher than the national average of 172.3.

While the crime rate of Chennai stood at 113.5 per lakh of population, Kolkata reported at an even lower rate of 90.6 and Mumbai at 177 was slightly above the national average.

The highest crime rate among large urban centres was reported in Bhopal (740.9), followed by Vijayawada at 666, Indore 626 and Jaipur 524.

Activity 2

Read any national daily for at least 30 days to classify the crimes reported from various cities in India.

In Western societies, the unskilled labour is identified with the 'blue collar' shirts and the office-going people with the 'white collar'. Generally, people think that the 'blue collar' has close links with crime. It has, however, been found that wrong behaviour is not limited to this group, and even persons associated with clean dress commit objectionable behaviour that at times goes unnoticed. The white-collar crimes, which are committed largely by violating the rules and regulations of trade, business or profession during the conduct of these activities also become widespread, especially in cities which are the victims of rapid urbanisation. Usually, individuals and groups resorting to the white-collar crimes enjoy power, prestige and clandestine relations with the authorities due to their professional or business activities. On account of such social connections, many among them find it easier to escape punishment even if the consequences of their unlawful activities are grave in the larger interests of society.

6.5.2 Isolation

Social interaction with others is a basis of all forms of social relationships and social groupings. It plays a very vital and meaningful role in all forms of social life: rural, urban or tribal. In smaller communities, such interactions in different aspects of life provide for personal and intimate social relationships, whereas in the cities due to the large, and heterogeneous population, the possibilities of such relationships are considerably minimised. With the rise of urbanisation, a city-dweller, while living amidst a sea of fellow city-dwellers, is detached from them socially. In other words, a city-dweller is physically in proximity with others in different walks of life, but socially he is under conditions of relative isolation, if not absolute isolation. Socially, isolated persons are rarely found in village communities. In the city, people are usually unable to make intimate and emotionally strong relationships. This tendency goes on increasing as the city grows in the face of rapid population growth. Older people, the migrants who are still strangers in the city, people who are unable to get along with others, socially rejected persons and persons who do not find people of their liking often feel acute isolation even amidst thousands of the urban-dwellers.

The rapid growth of urban population leads to greater divisions of labour and specialisation of work which, in turn, creates interdependence among individuals participating in a given economic activity. Such an interdependence is partial and restricted only up to the fulfillment of a given fraction or a portion of the total activity. Thus, there is extremely limited scope for sharing a totality of experiences and social life. The heterogeneity of population, especially in matters of social status, caste, class, religion, income, occupation, etc., creates partial isolation under which, as K. Davis says, integrity of particular groups is reinforced by maintaining social distance (avoidance) toward other groups. Residential segregation is one of the manifestations of partial isolation in cities.

In a broad perspective, Kingsley Davis observes that partial isolation, whatever its specific form, tends to be associated with the individuals positions and to be expressed in the rights and duties of these positions. It implies that between individuals of different status there is a difference of ends. It is, therefore, one of the means by which societies are organised. Some mutual avoidance, social distance, and ethnocentrism emerge. A similar, by and large, prevails in the face of rapid urbanisation.

6.5.3 Maladjustment

The process of urbanisation adds to the complexities of city - life. It generates and strengthens the forces of social change, leading to new social reality and inevitable pressures of conformity. As the process of urbanisation accelerates, the city life tends to be rapidly characterised by cultural diversities, socio-economic inequalities, competition, conflict and several other manifestations of complexities of social reality. The fact of social mobility also affects the life of the city-dwellers. In a way, all these social forces impose a functional adjustment on the part of the city-dwellers to lead a peaceful and fuller life. However, all the city-dwellers are not fortunate enough to satisfactorily adjust to the diverse challenges of a growing city. For example, in the field of economic activities, even in a rapidly growing city, the number of opportunities for successful adjustment are smaller than the number of competitors. In such a

situation, several among those, who are the losers, fail to suitably adjust to the reality, and become victims of frustration, inferiority complex and loss of a meaningful integration with the totality of city-life. All such failures give rise to the problem of maladjustment. Similarly, even among the successful ones, many fail to conform to the new situations, and become maladjusted.

The problem of maladjustment becomes all the more acute in the case of those city-dwellers, who are relatively recent migrants. They, in fact, present cases of “Marginal Man”—a concept developed by Robert E. Park and later elaborated upon by Everett V. Stonequist. The marginal-man, in simple words, is said to be one who is in the process of changing from one culture to another. Some scholars have also used the term “transitional man” in the sense that the individual in question is in the process of assimilation with the culture of the place of his destination. Further, a marginal man suffers from the problems of maladjustment precisely because he feels lost amidst the pressures of two cultures, as he cannot completely change from one cultural system to another. On the one hand, he tends to retain some traits of his cultural past and, at the same time, he is forced to acquire the traits of new culture. In such a situation, he experiences internal conflicts, intense anxiety and socio-psychological tensions, which often tend to enhance the incidence of maladjustment.

Apart from these adverse consequences of urbanisation, it is also found that various forms of social disorganisation are associated with the rapid growth of cities. Special mention may be made here of family, kinship and community disorganisation endangering the cohesive and integrated social life. These forms of social disorganisation are reflected through the disruption of mutually expected roles and obligations in the wake of unequal rates of social change in different aspects of city-life. In the case of the family, the increasing rate of divorce and break down of jointness in the joint-family are indicative of dissociative and break down of jointness in the joint-family are indicative of dissociative implications of urbanisation. The withering away of kinship obligations provide similar examples. In like manner, the enormous expansion of the city area and the increasing pressure of its heterogeneous population raise several problems and lessens the normative integration of the city. The net result, as observed by William Foot Whyte, is that a large, heterogeneous, and widely dispersed population faces many new problems for which solutions do not exist in the culture of that society.

6.5.4 Efforts to Curb Undesirable Consequences

The increasing proportion of these evil consequences of urbanisation has led to some systematic efforts for effectively curbing their incidence. These efforts include legislative measures for the removal of urban poverty and unemployment as well as measures of slum clearance and urban community development programmes. From the Sixth Five Year Plan onwards, special attention is being paid to the socio-economic development of small towns and cities to divert the flow of the rural migrants. It is hoped that, with the rise of new opportunities of employment in towns and small cities, the metropolitan centres will be relieved of further increase in the pressure of excessive population, which has by now made it almost impossible for the civic authorities to ensure efficient and adequate supply of public utilities to the citizens.

In addition to these planned efforts, social legislation relating to suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls, prevention of beggary, prevention of

alcoholism and drug abuses, correctional programmes for criminals and juvenile delinquents, and rehabilitation schemes for deviant persons under the programmes of social defence are equally significant steps taken towards the amelioration of these problems of urban living. In Section 6.7, you will come to know about the policy of the State specifically addressed to the solution of several urban problems so as to make urban living a decent way of life.

Check Your Progress 3

Tick the correct answer.

- i) Crime is usually
 - a) Higher in rural than in urban areas
 - b) Higher in big cities than in rural areas
 - c) Similar in rural and urban areas
 - d) Lower in metropolitan cities than in small towns
- ii) Compared to the Western societies, the crime rate in urban India is
 - a) high
 - b) low
 - c) no different
- iii) Tick the correct statements
 - a) A city-dweller is usually socially far detached from his fellow city-dwellers while living in the sea of humanity.
 - b) Socially isolated persons are often found in villages.
 - c) A city-dweller is usually unable to make intimate and emotionally strong relationship with his fellow dwellers.
 - d) Rapid growth of urban population leads to greater division of labour.
- iv) The concept of the marginal-man is developed by
 - a) Robert E.Park
 - b) Robert Redfield.
 - c) Louis Wirth.
 - d) Louis Dumont

6.6 STATE POLICY ON URBAN PROBLEMS

In India, it is now recognised that urbanisation is not a trivial aspect of the processes of economic development and social change. This has led to a demand that there ought to be a national policy statement on urbanisation, as it is true in matters of industrial development, population growth, and education. Several reasons account for the lack of national policy on urbanisation, foremost among which have been the issues of overwhelming concern for self-sufficiency of villages and the inclusion of urbanisation in the state subjects of our Constitution. However, in our efforts of planned development, the five year plans do reflect the general policies being followed for the management of the urban problems, which are assuming massive proportion due to unprecedented rise in the rate of urbanisation. It should be noted here that, by and large, the

emphasis of these efforts has been towards the amelioration of the conditions of the poor and the lower income groups. A brief appraisal of the efforts to solve the problem of housing, sanitation and water supply, along with several other problems of urban development, is presented here.

We have seen that one of the grave problems of urbanisation has been acute shortage of housing facilities in cities. This problem has reached almost a breaking point in the case of the metropolitan cities. In order to meet this problem, planned efforts are made in the following two directions:

- a) Social legislations relating to urban land and housing;
- b) Programmes of slum clearance and construction of new houses.

Let us see what has been done under these heads to solve the problem of urban housing.

6.6.1 Social Legislation Relating to Urban Land and Housing

The Constitution gives the fundamental right of the freedom of movement to every citizen of India, but does not guarantee the right of housing to either the urban-dwellers or the village people. In our Constitution the responsibility of urban development and related welfare programmes has been assigned to the state governments. The social legislation governing rent and sale of land and houses include the following two important enactments:

- 1) Rent Control Act (RCA), 1948, and
 - 2) Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA) 1976.
- i) **The Rent Control Act, 1948**

The Rent Control Act was enacted with a view to control and regulate the rent of the houses. It was first enacted in the then Bombay State, in 1948, and later on in several other states. The Rent Control Act also protects the tenants from the atrocities of the house-owner, especially in the sense that the owner of a house can neither force the tenant to vacate house, nor can he raise the rent of the house at his own will. Further, the Rent Control Act also imposes the responsibility of repairs of the house on the owner rather than on the tenant living in it.

Systematic studies evaluating the impact of the Rent Control Act have revealed that the Act has not been able to bring about a solution to the problem of urban housing in the desired direction. Kiran Wadhava's study reveals that the said Act has hardly been able to make any noticeable progress in solving the problem of urban housing, and its need continues to be equally significant even today. In fact, there have been some latent consequences of this Act, adding to the already acute problem of housing. The owners are now not eager to rent out the house, as it will never come back in their possession due to the conditions of the Rent Control Act. Similarly, now people do not like to build houses with a view to earn rent. All such calculations ultimately add to the scarcity of houses. It is also observed that the owners hardly show any interest in the repair of houses, which have already been rented out, simply because all such expenses are finally going to be a burden on them alone, without any possibility of raising the rent. Owing to such apathetic attitude of the owners towards

timely repairs, a large number of buildings in cities have deteriorated and become dangerous for living.

The ill-effects of the Rent Control Act are not systematically recognised and in order to put a curb on such effects the Ministry of Urban Development has taken some serious steps. In 1987, The National Commission on Urbanisation was appointed under the auspices of the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India. The Commission also went into the details of the Rent Control Act, and recognised the seriousness of the adverse effects of the Act. In its interim report, the National Commission on Urbanisation made several recommendations relating to the amendments in the terms and conditions of the existing Rent Control Act relating (1) the continuation of the protection of the interests of the existing tenants, (2) the inclusion of the possibility of raising rent, (3) the separation of the rules the regulations of renting houses for commercial purposes from houses to be rented for residential purposes, (4) the provisions of providing incentives to build new houses, etc. It is believed that the inclusion of these amendments, while not necessarily solving the acute problem that has been growing over the years, will certainly lessen the adverse effects of the existing Rent Control Act.

ii) **Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act , 1976**

The second important step relating to the management of urban land is the enactment of the Urban Land Ceiling Act of 1976. This Act has the following three fundamental objectives:

- a) Redistribution of land,
- b) Prevention of speculation in land, and
- c) Regulation of construction on vacant land.

Under the provisions of this Act, the excess land, i.e., land excluding the prescribed size of the available plot, can be procured by the local authorities or the state government for wider public interests. Usually, the excess land under this Act is procured for the construction of houses for the urban poor and the low income groups. Moreover, this Act imposes restrictions on the sale of excess land so as to curb speculation in urban land.

Critics have pointed out that despite the existence of this Act the prices of land in every city have reached far beyond the capacity of common-man and speculation in land is flourishing almost unchecked. Moreover, the land procured for construction of houses for the urban poor and other public utilities is also negligible in size. In several cases, the owners of excess land have been successful in escaping the demands of the Land Ceiling Act through corrupt practices and use of their political connections.

6.6.2 Programmes of Slum Clearance and Construction of New Houses

We have seen that, in the face of rapid urban growth, a large section of urban population is living in slums and suffering from acute shortage of houses, water-supply, sanitation and other public facilities. These urban problems have assumed massive proportion, warranting social legislation and special attention in our national planning. Following from these efforts, one of significant

programmes is the slum clearance scheme and programme of construction of new houses for the urban poor and the low income groups. Under this scheme, low cost houses, equipped with latrine, bathroom, water-tap, sanitation and drainage facilities, are made available to the poor people, who can afford to pay a token amount as rent from their meagre earnings. Moreover, under the scheme of slum clearance an entire area inhabited by economically and socially weaker sections is provided with these common utilities to be shared by all. These programmes under the slum clearance scheme are subsidised to provide assistance to the state governments for construction of one crore and 40 lakh new houses at the rate of Rs.5000 per house for the benefit of the urban poor and the low and middle income groups. In addition, the state governments and the local bodies of the cities also provide necessary funds for execution of such projects. It should, however, be noted that the voluntary agencies have still lagged behind in taking up the activities of slum clearance and construction of houses for the poor people.

The following schemes have been executed in several cities with financial and other support from the state governments and local bodies for the construction of new houses:

- a) In 1952, a scheme for the construction of houses for the industrial workers came into existence.
- b) A scheme was introduced, in 1954, for the construction of houses for the low income groups.
- c) Since the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan (1956), the scheme of slum clearance and improvement came into existence on a regular basis.
- d) The Life Insurance Corporation of India started giving loans since the Second Five Year Plan to the middle-income groups for the construction of houses.
- e) Since the Fifth Five Year Plan, the programme of building houses for the higher-income groups were taken on hand with the objective that profit earned through such projects will be diverted for the construction of houses for the urban poor and the low-income groups. Special instructions were issued to the Housing Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) in this respect.

However, systematic studies have revealed that most of the advantages of these schemes have been taken away by the middle and high income groups. The plight of the urban-poor has more or less remained the same.

One of the greatest obstacles in effective implementation of the slum-clearance programme has been lack of adequate funds. The issue received significant attention in the Seventh Five Year Plan. It led to the establishment of a National Housing Bank (NHB) with an assistance of Rs.100 crores from the Central government. It is proposed that the following shall be the objective of the National Housing Bank:

- 1) To provide a national body for financing the programmes only for the construction of houses.
- 2) To raise the sources for procuring finance for the construction of houses and make effective use of all such sources.

- 3) To raise financial institutions at local and regional levels for advancing loans for construction of houses and institutions giving loans for other purposes.
- 4) To establish meaningful links between financial institutions advancing loans for construction of houses and institutions giving loans for other purposes.

All these efforts are made with a hope that conditions of the slum-dwellers and the urban poor can be suitably improved so that they can also lead a fuller urban life free from dirt, disease and pollution.

6.6.3 The Five-Year Plans

The policy of decentralisation in our national planning has lately been found useful in matters of urban development also. In the First Five Year Plan no special attention was paid to the solution of urban problems. Yet, it did recognise the acute shortage of housing and steep rise in land prices in big cities. By the end of the First Five Year Plan several institutional set-ups to ease this problem came into existence. For example, a new ministry of works and housing was first established and later renamed as the Ministry of Urban Affairs. The National Building Organisation was established to design low cost housing. Steps were taken to train personnel in town planning. The Second Five Year Plan emphasised the need for planned development of cities and towns, and advocated an integrated approach to rural and urban planning in a regional framework. During this plan, The Urban Development Authority came into existence, and a master plan was prepared for the first time for the development of Delhi. This was a major step in urban planning and its implementation, which was later followed in the case of other big cities in several states.

The Third and Fourth Five Year Plans laid emphasis on town planning for which the responsibility was shifted from the Centre to the states. A model town-planning Act was prepared in 1957 by the Town and Country Planning Organisation in Delhi, and this led to the enactment of laws in other states. The Third Five Year Plan extended financial support for the preparation of master plans for the development of cities and towns in the states. As a result of such efforts, nearly 400 master plans were prepared. Moreover, the Third Plan also initiated urban community development schemes in selected cities as an experimental scheme to solve social and human problems associated with urban slums. The Fourth Plan recognised the need of financing urban development schemes. It was during this plan period that an agency – Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) – came into existence to provide funds for the metropolitan authorities, State Housing Boards and other urban institutions for the construction of houses in urban areas. The Fifth Plan document, in a separate chapter on urban and regional planning, laid down the following objectives of its urbanisation policy: (a) to augment civic services in the urban centres, (b) to tackle the problems of the metropolitan cities on a regional basis, (c) to promote the development of small towns and new urban centres, (d) to assist inter-state projects for the metropolitan projects, and (e) to support industrial townships under government undertakings.

The Sixth Plan also had a special chapter on urban problems but greater emphasis was given to the problem of housing both urban and rural areas. In this plan, necessary attention was drawn, for the first time, to regional variations

in the levels of urban development. It should also be mentioned here that, during the Sixth Plan, provisions were made to develop adequate infrastructural and other facilities at the small, medium and intermediate towns so as to make them 'growth centres' in promoting rural development. Further, 200 towns were to be identified for integrated development of water supply schemes in 550 towns, and sewerage projects in 110 towns in the country.

Thus, the Sixth Plan recognised the problems of basic needs of the urban-dwellers and took some concrete steps towards amelioration of their conditions.

The Seventh Plan, on the one hand, stressed the need for integrated development of small and medium towns and, on the other, minimising the growth of the metropolitan cities. To attain this objective, special incentives are offered for the establishment of industries in small and medium towns. It also advocates for greater financial support to local bodies by the state governments. In terms of institutional set up, the Seventh Plan recommended the establishment of the National Urban Infrastructure Development Finance Corporation, to provide capital for the development of infrastructure in small and medium towns. Apart from these steps, the emphasis on housing for the urban poor and the low income groups, integrated development and provisions for promotion of basic amenities for the urban-dwellers are continued in the Seventh Plan and proposed draft of the Eighth Five Year Plan.

In brief, although the Five Year Plans do not as yet exhibit any comprehensive policy on India's urbanisation and urban problem, there are obviously certain aspects which have received greater attention to ameliorate the conditions of the urban-dwellers. Special mention may be made of (a) finance for housing, (b) slum clearance and improvement, (c) town water supply and sewerage, (d) urban transportation, and (e) the preparation of master plans for the development of cities, especially bigger ones.

Check Your Progress 4

- i) What are the major objectives of the Rent Control Act, 1948? Answer in about five lines.

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- ii) Write a short note on the social legislation on the urban land in India. Use about six lines to answer.

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iv) What are the major features of the Slum Clearance Programme in India? Answer in about seven lines.

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6.7 LET US SUM UP

Urbanisation refers to a social process. In demographic sense, it exhibits the proportion of the urban population to the total population of a society. In sociological sense, it also refers to a way of life typically associated with the city. The haphazard and steep rise in the population of big cities has led to the notion of over-urbanisation in India, which, in the societal context, is not true. Even today only less than one-third of the total population of India lives in towns and cities.

The industrial-urban India has given birth to several social problems among which the problems of slums, crimes, housing, pollution and inadequate public utilities have become grave. In the absence of a national policy on urbanisation, the matters of urban planning and development remain largely confined to the efforts of the state governments. The schemes of slum clearance and housing for the urban poor and the low-income groups are in a way addressed to the solution of these problems. The five year plans have also made significant efforts through making provisions of financial support to several programmes of urban renewal.

6.8 KEY WORDS

- Marginal man** : A marginal man is one, who has not been able to give up the traits of his cultural past, nor has been able to assimilate with the new culture. Thus, he is a man in transition, placed between two cultures.
- Million city** : A city with a population over ten lakhs.
- Over-urbanisation** : A term describing the process of excessive growth population in cities (mainly through migration) in relation to employment and other facilities available in them.
- Primary urbanisation** : A process of coordinating the activities of local tradition to the norms provided by the Great Tradition.

- Slum** : Broadly speaking, it is a locality characterised by inadequate and deteriorated housing, deficient public utilities, overcrowding and congestion and usually inhabited by the poor and socially heterogeneous people.
- Urbanisation** : A process in demographic sense, which refers to the proportion of a total population living in towns and cities. In sociological sense, it refers to a way of life associated with living in the city.
- White-collar crime** : It refers to malpractices employed during the conduct of any profession, business or trade.
- Secondary urbanisation** : A process of heterogenetic development associated with the industrial phase of the city.

6.9 FURTHER READINGS

Institute of Urban Affairs. 1988. *State of India's Urbanisation*, Institute of Urban Affairs : New Delhi.

Rao, M.S.A (ed.) 1974. *Urban Sociology in India*. Orient Longman : New Delhi.

6.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- i) b)
- ii) d)
- iii) c)

Check Your Progress 2

- i) The main features of over-urbanisation in India are as follows:
 - a) There is a seeming imbalance between the levels of industrialisation and urbanisation in India. (b) The process of urbanisation takes away a large share of national resources and, thus, impinges upon the rate of economic growth in society. (c) There has been excessive population pressure on the civic amenities and housing.
- ii) It is estimated that nearly 70% of the urban population in India live in sub-standard houses. Here, more than half of the urban households occupy only a single room with an average occupancy per room of 4.4 persons. Besides, there are a large number of homeless persons. Only in Delhi there are more than three lakh homeless persons.
- iii) (a) Indiscriminate growth of industrial and chemical plants. (b) Pre-industrial structure of cities with narrow streets of roads. (c) High-rise of buildings with high density of population, congestion on roads and pollution. (d) Lack of effective measure for systematic use of land.

Check Your Progress 3

- i) b)
- ii) b)
- iii) a), c), d)
- iv) a)

Check Your Progress 4

- i) The main objectives of this law are to (a) regulate the rent of the house, (b) protect the tenant from the atrocities of the houseowners, (c) make the landowner responsible to undertake the repair of the house regularly.
- ii) The Urban Land Ceiling Act, 1976, covers on broad aspect of urban land management. This Act has three fundamental objectives : (a) distribution of surplus land, (b) prevention of speculation in land, (c) Regulation of construction on vacant land. However, despite the provisions of this Act, the price of urban land has gone beyond the reach of the common man, and speculation in land is also flourishing without being checked.
- iii) Under this scheme, low cost houses equipped with latrine, bathroom, water tap, sanitation and drainage facilities are made available to the poor people, who can pay a token amount as rent from their income. These schemes are subsidised by the government. However, one of the greatest obstacles for the speedy implementation of this programme has been that of adequate funds. The Seventh Five Year Plan has given emphasis on the issue of slum clearance.

UNIT 7 CHANGING FAMILY STRUCTURE

Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Family : Definition and Types
 - 7.2.1 Definition
 - 7.2.2 Types
- 7.3 Social Processes Affecting Family Structure
 - 7.3.1 Industrialisation
 - 7.3.2 Urbanisation
 - 7.3.3 Modernisation
 - 7.3.4 Change in the Family Structure : A Perspective
- 7.4 Change in the Joint Family System
- 7.5 Change in the Rural Family System
 - 7.5.1 Factors Responsible for Change
 - 7.5.2 Impact of the Breakdown of the Joint Family
- 7.6 Change in the Urban Family System
 - 7.6.1 Family in the Urban Setting
 - 7.6.2 Direction of Change
 - 7.6.3 Some Emerging Trends
- 7.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 7.8 Key Words
- 7.9 Further Readings
- 7.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit, we shall discuss the changing family patterns in India. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- describe a family;
- discuss its various types;
- explain the factors responsible for change in the family system;
- examine the changes in the traditional joint family system; and
- analyse the changes in the rural and urban family system in India.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Units of this Block, we introduced you the various dimensions of social demography, migration and urbanisation in India. In this Unit, we shall discuss the changing family structure in India. This Unit begins with a short discussion on the definition and types of the family. Industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation are the important social forces affecting the traditional family structure in India. We discuss these factors briefly and

describe a perspective to understand the change in the family structure in Section 7.3. In Section 7.4, we discuss the change taking place in the traditional joint family system in India. The change in the rural family and the impact of the breakdown of the rural joint family are discussed in this Section. Change in the urban family system and its various facets are examined in section 7.6

7.2 FAMILY : DEFINITION AND TYPES

In Unit No. 6. Block 2 of ESO-02, we discussed in detail the institution of the family in India. There we discussed the continuum between the nuclear and the joint family. In this Unit, we shall discuss the form and direction of changes in the family system in India. To begin with, let us study the definition and types of family.

7.2.1 Definition

Ordinarily, a family, particularly an elementary family, can be defined as a social group consisting of father, mother and their children. But in view of the variety as found in the constituents of a family, this definition is rather inadequate. Bohannan (1963), in his definition of the family, emphasised the functional as well as the structural roles of family. According to him, “a family, contains people who are linked by sexual and affinal relationships as well as those linked by descent who are linked by secondary relationships, that is, by chains of primary relationships”.

Box 1. Characteristics of Family

For a comprehensive understanding of what the family stands for today, William J. Goode (1989) suggests the following characteristics:

- a) At least two adult persons of opposite sex reside together.
- b) They engage in some kind of division of labour i.e., they both do not perform exactly the same tasks.
- c) They engage in many types of economic and social exchanges, i.e., they do things for one another.
- d) They share many things in common, such as food, sex, residence, and both goods and social activities.
- e) The adults have parental relations with their children, as their children have filial relations with them; the parents have some authority over their children and both share with one another, while also assuming some obligation for protection, cooperation, and nurturance.
- f) There are sibling relations among the children themselves, with a range of obligations to share, protect, and help one another.

Individuals are likely to create various kinds of relations with each other but, if their continuing social relations exhibit some or all of the role patterns noted here, in all probability they would be viewed as the family.

7.2.2 Types of Family

On the basis of the composition of the family, three distinct types of family organisation emerge.

a) **Nuclear Family**

The most basic among the families is called natal or nuclear or elementary, or simple family, which consists of a married man and woman and their offspring. In specific cases, sometimes one or more additional persons are found to reside with them. Over a period of time, the structure of a family changes. Often additional members, viz., an aged parent or parents or unmarried brother or sisters may come to live with the members of a nuclear family. It may lead to the development of varieties of nuclear families. While discussing the nature of the joint family in India, Pauline Kolenda (1987) has discussed additions/modifications in the nuclear family structure. She gives the following compositional categories :

- i) **Nuclear family** refers to a couple with or without children.
- ii) **Supplemented nuclear family** indicates a nuclear family plus one or more unmarried, separated, or widowed relatives of the parents other than their unmarried children.
- iii) **Sub nuclear family** is identified as a fragment of a former nuclear family, for instance, a widow/widower with his/her unmarried children or siblings (unmarried) or widowed or separated or divorced) living together.
- iv) **Single person household**
- v) **Supplemented sub nuclear family** refers to a group of relatives, members of a formerly complete nuclear family along with some other unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives who were not member of the nuclear family. For instance, a widow and her unmarried children may be living together with her widowed mother-in-law.

In the Indian context, it is easy to find all these types of family. However, in terms of societal norms and values, these types relate to the joint family system (cf. ESO-02, Unit 6)

Nuclear families are often combined, like atoms in a molecule, into larger aggregates. Although such families are generally referred to as composite forms of family, on the basis of their structural characteristics they can be differentiated into two distinct types; like i) polygamous family and ii) family.

b) **Polygamous Family**

A polygamous family ordinarily consists of two or more nuclear families conjoined by plural marriage. These types of families are statistically very few in number in general. There are basically two types of polygamous family based on the forms of marriage, viz., polygyny, i.e., one husband with more than one wife at a time, and polyandry, i.e., one wife with more than one husband at the same time.

c) **Extended Family**

An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through the extension of parent-child relationship and relationship of married siblings. The former can be designated as a vertically extended family, whereas the latter would be referred to as a horizontally extended family. In a typical patriarchal extended family, there lives an elderly person with his son and

wife and their unmarried children. You may be interested to know what constitutes the jointness in the joint family. Usually, the jointness is depicted in a number of factors, viz., commensality (eating together from the same kitchen), common residence, joint ownership of property, cooperation and common sentiments, common ritual bonds, etc. You may also be interested to know who constitute the joint family. It is the kin relationships. Hence Pauline Kolenda (1987) points out the following types of the joint family in India:

- i) **Collateral Joint Family** comprises two or more married couples between whom there is a sibling bond.
- ii) **Supplemented Collateral Joint Family** is a collateral joint family along with unmarried, divorced and widowed relatives.
- iii) **Lineal Joint Family** consists of two couples, between whom there is a lineal link, like between a parent and her married sons or between a parent and his married daughter.
- iv) **Supplemented Lineal Joint Family** is a lineal joint family together with unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives, who do not belong to either of the lineally linked nuclear families.
- v) **Lineal Collateral Joint Family** consists of three or more couples linked lineally and collaterally. For example, a family consisting of the parents and their two or more married sons together with unmarried children of the couples.
- vi) **Supplemented Lineal – Collateral Joint Family** consists of the members of a lineal collateral joint family plus unmarried, widowed, separated relatives who belong to none of the nuclear families (lineally and collaterally linked), for example, the father's widowed sister or brother or an unmarried nephew of the father.

This discussion should have given you a broad picture of the existing family structure in India. In this Unit, we shall discuss the changing family structure. Before we introduce ourselves to this discussion, let us know the social factors that affect the family structure. In the following section, we shall discuss these factors. Before that you must complete this 'check your progress' exercise.

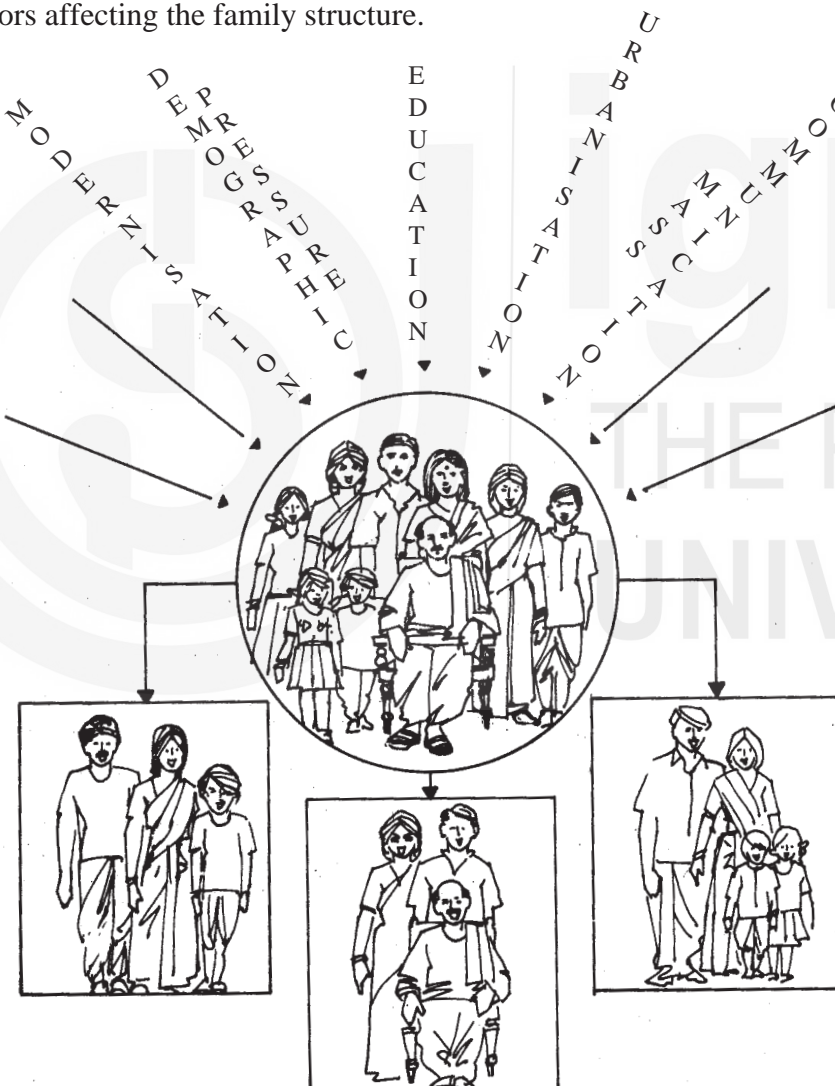
Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Which one of the following is not a characteristic of the family?
 - a) At least two adult persons of opposite sex reside together.
 - b) These persons engage in some kind of division of labour.
 - c) They engage in many types of economic and social exchanges.
 - d) None of the above.
- 2) In a polyandrous family there.....
 - a) is a wife with more than one husband at the same time.
 - b) is a husband with more than one wife at the same time.
 - c) is one husband and one wife at the same time.
 - d) is a married couple without children.

- 3) An extended family can be
- a) only vertically extended.
 - b) only horizontally extended.
 - c) both vertically and horizontally extended
 - d) none of the above.

7.3 SOCIAL PROCESSES AFFECTING FAMILY STRUCTURE

A host of inter-related factors, viz., economic, educational, legal and demographic like population growth, migration and urbanisation, etc., have been affecting the structure of the family in India. We shall take care of these factors while discussing the changes, in the following sections. Here, let us discuss the broad processes of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation as factors affecting the family structure.



Nuclearisation of Joint Family

7.3.1 Industrialisation

There are innumerable published accounts demonstrating that changes have taken place in the structure of the family due to exposures to the forces of industrialisation. Nuclearisation of the family is considered as the outcome of its impact. Such an interpretation presupposes existence of non-nuclear family

structure in such societies. Empirical evidence sometimes does not support this position. Further, industrial establishments have their own requirements of human groups for their efficient functioning. As a result, people are migrating to industrial areas, and various kinds of family units have been formed adding extra-ordinary variety to the overall situation. It is, nevertheless, important to note down in this context that despite definite visible trends in the changing structure of the family due to industrialisation, it is not yet possible to establish any one-to-one relationship.

7.3.2 Urbanisation

In most of the discussions on impact of urbanisation on the family structure, one specific observation is fairly common: that, due to the influence of urbanisation, the joint family structure is under severe stress, and in many cases it has developed a tendency toward nuclearisation. When there is no disagreement on the authenticity of such a tendency, the traditional ideal joint family was perhaps not the exclusive type before such influence came into existence. Nevertheless, various accounts demonstrate how both nuclear and joint structures have evolved innumerable varieties due to the influence of urbanisation.

7.3.3 Modernisation

Both industrialisation and urbanisation are considered as the major contributing factors toward modernisation. In fact, modernisation as a social-psychological attribute can be in operation independent of industrialisation and urbanisation.

With the passage of time, through exposures to the forces of modernisation, family structure underwent multiple changes almost leading to an endless variety. There are instances too, where family structure has become simpler due to its impact. There are also contrary instances indicating consequent complexity in family structure.

7.3.4 Change in the Family Structure : A Perspective

One of the important features of the family studies in India has been concerned with the question of whether the joint family system is disintegrating, and a new nuclear type of family pattern is emerging. "It seems almost unrealistic", Augustine points out, "that we think of a dichotomy between the joint and nuclear family. This is especially true given the rapidity of social change, which has swept our country." In the context of industrialisation, urbanisation and social change, it is very difficult to think of a dichotomy between the joint and the nuclear family in India. In the present contexts, these typologies are not mutually exclusive. Social change is an inevitable social process, which can be defined as observable transformations in social relationships. This transformation is most evident in the family system. However, because of structures of our traditionality, these transformations are not easily observable (Augustine 1982:2).

Against this backdrop, to understand the dimensions of changes taking place in Indian family system, the concept of transitionality may be used. This concept, according to Augustine, has two dimensions : retrospective and prospective. The retrospective dimension implies the traditional past of our family and social system, while the prospective one denotes the direction in

which change is taking place in our family system. Transitionality is thus an attempt to discern the crux of the emergent forms of family (Augustine 1982:3).

Keeping in mind this perspective, we shall examine the emerging trends of change in the family system in contemporary India. However, at the outset, we are to make it explicit that, within the given space, it would not be possible for us to document the changes individually taking place in the family system of various castes or ethnic groups spread over diversified socio-cultural regions of this country. Hence for your broad understanding, we shall concentrate on three broad areas of our enquiry : change in the traditional extended family, rural family and urban family. Let us begin with change in the traditional extended family. Before that complete this activity.

Activity 1

Try to know the past 40 years' history of your family from some elderly member. It may have undergone significant changes over the years. List down the factors responsible for changes in your family. Write a note on these changes of about 2 pages. If possible, discuss your findings with the Counsellor and the students at your Study Centre. You should find it sociologically interesting.

7.4 CHANGE IN THE JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM

The extended family in India is known as joint family. The ideals of the joint family are highly valued throughout the country, especially among the Hindus. However, studies conducted in several parts of the country show that the joint family system in India is undergoing a process of structural transformation due to the process of modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation. But the fact remains that the values and attitudes of the Indian society have favoured the joint family tradition for centuries, and these are still favoured. Many scholars have viewed the transformation in the joint family system in terms of the concept of the family cycle.

A nuclear family develops into a joint family after the marriage of a son; that is with the coming in of a daughter-in-law. Hence the process of fission and fusion take place in the family system due to various reasons. In most parts of India, where patriarchal families exist, sons are expected to stay together with the parents till the siblings of the family are married. After this they tend to separate. Thus the process of fission takes place, and the joint family is broken into relatively smaller number of units - sometimes into nuclear units. Nicholas, on the basis of his study in rural West Bengal, concludes that if a joint family between a father and his married sons divides, a joint family among brothers rarely survives. The father seems to be the keystone of the joint family structure. Despite the solidarity among the male siblings, after the father's death, many forces tend to break the joint family into separate hearths, even though at times the property may be held in common (Cf. Ishwaran, 1982 : 8).

I.P. Desai, in his famous work, *Some Aspects of Family in Mahuva* (1964), points out that in Gujarat 'a residentially nuclear group is embedded in social, cultural and other non-social environments, which are not the same as those in the societies of the West'. He defines the structure of a family in terms of one's orientation to action. When action is oriented towards the husband, wife and children, the family can be categorised as a nuclear unit; and when the action is oriented towards a wider group, it is defined as a joint family. To

him, through the nuclear family does exist in India, it is, however, not the prevalent pattern. In his sampling, only 7% of the households considered nuclear family as desirable, while around 60% considered jointness as desirable.

Significantly, elements of jointness were found among all religious groups. Their greater degree was available among the business and the agricultural castes. It is important to note that property was an important factor behind the jointness. Kapadia also found that though most families are nuclear, they are actually 'joint' in operation. These families maintain their connections through mutual cooperation and rights and obligations other than those of property. To him, not the common hearth, but mutual ties, obligations and rights, etc., have been the major elements of jointness in the contemporary functionally joint family in India (Kapadia 1959 : 250).

In his study of a village in South India, Ishwaran (1982) found that 43.76% nuclear (elementary) families and 56.24% were extended (joint) families. The villagers attach a wealth of meaning to the term 'jointness' and in their opinion one either belongs to the joint family or depends upon the extended kin. In fact, the isolated independent elementary family does not exist for them, and indeed its actual existence is largely superficial due to heavy reliance upon the extended kin group. The extended family is the ideal family, reinforced by religious, social, economic and other ideological forces. He concludes that even though the nuclear families are on the increase, perhaps because of the greater geographical and social mobility found in a society being modernised, these families cannot live in isolation without active cooperation and contact with the extended kin (Ishwaran 1982 : 20)

There is no denying the fact that the trend of modernisation has been dominant in India. However, the physical separation does not speak for the departure from the spirit of jointness of the family structure. The sense of effective cooperation in need, and obligation to each other, have remained prevalent among the family members in spite of being separated from the erstwhile joint family. Hence, we are required to understand not only the manifestation of nuclearisation of the family structure in India, but also the latent spirit of cooperation and prevalence of common values and sentiments among the family members. The extent of cooperation and the prevalence of common values and sentiments may vary in the rural and urban areas. We shall discuss the patterns of change in the rural and urban family structure, separately, in the following sections.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) Write a note, in about six lines, on the fission in the traditional joint family system in India.

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- ii) How can you define the structure of a family in terms of one’s orientation towards action. Answer in about five lines.

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7.5 CHANGE IN THE RURAL FAMILY SYSTEM

Scholars have identified the joint family as typical of rural India. These families are exposed to various forces, viz., land reforms, education, mass media, new technology, new development strategies, urbanisation, industrialisation, modernisation, and so on. These above-mentioned forces are found to exercise tremendous influence on the contemporary family systems in rural India. Let us examine these forces in detail.

7.5.1 Factors Responsible for Change

There are various factors affecting the family structure in rural India. We shall discuss some of these factors here.

i) Land Reforms

Earlier, the members of the joint family normally lived together due to common ancestral property, which was vast in size. Land reforms imposed ceiling restriction on the landholdings. In many cases, the heads of the family resorted to theoretical partition of the family by dividing the land among the sons in order to avoid the law of the land ceiling. During their life-time the sons live under his tutelage, if he was powerful; otherwise, sons gradually began to live separately during their parents life-time. Thus the theoretical partition hastens formal partition, and sows the seeds for separate living (Lakshminarayana, 1982 : 44). Again, in many cases, real partition has taken place in the joint family, immediately after the implementation of the land ceiling laws.

ii) Education and Gainful Employment

Education, industrialisation and urbanisation have opened the scope for gainful employment to the villagers outside the village. Initially, a few members of the joint family move to the city for education. After successful completion of education, most of them join service or opt for other avenues of employment in the urban areas. They get married and start living with their wives and children. Gradually, such separate units become the nuclear families. However, the members of these nuclear units keep on cooperating with the other members of their natal family on most occasions.

iii) Economic Difficulties in Rural Areas

The rural development strategies in India, aimed to eradicate poverty and unemployment, enhance a higher standard of life and economic development with social justice to the rural people. However, in reality these have generated

regional imbalances, sharpened class inequality, and have adversely economic and social life of the lower strata of the rural people. In the backward areas, people face enormous hardship to earn a livelihood. Hence, people of these areas are pushed to migrate to the urban areas. This migration has affected the family structure. Initially men alone migrate. Then they bring their family and gradually become residentially separated from their natal home.

iv) **Growing Individuals**

A high sense of individualism is also growing among section of the villagers. Penetration of the mass media (viz., the newspapers, the T.V., the radio), formal education, consumerist culture and market forces have helped individualism grow at a faster rate than ever. The rural people and the members of the rural joint family have started believing more in their individuality. In the past, the size of the family was relatively big. The kinship network was large and obligations were more. It was imperative that relatives were given shelter. Today, every individual strives to improve his/her standard of living and enhance his/her status in the community outside the purview of the family and the kin group. This is possible if the individual has lesser commitments and fewer obligations (Lakshminarayan 1982 : 46). This situation grows at a faster rate immediately after the marriage of the sons and coming of the daughters-in-law. Many times value conflicts between an educated individualistic daughter-in-law and old mother-in-law lead to the break down in the joint family system.

7.5.2 Impact of the Breakdown of the Joint Family

The transition in the rural family structure has certain significant impacts on the status and role of the family members. One impact is that of the diminishing authority of the patriarch of the joint family. In a joint family, traditionally, authority rests on the eldest male member of the family. Once the family splits into several units, new authority centres emerge there, with the respective eldest male member as the head of each nuclear unit. Authority is also challenged frequently by the educated and the individualistic young generations. Youngmen exposed to modern ideas of freedom and individualism show resentment to the traditional authority (Ibid.).

After the split in a joint family, women, who earlier had no say in the family affairs, also emerge as mistresses of the nuclear households with enormous responsibility. In this process of transition, the oldest woman also tend to lose their authority. Many of young women also challenge the dominating attitudes of the mothers-in-law. Similarly, many of the traditional mothers-in-law also face an uneasy situation due to growing disproportionate individualism among the daughters-in-law.

With the breakdown of the joint family system, the aged, widow, widower and other dependents in the family face severe problems. The joint family system provides security to these people. After the breakdown of this family system, they are left to themselves. In the rural area, the day care centres for the old or the children's home for the orphan are not available. Hence, their position becomes very critical. Many widows, widowers, children, and even old couple become beggars. Many leave for old people centres around pilgrim centres as the last resort of their social security and mental peace.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Describe the impact of land reforms on the joint family system in India. Use five lines to answer.

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- 2) What has been the impact of the mass media on the joint family?

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7.6 CHANGE IN URBAN FAMILY SYSTEM

Significant numbers of studies have been conducted on the urban family structure in India. T.K. Oommen (1982), after surveying all these studies, points out that most of these studies have been obsessed with a single question; Is the joint family in India breaking down and undergoing a process of nuclearisation due to urbanisation? A group of sociologists postulated this assumption that the joint family system is breaking down and the trend is toward the formation of nuclear units in the urban areas. While another group is of the opinion that joint family ethic and the kinship orientation still exist even after the residential separation.

7.6.1 Family in the Urban Setting

Scholars point out that industrial urbanisation has not brought disintegration in the joint family structure. Milton Singer (1968) studies the structure of the joint family among the Industrialists of Madras City. He finds that joint family system has not been a blockade for entrepreneurship development. Rather, it has facilitated and adapted to industrialisation. Orensten, in his study on the *Recent History of Extended Family in India* analyses the census data from 1811 to 1951. He finds that joint and large families in India are not disappearing by the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. However, the prevalence of the joint family structure has not been of uniform one across society. Ramakrishna Mukherjee finds that (a) the joint family is over-represented in the trade and commerce sector of national economy and in the high and middle grade occupations; (b) nuclear family is over-represented in the rural rather than in the urban areas. Based on his study on the family structure in West Bengal, he concludes that the central tendency in the Indian society is to pursue the joint family organisation (cf. Oommen 1982: 60). Joint family sentiments

widely prevail over nuclearisation of family units in spite of residential separation, etc.

7.6.2 Direction of Change

T.K. Oommen is of the opinion that so far urban family has been viewed from within as a little society. To him, for a proper understanding, the urban family should be placed in a broad social context. For this purpose, the urban families are to be distinguished through the mode of earning a livelihood and sources of income, structure of authority, urban social milieu and social ecology and the emerging value patterns. He points out that the type of family postulated in the Indian Constitution is an egalitarian, conjugal and nuclear family. Besides the Constitutionality, the socio-ecological factors, like the settlement patterns, native cultural environments of the urban migrants, and associations to various occupational, political, ideological, cultural-recreational, economic groups influence and reorient the style and pattern of the urban familial life. He mentions that urban centres have been the melting pots of traditional and modern values. Individualism is growing at a significant speed in the urban areas. It admits freedom of individuals in the decision-making process in the family, choice of mates, acquisition and management of personal property, establishment of separate households after marriage, etc. Individualism is, however, against the spirit of the joint family and questions the established authority of the elder male. There may be contradictory emphasis on the value hierarchies and individualism. This is also likely to influence the urban family life. However, the influence of the above-mentioned factors may be of a diverse nature, based on the typology (metropolis, city, town, etc.) of the urban areas and the extent of industrialisation as well. Along with these, the traditional cultural patterns of the family also continue. To him, there are three broad categories of urban families on the basis of their income. These families have distinct socio-cultural and ecological milieu, patterns of familial authority and value. Forces of urbanisation have affected these families diversely. Let us examine these families.

- i) **Families of Proprietary Class.** Their basic resource is the family of capital. The elder males in the family have substantial authority, as they own and control property. These are mostly the joint-households. Socially, they are the local people or the old migrants from the same region and same cultural milieu. In these families, traditional hierarchies are accepted and individualism is incipient.
- ii) **Families of the Entrepreneurial-cum-Professional Category.** The basic resources of these families are capital and expertise/skill and their simultaneous investment for generating income. Small commercial/trade/industrial establishments owned and managed by the family, practitioners of professions, etc., belong to this category. The adult males have less authority. Though these families are joint in nature, there is a tendency of breaking up as adult sons marry. Socially, they are mostly the local and the old migrants. However, new migrants are also there. In these households, hierarchy and traditional authority is questioned and individualism is visible.
- iii) **Families of Service Category.** These families generate income exclusively through selling their expertise skill or labour power in the service sector. This category is again divided into three sub-categories.

- a) **Families in the service sector.** The major source of their income is professional/managerial or administrative expertise. In these families, the domination of the male and the old members are not sustained. Neolocal nuclear households are the dominant patterns. Socially, they are mostly the new migrants from diversified socio-cultural regions. In these families, hierarchy erodes and individualism is strong.
- b) **Families in the service sector.** The main source of their income is administrative skill and semi-professional expertise. There are decentralisation of authority because of women's contribution in the family income, retirement from work, dependency on sons or daughters, etc. These are neolocal households with dependent kins. Socially, they are a mixture of locals, old and new migrants and come substantially from various regions. Traditional authority and hierarchy are questioned, and individualism slowly emerges there.
- c) **The labour families in the service sector.** The only source of their income is the labour power. These are essentially the nuclear households. However, due to poverty, they share housing with kins. There have been the sharing and decentralisation of authority among the family members, based on the extent of their economic contribution. They are a mixture of locals, old and new migrants from same cultural regions. In these families, hierarchy breaks down with the growth of individualism.

An analysis of the changes in the above-mentioned families shows that the forces of change have diversely affected these families. The old migrants and the local people, who earn absolutely from their household investment, have accepted the traditional authority. Individualism has not penetrated there. The tendency toward nuclearisation is more among the new migrants and among the families in the servicing sector. Individualism has also grown because of diverse socio-economic conditions. T.K. Oommen, however, points out the possibility of overlapping between these types of urban families.

7.6.3 Some Emerging Trends

In the context of rapid technological transformation, economic development and social change, the pattern of family living has been diverse in urban India. Today, life has been much more complex both in the rural and in the urban areas than what it was few decades ago. In the urban areas, even in the rural areas as well, many couples are in gainful employment. These working couples are to depend on others for child care, etc., facilities. With the structural break down of the joint family, working couple face a lot of problem. For employment, many rural males come out of the village, leaving behind their wives and children in their natal homes. The rural migrants are not always welcome to the educated westernised urban family for a longer stay. Their stay many times creates tension among the family members. In the lower strata of the urban society, however, the rural migrants are largely accommodated. Many times, they become the members of these families also. The 1991 Census has revealed an important trend of the changing family pattern in India. Data suggested that though nuclearisation of the family has been the dominant phenomenon the extent of joint living is also increasing, especially in the urban areas. Experts point out that the increase in the joint living is mostly because of the migration

of the rural people to the urban areas, and their sharing of common shelter and hearth with other migrants from the same region.

In the process of structural transformation, the old structure of authority and value have been challenged. The growing individualism questions the legitimacy of the age old hierarchic authority. The old value system also changes significantly. However this system of transformation has minimised the importance of mutual respect, love and affection among the family members belonging to various generations. Penetration of consumerist culture has aggravated the situation further. In a situation of generation gap, many of the aged feel frustrated, dejected and neglected in society. Since the emotional bondage has been weakened; many young members feel a sense of identity crisis in the family. The lack of emotional support in the family often leads the youth to the path of alcoholism and drug addiction. The aspect of joint family sentiments, which has been so emphasised by the sociologists, has not been always operational and effective in the changing context of the society.

Check Your Progress 4

Tick Mark the correct answers

- i) According to Milton Singer, the joint family system
 - a) has not been a blockade for entrepreneurship development.
 - b) Has been a blockade for entrepreneurship development.
 - c) Is breaking down among the business community.
 - d) Is the dominant pattern among the servicing poor.
- ii) According to Ramakrishna Mukherjee the nuclear family is over represented in the
 - a) rural areas.
 - b) urban areas
 - c) both of these areas
 - d) none of these areas.
- iii) T.K. Oommen distinguishes urban families through
 - a) mode of earning and changing value pattern.
 - b) structure of authority
 - c) urban social milieu and social ecology.
 - d) all of the above.

7.7 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, we have defined and discussed various types of family. We have also discussed various factors, viz., urbanisation, industrialisation and modernisation affecting family structure in India. Changes in the traditional joint family system are also explained. Families of the urban and rural India are affected diversely by the forces of development and change. We have discussed changes in the rural and urban families separately. Among the rural families, we discussed the factors responsible for the change, and the impact

of the breakdown of the joint family are also discussed. Lastly, the change in the urban family structure, the direction of its change and some emerging trends are also discussed.

7.8 KEY WORDS

Family Cycle	: It denotes that the elements of family life take shape in a certain direction. It relates essentially to the process of fission in the residential and compositional aspects of the family.
Neolocal Residence	: The custom for a married couple to reside apart from either spouse's parent or other relatives.
Patriarchal Family	: A family in which the eldest male is dominant.
Patrilocal	: The custom for a married couple to reside in the household or community of the husband's parents.
Polyandry	: A form of marriage in which a wife has more than one husband at the same time.
Polygamy	: Marriage involving more than one woman at the same time.
Polygyny	: A form of polygamy in which a husband has more than one wife at the same time.

7.9 FURTHER READINGS

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7.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) d)
- 2) a)
- 3) d)

Check Your Progress 2

- i) In traditional patriarchal–patrilocal families in India, sons are expected to stay with the parents till the marriages of the siblings are over. The sons tend to separate after this. Hence, the process of fission takes place, and the joint family breaks down into relatively smaller units-sometimes into nuclear households.

Structure in Transition – I

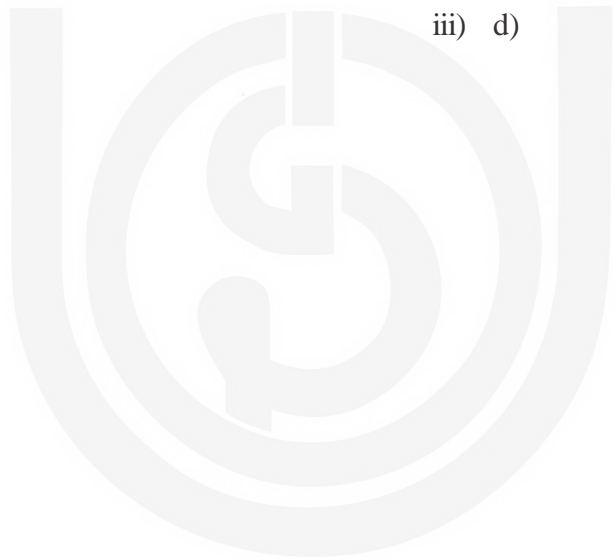
- ii) According to I.P.Desai, when action is oriented towards husband, wife and children, the family can be categorised as a nuclear unit; and when the action is oriented towards wider group it is defined as joint family.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Land reforms put ceiling restriction on landholdings. In many cases, the heads of respective family made theoretical partition of the family to avoid the land ceiling. However, the sons gradually began to live separately hastening the formal partition.
- 2) Penetration of the mass media helped individualism grow at a faster rate in the rural areas. The rural people started believing more in their individuality. Today, the individual strives to improve his/her standard of living. It is possible if the individual has lesser commitments and fewer obligations.

Check Your Progress 4

- i) a)
- ii) a)
- iii) d)



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